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French Canadian Colonization In Eastern Ontario To 1910: A Study Of Process And Pattern

Donald Gordon Cartwright

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FRENCH CANADIAN COLONIZATION.
IN EASTERN ONTARIO TO 1910:
A STUDY OF PROCESS AND PATTERN

by
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Department of Geography

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Canada
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Donald Gordon Cartwright
ABSTRACT

The Ottawa River region and adjacent portions of Eastern Ontario present a specific area that is a readily definable geographic unit that has been since the late eighteenth century, the locus of a cultural frontier zone cum political boundary. While the boundary was defined antecedent to settlement it has manifestly not inhibited the nineteenth century expansion of the French Canadians from their old ecumene of the St. Lawrence Lowlands.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century large numbers of French Canadians were leaving the crowded parishes along the St. Lawrence particularly to take advantage of labour demands in industrial New England. Alarmed at this exodus the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec embarked upon a program of colonization that was designed to open new land for the habitant. But much of this vacant land lay in the Laurentide of Quebec or on the south side of the Ottawa River. A traditional apprehension among the habitants toward le Nord and toward Upper Canada could be overcome through the formal and functional organization of ecclesiastic territory and through secure hierarchical linkage to the ecclesiastic province of Quebec. The erection of the Diocese of Bytown in 1847 was a part of this territorial organization and as such effectively absorbed the civil boundary between Upper and Lower Canada into the ecclesiastic province of Quebec.
Concurrent with the formal organization of territory, the functional organization of the new ecclesiastic territory was linked to the colonization undertakings of the hierarchy of Quebec. Through a selective location of mission and parish centres catholic colonizers, particularly French and Irish Canadians, were attracted to colonization lands within the Laurentide and in Eastern Ontario. The hierarchy attempted to maximize cooperation and to minimize conflict and competition by encouraging the ethnic groups to take up lands in different parts of the diocese. Such a scheme was feasible because of the availability of unoccupied land upon the clay plains of Russell and Prescott counties, land that was avoided by British settlers in preference for the higher and drier lands associated with the sand and till plains of the two counties. Research into municipal, and assessment records and into agricultural statistics facilitated ethnic location by lot and concession. Association between resultant locational patterns and physiographic regions and soil capability maps substantiated the success of the program of colonization.

An indication of the success of the formal and functional organization of territory occurred in 1885 when Ottawa attained a higher order of core area administration with elevation to archdiocese. Such status was not obtained without a struggle, however, for the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church of Ontario attempted, during the 1870's and 1880's, to have the boundaries of ecclesiastic territory
made coincident with the civil limits of Ontario and Quebec. A frontier of separation along the Ottawa Valley had become a frontier of contact (and conflict) between two territorially organized administrations.

During this period of territorial conflict, French Canadian farmers from Quebec counties proximal to the provincial boundary, were taking up lands within Stormont and Glengarry counties in Ontario. Encouraged by this movement into lands adjacent to his new archdiocese the archbishop of Ottawa indicated a desire to have the two counties absorbed into his own administration. To counteract this and to sustain the traditional Scots Catholic hierarchy, the prelates of Ontario organized territorially; Kingston was elevated to archdiocese and the Diocese of Alexandria (Stormont and Glengarry counties) was erected and made suffragan to Kingston. However, sustained by familial and ethnic contacts across the diocesan and provincial boundaries, the percentage of French Canadians among the Catholics of Alexandria Diocese increased to eventual dominance.

It is postulated that analysis of the patterns and processes of such territorial organization is comprehensible through the application of a model of territorial expansion. This model attempts to integrate the decisions and undertakings of core area administrators with the development of ecumene and frontier territory. Furthermore, through an hierarchical ordering of core areas it is possible to analyse the impact of decisions/undertakings of one core area
upon the decisions/undertakings of another core area. Similarly it can be demonstrated that the outcomes/achievements of various policies are influenced by decisions/undertakings that emanate from other core areas.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.O. Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa
A.A.M. Archdiocesan Archives, Montreal
A.A.K. Archdiocesan Archives, Kingston
D.A.A. Diocesan Archives, Alexandria
D.A.P. Diocesan Archives, Pembroke
P.A.C. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
O.A. Ontario Archives, Toronto
P.A.Q. Public Archives of Quebec, Quebec City
R. des L. Registre des Lettres - various diocesan archives
R.C.D. Registres et Cahiers Divers, A.A.M.
R.L.L. Registres des Lettres de Mgr. Lartigue, A.A.M.
R.L.B. Registres des Lettres de Mgr. Bourget, A.A.M.
J.L.A.P.C. Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the United Province of Canada.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

To generate a nomothetic approach to the analysis of territorial expansionism various paradigms have been constructed. Several historians and historical geographers have looked to the frontiers as the source regions of social and economic stimuli that ramified throughout the colony and produced fundamental changes in the entire society: while the movement of people and laws was from the older administrative centers to the frontier, resources, ideas, and attitudes flowed in a reverse direction and had a severe impact upon the reorganization of policies and institutions.

The French geographer, Jean Gottman provided another paradigm in an attempt to analyse the organization of differentiated space. To Gottman frontier impact would be too local to permit proper analysis of what he calls "the fluidity of the political map".

The world would be a pretty simple organization if, selecting a locality, you could explain what happens there by local conditions only. The point is that you can never explain a thing entirely by local developments. 1

The flow of tangibles and intangibles between the administrative core and the frontier was classified by Gottman as the movement factor and he welded this to a whole system of human beliefs and attitudes, expressed as a local
iconography, to explain the establishment of political authority over a certain area.

The political geographer, Stephen Jones, applied Gottman's paradigm to his own concept of a unified field theory. Jones developed his theory in order to go beyond what he termed "single-factor" explanations and to facilitate connectivity among historical, political, and geographical ideas and data. The field theory is applicable to politically organized areas for linkages exist between an idea/decision at one end of a territorial development series and the evolvement of a political area at the other. The essential ingredient in his chain of development is movement, an element that he considered to be synonymous with Gottman's movement factor 'circulation'.

Every political decision involves movement in one way or another..., these politically induced movements may be thought of as circulation fields.

It was in the area of political decisions that Harold and Margaret Sprout constructed their own paradigm to produce a firmer basis for generalizations regarding the distributions and transformations of political and other social patterns. To facilitate the interpretation of an association between the decision-making processes and the impact from and upon the environment the Sprouts emphasized that it is necessary to make a distinction between decisions, or undertakings, and the operational outcomes or the results
of those decisions and undertakings. The significance of such an analytical device is that it allows one to make a distinction between environmental factors that are perceived and reacted to by individuals or groups and those factors that operate outside of apperception, but form a conditioning context to achievements. In emphasizing the distinction between environmental factors that are apperceived and those that operate beyond direct perception Harold and Margaret Sprout have stated,

...environmental factors may be conceived as a sort of matrix or encompassing channel, metamorphically speaking, which limits the execution of undertakings. Such limitations on performance, accomplishment, outcome or operational results may not—often do not—derive from or depend upon the environed individual's perception or other psychological behavior. In many instances, environmental limitations on outcome or performance may be effective even though the limiting factors were not perceived and reacted to in the process of reaching a decision and initiating a course of action.

The analytical distinction between decisions (undertakings) and the outcome and achievement of those decisions is central to their approach. They draw heavily upon human geography in that they consider the geographic dimensions of locations, distance, space, distribution and configuration to be germane to all discussions of political undertakings and their operational results.
While all the foregoing paradigms are useful devices in the investigation of territorial expansion no one is considered to be sufficient to account for the strong institutional basis for settlement in North America. It is postulated, therefore, that processes and patterns in territorial organization and expansion are comprehensible through the application of a spatial and rank-scale model. First applied by C.F.J. Whebell in 1968 this involves the spatial arrangement of core area, ecumene, frontier and boundary and a scale of hierarchical organization through which a political/administrative core area proceeds until sovereignty is attained over specific territory.6

The frontierists, principally the adherants to the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, considered the frontier in history to be both a location and process, and Turner's followers focussed primarily upon the latter. The process was an evolutionary one in which the pioneer/settler was forced, because of his isolation, to rely upon his own initiatives. The settler developed a self-reliance that was in antithesis to imposed control and to established forms of institutional organization. Turner emphasized the agricultural frontier in his own thesis but common to any frontier concept in this school was this factor of social disorganization.7 It was a waning of the European social patterns in the wilderness of the frontier that fostered American initiative and American democracy. It was the
latter institution that fascinated Turner and he was searching for the forces that produced democracy.

At the outset, the process was a retrogressive one whereby the settler is overwhelmed by his wilderness environment but survives because of his ability to conjure up a savage energy. In the process, patterns of dependence and association are created which meet the immediate needs of frontier existence and a civilization is re-established which, however, is a civilization born out of social disorganization and hence quite different from the European pattern from which the settler had emerged. The major difference was the nascent democratization of the frontier civilization. The frontierists investigated the social life of several groups of pioneers and determined that they did indeed demonstrate these characteristics of rugged individual independence but, in times of stress, evidenced a mutual classless dependence that gave rise to democratic decision-making. Billington has given as an example the crude democracy found in the wagon-trains of the plains region and the primitiveness of the fur trapping mountain men and, in these, he found relevance to the frontier thesis.⁸

Turner himself compared consecutive frontiers in the westward movement of American settlers to successive terminal moraines produced by successive glaciations.⁹ Each frontier afforded a particular characteristic and, when
settled, this frontier quality persisted. Hence, the advancement of the frontier was a steady movement away from traditional European influences; this advancement not only contributed to the formation of a distinctly American character but such frontier impulses had political and economic results as well. These were associated with an industrial interdependence between the frontier and the coast that diminished Britain's role as the major source region for manufactured goods. Railroad legislation and policies regarding the disposition of public lands also were apparently influenced directly by frontier conditions.

Turner pointed out, however, that processes that were operative in the frontier milieu were not given a completely free rein in the United States. Some policies and programmes were formulated in the East to check random expansion and settlement into the American West.

But the attempts to limit the boundaries to restrict land sales and settlement and to deprive the West of its share of political power were all in vain. Steadily the frontier of settlement advanced and carried with it individualism, democracy and nationalism and powerfully affected the East and the old world.\textsuperscript{10}

The most effective efforts, according to Turner, to regulate the frontier, came through educational and religious activities that were sponsored by social organized actions.

The historical geographer R.C. Harris concurs with much of Turner's thesis regarding the influence of the frontier during the French regime in Canada.\textsuperscript{11} From an
analysis of the seigneurial system in New France, Harris concluded that by 1760 Canada was not an exclave of French civilization, but rather

...the metamorphic force of the wilderness reshaped European ways with particular clarity. 12

The seigneurial system was an institutional organization superimposed upon the Canadian milieu as a means of land administration. Harris contends that this system had little influence upon the development of the French Canadian character or upon the distinctive settlement patterns that evolved in French Canada. Within the colony there was an alternative to farming and the fur trade provided a cash income as well as an escape from authority. Even though the frontier of French Canada remained in the St. Lawrence Valley, land was easily acquired until the termination of the French regime and because of this the habitants were dispersed throughout the lowlands. This meant that Royal officials established little direct control over the habitants while the seigneurs found it expensive to try to establish a strong control over their habitants until settlement density intensified. The Church may have been the strongest of the traditional sources of authority but Harris claims that its influence on the habitants is difficult to assess. 13

While the seigneurial system had little influence upon the patterns of social activity of the colony it was
similarly ineffective in the form of spatial economic units. To verify this Harris searched for environmental expression through the form and function of settlements throughout New France. The lines of settlement that spread along the St. Lawrence Valley did not in fact reflect territorial organization of the seigneuries. The manor house did not have the focality of the settlement lines and Harris demonstrates that the trade areas of the various settlement types were not coterminous with seigneurial boundaries. In spite of the availability of land for villages the habitants demonstrated no strong propensity to live in organized urban centres and Harris concludes that such centres did not indeed develop because the habitants had little desire to live in them. Villages would have meant greater supervision by the seigneur, the cure or even the intendant. Independence from these traditional sources of authority meant that it was easier for the habitants to participate (usually illicitly) in the fur trade.

The organization of the seigneurial system was unable to affect social and economic patterns that were evolving in a frontier milieu. According to Harris these patterns reflected factors that were associated with frontier conditions. The alternatives to farming and the possibilities of an escape from authority were fundamental ingredients in the milieu of New France.

The machinery of control had come to Canada but its oppressive features were mitigated or atrophied from disuse because control was possible only to the degree that the censitaires would cooperate. 14
In his treatment of French Canada for the same time period the historian W.J. Eccles concurs that society in New France reflected forces of the frontier environment. Both the urban and rural members of this society had a higher standard of living and more personal freedom than the peasant population in France. These factors plus frequent contact with the Indians assisted in the development of attitudes and a character that were markedly different from their French counterparts. Those members of the rural population who preferred bush-life to farm improvement during the off-season, were able to avoid contact with authority but this was deplored for,

...their parents, the curés and the officials could not govern them.

In addition to this relatively free life it was also possible for an enterprising settler to climb the social scale of the colony. Eccles assessed the factors that contributed to this as being the availability of fertile land under a seigneurial system of land tenure where the dues on land were, if any, very modest, the possibilities of cash income from the fur trade, and the opportunities for commission within the corps of regular troops in Canada; all these represented a potential level of affluence that was unknown in France.

In regard to the institutions that were established in New France, Eccles does not agree that the frontier thesis is applicable. Precise plans were formulated for the
administration of New France but these could not be activated under prevailing colonial institutions. Eccles states, however, that innovations that were promulgated for colonial institutions could not be attempted within France itself because of the opposition of vested-interest groups.

In the administration of the colony the governor general and the intendant were expected to use some initiative in decision-making rather than to rely solely upon directives from France. Nevertheless, to avoid conflicts between the two the minister of marine and the king defined their respective powers and responsibilities. Through these directives the powers of the governor general were restricted. This provided New France with a form of constitutional government but Eccles claims,

It was not the environment - that is frontier conditions - which brought this about. The changes that were made resulted from the minister's reaction to conflict in the colony, which in turn arose out of social stresses that had originated in France rather than in Canada. 17

While the governor general kept his power in military and Indian affairs it was the intendant who was responsible for the general administration of the colony, for justice and financial administration. It was axiomatic that the function of this form of government was to protect all interests of the society as well as to govern and to maintain law and order. No concept was entertained that this colonial society consisted of free and equal individuals, hence, in economic affairs it was the best interest of the consumer and not of the individual producer that prevailed.
To insure that there was a linkage maintained between the administration and the people the office of "capitaine de milice" was organized. A uniquely Canadian class of official, the commanders of militia companies throughout the colony acted as subdelegates of the intendant and, in this way, the seigneurs were by-passed in the chain of authority and prevented from becoming too powerful. Eccles asserts that these departures that were made from the legal practices in France were not the result of frontier influences but represented reforms initiated by the central government itself, guided by the humanitarian attitudes of Louis XIV and his ministers.

Hence, in spite of the relative freedom and affluence of the habitant in New France, frontier impulses did not move up the chain of command to affect central institutional structure and organization. Rather, it was the core area administrators who formulated policy based upon their own attitudes towards colonial needs.

The Canadian sociologist, S.D. Clark, focussed upon the failure of these very institutions in his own attempt to explain social disorganization in terms of frontier influence. Clark did not dispute the environmentalism of the frontier thesis but structured his own thesis in terms of process as did Turner. This process, in Clark's view, was associated with the development of new forms of economic enterprise.
The frontier stage was a period when new techniques were being fully employed in economic exploitation. With new territory opening up as a result of technological advances, special demands were exerted upon social organization. The failure of established institutions to meet these demands fully and their inability to adjust to changing conditions in the Canadian frontier, created disturbances in social relationships which Clark describes as the major social problems of the frontier. Hence, Clark would combine the loss of traditional institutional leadership to the force of the environment as factors explaining the independent character of the successful settlers who participated in frontier expansion and emerged victorious over the wilderness. In reference to religious institutions, he draws heavily from the experience of Protestant sects to illustrate their failure as agents of social organization along traditional lines.19

The dualism of French Canadian settlement and the role of the church hierarchy in an agrarian frontier deterred neither Turner nor Clark. The latter recognized that a full identification of religious organization with a frontier community was possible if a closed social system were maintained. The colonists from French Canada "tended to"20 function within a closed frontier and this was the antithesis of the open frontier where the breakdown of the traditional organization of religion was most complete.
Clark does not deal with the question of how the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church achieved this 'closed frontier' condition. He takes the situation of the agrarian frontier of French Canadian colonists as given. Their form of settlement, "...implied direction from the beginning" and the demands for social fellowship were accommodated "...within existing systems of social organization". Regarding the isolation of the Roman Catholic population, however, he considered that this was secured "...through elaborate denominational controls of the church".

In his refutation of Clark's thesis regarding the failure of religious institutions to adapt to frontier changes, the Canadian historian Michael Cross maintains that their ineffectiveness was due to the intrinsic weakness of those institutions themselves when they were established on the frontier, rather than their failure to adapt. He places greater emphasis upon the source region of the frontiersman in explaining behaviour patterns and social disorganization. Cross used the commercial timbering frontier of the Ottawa Valley to develop his own thesis that it was the failure of the churches to attract competent clergymen and the absence of effective religious control over the volatile population elements of this frontier that contributed to the social disorders along the Valley. Cross analyzed the social problems of this Valley to 1854 but did not attempt to investigate the work of the religious institutions and the Catholic colonization which began after the commercial
frontier had moved into the Upper Ottawa Valley.

In the present study, it is accepted that the Roman Catholic Church was but weakly established in the Ottawa Valley during the first half of the 19th century. The territorial organization of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada has, however, resulted from a slow and carefully planned process. The hierarchy had to contend with long-inherited suspicions held by the Canadian political elite that the Papal Court contrived machinations which were thought to be directed particularly against the governments of Protestant nations. The early fear that France might use the Church to recover her lost colony reinforced the desire of the British government to have its French Canadian subjects assimilated into British colonial society. Even though the Church was given (1774) the freedom to function within Quebec, the Crown reserved the right to shape, as it saw fit, state policies regarding ecclesiastic affairs. The Catholic Church was given bare legal toleration with restrictions on its freedom of action and with state control over its personnel and administration.

It took time for the institutional Church to achieve a reputation as an instrument for public welfare and an agency that could help to maintain the good (in the hierarchy's view) disposition of the people. The bishops were reluctant to move too quickly in expanding their territorial organization beyond Lower Canada for fear of generating a hostile reaction in the office of the Colonial Secretary. And, of
course, nothing should be attempted that could reflect upon or interfere with the work of the hierarchy in their struggle to establish a system of Catholic schools which would be under their control and for which they would have full responsibility.

It seems, therefore, that not all students of the frontier, and of the French Canadian frontier in particular, have been conscious of the spatial element in their research in more than a very general way. Only Jean Gottman appears to have attempted to isolate specific processes that were active in institutional territorial organization. He was more concerned with the spatial ramification of decision-making than with processes that were operative in a frontier milieu. Gottman's approach to understanding the how and why of the establishment of political authority was also, in part, an attempt to overcome an approach that was primarily deterministic. He became disenchanted with analyses that were based largely upon the physical obstacles that nature puts in man's path. He accepted the differentiation of space by nature as given but emphasized that this was compounded because human groups perceive the natural environment differently.

Each group does to the environment what they think they should do. 26

The uniqueness of a geographical position is therefore essentially a political product because it is a work of man.
The people of a geographic position must establish a network of outside relations and such relationships involve movement. The intensity of the movement factor—the flow of people, goods, capital, messages, ideas, etc., in all directions—was a measure of the accessibility of any location. To Gottman the movement factor was influential in moulding the significance of position and in structuring external relations for a specific area.

Analysis of movement factor as it applies to a position...helps us to understand easily the motives and imperatives of the policies and political problems focused on or emanating from that position. 27

However, while a movement factor denotes fluidity and change there is always a static element in society that will resist the instability generated by this change. Gottman combined a system of symbols embodied in a people's memories of tradition, their principles in a prevailing religion and their established social hierarchy, into an iconography of a society. 28 It is the psychological strength that emanates from this iconography that resists change and maintains a status quo. It is significant that Gottman recognized that an iconography can be utilized to complement a movement factor. When claims for change were deemed necessary, particularly during a period of expansion, a special interpretation of the iconography could produce a combination of the two factors that would aid in the political partitioning of space. It is through an understanding of how the iconography and the movement factor combine to shape political authority and
to limit it in space, that further analysis of territorial expansion can be achieved.

While frontierists have directed most of their attention to the processes that were operative in political areas within a state, Stephen Jones attempted to form a closer association between the political area and decisions to permit analysis of their linkages and to facilitate research in either direction rather than primarily in only one. Jones considered the institutional organization of space in a linear sense. In order to appreciate the coincidence of political area to political idea one must work through the chain:

```
political idea
  decision
    movement
      field
        political area
```

to comprehend the association between decisions and resultant political areas.29

The political idea is sufficiently flexible to accommodate any gregarious instinct with the decision a prerequisite to action. The movement concept is Gottman's movement factor 'circulation' but Jones has placed it in a chain of concepts and related it directly to decision;
persons and things usually move as a result of political decisions. Politically induced movements are considered to be circulation fields in the same way that the shipment of military-aid materials produce a 'field'. The flow down the chain described above is a process of controlling or creating. Jones recognized that a reverse spread was possible but this he considered to be a conditioning element affecting what may take place at the other levels.

Jones saw the application of his theory as a form of orientation whereby one could enter the chain and could move back and forth. If research begins with movement it will be necessary to explore in both directions to construct a unified field and provide a clear understanding of territorial expansion.

In his investigation of the evolution of the national and internal boundaries of Canada, Nicholson has demonstrated the linkage between political idea and decisions and their impact upon one element of a political area. The boundaries in Canada developed in progressive stages and their delimitation was associated with various political and economic forces. By isolating these forces and determining their impact in various regions of the country he was able to demonstrate the relationship between boundary evolution and geographic principles. A resultant human-geographical classification of internal boundaries provided a basis for predicting boundary stresses that evolve with social, economic
and technological changes. Through this analysis Nicholson provided certain basic principles for proper boundary delimitation within sparsely settled regions such as the Territories of Canada.

Although Hartshorne believed that the study of power was not within the field of Geography, Gottman and Jones have embraced an element of this in their involvement with decisions. Both, however, were anxious to pull political geography and political science closer together consequently the consideration of processes, formerly considered to be within the realm of other disciplines, must be faced.

As if taking lead from Jones, Harold and Margaret Sprout direct their attention to the upper end of the chain linking the decisions of individuals (acting singly or in groups) with conditions and events that environ them. Their ecological perspective examines the psychological behaviour of persons, singly or in groups, the decisions/undertakings that are designed to attain a specific goal, and the outcomes/achievements of the undertakings both those that are intended and those that are unintended. It is the contention of these authors that any discussion of these phenomena must involve a relationship between the group (or person) and the environment. Environmental relationships associated with decisions/undertakings and outcome/achievements are looked upon as providing a firm basis for generalizations regarding distributions and transformations of political patterns.
By distinguishing between what is undertaken and what is accomplished, that is, between behavior and resultant states of affairs, it is attested that one can reduce the confusion in identifying environmental relationships. These relations may be distinguished as those derived from cognition and those that are otherwise derived. Hence environmental factors (nonhuman and social) are reduced to those that influence human activities directly (that is, they are perceived and reacted to) and those that are not part of the environed person's perception but are a kind of encompassing channel which limits the execution of undertakings. This analytic distinction, between decisions/undertakings and the outcome/achievements, is central to the Sprouts' paradigm based upon empirical evidence that

...the distribution and arrangement of phenomena upon the earth's surface are always, or nearly always, related significantly to what people undertake and to what they accomplish.

Their 'ecological perspective' focuses upon such variables as location, distance, space, distribution and configuration particularly in the context of politics. To develop a clearer understanding of man-milieu relationships they maintain that values and preferences, moods and attitudes, choices and decisions are relatable to a milieu only through the environed individual's selective perception and his psychological reaction to what is perceived. Regarding decisions/undertakings they maintain that what matters is
how the individual or group imagines the milieu to be, and not necessarily how it objectively is. As to the outcome/achievements of these decisions what matters is how the milieu actually is, not how the group or individual imagines it to be. Limitations that are within the environment may or may not be perceived when the decisions/undertakings are made.

The authors are cautious in their application of their paradigm to a "concrete human aggregate" particularly when the group possesses the homogeneity of a formal organization. They emphasize that environing conditions and events will affect decisions/undertakings only when they are perceived and reacted to psychologically, that is within the limitations of experiences and awareness of needs. Too often, psycho-ecological terms and modes of expression are ascribed to abstract entities such as the state or an international system. There is, however, a significant qualification to this

...rhetoric employed should direct attention to the human agent or agents of a system who alone are psychologically capable of the behavior attributed to a system qua system. 33

It is assumed that a social organization or system has substructures and that these can affect the operation of the system as a whole. If it is at times difficult to differentiate clearly between genetic and environmental limitations, with reference to individual persons, it is also at times difficult to differentiate limitations derived from an organization substructure and from those found in the milieu
in which an organization functions. Both the structures of the unit and the factors of the milieu may be significant in the explanation of decisions/undertakings. It is the individuals who constitute the substructure of a system, who are psychologically capable of making the decisions and ecological difficulties arise when individual behavior is attributed to the system.

In spite of the concern the Sprouts express with decisions and environmental relations their qualifications regarding behavioral interpretations associated with formal organizations leads one to search further for a paradigm on territoriality.

C.F.J. Whebell has postulated that political territory may be considered to consist of three basic elements or zones

![Diagram](image)

Each zone is characterized by relatively different intensities of occupancy and associated communication networks. In the core area population concentration is greatest, the headquarters of various institutions are located here and highest-
order decisions are made. Core areas may be considered as ethnic or cultural cores and as political/administrative cores. Within the ecumene the network of settlement and communication is coherent but is not as intense as in the core area. The frontier zone is notable for its dearth in both networks. The boundary represents the legal termination of the authority of the territorial unit.

The process of development involves the formation of core area (nucleus or nuclei). With this establishment the territory between cores become frontiers of separation. As long as frontiers of separation remain, cultural differentiation is a predominant evolutionary process. Through settlement expansion and/or territorial organization in the form of jurisdictional claims the population of one core comes into contact with the people of neighbouring cores and the intervening territory now becomes a frontier of contact. One can see the affinity of the Sprout's paradigm with this development process. The outcome/achievement of decisions to expand into frontier territory is contact and, frequently, a stress situation. A boundary agreement represents a common type of resolution to stress.

Whebell differentiates between the type of frontier of contact that evolves by the kind of core area involved. Ethnic cores will, through expansion, generate a set of frontiers of ethnic contact in terms of settlement mixtures. Political/administrative cores establish frontiers of contact
by asserting claims over intervening territory; no population movement need be involved. Boundaries that are established to resolve probable conflict will represent a more satisfactory outcome if they are delimited antecedent to land settlement whereas boundaries drawn through ethnic frontiers of contact inevitably isolate remnant populations and leave residual political problems such as irredentism.

The final location of boundaries has an intricate, and potentially revealing, relationship with the spatial pattern of territorial organization - core, ecumene, frontier. Formal territorial organization of this type may prove of little importance over the long run, or it may be considered as a paramount necessity in order to prevent assimilation of a culture group within the frontier of contact.

An advantage of this paradigm to the geographer is that it can be applied at different scales. An adjunct to the territorial model is a rank-scale of political territories that range from a locality scale i.e. the simplest political unit, to the global system - a grouping of all, or nearly all, states and units of the globe. The low-order single-purpose body operates, spatially, over a limited territory, a few square miles for instance. Each successive level in the rank-scale of territories involves an aggregation of lower units and represents increasing scale of organization and also, commonly, of area.

The spatial model and the process of territorial
## Territorial Organization (after Whebell)

### Categorical Continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Self Government</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Socio-Economic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Federal Parliament</td>
<td>Federal executive &amp; judiciary</td>
<td>Head offices of National or Nation-wide firms. HOLY SEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Legislature of province or of a unitary state</td>
<td>Unit of provincial government Major region of federal service (province or provinces)</td>
<td>Primary Sales division of national firm ECCLESIASTIC PROVINCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(Hypothetical) Representative bodies drawn from a major region - may be ad hoc, such as separatist movement of Northern Ontario</td>
<td>Major regional division of provincial department; Secondary region of federal government</td>
<td>Secondary sales division of national firm DIOCESE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aggregates of (3) Regional development associations Conservation authority areas</td>
<td>Assize circuits Secondary region of provincial government Subregion of federal government</td>
<td>Regional sales office Regional tourist association VICARIATE APOSTOLIC (sub-diocese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aggregates of local multi-purpose bodies</td>
<td>County court Minor subdivision of federal government Subdivision of provincial government</td>
<td>Sales office (higher grade) Local wholesaler's territory DEANERY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Multi-purpose local bodies, municipal council</td>
<td>Magistrate's court area Police precinct School Inspector's area</td>
<td>Sales office (lower grade) DEANERY PARISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Single function local bodies, elected school board</td>
<td>Police patrol area Division court Single elementary school area</td>
<td>Single sales man's territory Neighbourhood rate payer's association MISSION</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
growth is applicable at all levels in the rank-scale of territories. As a unit expands, through growth in population and/or extension of territory, it may be necessary to subdivide the unit to improve the efficiency of internal administration. The original unit thus is re-classified higher up the scale of hierarchies. Spatial organization that can influence human interaction is attained as the unit progresses through the scale of hierarchies. Whebell gives an example of a small colony located on an isolated coast. At first it functions as a single multi-function unit (2nd order). With further colonization the territory and population grow and subordinate units may be created to improve administrative effectiveness. The new outlying units will perform the same kinds of functions as the original core and, hence, are established as second order units. The original administrative centre attains new functions and moves up the scale of hierarchies - at a third or fourth order. As the process continues, the unit attains sovereignty (or full membership in a federal system) and is at the sixth order. The pattern of progression may be traced for each situation, for the advancement need not be through all levels but may idiosyncratically follow 2 to 4 to 6, or 1 to 3 to 5 to 6. In the evaluation of such processes, territorial subdivision, aggrandisement or even reduction may be encountered. The latter involves the break up of a large unit into smaller ones and, consequently, a former high level core area will revert to a lower status. Processes that are
active here may range from war through economic and population decline to separatism.

The verbal element of the model is considered dynamic because of the significance of time but it also subsumes processes - perception, decision, action - that produce movement within a scale of hierarchic order. The diagrammatic element applies spatial attributes - core area, ecumene, frontier, boundary and, in combination, presents a paradigm for the study of territoriality as such.

One purpose of the present study is to apply the foregoing paradigm of core area territoriality at a subnational scale and to determine a qualitative goodness-of-fit of this model to the expansion of an ethnic population. The research is concentrated upon the four counties of Stormont, Glengarry, Russell and Prescott in Eastern Ontario. To understand the dynamic processes and changing patterns of French Canadian settlement it is postulated that one must move beyond the 'political area' end of Jones' chain-linked concept of territoriality, in that the restrictiveness of frontier processes alone might inhibit the understanding of the association of political idea (decision/undertaking) to political area (outcome/achievement).

The unified field-theory paradigm of Jones could be used as the basis for an analysis of the research area alone but its application is limited in that it does not facilitate the demonstration of the associations and stresses
that have occurred in contacts with other administrative areas. It seemed essential to determine the degree to which such interaction can effect decisions/undertakings that will generate certain conditioning features for human interaction both within one political area and between political areas.

The Sprout paradigm, while concerned with decision-making, leads into behavioral studies that are particularly difficult when it is intended to research the territoriality of organizations. Indeed these authors have demonstrated that their ecological perspectives are more accurate in relation to the outcomes/achievements of the policies and programes of institutions. Nevertheless, the differentiation of the two, decisions and achievements, is a useful device when incorporated into the core-area territorial concept. Decisions/undertakings and outcome/achievements are terms applicable to the transition of a frontier of separation into a frontier of contact. Resultant stress situations can ramify through administrative core areas of different orders which will have an impact upon subsequent decisions and undertakings. Just as Jones incorporated Gottman's concept, the Sprout paradigm will have some relevance particularly to the spatial element of Whebell's territorial paradigm. The significance of Sprout's analytical device within the territorial model is that it allows a distinction to be made between environmental factors that are perceived and reacted to, by individuals or groups (as opposed to particular organizations), and those real-world factors that
operate outside of apperception but form a conditioning context to achievements.

**The Research Area and Hypotheses**

In Canada the emergence of a French Canadian "national idea" raises questions of territorial limits and trends in territorial change. The Ottawa River region and adjacent portions of Eastern Ontario present a specific area that is a readily definable geographic unit that has been since the late eighteenth century the locus of a cultural frontier zone cum political boundary (fig.1). While the boundary was defined antecedent to settlement it has manifestly not inhibited the nineteenth century expansion of the French Canadian from their old ecumene of the St. Lawrence Lowlands.

It appears from other studies that the French Canadians were the first "settlers" in much of the area.\textsuperscript{37} Since British pioneering there, before the mid nineteenth century, was scanty, much vacant land was then available. Inspection of contemporary maps suggested the hypothesis that, as far as land selection was concerned, there seems to have been little competition between British and French Canadians since they were interested in different rural life-styles and this difference affected their respective choices of agricultural land.

It was further hypothesized that the processes and patterns of the migration of French Canadians into the
Ottawa Valley and Eastern Ontario were intimately associated with the institutional organization of space by the Roman Catholic Church. Since the church hierarchy is an organizer of space, human interaction within the ecclesiastic territory is intelligible in terms of the peculiar needs and desires of this hierarchy as a quasi-political areal unit. The general principles of location and spatial interaction within this religious organization are defined in terms of universal laws (codes of Canon Law) and in terms of specific regional needs and values. It is the latter that were considered to be most relevant in the formal and functional organization of space. For this reason, it was hypothesized that the areal patterns of ecclesiastic territory are neither random nor incoherent but constitute a distinctive regional system that has been organized, maintained, and modified according to the universal values of the church but also for purposes perceived as appropriate for the region.

At the most basic level, ecclesiastic territory can be considered a formal organization of space because the church functions through an hierarchical system of order that requires administrative subdivisions. In addition, the formal organization of space is based upon structured, spatial interaction of constituent parts. These include a growing population of religious homogeneity and the contiguity of ecclesiastic territory. Hence, the ecclesiastic organization of space may be interpreted as an attempt to
make coincident the functional organization of space, in terms of human interaction, and the formal organization of space, in terms of precisely bounded administrative areas.

In a recent paper Edward Soja described the political organization of space as a means of structuring interaction between component units. Hence its major purpose is to create and to maintain solidarity within the society by shaping the processes of competition, conflict and cooperation as they operate spatially. Since the functional organization of ecclesiastic territory is associated with perceived regional needs, it would appear that the church hierarchy also attempted to structure spatial interaction to shape the same processes that operated from within and from without the church. Indeed, by analyzing the territorial organization of this institution over a specific period, these processes may be found to be relevant to policy formation (decisions) and to institutional activities (undertakings). No success for decisions/undertakings could be realized unless these processes were under control. Human spatial interaction and the symbolic relationship of church and habitant could be structured and maintained as long as the hierarchy of the church influenced conflict, competition and cooperation and filtered all inputs that would affect them.

In the utilization of land in the settlement process individuals and groups have looked at their environment and have evaluated its potential in the light of their own cultural background. This perceptual concept was applied to
the study area to establish whether in the expansion of ecclesiastic territorial organization the locational relationship between an administrative core area and its particular frontier was a dominant factor. As a prelude to the formal organization of a diocese, an administrative core had to be selected. In spite of the historical significance of Hull to the commercial frontier and to the mission activity of the Diocese of Montreal, Bytown was selected as a new see, and the town was considered by the hierarchy to have growth potential. It was centrally located for mission work among the shanties and among the Indians of the Ottawa watershed. The civil boundary between Upper and Lower Canada was not necessarily sacrosanct. Because of Bytown's location in Upper Canada, it would be easier to incorporate counties on the south side of the river into a new territory. From this centre, colonization could be conducted into the Laurentides, into the Upper Ottawa Valley and into Eastern Ontario. The migration of French Canadians into the former regions are considered briefly in this study in order to indicate the significance of Eastern Ontario in the context of the policies of the hierarchy of Quebec.

It has been mentioned above that the territorial organization of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada was restricted after the British Conquest in 1763. The see of Quebec City remained at a fifth-order level of organization responsible for the territory within the diocese but unable
to attain sixth-order status and the measure of influence that is associated with the decisions of a provincial council. Subsequently, sees were erected at Kingston in 1826, at Montreal in 1839, and at Toronto in 1841 but in the absence of synods and a provincial council, clerical legislation of this vast territory was performed through 'mandements' from the bishops.39

In 1844 Quebec City at last attained metropolitan status and, as the see of the archbishop, reached a sixth-order status in territorial organization with Montreal, Kingston and Toronto as suffragan dioceses. From this date the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Canada was able to assume greater responsibility in juridical and territorial organization.

During the eight decades in which the territorial authority of the hierarchy had been in limbo the population of the St. Lawrence surpassed the absorptive capacity of the established parishes. With an expanding ecumene, frontier territory became significant for growth and hence, for administrative control. Furthermore, commercial activities in the Laurentides and along the Ottawa Valley were attracting men from the parishes to the frontier; a territory that remained at mission status and where missionary priests were scarce. Such frontier territory would be secure if it could attain fifth-order status and if it could be linked with the provincial structure of the Quebec hierarchy. The boundaries
of frontier territory therefore assumed new significance with the elevation of Quebec to sixth-order level.

Through subsequent ecclesiastic territorial organization guided by the hierarchy of Quebec, the Ottawa Valley passed from a mission territory (first-order) to a diocese (fifth-order) and was linked to Quebec as a suffragan diocese. The frontier diocese had its own administrative core area, ecumene, frontier and boundary stresses. Decisions and undertakings were designed to alleviate these stresses but they were also to accommodate the policies of the hierarchy of Quebec. Among these stresses was the threat of a loss of territory within the civil province of Ontario. In 1874 Toronto was freed from legislative restrictions of the ecclesiastic council of Quebec with the erection of the Archdiocese of Toronto. The settlement frontier of the Ottawa Valley now became a frontier of contact between two sixth-order areal systems.

All available documents relating to the policies and programmes (decisions/undertakings) of the Roman Catholic hierarchy were perused in the archdiocesan archives in Kingston, Montreal and Ottawa and in the diocesan archives in Pembroke and in Alexandria (Cornwall). In the latter, the bishop now resides in Cornwall but the see is considered to be the town of Alexandria. Some delay was encountered in gaining access to the material in Cornwall because of the recent relocation of the bishop's residence. In Montreal,
all documents after 1895 are not available to researchers as they have not yet been classified and catalogued. The staff of the bishop's residence in Pembroke was courteous and hospitable but researchers are not permitted within the vault where all historical material is stored. One must request records and letters on specific topics such as colonization or on particular parishes. Because of the absence of systematic cataloguing, research on this diocese was less thorough.

A Potential source of data that could lead to greater understanding of the outcomes and achievements of various programmes in the Ottawa Valley and Eastern Ontario is the archives of the Oblate Fathers in Ottawa. Unfortunately, this archive is not available to lay researchers. The early history of the Ottawa Valley and Eastern Ontario is intimately associated with the work of the priests of this order and access to archival material would provide more details relating to this early period of growth. For example, there are apparently no records in normal diocesan archives of the work of the agricultural missionaries. Letters from these priests could help to ascertain the attitudes of early French Canadian settlers toward land improvements and toward changes in crop production.

The archives of Montreal is the only one of those mentioned above in which the documents have been catalogued, In the other archives filing is the only system of
organization. No cataloguing nor systematic classification has yet been attempted. Researching is thus a time-consuming task and one cannot assume that all possible documents pertaining to a particular topic or parish are contained within the specified files.

Non-clerical historical and settlement data were researched primarily in the provincial archives in Toronto and Quebec City and in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa, with some secondary sources consulted in university libraries. Very little has been written in English on the colonization movement beyond the province of Quebec. Much of the French language material on this topic, pertaining to Quebec and to the interactions between the clergy and the provincial government, is encyclopedic and short on interpretive analysis. The colonization program is frequently presented as the undertaking of a monolithic organization that had unanimous support from all prelates of the faith. Such was not found to be the case.

The problems associated with early French Canadian movement into individual parishes of Stormont and Glengarry Counties were clarified through research into the documents of the 'Association Canadienne-Francaise d'Educacion d'Ontario'. This material was presented to 'Le centre de recherches en civilisation canadienne-francaise' at the University of Ottawa and is a valuable source for documentation at the parish-level (second-order). Even though the
date of origin of ACFEO (1910) corresponds with the terminal date of this dissertation, early letters and records served to corroborate some of the evidence that was discovered in diocesan archives, particularly in Cornwall and in Ottawa. Research in these files must contend with a system of coding that was used by members of 'L'Association' to thwart the possibility of mail tampering. The archivist of 'Le Centre' at the University of Ottawa, M. Robert Potvin, has been successful in translating and cataloguing part of this code.

Within the text of this dissertation certain terms have been used that require some definition. The term "habitant" is accepted as synonymous with a rural-farm dweller of Lower Canada/Quebec. The term as applied to Upper Canada is intended to signify a farmer from Lower Canada of French mother tongue.

The use of the terms "perception" and "attitude" can create confusion and are occasionally objectionable because of a tendency to use them too loosely. The present writer has tried to avoid this pitfall as much as possible. To this end, the definition of "perception" as synonymous with "social perception", as presented by Myra Schiff, is the accepted form here.

Social perception is concerned with the impression one has of a social stimulus or set of stimuli, as that impression is modified by the perceiver's past experience in general, his previous experience with that
same or similar stimuli and the individual's
state at the moment he is viewing the stimulus
of interest. When discussing perception of
the environment, it is this type of perception
that is of interest.\textsuperscript{41}

An "attitude" is considered to be an organized set of feelings
and beliefs which will influence an individual's behavior.\textsuperscript{42}

The period of investigation is from 1841 to 1910.
The former date is significant as a census year, as the year
of the Act of Union that created the province of Canada,
(and incidentally lowered the status of the Ottawa Valley as
a political boundary) and because French Canadian migration
into Eastern Ontario is presumed to have been insignificant
prior to this date. The terminal date coincides closely with
the death of Archbishop Duhamel and with the organization of
L'Association Canadienne-Francaise d'Education d'Ontario.
This lay organization extended the work that was started by
the hierarchy of French Canada but its work comprises a
new dimension in French Canadian expansion beyond Quebec.
Its foundation has been, therefore, considered as the ter-
minimum event for the purposes of this dissertation.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER I


3 Ibid., p. 11.


5 Ibid., p. 11.


9 F. J. Turner, op. cit.

10 Ibid., Kasper and Minghi, op. cit., 138.


12 Ibid., p. 195.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., p. 196.


16 Ibid., p. 90.

17 Ibid., p. 73

19 S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

20 Ibid., p. 145.

21 Loc. cit.

22 Loc. cit.

23 Loc. cit.


Note: Gottmann preferred the French word "circulation" to describe the set of movements that determined the accessibility of a place. This involved existing traffic, communications, transportation and trade and the complexities of all exchange. Since he could find no word in English as an adequate translation of "circulation" he chose "movement factor" to cover the flow and exchange.

28 Ibid.

29 S.B. Jones, op. cit.


33 Ibid., p. 211.

34 Ibid.


36 Ibid.


42 Ibid.
CHAPTER II

THE INSTITUTIONAL/SOCIO-TEAL CONTEXT OF RURAL SETTLEMENT

IN LOWER CANADA/QUEBEC

The pattern of French Canadian settlement throughout the St. Lawrence Lowlands and the processes of its growth along the river and its larger tributaries are familiar to most Canadians. This river civilization gave form and meaning to the settlement patterns that evolved; as waterfront lots were taken up second-line settlements were started, and so on. The traditional practice of seigneurial tenure provided a functional framework for this penetration into the uplands. Under this system the individual farm holding was the characteristic socio-economic unit and capability for self-sufficiency the ingredient that was essential for the successful exploitation of a new environment. The needs of the habitant family were modest and, except for a few items that were obtained through trade, these needs could be satisfied by the cooperation of its own members or on a local exchange basis with neighbours. At this level, success in farming was associated with the size of the family and the ability to obtain land within the parish. The former meant that it was possible to feed and to clothe a family without use of farm machinery or reliance upon hired labour; the latter brought stability and security to the rural social system.

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Farms were not usually subdivided among the heirs in Quebec for marriages occurred at an early age while parents were capable and anxious to continue to manage their own lands. To secure land for grown sons was a constant concern among French Canadian parents and work was designed to obtain such land. It might be a neighbouring developed farm where the owner had sought to better his position by moving to a new parish. The most common procedure was to obtain rights to a tract of forest land that displayed those features of vegetation and situation considered to be essential for good farming. Because the site was normally proximal to the family farm, clearing and preparation could be completed while the son maintained his domicile in the home of his parents. The pattern of inland settlement was in harmony with the self-sufficient nature of the rural economy for the linear settlements, characteristic of the concession roads ("rang") that paralleled the rivers, provided the dual advantage of proximity to neighbours and kin and the possession of large farm lots.

In such a rural society the family was a pervasive strength. Little threatened this familial system and so the society could persist as long as adjacent marginal areas could accommodate the young adults' need for more land. The cooperative aspects of the family acted as a check upon tendencies to scatter for it was a rural culture that was based on local and personal interdependency. The major fixed-
feature aspects of the rural milieu involved the topography, the rang arrangement of communication links, and the linear, self-reinforcing pattern of habitations. The land could accommodate growth but it was also an important element in the social space of the habitant for his relatives were at most a rang or a parish removed so long as population growth did not outrun the absorptive capacity of the landscape. This spatial factor was germane in minimizing social distance.

Associated with the familial feature of Quebec's rural society the Roman Catholic Church was an integral ingredient in this self-sufficient, inwardlooking rural system. It was another cohesive factor in the social system. In the general absence of strong civil government prior to the Conquest (1763) the church functioned as the organizing power at the parish level and, because of this, was in closer touch with the people than was the secular authority. Furthermore, because of the nonresidency of many of the seigneurs the curé was often the only educated man in a rural district consequently his functions were both "pious and mundane." His activities in education, his concern with litigation, and his awareness of the temporal needs of his flock gave to the priest the prestige of municipal leadership as well as of the moral and spiritual guardianship of the group committed to his care. No parochial progress could be made by any rural community until they had a resident curé but once this was achieved they became a community of faithful
identified by a specific territory that added another dimension to the basic "rang" familial associations. The parish boundaries often included some area of undeveloped land and so provided another spatial constraint within which the expansion of the settlement system proceeded.

The general absence of community organizations beyond kin and neighbour associations was undoubtedly another reason why the church was able to assume a paramount position in the life of the French Canadians after the Conquest. As Gerin and Miner have pointed out the whole social life of the habitant was completely motivated by his participation in a parochially defined religious system of action. The adherence to the religious and social canons of the church, as transmitted by the curé, affected the definition of correct social behaviour, the size, the organization and the life cycle of the family, the yearly round of activities as well as the life-orientation of the individual. The church, therefore, assumed social significance in the parish for in the relatively simple and uniform life-style of the habitant social intercourse and enjoyment centered around the church on Sundays and on holidays. Hence, the church provided the first order of formal social organization above the level of the family.

The focality of the rural dweller's personal system was increasingly associated with the parish church. The linkage between social and religious activities was considered a
"natural" feature of Catholic life and the unit that integrated the two was the parish. This level of ecclesiastic territory has been variously evaluated as: the first institution of local self-government in rural Quebec;\textsuperscript{4} the precursor of parliamentary institutions in Canada;\textsuperscript{5} an organic element of the church and its miniature replica.\textsuperscript{6} With the intensified interaction between the religious and civil elements in rural areas after the Conquest, the parish was considered formally as both a sacred and a secular unit.

The major elements that gave homogeneity to the rural population were those of common descent, language, and religion. The clerical hierarchy recognized that the French language was the strongest bulwark of Catholicism against Anglicization by the conquerors. Their success in retaining control of local education provided the means whereby this language was preserved—a powerful instrument of standardization. However, the French language in the hands of the clergy became an effective means of isolation warding off modernism in every form. The hierarchy of the church was convinced that to maintain their French heritage it was essential to keep the people Catholic and isolation was the only way to combat dispersion and cultural absorption, the two dangers that menaced French Canadian unity and identity.

Various Canadian historians have interpreted the social solidarity of French Canada as highly favourable to the development of a centralized and paternalistic ecclesia-
stic control after the Conquest. Vocation was another
element utilized by the clergy to develop a mental and moral
solidarity. In the rural parishes the priests were frequently
the promoters of agricultural societies and the exemplars of
crop types and new techniques, even if on a limited scale.
As the son of a farmer, the curé would hold agriculture and
rural life in high esteem and he, "...regarded them as the
means which favoured best the practice of Christian virtues."? 
The priests were encouraged by their bishops through 'cir-
culaires' and 'lettres pastorales' to support and to encourage
these societies that aimed,

"...to inspire in our good farmers the spirit
of order, of industry and of improvement with the
taste for simplicity of the ancient manners in order
to eradicate the luxuries which threatens to ruin
us completely."

The church thus became the effective filter to all
inputs into the French Canadian rural system. Virtue was
considered inherent to rural Quebec and in this society
relationships between habitant and clergy were symmetrical--
a situation that gave strength and purpose to the Roman
Catholic clergy.

Many of the agricultural activities of the habitant
reflect the intimate familial nature of the society. As in
most settlements the dominant crop was a grain, mostly wheat.
By the end of the eighteenth century this crop was the major
source of cash income to those who did not rely heavily upon
winter employment in the forest. Some income was obtained
from the sale of this grain, however, the dominant feature of the French Canadian farm remained self-sufficiency based upon hand labour and familial interdependence. Even though the merchants of Quebec encouraged the habitant to grow more wheat during the Revolutionary (1792-1802) and Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) the output did not increase greatly. This result was probably associated with the poor farming techniques characteristic of the majority of farmers. It is also likely that the cash obtained from such sales of grain was capital that would be needed for land to accommodate grown sons and was not applied towards increasing the intensification of existing farming to a more commercial level. It is true that some cash was increasingly used to buy those "luxury" items that could not be used or made on the farm but the uncertainty of market prices and the never-ending harangue from the pulpit regarding the evils of excess and debt must have mitigated any tendencies to increase grain production to escape a traditional, self-sufficient life-style. Considering these restrictions it is unlikely that French Canadian farmers gave serious consideration to expanding grain production to the level of commercial specialization.

Significant insight can be gained into the nature of the agricultural techniques of the habitant from the reports of the special committees of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada and from the agricultural journals of Lower Canada. (The name was continued even after the Act of Union of 1840). From one of these reports, tabled in 1850,
it is apparent that there was much that could be done in Lower Canada to improve the state of agriculture. In addition to criticisms regarding the lack of crop rotation, little or no manuring, etc., many reports to the committee commented upon the habitant's preference for standard and traditional techniques. "Attachment to old notions . . . an aversion to innovations in his mode of life and system of cultivation . . . everything is conducted according to the old system . . . 10," all such statements reflect the inward-looking nature of the rural society.

Continuous cropping had become endemic in a land where fertility of the soil had been originally developed under forest cover, and when this original fertility waned, new forest land had been available under a land grant system that required no immediate, large outlay of capital. On soils formed upon a parent material of glacial till or marine sediments of the St. Lawrence marine embayment, drainage problems were encountered. One of the features that was emphasized in the report of 1850 to the Legislative Assembly was the poor attention given to drainage. Such comments were submitted by agronomist and layman, priest and politician, French and British Canadian. It would appear that the awareness of drainage in influencing agricultural output did not concern the French Canadian farmers as soon as it did the farmers of British origin. To illustrate the lack of attention to proper drainage an observer wrote to a government
committee investigating the state of agriculture in Lower Canada in 1849,

Suppose a valley of 500 arpents intersecting 50 farms. Down the centre of this valley is a small ditch 2 feet deep and 3 feet wide, made according to a 'proces verbal' drawn up perhaps 100 years ago when the land was under timber. Now it is cleared and become useless for want of draining, the ditch being too small to carry off the water. Perhaps ten of the farmers, at the head of the valley, wish to drain and improve the land but 40 of them are satisfied with the condition of the land and will not do any more than they are bound to do by the 'proces verbal'. Here the nonimprovers being the majority are a drag and a hindrance to those who wish to go forward.\textsuperscript{11}

Once soil exhaustion followed upon poor farming techniques migration was considered easier than refurbishing the land, but this had been carried on when land was plentiful and distance minimal. Confronting this movement, reports from local agricultural societies emphasized that agricultural output in older parishes could be increased if techniques were improved.\textsuperscript{12} The habitant's lack of knowledge of such techniques was emphasized as a characteristic of his nineteenth century life-style. The typical farmer was neither completely market-oriented nor had he access to adequate information channels. In his research into the decision process associated with migration of Swedish farmers, Wolpert has stated, "With productivity not at the optimum level, then it may be assumed that one or both of the prerequisites for economic rationality (perfect knowledge and optimizing behaviour) are absent."\textsuperscript{13}
Adding to the problem of the deterioration of farm land was the growth of population in rural Quebec during the first half of the nineteenth century. Such growth conformed to the religious dogmas of the Catholic Church and to the economic necessity for large families; the children provide the labour force. Population increase that went beyond this necessity, however, brought stress upon the pattern of agricultural development in Quebec and upon the life-style of the habitant. Another aggravating factor was the scarcity of land resulting from a post-Conquest land grant system that allowed large land holdings to be kept in an undeveloped state. The shortage of colonization roads in the first half of the nineteenth century was interpreted as another factor that contributed to land scarcity within the province.

Fragmentation of holdings was not a solution to the mounting scarcity of land. Indeed, when placed in the context of prevalent farming techniques it would have contributed to declining standards rather than solving the problem of land shortage. In the report on agriculture in Quebec (1850) subdivision was not considered to be one of the contributing factors to low productivity in Quebec. Furthermore, it was a practice that was strongly discouraged by the clergy.

The combination of land scarcity and declining yields was foremost in affecting many decisions to leave the core
area of New France and take up employment in New England. From the analysis of the socioeconomic structure of rural Quebec and upon the pattern of growth and familial dependency, however, one would have anticipated that the expected decision would have been for migration to colonization lands within the province. However, in addition to the elements of stress outlined above it is essential to remember the contrast between the hard life associated with farming and the attractions of cash income from the job market of New England. Wade has described this attraction, "Reports from the migrants made industrial New England sound like El Dorado to the habitant, who saw little cash income from year's end to year's end." Reinforcement of the notion of the rural life as 'the good life' came to the young habitant through the pulpit but rumours of a different life came to him from another source. He knew from experience what 'the good life' had to offer. Furthermore, unless he were the youngest or the brightest among his brothers his chances of taking over his parents' farm were very poor. Even if he were so fortunate his responsibilities would then include the care of his parents until they died, as well as the care of his own children.

There were those who decided to move to new land and to carry on the rural life-style but this frequently involved the undertaking of an entire family. The elements of the habitant's milieu that affected this decision were very strong
and there can be little doubt that his reaction to these
was not left to chance. From the outset the clergy
responded vehemently to the decisions of the young to move
to the United States. The loss of young men to this new
environment was a disruptive factor to agricultural produc-
tion. The social patterns of the parish were altered and
the traditional structure of the joint family was threaten-
ed. The emigration was a political as well as a spiritual
concern to the hierarchy of the church. Loss of numbers
would affect the representation of Lower Canada in the
Legislative Assembly and this could have a bearing upon
the position of the church in Quebec. If the clergy
could present an alternative solution to the habitant the
system could be put back into its symmetrical form and
the traditional life-style perpetuated.

The concern of the clergy for improvements in agri-
cultural performance intensified as the emigration from
the rural parishes reached alarming proportions. The
growing anxiety over the loss of French Canadians to the
United States is evident in the circulars, pastoral
letters, and mandates issued by the bishops of Quebec.
Parish priests never passed up an opportunity to bring to
the attention of the government the measures that were
required to combat the loss of souls to America.

It may be observed that the greatest obstacle in
the way of colonization are the Crown and Clergy
Reserves. By keeping together families acquainted
with each other, the settlements at a distance from
inhabited places would be greatly facilitated, as the Canadians are fond of society, and like to assist one another in their work.20

Many Canadian farmers, however discouraged by the want of roads, the vexations of the large land holders, and sometimes through their own fault and want of perseverance, abandon the lands they have begun to open and go and hire themselves as labourers to the Americans.21

This loss thus occasioned a threat to the harmony of the social system and, worst of all, a new input in the form of ideas and attitudes that were by-passing the filter of clerical guardianship. The decision by the hierarchy of the church to become actively involved in the coloniza-
tion of Quebec, in the townships and beyond the core area of the St. Lawrence Lowlands, was an attempt to relieve this stress.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER II


5M. Roy, The Parish and Democracy in French Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1951.


8Bishop Bourget, Circulaire, September 8, 1843, (Bishop of Montreal) in Mendements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Eveques de Quebec, Quebec, 1889.

"...dout l'objet est d'inspirer a nos bons cultivateurs l'esprit d'ordre, d'industrie et d'amélioration, avec le gout de la simplicité des mœurs antiques afin de déraciner le luxe qui menace de nous ruiner complètement"


10Ibid.

11Ibid., See report of Wm. Boa, St. Laurent.

12Ibid.


17 Ibid.

18 R.D. Viscero, *op. cit.*


21 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

FORMAL COLONIZATION AND CLERGY LEADERSHIPS

As the seigneurial lands became more and more crowded, unable to accommodate the traditional land-use patterns of the habitants, concerned eyes were initially cast upon "waste lands" within the province. Along the north shore, beyond the seigneurial limits of French Canadian settlement, the Laurentian Shield represented a barrier to expansion because of the habitants' attitude toward the region and because of British settlement policies. In his research into the settlement changes in the townships of the Shield between Montreal and Three Rivers, Clibbon 1 has analyzed the spatial features of British policy to settle the region with English speaking colonists. Between 1803 and 1815 the Laurentides between Montreal and Three Rivers were surveyed into township units. When the British decided to encourage British emigration after 1815, by defraying transportation charges, many Irish took advantage of the situation and took up lands in these newly surveyed townships.

They (Irish) removed the forest cover, tilled the land for agriculture or for sheep pasture and processed pot-ash which they sold to the farmers in the lower lands. 2

When the timber industry expanded operations into this region Irish settlement grew, temporarily, in response to this new local market. It was not until 1830, however,
that French Canadians began to make inroads into these "British" townships to take up land that the Irish settlers were abandoning. The first territory to be abandoned was adjacent to the edge of the shield where the soils, formed on a thin layer of till, were shallow. However, the routes opened to encourage Irish settlement and the roads that accommodated the needs of the timber companies allowed the habitants to take up the more fertile tracts in the interior that had, heretofore, been unoccupied even by British colonists. This movement was strongly encouraged by the parish priests of the Dioceses of Montreal and Quebec.

In spite of the habitants' successes at colonization in this area during the 1830's and '40's the tradition among the French Canadians of the older parishes was to think of the Laurentide region as one suitable only for hunting. It was considered to be a wild uninhabitable land with a harsh and unhealthy climate. This attitude was a common concern among French Canadian writers who wrote in glowing terms of the importance and meaning of colonization in Quebec in the nineteenth century. One of the most prolific writers on the subject, Arthur Buies, reflected frustration at this attitude.

It seemed that the Canadian people were unable to go beyond the limits traced by the first settlements along the St. Lawrence and those of the major tributaries. To go beyond or especially to penetrate into the fertile valleys of the North...seemed a utopia that blindness, or ignorance, or the disastrous complaisance of men of authority, nourish...
... so far in the North! The country could only be the domain of fur-bearing animals and only the Indians were considered able to risk entering these sombre retreats which shield the 'Laurentides' and which protects man against a nature that is reputed to be inaccessible.

Even curé Labelle, the colonization priest of the region to the northwest of Montreal reflects this concern with French Canadian reticence,

Saint Jerome was designated under the generic name, 'Le Nord'. When one used this term it was like referring to the end of the earth.

In later years when French Canadian colonization had penetrated as far north as Abitibi there was still evidence of this traditional reaction to the north as a land unsuitable to settlement.

... some Canadians consider Abitibi, for example, as a savage region uninhabitable, unorganized, too cold for cultivation, and unhealthy in spite of what is said by those who know the place well. A similar state of spirit and a similar ignorance, formerly excusable, are more serious in our day.

Perhaps the encouragement and glowing references given by the missionary priests to the colonization regions of 'Le Nord' cannot be attributed entirely to a zealous spirit. It is possible that because of the attitude of the habitant the clergy had to emphasize success to the point of exaggeration in order to overcome the traditional reluctance to venture beyond the older parishes of the St. Lawrence lowlands.
To the south of these lowland parishes are the lands of the Eastern Townships. Once again the attitude toward this region and to the owner/occupants comprised a block to French Canadian colonization. Perhaps the most confusing to the habitant and the most limiting factor to French Canadian penetration into the Eastern Townships was the land grant system employed after the Conquest.

To induce British settlers from adjacent colonies to come to Canada the British government in 1763 issued instructions to limit grants of public lands to 100 acres for every head of a family. In exceptional cases grants could be extended to 1,000 acres. These regulations were reversed in 1775 and the French laws affecting the tenure of real estate were re-established. Concessions so made would depend on the Crown as seigneur. Loyalists who entered Canada after the American Revolution refused to accept land under such conditions and in 1786 the situation returned to grants by location ticket and patent. By 1791 continuing pressure, especially from the Loyalists, brought about the Constitutional Act which separated from Quebec the province of Upper Canada as a separate province with English civil law and a free hold system of land tenure. In Lower Canada the seigneurial system was not abolished but future land grants were to be made in free and common socage. In spite of the provisions laid down in the Act to limit the size of holdings it was possible for individuals to acquire huge parcels of land. Under the seigneurial system such an individual would
have been required to concede land rights to any bonafide settler but under the new system a whole township could be obtained and closed to settlers. Such was the case in the Eastern Townships. One adventurous habitant who entered the region in spite of difficulties returned to his native parish to encourage his crowded neighbours to join him but found,

They laughed at me when I spoke in my parish of the possibility of forming an establishment in this place (the Townships)?

Although certain conditions of settlement were attached to the grant system it was possible for the proprietor to avoid them, hence, much of the region was closed to colonization. Since the owners frequently would not bother to open roads through their properties, lands to the rear of such tracts were also effectively closed. Legislation brought down to curb such abuses were rather ineffective because of a reluctance to enforce them. In his assessment of this system, J.C. Langelier, Deputy-Registrar of the Province of Quebec has stated,

The Surveyor-General, who had the exclusive control of this branch, generally did not occupy himself nearly so much in controlling the surveys as in the selection of the best lands which he pointed to the favorites of the administration.

Frustrated by delays and errors the few French Canadian settlers who were anxious and able to take up land sometimes went ahead, chose a site, and began to clear it. Such
squatters ran the risk of losing their land for they had no clear title. These irregularities continued until 1840 when new legislation brought greater regularity to the survey system and provided for clear title to property.

In spite of the negative attitudes toward the unsettled lands beyond the St. Lawrence, the clergy was anxious to introduce the habitants into these regions. Compounding the problems of the hierarchy was the Act of Union of 1841. Most prelates opposed this union for they were fearful that the government of the Canadas would fail to recognize the needs of the habitants. They suspected inroads of anglicization under the guise of union. The communications of the bishops to the government reflect this concern (see below passim).

Prior to Confederation of 1867 the government received heavy criticism for its failure to give more priority to colonization and the settlement of the 'wild lands'. After the practice of excessive land grants for speculation, favouritism toward the timber industry and insufficient grants for colonization roads came in for heavy denunciations levied against the government by the hierarchy of Quebec.

The demands made upon the authorities reflect the sense of urgency toward colonization but, in part, it is also indicative of a lack of development of municipal institutions in Lower Canada. Even in the settled areas the people had no power to assess themselves for local improvements
and consequently when a road or bridge was needed they had to appeal directly to the legislature. As a result, requests for colonization roads that were to go beyond the settled parishes only added to a vast number of minor matters, of local concern, received by the legislature. Attempts to incorporate municipal institutions were received with suspicion and reluctance especially in the rural areas of Lower Canada. A lack of popular demand for local self-government in these areas was due partially to the lack of experience with such institutions and partially to a general suspicion toward any English innovation.22

Perhaps the most thorough and most revealing enquiry into the significance and causes of emigration from Lower Canada was conducted by a legislative committee in 1849. It was pointed out in the report that with the decline of the timber industry many former employees migrated because of the lack of a broad manufacturing base in Quebec and Montreal and hence an inability by the province to absorb the unemployed. Interestingly, it was several clergymen who decried this lack of industrialization in Lower Canada.

The very few domestic manufactures which we have, even for wants of the first necessity, especially those which we might establish by means of our numerous and excellent water-powers, and which might be kept up by the substances which the country furnishes in abundance—such as wood, iron, &c. This is due, it is very true, in the first place to the want of spirit of enterprise and association among our population, but which might also be attributed to the abuse of privilege, an abuse which destroys all industry, and which the Government ought to remedy. How
many of our Seigniors of Fiefs have refused, and still refuse every day to encourage the establishment of profitable works and useful manufactures for the country, in order to retain exclusively, without profit to themselves or the public, the numerous water powers owned by them, and for which they are offered reasonable prices.

...It is said that a wise Government should never interfere directly with trade and industry; it would often have the effect of destroying them, but it ought strongly to help them by encouraging them indirectly, and giving them that impulse which they never would have without its support. Sometimes a Government has only to remove a few obstacles which impede the movements and the spontaneous efforts of the agricultural, industrial, and commercial classes, and these will soon do what is left. 12

In the rural areas distances from market, the backward state of agriculture, poor crops associated with the incidence of wheat-fly, the high rents imposed by some seigneurs "... in their new concessions"...and the difficulties in procuring land on which to settle children were put forth as additional factors that contributed to the high rate of emigration from the province.

A recurrent theme in this and subsequent investigations was the lack of roads into lands of high settlement potential and the poor quality of many that had already been constructed. The latter ran through settlements in various phases of growth and development and, frequently, a young farmer had no time to give to the upkeep of the road that passed through or in front of his property. On some occasions, when a road was to be put through an established settlement in order to extend it as a colonization road into the "wild lands" beyond, farmers requested that the road be constructed
through the fields where land was of inferior quality. Because of the inebrriated alignment that would have resulted surveyors were usually forced to ignore these requests. Hence, if the road did go through a section of arable property, the farmer made yearly encroachments upon the road allowance to maximize the use of his best land. In time the road grew narrower until, in places, it was no wider than a track.

The population of the District of the Ottawa is chiefly composed of 'Old Counrmymen' who attach an undue value to mere acres; the consequence is, that although each wish a road, they endeavor to force it through their neighbour's grounds; and the principal reason why the roads are generally so badly located is that the settler throws open a way through that portion of his land (when he can) which he considers fit for nothing else, only to prevent a better route being forced through by the requisite number of freeholders with a surveyor at their head. The roads thus grudgingly given through many of the clearances are constantly encroached upon by the farmer until, in many instances, they are only 15 or 20 feet wide between the fences and, of course, are drifted full in winter. 13

Funds that were provided to build colonization roads were sometimes wasted because the overseer was interested in prolonging his employment and was accused of slowing things accordingly. If wages paid for the construction of roads did not match those paid elsewhere the better and experienced workers would soon desert the project. An example of the misuse of authority by the overseer occurred when a shopkeeper was entrusted with this duty. On more than one occasion the locals hired to work on the roads were only those who were in debt to the shopkeeper. Wages could be held
back so that settlers who were not already in debt were forced to seek credit at the overseer's shop and to pay credit prices.\textsuperscript{14}

An adjunct to the criticisms over the method of construction of colonization roads was the universal complaint that government funds that were made available for colonization were too low. In 1862 the government solicited opinions on the adequacy of the annual government allotment of $50,000 toward colonization in Lower Canada. It was universally condemned \textsuperscript{15} as being inadequate. The year before Confederation the inspector of agencies wrote to the commissioner of public works,

\ldots the Government causes work to be done upon them [colonization roads] every year, but unfortunately in consequence of the sums allowed annually for colonization purposes, by the Legislature, being small in amount when compared with the real and urgent requirements of the country, \ldots results in the delay in the completion of these highways, the opening of which is indispensable to the promotion of the clearing of land, and the well-being of settlers\textsuperscript{16}

To place these criticisms in perspective it is necessary to point out that the government had contended with large financial commitments to the construction of canals during the 1830's. This was considered paramount in order to compete with entrepot facilities on the eastern seaboard of the United States. Furthermore, in the late 1840's and 50's plans were accepted to expand the railways in the Canadas. From 1850 to 1867 a considerable amount of revenue had to be allotted to the construction of railways in Canada West.\textsuperscript{17} Nevertheless, the attitude prevailed in Canada East
that misguided priorities in government spending were contributing to French Canadian emigration because colonization roads beyond the old parishes were not opening new land.

Another impediment to the construction of these roads was the Clergy Reserves clause in the Constitutional Act. These reserves were to be provided for the needs of the clergy, that is, the Protestant clergy.

... a phrase interpreted by authority to mean the Anglican ministers without question and ministers of the Church of Scotland grudgingly 18

Since the reserves were to be of a quality comparable to the lands granted to individuals they were interspersed within the different allotments. They were set aside as one-seventh of the land granted under free and common soccage but roads had to penetrate and be maintained through these uncleared lots adding an additional expense to construction. The Clergy Reserves remained a contentious issue until their removal in 1854 when they were secularized under the Clergy Reserves Act.

These were some of the problems that confronted the hierarchy of Lower Canada when, in the 1840's and 1850's they decided to take a more active part in colonizing vacant land in the province and thereby stop the flow of French Canadians to the United States. In the two decades preceding Confederation it was the Roman Catholic clergy and a few private societies who promoted and guided colonization. The aims and objectives of colonization were put forth in detail in the "mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires"
that were issued to parish priests throughout the dioceses of Lower Canada. Analysis of these directives is pertinent for the Diocese of Bytown was at first suffragan to the Archdiocese of Quebec (see below). Mandates that were issued in the name of the bishops of Lower Canada, therefore, applied to eastern and to part of northern Ontario as well for this was part of the Diocese of Bytown. The first of these directives appeared in 1848 and from that year a continuous flow of operative instructions and encouragements were issued by the bishops. The patterns and processes of colonization that were developed by the hierarchy in Lower Canada were eventually applied beyond the civil limits of Quebec for the territorial organization of the ecclesiastic province effectively absorbed this boundary.

The awareness of the possible degeneration of the habitants traditional life-style prompted the prelates to design a program of action that would guide the people beyond the lowlands of the St. Lawrence, the core of New France. It was a program that was considered to be both nationally and religiously significant. Colonization was intended to accommodate families that were confined within the crowded parishes of the seignuries, to redirect the young people of Lower Canada from the temptations of salaried employment in the United States, and to offer to those French Canadians who had already emigrated an opportunity to return and to resume their pastoral life. In short, it was to be a movement that would entrench the
major ingredients of French Canadian culture-language and religion. Anglicification would be thwarted.

Bishop Bourget of Montreal presented a circular in 1850 in which he outlined the procedures of colonization as a guide to his clergy. The priests who were associated directly with colonization would determine the location of the best lands and would direct prospective colonists where and how, "to take them up". The term 'best' was not restricted to inherent agricultural capabilities but was associated also with the ability of the region to accommodate spatial expansion in future generations. It was to be as free as possible from competition and conflict with other religious groups; this stricture applied particularly to Protestant organizations, the strongest anglicizing influence.

The parish unit was to assume an organizational function in the new territory that would assure the success of penetration and settlement. The location of the site of the church for a nascent parish had important symbolism in that it would represent growth and security for the future. Not only were priests to place themselves at the head of territorial expansion but, upon deciding on a settlement location, they were to indicate where the future parish church would be built. This was an interesting adjustment to protocol for the final decision as to the location of a church is normally the prerogative of the bishop. However, in several cases the bishops
permitted a colonization priest to make the initial decision and usually concurred with his judgement.

To circumvent the apparent tardiness of the government of the united provinces to promote colonization in Lower Canada before 1867, members of the clergy became actively involved in overcoming bottlenecks to settlement. In addition to the selection of lands for colonization, priests were occasionally successful in receiving appointment as the land agent for newly surveyed territory (e.g. the Gatineau Valley). To overcome the slow progress in the construction of colonization roads, priests, where possible, assumed the responsibility of overseer of road construction. It is interesting to contrast the zeal with which their task was undertaken to the complaints that were levied against non clerical overseers. In 1856 a report to the legislative assembly on the progress of settlement in the Eastern Townships praised several priests for conducting the work of road building, frequently without remuneration. Not only was the work reported as completed rapidly but the priest, as overseer, was able to solicit voluntary labour. There are instances where the priest was also influential in finalizing the position of these roads. For example, the Reverend Mailloux reported to a government committee that three miles and twelve arpents of the Buckland Road had been completed and that,

...with the voluntary assistance of several inhabitants of St. Charles and St. Gervais, I
first laid out the road. That part which is completed was also done by me. 21

And in a firm manner the Reverend Kerrigan, overseer of the Frampton Road, stated,

All the persons who have passed over these hills since they have been improved, have been satisfied and surprised at the amount of work performed with, comparatively speaking, so small a sum of money. I need not, however, tell you, sir, that this is due principally to the activity that I exerted in persuading the people to cooperate with the government in clearing away those barriers of rocks which were a serious obstacle to this and the adjoining townships. 22

Subsequent reports to the legislative assembly refer to the work of the priests as supervisors and each year their numbers increased. This involvement grew noticeably after 1867 so that by 1881 under the title of "Overseer, Contractor, etc." the names of priests appear 14 times; in 1896 they appear 40 times and in 1905, 49 times. 23 According to Ryan,

Some of this work, about 1/4 of it, was undertaken in connection with the diocesan societies ... whose work was enthusiastically endorsed by the Colonization Commission in 1903 but most of the priests seem to have been under contract from the government to carry out this essential work in the more remote settlement areas. 24

These clergymen were cognizant of environmental factors within the region of road construction and frequently included in their reports generalized comments upon soil conditions, the intensity of the wheat-fly or potato disease. Perhaps in an attempt to break down the fears of conditions beyond the seigneurial lands, some statements were made minimizing the severity of climate,
The situation of these lands which are open to the south at the foot of the mountains which raise their heads toward the North, promises a milder climate. Mr. Lefrancois and all the hunters who have been in the valley assure us of this fact.

The hierarchy realized that it was a difficult task to open up new land to accommodate those who were willing to leave their old parishes. Correspondence among the bishops during the first decade of active colonization indicates an awareness that settlers needed guidance if they were to survive during the difficult first year of settlement. The conditions in the frontier were communicated to the bishops by the missionary priests who travelled among the lumbering shanties and the new settlements. Some of these priests provided very detailed information. For example, in 1856 Bishop Guigues was informed that, while free land grants were available along the Opeongo Road, one must anticipate that of the 100 acres given by the government only 40 to 60 acres could be considered to be good land. The bishop was advised, the same year, as to the amount of money that a family of five would require to survive for one year in the wild lands. By comparing the figures provided it is possible to illustrate the range of accuracy and detail given by the various priests. Those that gave an itemized account of expenditures arrived at a figure between £50 and £60. The range depended upon the quantity of flour, pork, etc., that was recommended for the family, whether the cost of a yoke of oxen (usually a shared expense) was included, and
whether the children were old enough to assist their parents. This amount did not include the cost of land nor the travelling charges to the new settlement.

Easterbrook and Aitken have emphasized the importance of capital in the successful assimilation of immigrants into the productive organization of a settlement. They considered it to be a process of investment and have suggested that, between 1820 and 1849, the cost per family excluding land charges must have been approximately £100. This figure was applied to uncleared land in the "back areas" away from the lake-shore and the main transportation routes. The reason for the variation between the amounts recommended by the priests and that given by Easterbrook and Aitken appears to be in the anticipated earnings during this first year in the shanties and the earned income from the sale of potash.

... for the winter when I suppose him to go to a shanty for four months, at ten dollars a month, will bring him £10. His eight acres of land (cleared between May 1 and August 24) should have produced him 480 bushels of ashes taking it for granted that he had neither time nor a kettle to melt them with potash, I allow him to sell them at three shillings a bushel and they will realize £6. 28

Easterbrook and Aitken assumed that the settler would pay for help in getting his land cleared. No such assumption was made by the priests. 29 Balancing the estimates of both it would appear that any amount below £50, as recommended by the priests, would provide a risk at success during
the first year. Those priests who produced such a figure did
so in such a generalized fashion that their uncertainty
becomes apparent. Considering the number of reports and the
attention to detail in some it should have been possible for
the bishop to provide a reasonable estimation of expenses to
the families who wished to move into the diocese. Advice
and direction also included the pattern of clearing, planting
and harvesting during the first twelve months.*

During the years of the union of the Canadas, colo-
nization operated on a mission/parish scale within territorial
security of the diocese. The shortage of funds and of priests
necessitated this operational scale whereby the mission/
parish was a means of regrouping people according to a
social plan. It was also a method of channelling the move-
ment of people to specific regions. To expedite this move-
ment the hierarchy sent petitions to the government of the
united provinces for colonization roads and land surveys.
Priests were still encouraged to assume the role of land agent
to supervise the distribution of lots in mission territories
and in areas where roads were opened.30

The major undertaking that involved expenditure of
funds was the payment for surveys to be completed in land that
the hierarchy wished to colonize. Such an expenditure was a
costly adventure for an organization that had a small source
of revenue in frontier territory. This investment could be
covered only when settlers took up land after the survey for
*See Appendix A
the government would then reimburse the bishop.*

After the Act of Confederation, the hierarchy lost no time in bringing to the attention of the new government of Quebec the need for reorganization of assistance to colonization. The government concurred with the request to place colonization high on its list of priorities and in 1869 passed an act to promote colonization societies (32 Vict., ch. 14, 1869). Funds were set aside that would be provided, to duly constituted societies within a county, to match moneys collected annually from members. There was a limit of $300.00 provided for the first society within a county and a reduced amount for subsequent societies within the same territory. However, if only one society existed in the county, it was entitled to the funds that would have been allotted to other groups. There was another advantage to the centralization of organization in that a budget could be economically structured from one centre.

The bishops encouraged their priests to initiate the organization of such societies throughout the dioceses of Quebec. Funds would be available for frontier parishes and missions from the societies organized in the older parishes along the St. Lawrence. There was now a practicable method for fostering the development of the frontier dioceses with people and with money. To justify the territorial organization of a specific diocese it was essential to have missions that would develop to the position whereby settlers could

*See chapter V
support a resident priest and thus attain parish status. Annual reports always emphasized the number of parishes that had been so erected during the year.

Perhaps the strongest legislation in support of the colonization activity of the clergy was brought forth in 1879 when the provincial government of Quebec gave official recognition to diocesan colonization societies. The diocese could now organize its program to link the activities of individual parishes and the work of other dioceses. These societies were entitled to grants of land from the Department of Crown Lands, Quebec. In the interior valleys of the Laurentides the clergy was able to obtain rights to whole townships for colonization. The society for the Diocese of Montreal was established in 1879 and in 1884 a similar organization was created for the Diocese of Ottawa under Bishop Duhamel. The two societies were affiliated so that one secretary-treasurer handled the colonization funds of both dioceses. Father A. Labelle used his association with both bishops to promote French Canadian settlement in the Laurentide region north of Montreal and in the northern valleys tributary to the Ottawa River.

Labelle spent most of his life urging, directing and maintaining colonization through the southern Laurentides. He conceded that the valleys were entrenched in a harsh land but he assured the bishops that one third of the land could be classified as 'first order'; another third, while of
lower potential, could certainly be used to farm; the other third could support livestock. "The loveliest farms of the St. Lawrence do not surpass the small farms of our shanties". It was Labelle who urged that a priest be appointed to visit different established parishes each Sunday to organize the society and, at the same time, to propagandize for colonization. He saw this as the best way to spread information about the colonization lands and, concurrently, to determine whether lands were still available in newly-created parishes. This roving priest was given the title of 'diocesan preacher'.

With the funds that were now available to the diocese the methods for the promotion of colonization were expanded beyond the earlier techniques of petition and appointed overseer. It was still paramount to erect a chapel in mission territory but new roads could be opened up, bridges built and mills constructed, usually at the site of the chapel. The publication of the "Petit Manuel de la Societe de Colonization de l'Archidiocese d'Ottawa" informed its parishioners that the funds to perform these duties would be obtained through membership fees (10¢ per year for all parishioners who joined their local society) and from the government of Quebec who had promised to cover 1/3 of the Society's subscriptions.

The influence of curé Labelle upon the work of colonization culminated upon his appointment as deputy minister to the newly created Department of Agriculture and Colonization (1887). During his term in Quebec City, Labelle main-
tained contact with colonization along the north shore of the Ottawa and the tributary valleys in the Laurentides. He was also instrumental in having some priests from the established parishes in Russell and Prescott conduct mission work on the Quebec side. This was normally a short-term assignment for the priests along the south shore were working toward the settlement of missions in the inland townships of Russell and Prescott. Nevertheless, contacts between parishes and missions across the provincial boundary were fostered by Labelle.\textsuperscript{32}

If colonization was to dissuade the French Canadian from moving to the United States and if it was to open agrarian lands for the habitants then the malpractices that afflicted agriculture in Lower Canada had to be rectified. The hierarchy made this a part of their colonization program. Their early record of success was not an enviable one. Perhaps reliance was too heavy upon encouragement rather than "guidance,"

\ldots millions of acres of excellent soil, near your lands, are waiting for strong and vigorous arms to strip the ancient forest that shades them and to reward a hundred fold the industrious hand that wishes to cultivate them. It is important to redirect those of our brothers who would be tempted to emigrate and to retain them thus in the heart of our native land vast enough and rich enough to enclose and to feed a much more numerous population 33

In spite of this "inspiration" there were mundane reasons why the habitants did not benefit from the agricultural leadership of the clergy. The lack of education among the French Canadian farmers meant that they could not
learn from the agricultural journals that were promoted by the clergy. The habitants were to take advantage of the long winter evenings to profit from group meetings at the church where the parish library would provide the latest publications on agriculture.\textsuperscript{34} It was also suggested that the lack of contact with Europeans or Americans deprived the habitant of the information necessary to improve agricultural techniques.\textsuperscript{35} The agricultural societies that were encouraged by the hierarchy were generally unsuccessful especially in parishes of mixed ethnicity. British farmers were habitual winners of society-sponsored fairs to the degree that the habitants often stopped participating.\textsuperscript{36} In spite of the general agricultural prosperity that the united provinces enjoyed through reciprocity with the United States (1854 - 1866) and the markets generated by the American Civil War, the farmers of Lower Canada did not prosper as well as their neighbours in Upper Canada. Old techniques and a general agricultural stagnation seemed to be so well entrenched that by 1865 two-thirds of the farmers in Lower Canada were going deeper into debt annually.\textsuperscript{37}

The loss of markets in the United States and the economic recessions that began in the 1870's generated a new wave of migration into New England. Along with the intensification of the colonization programs the hierarchy renewed their efforts to improve the state of agriculture among the habitants. In the colonization lands missionary priests took their lead from curé Labelle to emphasize the need for
the rearing of livestock and the use of fertilizer. Labelle realized that attention to proper livestock breeding and the use of manure as fertilizer was something that was not well understood by the French Canadian farmer. In considerable detail he explained the yield increase that one could expect with proper soil management. Similarly, he itemized the quantity of individual minerals that were removed from a field by 10 'minots' of wheat to demonstrate the cyclic effect of restoration through fertilizers.

Through the use of manure and in sowing, in the first year, some millet and some clover, it will be easy for the young farmer to maintain the aboriginal fertility of the land and to avoid the faults of his ancestors who in selling their grain and their fodder, also sold the fertility of their land.

Among the older parishes farmers were encouraged to increase and to improve their herds so that they could take advantage of the new techniques in dairying. With the location of cheese factories and creameries in rural areas the farmers who were too far from the cities to tap the lucrative fluid milk market could now sell milk to be manufactured into cheese and butter.

The bishops maintained their encouragement for the erection of "cercles agricoles" within each parish for they were still considered the best means to promote the progress of agriculture and, thereby, to prevent emigration. In 1889 these individual "cercles" were reorganized into "agricultural associations" in order to improve their effectiveness.
The criticism of the "cercles" was their dependence for success upon one or two zealous parishioners and the priest. If anything interfered with their devotion to the activity of the members, such as illness or the burden of a large number of parishes to organize, the "cercles" deteriorated. The new associations, organized by the laity and endorsed by the bishops, were designed to operate on a provincial scale as a sort of federated system and to provide a uniform approach to agricultural problems. The benefits of this system in fact extended beyond the civil boundaries of Quebec for it included parish "cercles" throughout the Ecclesiastic Province of Quebec.

Five years later the clergy reinforced the work of the agricultural association in founding the office of Agricultural Missionary. This position was sanctioned civilly by the Province of Quebec and by the hierarchy of the ecclesiastic province. The objectives of this priest were no different from those of the older parish priests who had promoted agriculture locally. The major difference was in the scale of responsibility and the funding that supported his work. In operating full-time for the work of agriculture the priest would not be distracted by other parochial duties. Among the regular attention to soil improvement, cross-breeding of animals and guidance in grain selection, the agricultural missionary was instructed to encourage the movement toward dairy farming. And, of course, as an adjunct to his agricultural activities he,
...will indicate the best regions for colonization and will provide all necessary information on this subject.

The reinforcement of the trend toward dairy farming abetted the gradual change of farming in the province from one of a family subsistence economy to one designed for economic gain. In reference to the work of these priests the Commissioner of Agriculture and Colonization (Quebec) reported to the Legislative Assembly

The clergy have seconded us to a great extent in carrying out this task of diffusing agricultural knowledge. Their lordships the Bishops condescended to appoint agricultural missionaries in each of their dioceses, who call meetings everywhere, deliver lectures and encourage the association principle. These missionaries have set to work with patriotic zeal and their teaching and example are productive of much good.

The role of the clergy in agriculture at the turn of the century was intended to do more than to provide agrarian inspiration. New techniques were demonstrated in animal husbandry and in grain growing. A young man from each parish was to be selected to be sent to an agricultural school so that he could return to his parish and serve as a model to his neighbours. The prelates assumed that the provincial government would help to defray the cost of this education. All this work was to be conducted as a reinforcement of religion, of the family "... and of the nation".

Colonization was not a movement that was restricted to the province of Quebec. Under the auspices of the Roman
Catholic Church programs were operative in New Brunswick, Ontario and in the Prairies, particularly Manitoba. The hierarchy of the Ecclesiastic Province of Quebec was particularly anxious to maintain cultural linkages with peripheral settlements. It was recognized that French Canadians returning from the United States might wish to locate in other provinces within the Dominion.

Our young land is not enclosed by such narrow limits that it is necessary to abandon it. More than ever immense tracts of land are available to our population within the limits of the nation. The acquisition of territory of the Northwest, the creation of the Province of Manitoba offers a real advantage to those who have no desire to clear and to farm wooded land and yet would like to leave their native parish. It is not necessary to pass the 'Canadienne' frontier in order to find the rich prairies of the west.\textsuperscript{42}

Priests residing in New Brunswick were as zealous in colonization as their colleagues in Quebec. The processes and patterns of settlement appear to be similar to those perfected in Lower Canada and in the Diocese of Ottawa.\textsuperscript{43} Their declared objective was to extend the Catholic domain into the Maritime Provinces.\textsuperscript{44} These provinces were considered "chez nous" because of the large percentage of Catholics in the Maritimes and because of their Acadian tradition.

In 1855 Sir Georges E. Cartier was quoted as saying:

Population alone will not make a nationality it is necessary for it to have the territorial element. Race, language, education and customs form what I call a personal national element. But this element must perish if it is not accompanied by the territorial element.\textsuperscript{45}

As if mindful of the words of Cartier certain members of the
clergy looked upon colonization as a means whereby linkages between the core area of Quebec and the small though burgeoning French Canadian community in Manitoba could be realized. In 1871 the bishops of the ecclesiastic province of Quebec and the bishop of St. Boniface issued "une circulaire privée" to the priests of all dioceses to support French Canadian colonization of Manitoba.

In colonizing a part of Manitoba, the French Canadians assure themselves of a balance in the federal legislature which they possess to-day and which they will inevitably lose if they are not in Manitoba and the territory of the Northwest in numbers. Thus, we consider, M. le curé, as good and desirable the establishment of some of our own in these regions.46

In maintaining a flow of French-speaking settlers to the west, the Ottawa Valley had special geopolitical significance for linkage could be realized via the colonization of lands along the Ottawa and its tributaries (fig. 2). Curé Labelle was cognizant of this potential. In a letter to the prelates of Quebec he wrote,

The Diocese of Ottawa occupies a strategic position which is manifested in a perceptible way since confederation and this position must have a great influence on the religious and social destiny of Catholics of the Dominion in general and on those of the Province of Quebec in particular. 47

At a banquet held in honour of his fiftieth birthday (1883) Labelle was even more specific about the geopolitical significance of the territory that extends from the Ottawa Valley to Manitoba.
If we take possession of the north we will be masters of the situation because we have an impregnable geographic position. In taking possession of the soil from the Ottawa Valley to Winnipeg, we prevent anyone overrunning us to reach Hudson Bay. Ontario is concerned presently in getting possession of the Territory of Keewatin. Let us suppose that they succeed in having it; we will spread ourselves in Keewatin and we will soon be the masters in this province. 48

The curé was referring here to colonization by French-speaking Catholics and to ensure a regular flow of settlers he later travelled throughout Europe seeking French-speaking immigrants for Canada.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the French Canadians were spread in a continuous belt from Moncton to Sudbury with exclaves in the Prairies. If this dispersion became too thin there was the possibility of assimilation, especially if the linkage between the main core area of French Canada and the settlements in Manitoba were not strengthened. To maintain the colonization regions and to expiate the loss of French mother tongue population to the United States other diocesan priests were despatched to Europe to encourage migration. In 1888 abbe J.A. Plantin, under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Ottawa, solicited colonists in various cantons of France. 49 Shortly afterward curé Labelle interrupted a journey to Rome to enlist French-speaking priests in France and in Belgium to go to Canada and spearhead the colonization movement beyond Quebec. In a letter to Archbishop Duhamel in 1890 he urged that a strong movement toward Manitoba be sustained to counter the vicious
attacks against French colonists outside Quebec.

Seeing the enraged fanatics of the country pounce on the French language we had to prepare a counter-move as much as possible for the future and to arouse a strong advance towards Manitoba. Because Labelle was anxious to secure 'Nouvel Ontario' as the nexus with Manitoba, he advised the archbishop to have his suffragan, Bishop Lorraine, apply for funds to support colonization from the 'Alliance Francaise' in France. The Alliance was receptive to such pleas in order to give support and encouragement toward the extension of the French language throughout the world. His third objective during this European sojourn was to encourage the Frappist and Chartreuse orders to go to Manitoba to help sustain the French Canadians on the Prairies.

The colonization program of the hierarchy had advanced well beyond its early phase as a merely provincial movement. The prelates had looked beyond the Eastern Townships and the Laurentide region north of St. Lawrence to the vacant lands of neighbouring provinces. But beyond the civil limits of Quebec the habitant faced the dangers of Anglification and assimilation. These civil limits as barriers to French Canadian expansion could, however be reduced through a planned territorial organization that would absorb them into the ecclesiastic province of Quebec.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER III


2Ibid.

3A. Buies, L'Outaouais Superior, Darveau, imprimé (Québec 1889) p. 16/17.
"Il semblait que le peuple canadien ne put sortir des limites tracées par les premiers établissements, le long des rives du Saint-Laurent et de celles des principales rivières. Aller au-delà, ou en arrière, et surtout pénétrer dans les plantureuses vallées du Nord... semblait une utopie que l'aveuglement, ou l'ignorance, ou la connivence désastreuse des hommes au pouvoir, nourrissaient..."

4A. Buies, Le Saguenay et le Basin du lac St. Jean, Darveau, Quebec: 1891, 209.
"...c'était tellement loin dans le Nord! Le pays qui l'entourait ne pouvait être que la demeure des animaux à fourrure, et, seuls, les Indiens étaient regardés comme pouvant se hasarder dans ces sombres retraites que protégeait la chaîne des Laurentides et que défendait contre l'homme une nature réputée inaccessible."

"Saint Jerome était désigné sous le nom générique de 'Le Nord'. Quand on disait ce mot, c'était alors comme le bout du monde."

"...on voit des Canadiens qui considèrent l'Abitibi, par exemple, comme une région sauvage, inhabitable, non organisée, trop froid pour la culture et maisaine, malgré ce qu'en ont dit ceux qui la connaissent bien. Un pareil état d'esprit et une semblable ignorance, pardonnable jadis, sont plus graves des nos jours."

7Ibid., "On riait de moi lorsque je parlais, dans ma paroisse, de la possibilité de former un établissement dans cet endroit."

8J.L.A.P.C., "Report of the Select Committee on the Causes and Importance of Emigration from Lower Canada to the United States", App. AAAAA, 1849. See also P.C. Langelier, List of Lands Granted by the Crown in the
Province of Quebec: 1763 to 1899, Ottawa: Queen's Printer  


See remarks of J.B.A. Ferland, Director of College of  
Nicolet. See also, K.G. Crawford, Canadian Municipal  


13J.L.A.P.C., Appendix I.L., 1847, (see report of  
Thos. C. Keefer).

14J.L.A.P.C., App. #1, 1862, op. cit.

15Ibid.


17W.T. Easterbrook, H.G.J. Aitken, Canadian  
Economic History, Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada,  
ch. XIV, 1958. See also: Congres de la Colonisation,  
Rapport, Montreal: 1898. See remarks of M.S. Lesage,  
Deputy Minister of Public Works, Quebec.

18A.R.M. Lower, Colony to Nation: A History of  

19Mandement de Bishop Bourget, 12 June, 1848,  
M.L.-P.C., Montreal: I, 475, A.A.M. See also, Circulaire  
au Clergé du Québec, 11 August, 1848, M.L.-P.C., Québec:  
III, 521.

20Circulaire de Bishop Bourget, 25 July, 1850,  
M.L.-P.C., Montreal: II, 141-143, A.A.M.

21J.L.A.P.C., "The Progress of Settlement in the  
TOWNSHIPS OF LOWER CANADA", App. #38, (1856).

22Ibid.

23Sessional Papers, Quebec Legislative Assembly,  
XV, (1881-82) #2, 496-531; XXX, (1896) pt.1, #3, 210-302;  
XXXVIII, (1905), pt.1, #7, 1-122, P.A.C. See also  
Wm. Ryan, The Clergy and Economic Growth in Quebec, 1896-  


26 Guigues Papers, Father Bryce (Renfrew) to Mgr. Guigues, 4 April, 1856, R.des L., VII, (1854-57), 307, A.A.O.


29 See Appendix A.

30 Guigues Papers, "Notes" (on colonization), 22 April, 1850 f.f., R.des L., II, 123 f.f., A.A.O.
In this series of notations on colonization priests were to be informed that to handle governmental affairs (land agent) they had to be "officially" attached to the Diocese of Ottawa and, therefore, a delegate of Mgr. Guigues.


32 Duhamel Papers, i, Private Papers: "Correspondance avec Cure Labelle": ii, R.des L. (1874-1879), A.A.O.

"...des millions d'acres d'excellente terre près de vos terres, n'attendent que des bras forts et vigoureux pour se dépoiller des antiques forêts qui les ombragent et pour récompenser au centuple la main industriuse qui les voudra cultiver. Il importe donc de diriger de ce coté - là ceux de nos frères qui seraient toutes (sic) d'emigrer et de les retenir ainsi dans le sein de notre patrie assez vaste et assez riche pour renfermer et nourrir une population beaucoup plus nombreuse." A.A.O.


38. A. Labelle, "Projet d'une Société de Colonisation du Diocèse du Montréal pour Colonisation de la Vallée de l'Ottawa", St. Jérôme, 12 February, 1879. "Par ce mode de culture [l'on remet à la terre par les engrais], et en sommant des la première année du mil et du trèfle, il sera facile au jeune cultivateur d'entretenir la fertilité primitive de sa terre et éviter les fautes de ses ancêtres qui, en vendant leurs grains et leur fourrage vendaient aussi la fertilité de leur terre."

39. "Les Missionnaires Agricoles de la Province de Quebec", (1900) Societies of the Archdiocese of Ottawa; Colonization, A.A.O.

40. "Il indiquera les endroits les plus propes à la colonisation et fournira tous les renseignements désirables à ce sujet."


42. Under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church Agricultural Colleges were established in Quebec; Saints Anne de la Pocatière, 1859, L'Assomption, 1867, Oka, 1884.


44. "Notre jeune pays n'est pas renfermé dans des limites assez étroites pour qu'il soit nécessaire de l'abandonner. Plus que jamais d'immenses étendues de terrain s'offrent à notre population dans les limites même de la patrie. L'acquisition du territoire du Nord-Ouest, la création de la Province de Manitoba, offrent un avantage réel à ceux qui n'aiment pas le défrichement des terrains boisés et qui pourraient s'éloigner de la paroisse qu'ils habitent. Il n'est pas nécessaire de passer la frontière Canadienne pour trouver les riches prairies de l'Ouest.

45. M.F. Richard (ptre), "Circulaire sur la Colonisation" Saint-Louis, Kent County, N.B., 8 December, 1884. Societies of the Archdioces of Ottawa; Colonization, A.A.O.

46. Ibid.

"La population ne suffit pas à constituer une nationalité il lui faut encore l'élément territorial. La race, la langue l'éducation et les moeurs forment ce que j'appelle un élément personnel national. Mais cet élément devra périr s'il n'est pas accompagné de l'élément terri
torial."

46 *Circulaire Privée au Clergé 23 October, 1871, Lettres Pastorales, Circulaires des Évêques de Québec*. I, 81-83, P.A.C.

"En colonisant une partie de Manitoba, les Canadiens-Français s'assurent dans la législature fédérale l'équi
libre qu'ils y possèdent aujourd'hui, et qu'ils perdront nécessairement s'ils ne sont point en nombre dans Manitoba et le territoire du Nord-Ouest. Nous considérons donc, Monsieur le Curé, comme chose bonne et désirables, l'étab
lisement de quelques-uns des nôtres dans ces régions."

47 *Curé Labelle to the bishops of Quebec*, n.d. file #20, *Diocèse d'Ottawa*, "Elevation to Archdiocese", A.A.O.

"Le Diocèse d'Ottawa occupe une position stratégique qui s'est manifestée d'une manière sensible depuis la confédération et cette position doit avoir une grande influence sur les destinées religieuses et sociales des catholiques de la Puissance, en général, et sur celles de la province de Québec en particulier."

48 *Colonization Pamphlets, Ottawa: Casey Catalogue of Pamphlets*, 1932, quoted in, "Le Curé Labelle et La Colonisation", 1885, 53-54, P.A.C.

"Si nous nous emparons du Nord, nous serons maîtres de la situation, parce que nous avons une position géogra
phique inexpugnable. En nous emparant du sol, depuis la vallée de l'Ottawa jusqu'à Winnipeg, nous empêcherons qu'on nous passe sur le dos pour aller à la baie d'Hudson. Ontario s'agite actuellement pour obtenir la possession du territoire de Keewatin. Supposons qu'il réussisse à l'avoir; nous nous répandrons dans le Keewatin et nous serons bientôt les maîtres dans cette province."


"En voyant les fanatiques du pays se jeter sur la langue française en enragés, il fallait autant que possible ici préparer une contrepartie pour l'avenir et susciter un mouvement très fort vers Manitoba."

51 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF ECCLESIASTIC TERRITORY

The territorial organization of a "universal" church is clearly an administrative necessity, but it also facilitates the implementation throughout the system of core area decisions/undertakings. Because of population growth and its concomitant need for territorial adjustment the large administrative area may be subdivided into subordinate units so that the original administrative centre assumes a new and more important level of authority, responsibility and jurisdiction. Subdivision may also be necessary to incorporate effectively new territory into the ambit of the core area. Hence the core area (without of course, moving itself) ascends through the ranks of hierarchic organization to attain a level of autonomy that is commensurate with canonical law but which is also appropriate to the decisions and undertakings deriving from the related size of the spatial system.

The foregoing applies to the evolution of the territorial organization of the Roman Catholic Church in French Canada in the nineteenth century. To maximize the outcomes and achievements of clerical policy (decisions/undertakings) a core area had to attain a level of autonomy that was associated with the status of Ecclesiastic Province. In spite of the restrictions that had been placed upon the Roman Catholic
Church in Canada by the Treaty of Paris (1763), Bishop Plessis was determined to effect territorial organization through the appointment of coadjutors and vicars general. The distribution of these members of the newly created hierarchy was designed to bring into his orbit the Maritimes, the District of Montreal, and Upper Canada. The latter territory was his first choice but he realized that this would depend ".....in part upon the disposition of the new government". In a letter to Rome Mgr. Plessis emphasized that the Religion in Canada had to have an established hierarchy if it was to attain the respect, recognition and strength that it should have. Territorial organization was to be the avenue through which this hierarchy could achieve recognition.

If the civil government gives unequivocal consent to the establishment of Vicariates Apostolic in this part of the British domain, one must presume that it will no longer be averse to the erection of bishoprics in such places as Mgr. MacDonell would be able to have in Kingston with the title, Bishopric of Upper Canada 3

Quebec was the primary core from which the hierarchical structure and territorial organization of Canada emanated. It required considerable diplomacy to avoid shocking those civil authorities who were loath to see Quebec achieve Metropolitan status.

A core area may proceed from level 1 to 4 to 5 to 6 or, possibly, 4 to 5 to 6 depending upon the circumstances of organization and the rate of population growth.
### RANK-SCALE OF ECClesiastic Territory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Archdiocese</th>
<th>- autonomous unit under jurisdiction of archbishop Metropolitan See of ecclesiastic province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Diocese</td>
<td>- autonomous unit of the bishop. Normally suffragan to archdiocese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vicariate/Prefecture</td>
<td>- territory too large and well populated to be a parish or mission. Prefect or Vicariate suffragan to bishop of diocese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Deanery</td>
<td>- amalgamation of parishes; major subdivision of diocese/archdiocese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>parish</td>
<td>- multi-purpose unit - associated with diocese or archdiocese. Responsible to bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mission</td>
<td>- Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. Responsible to the Sacred Congregation and the Pope. - normally single purpose unit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To achieve a sixth order status, an incipient core area had to be associated with a burgeoning ecumene, a frontier capable of growth (a potential ecumene) and with potential for its own core area advancement (level 1 to 4 to 5). Such development required the maximization of cooperation and the minimization of conflict and competition within the territory. It was paramount that Rome be convinced of the viability of this territory. With sixth order status the core
area administrators could enact those undertakings that would satisfy perceived regional needs as well as proselytize in accordance with canon law. Thus, formal organization of territory is considered as comprehensible according to regional needs, as perceived by core area administrators, and hence it is a prerequisite to the functional organization of territory.

Because the Roman Catholic Church is the oldest continuing administrative body in the world the ecclesiastic organization of space takes on many of the patterns and forms that are considered pertinent to the political organization of space by those agents vested with functions of polity. The jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church is territorially organized so that there is no place on earth that is not subject to some episcopal authority. In the evolution of core area authority through the scale of hierarchies many of the principles affecting areal organization\(^5\), become an integral part of the apostolic succession of jurisdiction. Throughout this chapter reference will be made to the significance of focality, localization and interconnection as they functioned within and among ecclesiastic units.

Missionary territories are not autonomous regions but are subject to the authority of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome although, in practice, the mission may be associated more directly with an established diocese. As the population of the mission increases
new churches, schools and hospitals multiply to the point that new projects can be submitted for examination by the Sacred Congregation. When approved, the mission is raised to the rank of a prefecture apostolic and a prefect appointed who will govern in the name of the Pope. Continued growth and development will raise the territory to the position of vicariate apostolic. The vicariate does not have diocesan status for only under particular conditions as determined by canon law and administrative prudence can it be erected into a diocese. One of the most significant differences between the two is that the Pope can limit the powers of vicar or prefect who, in all other respects, is the effective bishop of his territory. 6

The elevation to the status of diocese is a very important decision within the church. The territory is no longer considered to be inchoative and the episcopal power of the church is received by the bishop. The resident bishop is termed "Ordinarius loci" (the Ordinary of the place); the word "ordinary" means that he has jurisdiction by virtue of his office rather than having received it by delegation. The ordinary is a monarchial bishop for he alone possesses all ecclesiastic power in his diocese with no direct ecclesiastic superior other than the Pope. A resident bishop is not subject to any other ordinary and may be described as the backbone of ecclesiastic structure. The significance of
selecting the proper recipient is implied in a summary statement regarding the importance of the man and the office.

No one does anything as a Catholic in the diocese which is not ultimately, if not immediately and directly authorized by the ordinary. . . . . The whole church exists for the believers in the microcosm of the diocese; this is where they experience its reality.

The diocese is divided territorially into parishes and all Roman Catholics within specified boundaries are formally attached to the parish church of the territory. The parish appears to have no particular size constraint although the Roman Church prefers smaller parishes for the ideal size is considered one in which the priests can know personally each parishioner. Essential for effective size are the principles of focality and localization. As a territory that is the basis of Roman Catholic organization, human occupancy within the parish must focus upon the home and the church. For this reason the church building must be individually localized in a specific and unique place.

Those dioceses that attain a Catholic population that is numerous and spatially diverse will have clusters of several parishes grouped into deaneries, or foranes and the vicars foranes, or deans, look after the interests of the church in the specific area formed by the group of parishes. Through this organization the bishop follows the life of the diocese and can direct it effectively.
Contiguous dioceses are organized into an ecclesiastic province and within this province one episcopal see, normally the oldest or largest, becomes the metropolitan see. The others within the province are referred to as suffragan sees. The ordinary of the metropolitan is termed an archbishop but he has no direct jurisdiction over suffragans nor within a suffragan diocese. His indirect influence can be considerable, however, for among his duties he must conduct official inspections of suffragan sees ("visitations") and must inform the Holy See of any abuses. The archbishop also presides over the councils of the ordinaries of his province. Apart from this jurisdiction archbishops' influence can be considerable for their appointment is generally an indication that they are well known in Rome. Their sees are usually larger and wealthier than the suffragans. The archbishop is usually older and more experienced than the other ordinaries and he is always consulted about appointments to suffragan sees or about the promotion of their suffragan bishops.

The full power and reality of the church can be realized only through this hierarchical level of territorial organization; an organization that rests upon the assumption of the importance of centrality.

A Roman Catholic experiences the total reality of his religion in the local church. This means the diocese and this in turn means the ordinary. One of the problems of the parochial structure is that the parish does not give the Roman Catholic the whole experience. The whole experience demands the presence and activity of the ordinary and in large dioceses this presence and activity are more often mediate than immediate. The need for the
experience is the theological basis for the absolute power which the ordinary has in Roman Catholicism.

A diocese that attempts to organize areally over a too-extensive territory loses the principle of focality, i.e. the "experience" of the diocese. Similarly, parallel units within mission territory lack focality beyond the individual home and concession. As parish organization accompanies growth in population and community wealth, the church takes on a function of centrality for numerous families. The parallel relationship of parishes conforms to the codes of canon law but functional areal organization is not achieved until parishes can be grouped into the autonomous unit of the diocese. Organizations that are associated with agriculture, education, clinics, missions and colonization may now be implemented, extended and interconnected by a communication network that focuses upon the diocesan see. The individual parish units can now participate in an integrated functional association.

The patterns of human spatial interaction are extended through this functional areal organization of territory in which parishioners experience focality upon home, church (uniquely located) and diocesan see. The functional interaction of various organizations, oriented to the core area (the see), are utilized to entrench patterns of human interaction, to cope with threats to such patterns, and to implement policies that are perceived as regionally desirable. Analysis of the patterns of areal organization of territorially-structured institutions should permit association
between perceived regional needs and patterns of human spatial interaction.

Territoriality and the Hierarchy of Montreal

The Act of Union, proposed by Durham in his Report, was opposed by the prelates of Lower Canada. Bishop Lartigue feared particularly the form of education that was proposed by Durham for the French Canadians. In his opinion the people of Lower Canada would be "de-catholified" if they were forcibly united with a people of different language, religion, and national mentality. The bishop of Montreal lobbied strenuously to block the legislation that would create a united province of Canada. In addition, to counter future legislation that was structured to bring about French Canadian assimilation he encouraged the expansion of parochial schools, recruited priests for his new diocese from Quebec and from France, and founded new parishes in the older seigneuries. Territorial organization had to proceed if the enemies of the church and of French Canada were to be thwarted and to this end he succeeded in gaining civil recognition of his own diocese and began the movement for the erection of an ecclesiastic province in Quebec.

To protect the interests of the Catholics who were absorbed into the timber industry along the Ottawa, Bishop Lartigue assigned priests to the townships on both sides of the river in the 1830's. Hence, priests who were respon-
sible to Lartigue were to operate in the frontier territory of both dioceses, Kingston and Montreal, in spite of the strained relationships between the bishops.¹¹ (Mgr. MacDonnel did not support Lartigue in his actions against union.¹²)

In 1841 Mgr. Bourget was elevated to the office of bishop of Montreal. During his first year in office he emphasized to his colleagues in North America and in Europe the importance of missionary work among the Indians and the need to create new parishes in the colonization lands of the Ottawa Valley. The Act of Union was proclaimed the same year and Bourget took immediate action to thwart potential Anglicization. Priests were recruited from France along with lay missionaries and teachers. He succeeded in obtaining a number of Oblate priests from Marseilles; an important achievement for these priests were to be the mainstay of the work of the diocese in the Ottawa Valley. His interest in Catholic welfare extended to Kingston, especially for the small French Canadian population of that city. Catholic sisters were sent there to establish a hospital and to open a school.

Bourget intensified the work of his predecessor toward the territorial organization of the church. It was through territorial organization that Bourget worked to entrench and to extend the position of Catholicism in Canada. During the early 1840's his major objectives were to separate the western half of Upper Canada from Kingston and
create a second diocese with the see in Toronto, and, secondly, to gain episcopal and civil recognition for the erection of an ecclesiastic province in Canada with Quebec as the first metropolitan see.

Bourget appears to have spearheaded this latter movement as several of the hierarchy, including Bishop Signay of Quebec, were fearful of the reaction of the British government. They were mindful of the negative reaction of Lord Bathurst to an earlier request by Bishop Plessis of Quebec. In spite of this Mgr. Bourget solicited the support of each bishop and carefully presented the advantages of erecting an ecclesiastic province. While territorial organization was a universal practice of the Church the immediate advantage, in his mind, was the unity of direction that would be created among the bishops. There would be a stronger linkage to the regulations of the Church and a concomitant enlightenment at the council of bishops. Uniformity of discipline would generate greater respect among the clergy toward episcopal authority. Greater unity among the bishops would also facilitate a rapport with the government and Bourget believed that this civil body would think twice before "... jumping on the backs of the episcopal body".¹⁴

The erection of a territory to the rank of archdiocese was also essential if dioceses were to be extended spatially in Canada. Rome would not condone a continual expansion of diocesan territories without the focality of an
archdiocese to weld the various suffragan territories into an ecclesiastic province. Horizontal growth would be restricted without vertical integration and the plans that Bourget entertained for the Ottawa Valley would be minimized if an archbishop were to be denied Quebec.

The bishop of Montreal cautioned his colleague in Quebec that if the hierarchy of Lower Canada demonstrated a reluctance to form an ecclesiastic province was it not feasible that the hierarchy of Upper Canada would soon be able to form one? Such a move would be inadvisable considering the historical significance of Quebec City to the work of the church.¹⁵ By June, 1843 Bourget succeeded in winning the support of the hierarchy in the Maritimes and in the United province of Canada; a petition for the erection of an archbishopric for Quebec was sent to Rome. A year later these efforts were recognized and the diocese of Quebec was elevated to archdiocese with ecclesiastic and civil recognition.¹⁶

During the early years that Bourget spearheaded the movement toward provincial status, he was influential in the erection of a diocese for the western half of Upper Canada and instrumental in the organization of missionary activity on both sides of the Ottawa River. The creation of a new diocese was part of Bourget’s plan to extend Catholicism in the united provinces but it was also necessitated by the failing health of the bishop of Kingston, Mgr. Gaulin. As
the largest urban centre west of Kingston, Toronto was the logical choice as see and Mgr. Power, formerly cure in Ste. Martine and Laprairie in Lower Canada, was the one selected as bishop of Toronto in 1842.

Throughout the early years of his reign Bishop Bourget intensified his interests in the Ottawa Valley. By the end of his term as coadjutor in Montreal much of his attention had been directed toward that part of the valley that was within the diocese. The land of the Ottawa watershed was not an unknown quantity to the hierarchy of Quebec.

Mgr. Alexander MacDonell visited the lower Ottawa Valley in his capacity as auxiliary bishop to Mgr. Plessis of Quebec in 1820. He wrote to his bishop that this territory was open and ideal for Catholic settlement. He described the Ottawa Valley as, "...a vast country, so beautiful and so fertile," and warned that it was urgent to assign missionary priests to the region and to secure land for churches. This must be done before Protestant settlers moved in and became "the masters" of both sides of the river. Some priests were assigned to Upper Canada, between Rigaud and L'Orignal, but at first priests were more active north of the river. The reason given for this form of activity was the number of Catholics in the area "...many from the Dioceses of Montreal and Kingston ..."who were in the shanties. The bishop of Montreal received thorough reports from these priests and their attention to detail is impressive as are the conditions that
these missionaries endured. Most of the people who entered the valley after 1806 were transients and this made it difficult to provide an accurate forecast for settlement. Nevertheless, it was clear that the territory was accessible, had a burgeoning forest industry, and that some French Canadians were beginning to filter into the region from the older parishes of the diocese of Montreal.\textsuperscript{20} Gradually, Bourget incorporated that portion of the valley that was formally under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Kingston into his missionary organization. In various letters to his priests he assigned to them authority to function in both Upper and Lower Canada throughout the valley.\textsuperscript{21} (See fig. 3) Kingston's frontier area was actually more accessible to Montreal).

Meanwhile, in Kingston the new bishop, Mgr. Gaulin, was prevented from handling the full responsibility of his position because of illness. To assist the bishop Mgr. Bourget arranged to have Mgr. Phelan appointed as coadjutor in Kingston. Prior to this appointment, Phelan had functioned as missionary priest to the Ottawa Valley operating from Bytown. His title while at Bytown was 'vicaire general' and he was given authority by Bourget over the missionaries on both sides of the Ottawa River. Hence, Phelan arrived in Kingston armed with first-hand knowledge of conditions in the frontier zone of a diocese that would one day be his responsibility. Furthermore, he was familiar with Bourget's scheme
of linking people to the land through the presence and guidance of a priest. As a part of this program he had spent some time in Ireland soliciting priests ".....who will settle this unhappy population [Irish Catholics] to British territory". 23

It is probable that the appointment of Phelan as coadjutor in Kingston was another phase of Bourget's plan to intensify the social linkages across the Ottawa River. In spite of Gaulin's displeasure with Phelan as his 'heir-apparent' Mgr. Bourget was anxious to have Phelan in Kingston for, in addition to the man's theological qualities, Bourget wrote,

For my part, I believe that he [Phelan] will do much good and that he will give to the missions of the Ottawa much importance 24

His first-hand knowledge and experience along the Ottawa would have seemed to justify this confidence.

Bourget's frustration with the situation of the diocesan boundary as coincident with the civil boundary between the provinces is reflected in a letter to the provincial government. The authorities had requested detailed information on the Diocese of Montreal but the bishop replied that this was impossible to provide,

Because each year a large number of Irish arrive here but after living a short time in the diocese, leave for the United States and also because French Canadians are coming and going and are at one time on this side and at another time on the other side of the provincial boundary. 25
The bishop used the occasion to reinforce his earlier statement that Irish and French Canadian priests were needed "to fix" these citizens to British territory. It also alludes to the nomadic existence of the French Canadians in the Ottawa Valley in the early forties. To stabilize this population and to increase missionary activity among the shanties Bourget obtained permission from Mgr. Mazenod of Marseilles to establish the Oblate Fathers in the Valley. In 1841, the Oblates established their first mission centre in Longueuil and later moved to Bytown. The bishop of Kingston was informed that the Oblates were so located in order to service Catholics on both sides of the Ottawa River.26 This frontier of separation between Kingston and Montreal was, by degrees, coming under the dominance of the latter. Bourget was encouraged by the penetration of the Oblates into the Ottawa Valley and in a mood of optimism he wrote to one of his missionaries,

The population will flock inevitably toward the beautiful and rich lands of the Ottawa. When it is covered with habitants, churches and priests, we will have pleasant memories when recalling present times.27

This was the first time that the bishop of Montreal mentioned the Ottawa Valley in relation to French Canadian settlement rather than to just Catholic settlement.

Toward the end of 1843, Bourget began assigning more priests to the Ottawa Valley and freely gave them authority to work both sides of the river. With the Oblates established
in Bytown, Bourget wrote to Phelan

I am confident that this remote section of our two dioceses... will soon bear excellent fruit and that in a few years we will see there flourishing institutions for the instruction of the poor and the needs of the sick.28

Linkages across the ecclesiastic and civil boundary were effected through territorial assignments to missionary priests. Prelates were assigned to missions that included both sides of the river as early as 1842. When Patrick Phelan was assigned to Bytown he was given authority over the missionaries on both sides of the Ottawa River. In 1843 the ordinary of Montreal gave special authority to two French Canadian priests to operate in the frontier territory of the Dioceses of Montreal, Kingston and Toronto along the valley of the Ottawa.29 Hence, well before the elevation to diocesan status Bytown attained a focality second only to Montreal in the Ottawa Valley.

The Ottawa Valley - Mission Territory

The organization of territory throughout the Ottawa Valley reflects the concern of the hierarchy of French Canada to proselytize among the Indians and to come to the aid of lapsed Catholics among the forest shanties. On the other hand, this land had to be organized in order to carry on colonization programs promulgated by the Quebec hierarchy in the 1840’s. With British land speculation operating in the Eastern Townships and British settlement taking up land north
of the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Three Rivers, it was essential to have some territory that would absorb the surplus population from the parishes of old Quebec. Furthermore, those habitants who could be induced to return from the United States must be accommodated on land that could be spatially and socially linked to the core area of French Canada. In spite of the presence of a civil provincial boundary this linkage could be realized through ecclesiastic territorial organization.

The flow of French Canadians to the United States had not been stemmed by the early efforts of the clergy, and the hierarchy of the church became increasingly alarmed at the exodus. Thwarting the attempts of the bishops to locate habitants on the "waste lands" of Lower Canada was the dearth of colonization roads, land speculation, and the shortage of priests to accompany or to precede settlers into the new territories. Bishop Bourget of Montreal was additionally burdened by the size of his diocese. In addition to the regular administration of his territory he had to accommodate problems as diverse as British land speculation in the Eastern Townships, a rapid increase in the number of shanties among the timber lands in the northwest section of his diocese, and the need to proselytize among the Indians of the same area. The opening of the Townships was a major project that required much of his time and energy. In the early 1840's he saw the solution to the problem of the northwest section of
his diocese in territorial organization that would eventually extend the hierarchical and territorial organization of the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec. By establishing a mission here he initiated the organization of a formal and functional ecclesiastic region. In his research into the early history of the ecclesiastic province of Ottawa, Father Alexis de Barbezieux interpreted the motives of Bishop Bourget in organizing the Oblates,

Mgr. Bourget pursued, in the valley of the Ottawa his whole apostolic policy. He wished to convert the Indians, to strengthen the faith of thousands of forsaken 'voyageurs' in the shanties, to create and to organize parishes to accompany step by step the rapid progress of colonization; in short, to throw the foundations of a new diocese into this region that was desolated not long ago, but to-day is full of movement and of future. 31

While such an arrangement lightened the bishop's responsibility in his immense diocese this was by no means his sole objective. Bourget was aware that the colonization lands of Lower Canada were insufficient to reverse the emigration of the habitants to New England and to win "lost souls" back to their native land. By organizing the lands along the Ottawa into an autonomous diocese those institutions that were vitally concerned with colonization could function under the auspices and guidance of the church. Furthermore, the frontiers of French Canada could be extended beyond the traditional limits that were associated with the civil boundaries of Lower Canada.
Shortly after the Oblate mission was established Mgr. Bourget began to organize and to plan for the creation of the diocese in the Ottawa Valley. This new ecclesiastical territory was to ignore the presence of the boundary between Upper and Lower Canada but to do so meant that the bishops of Kingston and Toronto had to give up a portion of their dioceses. Bishop Phelan of Kingston had yielded to the request of his colleague in Montreal regarding the mission of the Oblates in his diocese but in his correspondence with Mgr. Bourget he continuously referred to their "mission" status. He feared the objections of his Irish Roman Catholics should he accede to the dismemberment of his diocese for the creation of this new territory. In April, 1844 Mgr. Phelan wrote to the bishop of Montreal, "-- a few people in Bytown are not happy to see me place there a priest in charge of affairs who cannot speak to them in English. This was a serious concern to Mgr. Phelan and while the French/Irish conflict was to continue to plague the Catholic Church throughout the Ottawa Valley it was not considered sufficiently disruptive to thwart Bourget's plan. In 1846 a petition was presented to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome for the erection of the Diocese of Bytown. The new territory was to be formed from portions of the dioceses of Toronto, Kingston and Montreal and of the Apostolic Vicariate of Rouge River. The see of the new diocese was to be Bytown and it was requested that this territory become a functional part of the ecclesiastic province of Quebec.
The episcopal sees of all Roman Catholic diocese function as significant core areas in territorial and ecclesiastic organization. It is from these core areas that events within the diocese are perceived and interpreted according to the values of the church hierarchy. Many territorial disputes become more meaningful when this concept of the perception of events from the core area is applied. In all petitions concerning the ecclesiastic organization of territory considerable attention is given to the location of the see. Bytown was considered to be sufficiently central to the organization of the timber industry that shanty priests ("missionaires des chantiers") could operate from here and could easily communicate with their bishop. This also applied to those priests who were to proselytize among the Indians.

In Bytown, rafters assembled while the huge timber rafts were being prepared for the downstream voyage to Quebec City and during this concentration the priests would have the opportunity to intensify their ministry to the timbermen. The growth potential of the town was another significant factor for an institution that relied heavily upon its parishioners for income.

Bytown ought to be the see of the new diocese. This infant town, since it has been founded only 25 years ago approximately by Colonel By is already considerable by its population and of significance by its situation. It is in the centre of a land in which Divine Providence has been pleased to exhibit the riches and beauty of nature. Located on the southern shore of the Ottawa and at the
mouth of the 'Canal des Rideau' where, to facilitate communications the government has done immense constructions, this city must assuredly become a great city and the centre of all the business of this vast territory. It follows, therefore, that to occupy this beautiful land, religion must hurry to create solid establishments for the religious instruction of Catholics, the careful education of children, the relief of the needy and the sick and for all those institutions which glorify the Holy Roman Catholic Church. 34

Such was the description of the situation of Bytown that was sent to Rome.

Communication with other bishops was another reason presented to Rome for incorporating the new diocese into the ecclesiastic province of Quebec. The Ottawa River penetrated well into the territory and was a route well recorded in the mission history of New France. Proximity was considered essential so that successors to the see could be nominated by provincial bishops who were acquainted with the diocese and its problems. As a suffragan to Quebec missionary priests would be available to the new bishop; anxiety over the impious life in the shanties was one of the reasons for establishing a mission along the Ottawa. These priests had been instructed to encourage the "habitants" in the shanties to save their money, to buy good land along the Ottawa River and its tributaries and to form "...a kind of association in order to buy these lands cheaper".35 Since these were French Canadian associations it was reasonable that they should not be expatriated from the ecclesiastic province of Quebec.
One measure of the success achieved by these priests is expressed in a statement made in 1849 to the Select Committee investigating the causes and importance of the emigration from Lower Canada to the United States. The Ottawa territory, described as large and fertile and, "......... where settlement has already made great progress", was recommended as one region that was now ready for settlement.

Your Committee takes this opportunity to observe that the praise-worthy efforts of the Reverend 'Pères Oblats' in this part of the country, for sometime past, have greatly contributed to improve the moral and social conditions of a great number of young men employed in getting out timber and in making and conducting rafts on the Ottawa. Many of them snatched from their habits of debauchery and intemperance, which have been so fatal to this class, with what they have saved from their wages, have bought lands which they cultivate with success and they generally become excellent settlers.36

The reasons substantiating the form and the timing of territorial organization, that were forwarded to Rome, were of a general nature and in accordance with the universal policies of the church. There were, however, motives that reflected strictly regional needs but these appear only in the correspondence among the hierarchy of Quebec and of Ontario. The archives of the various diocese and archdiocese in the Ottawa Valley and eastern Ontario contain a wealth of material that is generally well catalogued or organized. Of particular value are the 'Registres des Lettres' or record books that were kept by the early bishops of Quebec. In them correspondence was recorded along with the records of yearly pastoral
visits to the parishes and missions within the diocese.

Shortly after his appointment as bishop of Bytown, Mgr. Guigues recorded the conditions of his diocese in which he listed the motives behind the erection of the ecclesiastic territory. In addition to factors of more active supervision of lands remote from Montreal and Kingston the new bishop emphasized a need to encourage the immigration of Canadians into a region in which their faith "will find proper sustenance". Much of the early work regarding this immigration was directed toward the Quebec portion of the territory. This complemented the efforts at settlement by the Oblate missionaries in the tributary valleys of the Ottawa and it facilitated co-operation with northwest colonization efforts by the clergy in the diocese of Montreal. Nevertheless, Bishop Guigues saw the potential in the Ontario portion of his diocese, especially those townships that bordered the Ottawa. Those townships closest to the older parishes of Quebec were still, however, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Kingston. To organize the movement of Catholic settlers this land had to be incorporated into the ecclesiastic territory of Ottawa. Mgr. Guigues corresponded with his colleague in Kingston and in 1850 petitioned Rome for,

--- a change of boundaries, because of the mountains, [sic] the townships are very difficult to administer from Kingston and very easy, on the other hand, to visit from Bytown. 38
In addition to the counties of Russell and Prescott several townships in Carleton and Lanark were ceded to Ottawa (fig. 3).

**Territorial Integration**

In the early years of his administration, Mgr. Guigues was successful in extending and clarifying the limits of his diocese in Upper Canada. Basically, the bishop considered that his territory consisted of two distinct parts within which various undertakings were to operate; the region that was to be allotted to the Indians and the section that must be opened to colonization. With territoriality established the work of the clergy could proceed in earnest.

As the dioceses of Kingston and Toronto developed in wealth and in population the Ontario section of the Diocese of Ottawa was looked upon by the prelates of Ontario as territory that properly belonged to the see of Ontario. Indeed, if an ecclesiastic province were to be erected in Ontario it was paramount that this region be made suffragan to the new metropolitan. At the Provincial Council meeting of Quebec in 1868 it was recommended that a new province should be erected in Upper Canada but, to the surprise of the bishops of Ontario, Mgr. Guigues openly refused to belong to the new province even though his see was located in Ontario. The ordinary of Ottawa did not hesitate to declare that the French-speaking portion of his diocese would not be cared for
properly if it belonged to the Province of Toronto. Rather
piqued by this pronouncement the bishops of Ontario, never-
theless, came away from the Council in the understanding that
as soon as the Diocese of Ottawa could be divided the portion
of the diocese situated in Ontario would be "restored" to the
Province of Toronto.40

In spite of his concern for his diocese Bishop
Guigues was later persuaded to give up a wedge of territory
in the northwest that lay beyond the drainage basin of the
Ottawa River.41 In preparation for the elevation of Toronto
to metropolitan status suffragan territory had to be organ-
ized. Furthermore, with the spread of settlement into the
shield the hierarchy of Ontario was anxious to organize the
Muskoka and Parry Sound regions before Protestant sects
created their own sees. In the mid 1850's pine was being
removed from the margins of Muskoka and Haliburton and by the
end of the 1860's several companies were cutting in the in-
terior of the two districts. The largest of these companies
employed eight hundred to a thousand men.42 Little of this
territory had been settled by French Canadians.

This dismemberment took place during the last year of
Mgr. Guigues' tenure. At this time he reiterated his concern
regarding further dismemberment of his territory in Ontario.
In a letter to the archbishop of Quebec he declared that such
change would be a great misfortune for the large French
Canadian population that was colonizing the south shore of the
Ottawa River. The priests in the parishes and missions that had been established throughout Russell and Prescott counties had encouraged large numbers of 'habitants' to take up land in this part of his diocese. Territorial loss here would terminate the important work of colonization and, hence, have an impact upon the crowded parishes of Quebec. ⁴³

Upon the death of Bishop Guiges in 1874, Mgr. Duhamel was appointed as the bishop of Ottawa. The new bishop had served as parish priest in St. Eugene in the township of East Hawkesbury and, hence, was well acquainted with the progress of colonization in Eastern Ontario. The new ordinary concurred with the opinion of his predecessor and decided to resist the request of the bishops of Ontario to have the ecclesiastic limits of territory coincide with the civil limits of the Province of Ontario. In the face of this plea that territorial adjustments had to be made to assure the viability of the dioceses of Ontario, Mgr. Duhamel declared,

"I have no reason to separate from the ecclesiastic province of Quebec and I am determined to use all lawful means to remain suffragan to the archbishop of Quebec." ⁴⁴

This resistance to dismemberment was not based upon concern over ensuing changes in ecclesiastic regulation for certain laws that were applicable to all parishes in Quebec were not applied to those parishes of the diocese that were located in Ontario; such laws were concerned with forms of marriage, the Dues, Fasting Days and Holy Days, etc. The
progress of colonization was to be as important to the new bishop as it had been to Mgr. Guigues. Bishop Duhamel received considerable verbal support from the bishops of Quebec in his early months in office and, for the moment, successfully resisted the territorial claims by the hierarchy of Ontario.

The bishops of Ontario, however, continued to press their claim for all territory within the civil limits of the province. In 1879 Archbishop Lynch of Toronto proposed that a "new" Diocese of Ottawa should be organized to incorporate some territory from Kingston (Glengarry and Stormont). It was emphasized that this was territory that was largely inhabited by English-speaking Catholics. When Mgr. Duhamel learned of this new tack he countered by pointing out that not only were French Canadians a significant element in the two counties but he was certain that, in time, they would form the major ethnic group in these neighbouring counties. \(^{45}\) As indicated in Chapter VIII below this was in fact the case. The hierarchy of Ontario would find it difficult proving that the time had arrived to detach Ottawa from the ecclesiastic province of Quebec.

**Elevation to Ecclesiastic Province**

Encouraged by church-sponsored programs of Catholic colonization, Irish and French Canadians continued to settle the Ontario portion of the Diocese of Ottawa. In 1882 the
Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was petitioned to create a vicariate apostolic in the northern section of the diocese. Mgr. Duhamel was aware that a new source of revenue would be forthcoming if such a change were approved. The moneys from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith would aid the missions among the Indians and the work of the colonization societies in the new territory. He was confident that many Catholic families would be induced to locate along the rights-of-way of the newly-built Pacific and Canada Central Railways which would traverse the vicariate.

Reflecting the areal pattern of the Ottawa Diocese the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac was composed of territory that straddled the provincial boundary. As suffragan to the ecclesiastic province of Quebec the colonization schemes of the hierarchy could thus be extended into "Nouvel Ontario". The areal pattern of this new territory assured geographical and, hence, suffragan linkage with Ottawa. Since territorial elevation to apostolic status is a normal preliminary stage to full diocesan status, any aspirations on the part of Mgr. Duhamel, or the hierarchy of Quebec, toward metropolitan status for Ottawa received thereby considerable impetus. Objections to the areal pattern of Pontiac, however, were forthcoming from the bishops of Ontario,

... we claim it [Ontario territory] on the ground that it is a portion of our territory of Ontario and in accordance with the usual jurisprudence of the church which generally speaking,
follows the civil limits.  

Such aspirations of the bishops of Ontario continued to be frustrated.

The influential Curé Labelle, soon to accept a government position as Deputy Minister in the Department of Agriculture and Colonization of Quebec, worked for the elevation of Ottawa to metropolitan status and lobbied against the dismemberment of this diocese. Labelle lauded Ottawa as a city destined to become an important industrial and political centre, and while his forecasts were somewhat exaggerated, his zeal for the future of the see and its umland cannot be questioned. The advancement of a frontier zone into parish and then diocesan status meant that those institutional organizations that were so important to this priest could be expanded and become fully operational; these were the colonization societies that operated under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. The increase in the French Canadian population in the frontier regions of Ontario prompted him to write.

This new ecclesiastic province [Ottawa] will contain . . . a large majority of the French element who are becoming more and more preponderant in the province of Ontario to say nothing of the province of Quebec which also forms part of the diocese where this element prevails and where it is called to dominate in spite of all the obstacles. . . .  

There was no doubt in Father Labelle's mind that French colonization in Ontario would eventually link up with French
Canadian exclaves in western Canada. As outlined in chapter III he spoke frequently of the "strategic position" of the diocese of Ottawa and stressed that the creation of an archdiocese would mean that the province of Quebec would have a foothold in Ontario. The priest warned that any loss of territory to the new ecclesiastic province of Ontario would weaken the French Catholic advance.48

In 1885 Ottawa Diocese was elevated to Archdiocese with Ottawa as metropolitan see and with the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac as suffragan. The formal organization of territory was not yet complete, however, for Archbishop Duhamel wished to have a second suffragan for his new province. He emphasized the significance of the work of the colonization society of his diocese and earnestly believed that the creation of new suffragan territory would aid this work. It was time, therefore, to turn his attention toward the neighbouring diocese of Kingston and to assess the accuracy of his forecast regarding French Canadian settlement in Glengarry and Stormont.

The hierarchy of Ontario, who had formerly taken the initiative regarding the "restoration" of Ontario territory, now faced the loss of more land to the French Canadian hierarchy. In February, 1889 the suffragan bishops of the Province of Toronto met to consider the rumours that the Diocese of Kingston was to lose a portion of its eastern territory to a new diocese that was to be created as a suffragan to Ottawa
and, hence, to have a French Canadian bishop. The Ontario hierarchy was concerned about this possibility.

This aggressive scheme menaces the rights and interests of our Scotch and Irish people and would, if put execution, effectively drive them out of Canada 49.

To counter such a move the bishops of Ontario decided that a reorganization of ecclesiastic territory within Ontario must be effected immediately.

The following method was adopted after earnest prayer and protracted deliberation,

1st Division of the Torontine Province into two, one of which was to have its metropolitan see in Toronto with London and Hamilton as suffragans.

2nd Translation of most Reverend John Walsh from London to the archiepiscopal see of Toronto and the appointment of most Reverend J.V. Cleary, Bishop of Kingston, to the archiepiscopal see in the same city.

3rd Division of the Kingston territory and the creation of a new diocese to consist of Glengarry and Stormont, with Cornwall, only. 50

Thus, territorial organization was to be used to perpetuate an English-speaking hierarchy in Glengarry and Stormont and would entrench the sovereignty of the archbishop of Kingston.

The possibility of the absorption of these counties into the ecclesiastic orbit of the hierarchy of French Canada was a concern to the government of the province as well. Shortly after the assembly of the bishops of Ontario, Cardinal Rampolla, the Apostolic Delegate to Canada, received a confidential letter from a civil official who described himself
as the "chief of the civil government of Ontario". The letter was written about the rumours of territorial changes described above. The "official" was worried about the political and social ramifications of such a move and throughout the letter made reference to the territorial ambitions of French Canada.

The press, the pulpit and the political platform would combine and would be too successful in persuading our people that the encroachment of the French Province upon the independence of Ontario and the freedom of the electorate had received religious sanction and permanent vitality from the establishment of a diocese in Eastern Ontario made subject to the Archbishop of Ottawa and, consequently, destined to assimilation with the Province of Quebec in the ideas and governing influences derived from that French Province.51

To counter the claims by Mgr. Duhamel that the ethnic composition of Glengarry and Stormont made this territory logically suffragan to Ottawa, archbishop Cleary stressed the historical significance of Scotch Catholic settlement in Glengarry. The ordinary of Kingston outlined the many historical and religious institutions that were in Glengarry. He claimed that Alexandria should become the see of the new diocese because of its locational significance in the history of the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. On the eve of the erection of the diocese, Alexandria had a population of about 2,800, almost entirely Scots Catholic, and Cornwall had a population of approximately 5,000. While half the population of the latter were Catholic it was pointed out that these were largely itinerant adolescent workers and added nothing to Catholicism. Alexandria was geographically central
to the missions and parishes of Glengarry and was easily accessible by road to those in Stormont. There was a large church already situated in the town and the house of the parish priest was considered adequate for the new bishop.

The archbishop conceded that French Canadian Catholics had recently settled in the counties but, in his opinion, they contributed relatively little to the building of churches or to the support of the priests. Mgr. Cleary gave an example from Alexandria where the church was replaced at a cost of $50,000. Of the $35,000 raised toward this debt, the French Canadians within the parish contributed only $1,100. In Cornwall, the expansion of schools and, "other religious institutions" had necessitated expenditures of $21,000 of which the French Canadian contribution amounted to only $200. Throughout his letter to the Holy See, Mgr. Cleary continually referred to the Scots as the "indigenous population" of the new diocese and terminated his correspondence with the plea,

Thus, the Scots Canadians merit more from the church and, therefore, the diocese should be a Scots Diocese with the see in Alexandria.52

The hierarchy of Ontario was successful in this request and in 1890 the diocese was created with the see in the town of Alexandria. Alexander Macdonell was named bishop, suffragan to the Ecclesiastic Province of Kingston. Archbishop Duhamel interpreted this choice of Alexandria as the episcopal see as pretext to another attempt by the hierarchy of Ontario.
to dismember his own territory. He feared for the loss of Russell and Prescott counties and questioned why Cornwall had not been selected as see since it was the largest and most important city in the new diocese. The proximity of Alexandria to the boundary of his own diocese was considered, by Mgr. Duhamel, to be an "aggressive" location.

The choice of Alexandria as episcopal centre shows clearly it had been done to serve as a pretext to a request for the dismemberment of the Diocese of Ottawa. In reality this town is much nearer the boundaries of this diocese. If it were not the express intention to get hold of a large part of the Diocese of Ottawa, Cornwall, in the county of Stormont ought to have been chosen for it is more important since it contains two parishes whereas Alexandria has only one. 53

These suspicions were verified in 1896 when Bishop MacDonnell of Alexandria stated that his diocese was too small and too poor to continue indefinitely. In a letter to his metropolitan Mgr. MacDonnell stated,

If I correctly understood the idea at the outset, it was in contemplation that in the course of time the boundaries of Alexandria would be extended. . . . I believe from hearsay reports that the clergy of the two counties adjoining us [Russell and Prescott] would be glad to be annexed to this diocese. 54

Three months after this correspondence the question of territorial expansion of Alexandria was on the agenda of a meeting of the bishops of the Provinces of Kingston and Toronto. The resolution was passed, once again, that the boundaries of ecclesiastic and civil jurisdictions should coincide. This would not only facilitate homogeneous and peaceful working of
the laws that related to Catholic affairs but it was a situation that the civil authorities preferred, according to the hierarchy of Ontario. The bishops reiterated the stand that they had taken thirty years ago that it was not in the best interests of the Roman Catholic religion that Russell and Prescott, should be governed "... by the special laws of discipline and the customs and ideas of the Province of Quebec which differ widely from those of the Province of Ontario." 

Once again the loss of territory was interpreted by the ordinary of Ottawa as being detrimental to "les œuvres de son diocese". Mgr. Duhamel emphasized once again that Russell and Prescott were becoming more and more French Canadian in their composition and he forecast that this trend would continue. The returns from the census of Canada support the claim of the archbishop.

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<td>1,989</td>
<td>3,063</td>
<td>2,151</td>
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<td>2,284</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>3,231</td>
<td>3,633</td>
<td>4,377</td>
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This difference in the composition of the ethnic groups in the region and the rate of growth of the French Canadian population were submitted to Rome as major reasons for not dismembering the Diocese of Ottawa. (See Fig. 20).

Once again the bishops of Ontario had failed to extract the counties of Russell and Prescott from the hierarchy of French Canada. Their disappointment and frustration is illustrated in a letter from archbishop Cleary to the archbishop of Toronto when it was learned that Ottawa would retain Russell and Prescott.

I apprehended a similar trouble will arise from the effort to create a French Diocese at Nipissing by the division of Peterborough's territory. It is an age of French aggression. May the Lord direct and assist us. 57

Unsuccessful in his attempt to have Alexandria incorporated into his diocese Mgr. Duhamel turned his attention to territory within the province of Quebec. He made a strong attempt in 1900 and in 1901 to have first St. Jerome, consisting of the counties of Deux Montagnes, Montcalm & Terrebonne, and, later, the Diocese of Valleyfield made suffragan to Ottawa. In each attempt Duhamel stressed the importance of the work of the colonization society of his archdiocese. He still maintained that the creation of a new suffragan diocese would aid this work. In spite of the close association between the Dioceses of Ottawa and Montreal, notably in the work of colonization, the latter was reluctant to give
up territory. The Archdiocese of Ottawa, however, remained a metropolitan with only Pontiac, elevated to be the Diocese of Pembroke in 1889, as suffragan (See Appendix B).

Mgr. Duhamel died in 1909 and toward the end of his reign another attempt was made by the hierarchy of Ontario to convince Rome that in the interest of religion, particularly for harmonious relations with civil authorities in regard to educational matters, civil and ecclesiastical boundaries should coincide. The significance of this move was not so much the failure, once again, to outflank the interests of the hierarchy of Quebec, but the involvement of the new archbishop of Kingston, Mgr. Gauthier. Appointed to Kingston in 1898, Archbishop Gauthier was a product of mixed ethnic parentage. His mother tongue was English and he was therefore indentified by the bishops of Quebec with the hierarchy of Ontario.

The ordinary of Kingston was not in favour of the move toward dismemberment for he believed that the bishops of Ontario would be unsuccessful in their attempt to extract Russell and/or Prescott from Ottawa. This would only increase the possibility of alienating the hierarchies of the two provinces, a risk that was not in the best interests of the church. In spite of his reservations he decided not to go against the wishes of his colleagues and concurred with the resolution. As an addendum to his predicament, the task of drafting the letter to Rome was given to Mgr. Gauthier by
the chairman of the Council, Bishop Fallon of London (the prelate who was later to lead the movement against French language schools in Ontario).

The Archbishop of Kingston was thus identified as being in the forefront of the attempt to detach that portion of the Archdiocese of Ottawa that had become heavily populated by French Canadians. Shortly after the proposal by the bishops of Ontario had been sent to Rome the announcement was brought down as to the replacement of Mgr. Duhamel; the bishops of Quebec and the clergy of Ottawa had eagerly anticipated this appointment. But the man designated to occupy the see in Ottawa and to become the second archbishop was none other than Mgr. Gauthier of Kingston. Though no dismemberment of the Ottawa Archdiocese followed, this appointment seems to mark the end of the direct thrust of this territorial unit into the frontier regions of Ontario.

While the security of diocesan territory was a major concern to the two bishops they faced, concurrently, internal stresses that had to be resolved in order to link frontier regions to the administrative core of the diocese and to advance Catholic settlement. The major internal problems in the early years of territorial integration were associated with the commercial interests of timbering and with ethnic conflicts, particularly in the Laurentide region of the Ottawa Valley.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER IV


2Gauthier Papers, A.A.O. When Mgr. Gauthier became Archbishop of Ottawa he brought with him a number of documents that were related to the early history of the Archdiocese of Kingston. Among these papers is a letter letter containing the above quotation and signed, "J.O. Bishop of Quebec".

3Ibid. "Si le gouvernement politique donne un consentement non équivoque à l'établissement de Vicariats Apostoliques dans cette partie des domaines Britanniques, on doit présumer qu'il ne répugnerait pas d'avantage à l'érection d'Évêchés sur les lieux de sorte que Mgr. MacDonell pourrait avoir Kingston pour titre de l'Évêché du Haut Canada."

4C.F.J. Whebell, op. cit.

5A.K. Philbrick, "Principles of Areal Functional Organization in Regional Human Geography" Economic Geography, XXXIII, (1957). It is probable that Philbrick did not have ecclesiastic territorial organization in mind when he elucidated the principles of areal functional organization. However, it is assumed that these principles have a universal validity and their application to such territorial organization does not misrepresent his theme.


7Ibid., p. 51.

8Ibid., p. 61.

9C.F.J. Whebell, "The Bicultural Problem; an 1839 View", Journal of Canadian Studies, II, (1967). This paper presents an example of such threats.

10Lartigue Papers, Mgr. Lartigue to Mgr. Signay, Bishop of Quebec, 6 February, 1838, R.des L., IX, 22, A.A.M.

11Lartigue Papers, Various letters assigning authority to priests to operate in the Ottawa Valley on both sides of the river, A.A.M. vide:

In this letter the bishop accords to this priest the authority in the parishes "...of my diocese that the priests of Lower Canada enjoy in the neighbouring parishes Diocese of Kingston after the mandate of 1793."

12 Lartigue Papers, Mgr. Lartigue to Mgr. Signay, 5 March, 1838, R.des L., IX, 25, A.A.M.

13 According to the early records of the Diocese of Kingston several French Canadians worked as labourers and servants in that city. Several were also employed as ship builders, A.A.K.


"...le gouvernement qui y regarderait plus d'une fois avant de se mettre à dos le corps épiscopal."

15 Mgr. Bourget to Mgr. l'évêque de Sidyme, Quebec, 18 May, 1843, R.des L., III, 85, A.A.M.

16 Provincial Secretary's Correspondence: Canada West R.G.5, Series C1 (1843-1844), P.A.C.

17 Bourget Papers, Mgr. Bourget to Mgr. Phelan (Kingston), 21 October, 1843, R.des L., III, 211, A.A.M.

18 MacDonell Papers, Mgr. MacDonell to Mgr. Plessis, 18, September, 1820, A.A.K.

19 Bourget Papers Mgr. Bourget to Mgr. Signay, 6 December, 1840, R.des L., II, 264, A.A.M.

20 Father Roupe, "Notes sur la mission sur la Rivière des Outaouais", 3 June, 1826, Notes on the History of the Diocese, (file #22), A.A.O.

This document was apparently a part of the archives of the Diocese of Montreal but when the Diocese of Bytown was created many documents that pertained to this territory were transferred to the new see. It is because of this practice that many records are moved about and it becomes difficult to trace them.

21 Mgr. Bourget to M. (J.-C.) Prince (Kingston), 7 October, 1842, R.des L., II, 594, A.A.M.

The bishop of Montreal itemized his arrangement of priests throughout the valley and declared, "These missionaries
will have the usual authority of the curés and archpriests in the two Dioceses of Kingston and Montreal."

22Mgr. Bourget to Rev. Phelan, 10 November, 1842, 
R.des L., II, 631, A.A.M.

23Mgr. Bourget to Sir Chas. Bagot, 11 October, 
1842, R.des L., II, 598, A.A.M. Bourget wrote to solicit funds or credit from the government to cover the passage of these Irish priests. His tack was to argue that these priests would counteract the movement of Irish settlers to the United States. Bagot apparently gave no direct financial assistance for Bourget later submitted similar appeal to the bishops of Ireland.

"...il va envoyer M. Patrick Phelan en Irlande pour recruter des prêtres qui fixeront cette malheureuse population sur le territoire britannique."

24Mgr. Bourget to Mgr. Gaulin, 8 April, 1843, 
R.des L., III, 33, A.A.M.

"Pour ma part, je crois qu'il fera beaucoup de bien, qu'il donnera aux missions de l'Ottawa beaucoup d'importance."

25Mgr. Bourget to M. Daly, 19 December, 1842, 
R.des L., II, 665, A.A.M.

"Parce qu'il nous arrive chaque année un grand nombre d'Irlandais qui après avoir demeuré ici quelque temps s'en vont aux États Unis, et aussi parce que beaucoup de Canadiens vont et viennent et sont tantôt en deça tantôt au delà des lignes provinciales."

26Mgr. Bourget, to Mgr. Phelan (Bishop of Cagrrha), 
Kingston, 21 October, 1843, R.des L., III, 211, A.A.M.

27Bourget Papers Mgr. Bourget to M.Moreau, 
missionnaire à l'Ile-des-Allumettes, 15 November, 1843, 
R.des L., III, 210, A.A.M.

"La population va se porter nécessairement vers le beau et riche pays de l'Ottawa. Quand il sera couvert d'habitants, d'églises, et de prêtres, nous aurons d'agréables souvenirs en nous rappelant le temps actuel."

28Bourget Papers Mgr. Bourget to Mgr. Phelan, 
29 April, 1844, R.des L., III, 357, A.A.M.

"J'ai la confiance que cette partie éloignée de nos deux diocèses...partera bientôt d'excellents fruits et que dans peu d'années nous y verrons fleurir de belles institutions pour l'instruction et le soin des pauvres et des malades."


32. Bytown was a part of the Diocese of Kingston until 1847.

33. Mgr. Phelan to Mgr. Bourget, 1 Avril, 1844, file 255-102(844-4), A.A.M.

34. Petition "Aux Tres Eminents Cardinaux de la Sacre Congregation de la Propagande", R.C.D., 106, A.A.M. "Bytown devrait être le siège du nouveau Diocèse. Cette ville naissante, puisqu'elle n'a été fondée que le Colonel By qu'il y a environ 25 ans, est déjà considérable par sa population et importante par sa situation. Elle est au centre d'un pays où la Divine Providence s'est plu à déployer les richesses et les beautés de la nature. Placée sur la rive sud de la Grande Rivière Ottawa, et à l'embouchure du Canal des Rideaux où le gouvernement a fait faire d'immense travaux pour la facilité des
communications, cette ville doit assurément devenir une grande ville et le centre de toutes les affaires de ce vaste territoire. Il s'ensuit que la Religion, pour s'emparer de ce beau Pays, doit s'empresser d'y faire des établissements solides pour l'instruction religieuse des Catholiques, l'éducation soignée des enfants, le soulagement des pauvres et des malades et pour toutes ces charitables institutions qui font la gloire de la Sainte Église Romaine.

35 Guiges Papers, "Circular from the Bishops of Quebec" (copy) May 11, 1850, R.des L., II, (1848-1856), 198, A.A.O.


37 Guiges Papers, R.des L., II, (1847-1850), 36, A.A.O.

38 Guiges Papers, Bishop Guiges to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, R.des L., III, (1850-1860), February 10, 1850, A.A.O.

"...un changement des limites a cause de montagnes les cantons sont très difficiles à administrer de Kingston et très facile cependant à visiter de Bytown."


40 Mgr. Lynch to Mgr. Duhamel, 18 November, 1874, Dioceses of Canada, "Toronto" (file #79), A.A.O.

41 Mgr. Lynch to Mgr. Guiges, 3 September, 1873, Dioceses du Canada, "Toronto" file #79, A.A.O.

In January of 1874 the Bishoprie of Sarepta was formally erected and incorporated Parry Sound, Muskoka and part of Nipissing District as far as the height of land between the watersheds of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing. Bracebridge was the location of the presbytery for the Vicar Apostolic, Jean Francois Jamol.


43 Cardinal Taschereau (Quebec City) to Bishop Duhamel, 6 December, 1874, R.des L., VI, (1872-1875), A.A.O. It was in this letter that the Cardinal quoted from one of Bishop Guiges last letters to His Eminence.
Furthermore, the Cardinal dictated the Statement that bishop Duhamel should present to the apostolic delegate regarding the suggested territorial changes.

44 Mgr. Duhamel to Bishop Lynch, 4 December, 1874 quoted in a letter by Duhamel to Cardinal Ledochowski, 24 February, 1897, Dioceses du Canada "Alexandria", file #73, A.A.O.

"Je n'ai aucune raison de me parer de la province ecclésiastique de Québec et je suis bien déterminé à employer tous les moyens légitimes pour demeurer suffragant de l'Archevêque de Québec."


46 Mgr. Lynch (Toronto) to Mgr. Duhamel, 18 November, 1874, Dioceses du Canada, "Toronto" (file #79), A.A.O.

47 Father Labelle to the bishops of Quebec, n.d. file #20. "Elevation to Archdiocese", A.A.O.

"Cette nouvelle province ecclésiastique comprendrait... en grande majorité de l'élément français qui devient de plus en plus prépondérant dans la province d'Ontario sans parler de la province de Québec qui forme partie de ce diocèse où cet élément domine et où il est appelé à dominer en dépit de tous les obstacles..."

48 Ibid., See chapter II.


50 Ibid., This document is signed by Bishop Cleary, Kingston, n.d.

51 Gauthier Papers, "Documents de Kingston", Chief of the Civil Government (Ontario) to Cardinal Rampolla (Apostolic Delegate), c.1889, A.A.O. (Note: The signature on this document has been removed).

52 Gauthier Papers, Mgr. J.V. Cleary to the Holy See, 1 October, 1889, A.A.O.

53 Mgr. Duhamel to Cardinal Ledochowski, 24 February, 1897, Dioceses du Canada, "Toronto" (file #79) (Division du Diocèse), A.A.O.

"Le choix d'Alexandria comme ville épiscopale laissait voir clairement qu'il avait été fait pour servir de pretexte à une demande de démembrément du Diocèse d'Ottawa. En effet cette ville est très rapprochée des limites de ce
diocèse. Si on n'avait pas eu l'intention formelle de
s'emparer d'une grande partie du Diocèse d'Ottawa, Corn-
wall, dans le comté de Stormont aurait du être choisie,
car elle est plus importante puisqu'elle renferme deux
paroisses tandis que Alexandria n'en à qu'une."

54 Cleary Papers, Mgr. A. MacDonnell to Mgr. Cleary,
4 February, 1896, A.A.K.

55 Gauthier Papers, "Documents de Kingston",
Contained in the notes from a meeting of the bishops of
Toronto and Kingston, 7 May, 1896, A.A.0.

56 Alexis (de Barbezieux), op. cit.

57 Gauthier Papers, "Documents de Kingston", Mgr.
Cleary to Mgr. J. Walsh (Toronto), 16 October, 1896, A.A.0.

58 Mgr. Gauthier (Kingston) to Mgr. MacDonnel,
24 July, 1909, "Propagation of the Faith", (Roman Congrega-
tions), D.A.A.
CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES, PERCEPTIONS AND COLONIZATION STRATEGIES
IN THE LAURENTIAN SHIELD

The following chapter does not attempt to present a detailed analysis of Catholic settlement in the Shield area of Quebec and Ontario. The intention is to analyse those areas of conflict and competition that the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church encountered in the new diocese in their attempt to fulfil a program of Catholic settlement. It was this conflict and competition in the face of French Catholic colonization that heightened the significance of Eastern Ontario to French Canadian settlement.

Expansion of colonization into the Shield areas of Quebec and Ontario was considered by some to be a senseless attempt to penetrate a region where much of the land would be a greater source of revenue if it were left in forest. In such an area of conflicts of interest and associated perception of land capability, policies and programs frequently produced a wastage of government revenue, costly settlement schemes, and frequent land abandonment.

It has been stated above that in 1849, Bishop Guigues wrote to the Sacred Propagation of the Faith in Lyon that a major objective in the formation of his diocese was to attract Catholic settlers, especially Irish and French, into this vast territory of the Ottawa Valley and 'Nouvel Ontario'.

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This was not, in the event, a random and trouble-free movement but taxed the organizational ingenuity of the church hierarchy. The following pages must touch upon only the highlights of the milieu into which this Catholic migration proceeded. These highlights are significant, however, to the understanding of institutional decisions/undertakings and their spatial consequences.

**Land Competition: The Timber Industry in the Ottawa Valley**

In contrast to the St. Lawrence Valley it was lumbering that preceded settlement and agriculture into the Ottawa Valley. The region became a significant source of timber for the British market in the first decade of the eighteenth century as operations progressed from the Atlantic seabord through New Brunswick and into the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers. To a nation that was more dependent upon naval power than upon a large standing army the logistics of naval stores was a significant element in economic and foreign policy. An essential ingredient was the supply of pine for masts and spars for British ships of the line. Oak timber was significant as well but the Ottawa Valley did not represent an important source area for this commodity to Britain. On the other hand large stands of red and white pine could be cut, squared and floated to Quebec City at a profit to the cutter, to the merchant and eventually to British sea power.
The traditional source of timber supplies to the United Kingdom, the Baltic, had lost its geographic advantage as the Napoleonic War and the Berlin Decree (1806) closed many continental ports to British ships. To ensure an uninterrupted supply of this strategic material and to induce firms to shift their operations to this new high-priced supply area the British government applied import duties on Baltic timber, hence, colonial suppliers received preferential treatment. From 1795 to 1842 timber from North America entered Britain free except for a nominal duty that was levied from 1821 to 1842. These differential duties allowed North American suppliers to overcome the disadvantage of distance from market and to develop beyond the early small scale operation that was dependent upon naval contracts with a mast-and-spar bias.

One of the first entrepreneurs to establish a successful operation on the Ottawa was Philemon Wright from Massachusetts. His first raft of timber left the present site of Hull, Quebec, in 1806 and marked the first of many that would navigate the Ottawa-St. Lawrence route to Quebec. Until the late 1820's these rafts were made up from "squared timber"; a process that left a considerable amount of waste lying in the bush. This waste and the resultant fires were partly responsible for the rapid exploitation of timber stands so that operations moved rapidly up the Ottawa Valley and its tributaries. The timber area in these early years was delimited by the watershed of the Ottawa River and its tribu-
taries since rafts of timber could only go downstream. The height-of-land concept, therefore, was often used to define the significant limit to timber cutting rights and any dispute over the position of this nebulous boundary frequently had to be settled in the field by company representatives. There is a temptation to speculate that the early diocesan boundaries in the Ottawa Valley often followed the height-of-land definition in order to concur closely with timber operations since work among the shanties was so important to the clergy. However, it is likely that such delimitation simply reflected the tendency of the period to select prominent "natural" features as boundary lines in the absence of precisely surveyed and mapped territory. It should be noted, however, that at no time did the boundaries of the early diocese, or subsequent suffragan dioceses, in this region utilize a river course as a boundary. The hierarchy recognized that not only were watersheds significant to the territorial operations of the clergy but waterways were important communication routes in summer and in winter.

Timber operations such as those conducted by the Wright family were concerned with the removal and rafting of pine logs to Quebec City. The only cutting operation after felling was to square the timber to facilitate the construction of rafts. The ability to handle an axe was the only skill demanded of most workers in the industry. Various camps were set up in the woods to extract the pine, the size of the camp (shanty) to be determined by the area to be cut.
The smaller camps employed 20 to 25 men, the larger from 40 to 50. A large company would operate six camps or more but during the years when demand peaked the largest companies had 25 to 30 camps.\textsuperscript{4}

Supplying the shanties was expensive for the timber company. The cost of transporting one barrel of pork from Cleveland to Bytown, including the cost of repacking, inspection and warranty was fifteen shillings (exclusive of duty). Transportation from Bytown into the Mattawa River timber limits was forty-two to forty-five shillings for the same barrel.\textsuperscript{5} In 1847 farmers near the Madawaska operations could get 10 shillings per ton for hay, 6 shillings per bushel for oats or potatoes and in addition, they found employment for themselves and their teams to transport supplies and to draw timber.\textsuperscript{6} In the 1880's and 90's farmers were paid as high as $40 per ton of hay depending upon road conditions and the availability of teams.\textsuperscript{7} Grains, especially oats and wheat, and flour were brought into the timber limits from farms along the lower Ottawa Valley and from the St. Lawrence Valley, as far upstream as Brockville.\textsuperscript{8}

To offset these expenses the larger companies established their own farms on lands cleared under their timber rights. On these depot farms, as they were called, the company could supply oats, hay and potatoes to their own shanties and maintain animals for work both on the farm and in the bush.\textsuperscript{9} The depot farms have been compared to the
Hudson Bay posts in that they were strategically located in order to serve as many shanties as possible that were under one ownership. The larger farms were 500 to 600 acres in size and were usually located well away from established settlements. It was the responsibility of a company representative, when he visited a new farm, to survey its position relative to a township line if one existed. Thus, when the shanties moved and it was considered uneconomical to continue to operate these farms the land could be sold off in lots to colonists.

An important timber source, tributary to the Ottawa River, was the Gatineau a valley in which the Wright family obtained cutting privileges in 1832. Other firms were later included under the Gatineau Privilege and by 1839 timber was starting to come down the Gatineau Valley. Tributary valleys such as the Gatineau were considered by the timberers as vital avenues of penetration into the pine forests of the Laurentian Uplands. To the clergy they were colonization routes that led to pockets of arable land lying within the Shield. It was essential that these tributary valleys receive the attention of the government to assist both interests and this meant the construction and maintenance of roads. They were looked upon as,

... having the very important advantage of being alike, an advantageous road for settlement to an indefinitely large extent, and a very useful inlet for the lumberers on the rivers Coulone and Pickanock whose expenditure for farm produce and team hire would do much to encourage and sustain settlement.
Indeed, settlement did follow the lumbering activities into the tributary valleys often settling along the roads that the companies constructed in order to supply their depots or to transport logs from the cutting areas to the nearest river. The shanties were in need of their farm products, (oats, potatoes, and hay) and while the depot farms supplied much of this, the expanding industry could still utilize what the settler had to sell. Unfortunately this ready market frequently led to a hasty and careless decision as to settlement site.

He [the surveyor] condemns as unsuitable for settlement that part of the township lying east of the river Coulouge. Even where it is very fine hardwood land, it is in general too shallow in soil for proper cultivation, or certainly of crops in dry seasons, though the demand for farm produce will doubtless soon lead settlers to occupy part of it.\textsuperscript{12}

Colonization lands within the Upland could provide an alternative to the Canadians who were forced to leave the crowded parishes along the St. Lawrence, as has been seen. The demand for labourers and the need for basic victualling meant that settlers were not entirely inimical to the timber industry during the early years of timber extraction. Some young French Canadians found the cash incomes from the timber industry more to their liking than the uncertainties of farm life. However, an occupation away from the land, and the discipline of parish and family, was considered as tolerable by the clergy only if it led to the eventual purchase of land for farming. The environment of the shanty
was a constant concern to the clergy. While they recognized the association between the industry, as an income source, and the viability of an agricultural economy, it was an alliance that challenged the ingenuity of the hierarchy. The prelates were anxious to maximize cooperation with the timber merchants but parishioners had to realize that the industry was an adjunct to parochial life, not an alternative.

The attitudes toward the Ottawa Valley timber lands reflect the vested interests of the different groups who were active in the area. The government faced a dilemma. Indiscriminate land surveys and road construction, while of some value to the timber industry, might encourage considerable settlement in those areas that were perhaps best suited to timbering alone. A new road had a catalytic effect upon settlement in the area opened. In her research on settlement in the valley of the Rouge River, Gibson found that upon the completion of the road from Grenville to Arundel in 1864 population in the area through which the road passed rose by 600 to 700 people and the value of real property doubled within five years.\textsuperscript{13} Unless regulations were enforced to control the use of the resources of the Ottawa Valley, speculators would take up a parcel of land, under the pretext of settling, only to strip it of its timber and then allow the lot to revert to the Crown. And yet settlement had to be encouraged to relieve the pressure throughout the crowded St. Lawrence Valley and to offset the mounting migration
to the United States. The latter was acute in Lower Canada but it was also a growing concern in Upper Canada. Unfortunately, if the timber industry declined or companies moved to a new limit there was a probability that settlers would follow this outward movement and no revenue would be realized to cover the expense of road and bridge construction in a resultant "hollow frontier."

To the timber merchant, government expenditures in the Ottawa Valley were wisely used if they were directed to river improvement, especially the construction of timber slides to by-pass the falls and rapids, and to road construction into new cutting regions. At first settlers were not considered odious as they had been to the fur merchant but they should be allowed to settle only on lands that were perceived as suitable to agriculture and not to timbering. This invariably meant the hardwood lands or territory that had already been timbered.\footnote{14}

The attitude of those in the industry was influenced partially by structural and operational changes from within and partially by short-sighted regulations imposed by the government. Prior to 1846, and the loss of timber preferences in the British market, small groups, often just two or three settlers, formed a provisional partnership to remove a small quantity of timber and either to sell it to a large organization along the Ottawa River or to raft it to Quebec. Merchants in that port city bought from any and all in order
to satisfy the requirements of Royal Navy contractors. As long as this type of operation was characteristic of timbering there was little opportunity to stabilize a shanty and riverman labour force or systematically to improve the living conditions and wages of these men. This type of operation contributed to the farming/cutting duality of the early settlers in the Valley and to eventual land abandonment for when the timber was gone the farmer was often incapable of sustaining his family on agriculture alone.

Various regulations were issued by the Crown in order to stabilize the industry and to bring about some standards of quality. Thus, licensing controls, increasing capital expenditures for slides, and saw mill operations fostered consolidation and fewer timber/farmer operations occurred. The culmination of this consolidation movement occurred with the economic setbacks of the 1840's for survival now required integration. This placed the felling, sawing, shipping and marketing of timber under one operation thus replacing the middlemen-merchants and many part-time cutters that had pervaded the industry for forty years. For the industry the most fortuitous circumstance of this period was a gradual penetration into the American market. With declining timber supplies in New England and a growing demand in the burgeoning cities and from railway companies, the timber from the Ottawa Valley found a new outlet in the United States. The zenith of this new growth came under the Reciprocity Treaty
of 1854 whereby sawn lumber could enter the United States as a raw material and so duty free. This was a great impetus to the establishment of sawmills in the valley. American capitalists, anxious to secure and "properly" organize this new supply-source, came to Canada to establish their own large-scale operations. As the industry gained access to the United States market it was able to utilize smaller trees that had formerly been considered too small for the square timber trade. The American market required saw logs and sawn lumber and hence tree size was less restrictive than when the British market had been the major outlet. Restrictions upon settlement were considered even more essential by the merchants because limits that had once been considered as fully timbered could now be reworked.

The regulations of the Crown land department during the troubled forties did little or nothing to solve the growing problem of land competition or overproduction. Instead the trend toward integration and large-scale operations was entrenched. To maintain their licences the holders of timber limits were required to produce one thousand cubic feet of timber for each square mile of their limit. Rather than lose a portion of their limits to a competitor merchants kept cutting to full capacity. Under such shortsighted regulations and the changing scale of the industry there was little patience among the merchants for policies that would encourage indiscriminate colonization on potential timber lands. Thus, the attitude of the timber merchants toward the
agricultural community gradually hardened.

Colonization in Quebec: The Gatineau

As outlined earlier from the standpoint of the French-Canadian core, it was with the establishment of the church-sponsored colonization societies in the late 1840's that the clergy encountered the problem of settling marginal lands near the timber limits. Missionary priests were instructed to ascertain the location of the best lands and to encourage French Canadians to settle on them. This was to apply both to those who worked in the shanties and to those who came to the new lands from the older parishes along the St. Lawrence. After the formation of the Diocese of Ottawa, Catholic colonization in the Valley expanded as settlers responded to the cash incomes of the timber market and to clerical encouragement to leave the old parishes.

Early in his administration, Bishop Guigues completed a pastoral visit to the valleys of the Lievre and the Gatineau and in his report he recorded his impressions of this part of his diocese. During these visits he was attentive to land capability and to the potential of the region for colonization.

I have been able to observe during the voyage that all the land that is situated in the Lievre and Gatineau Valleys present, according to some reports, a difficulty for colonization. The terrain is mountainous, much of the land is dry and communication is very difficult. There are yet only a few mills and priests appear rarely but I
Gatineau River Valley
(South Part)
was able to observe on the other hand that in many respects, it was desirable and possible to colonize these places more easily than others. 17

In spite of the difficulties that the colonists would face, their situation was bound to be a happy one for,

...there, they are far from contacts with the cities and with the Protestants. 18

The bishop believed that the presence of a priest was necessary not only to fortify the settlers in their new environment but also to attract other French Canadian colonists who may be reluctant to leave the old parish life-style and kinship ties.

The clergy considered any hesitation in building colonization roads or in conducting surveys on unsettled lands in the Gatineau Valley to be a dereliction of obligation. The government was criticized for favouritism toward the timber industry, at the expense of colonization, in order to realize larger revenues. Father Morisset, curé of St. Urbain in Charlevoix, reflected the attitude of many of the Roman Catholic clergy when he reported to a government commission,

I am quite convinced that the system of granting licences to cut timber on Crown Lands favors wholesale trade and speculators while it is an obstacle in the way of settlement 19

Father Déleage, 'prêtre colonisateur' of the Gatineau, was even more vehement in his attitude toward the timber merchants and the government,
The government is motivated by good intentions but the ministers are sometimes forgetful of the diversity and the multiplicity of their business. Often also the timber barons circumvent them in order to stop the progress of colonization. It is, therefore, important to outmanoeuvre their perverse intentions. They prevent the opening of roads and divert the government from selling the land. In order to achieve what is right it is necessary to push, to raise, again and again, all grievances, call meetings, send petitions, for when the people are hard of hearing it is necessary to speak in a loud voice. The English say this and, above all, they do it; this is also why they are listened to.  

And yet timberers occasionally supported the plea of the clergy but more for the construction of roads than for indiscriminate land surveys. One may suspect that their support in this regard reflected a vested interest. At times they were not above using the settlement plea to reinforce their own requests for road construction. In a report submitted to his company, decrying the state of road construction, a timber foreman wrote from the upper Gatineau in 1860,

Remind the government they got $20,000 from the Gatineau [in 1859] in saw log duties, timber dues, boom dues, ground rent, etc. Other tributaries have had their grants but [they] don't contribute what the Gatineau does. Remind them that while the road [south of Desert on the Gatineau] continues as it is people will not settle on the river as there being no navigation and no road they couldn't go to mill or market. This applying in winter as well as in summer. Remind them that as the roads would be impassable without bridges there is still immense tracts of surveyed land to settle and people waiting till they can go to it.  

While conflict with the timber merchants was minimized Bishop Guigues would brook no interference with the
colonization project. To open the land he pressured the government constructively by recommending projects that would favour settlement.

The colonization of the Gatineau Valley was a major interest in the 1850's and Guigues informed the government of the united provinces that he had received reports from surveyors and from private citizens that many fertile townships within the Gateau watershed were ready to be settled. He called for a road to be constructed from Ottawa to the Rivière du Desert. Once the land was opened he asked that the price of lots be reduced for two years to one shilling per arpent, payable as soon as possession was taken. This would outflank the speculators by making land cheaper and forcing immediate payment. A bilingual general agent was requested to oversee the work along the Gatineau and to act as resource person for information regarding the nature of the land and the regions requiring surveys.

The government was asked to support the work of two or three priests who would live among the new settlers; because of the government subsidy, no contributions would be required from the colonists. The bishop also drew attention to the need for an Indian Reserve on the Rivière du Desert and it was here that he was adamant in his charge that land should not be left in the hands, "... of those who do not improve them" 22. If the government followed this advice "... many hundred happy families", would colonize the
Gatineau Valley (fig. 4).

At the same time that he petitioned the government for more action along the Gatineau Mtg. Guigues intensified his efforts throughout the diocese. He sent a circular to his missionary priests along the Gatineau and other tributaries of the Upper Ottawa. 23 This circular was intended to ascertain the settlement potential of areas not attended during the pastoral visits and, hopefully, he could thwart the tendency to settle land that would be abandoned once the shanties moved on. Such reliance upon clerical assessment can be appreciated when one reads the contradictory reports that were submitted as to the absorptive capacity of the lands within the diocese. A contemporary historian assessed the Valley in glowing terms,

Taking Scotland as our data, which the Ottawa country surely equals in soil and might, with its peculiar advantages, resemble in commerce and in manufacturers, the valley of the Ottawa should ultimately maintain a population of 8,000,000 souls. 24

Thomas Keefer, a civil engineer, in his report (1847) to the Secretary of Public Works made a plea that more of the revenue that was earned from the timber industry should be used to build roads for the benefit of that industry,

... these roads are not to be looked upon as highways in an agricultural district... after the timber is swept away, the agricultural inducements of the Upper Ottawa will be insufficient to open up the country within a reasonable period. The proportion of arable land is small and much scattered. The land which furnishes the timber is generally unfit for cultivation. 25
Keefer qualified his remarks in a later report and raised his estimate of the absorptive capacity of the Ottawa Valley. He was taken to task for this by A.J. Russell of Bytown in a report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands in 1855.

Though my personal knowledge of the Ottawa country does not exceed Mr. Keefer's, my superior opportunities of acquiring information, from having the field notes of the various limits and river surveys in my lands, combined with what I have learned from surveyors employed under my direction and from lumberers and their explorers, enables me to say that Mr. Keefer's estimate of the land fit for cultivation in the valley of the Ottawa, above Bytown, is much too sanguine. 26

In the text portion of the same report, however, the comments on the Ottawa Valley north of the river (Argenteuil, Ottawa, and Pontiac Counties) gave a glowing prospect.

If with the immense commerce now carried on in the Ottawa country, it were possible to combine agriculture, combined with the same degree of energy and able, by means of its resources, to supply the wants of its whole population, the degree of prosperity which this section of the Province might obtain could not be surpassed in any part of Canada. 27

With such apparent confusion and varied perception it is understandable that the hierarchy decided to conduct its own investigation on settlement potential within the diocese. It was also a move to outflank the regional interests of the timber industry for their influence could block settlement in areas that were of interest to the hierarchy.

The emphasis that was made upon the successes in settlement, as contingent upon the viability of the timber industry, was a further concern to the hierarchy. Bishop
Guigues had received reports from his missionary priests as to the significance of this industry in the early years of adjustment for Catholic settlers in the new diocese. As outlined above the timber industry in the late 1840's suffered severe reversals from the loss of preference in the British market. Purchases of timber at Quebec City for shipment to England fell off year by year. This setback in the industry had repercussions throughout the whole economy as fluctuations penetrated and affected the credit of the farmer.

Confusion as to the future of the industry is evident in the statements submitted in the annual government reports. In 1855 Wm. Spragge of the Crown Lands Department submitted,

The lumberman it is true has entered some divisions of that region of the country (Ottawa Valley) and has paid into the public chest some tens of thousands of pounds for timber trees. But it ought not to be lost sight of, that cutting of timber from the public lands is not progress, and constitutes nothing more than a temporary branch of trade of which every few years will probably see its termination.28

As a rejoinder to Spragge's forecast, A.J. Russell declared,

He is mistaken in saying that the lumber trade is but a temporary branch of trade. In the region of which he speaks the quality of arable land is comparatively small, much must forever remain a forest country of which its timber will continue a staple all the more valuable for its becoming scarce elsewhere, and which will continue to give an increased value to farm produce there.29

Any industrial decline was bound to affect the colonization program, therefore, it was imperative that
settlers should be guided to those lands that were best suited to a viable self-sufficient rural economy. Unfortunately attitudes were confused as to the land types best suited to agriculture and those that were more adapted to the interest of the timber industry. The pine stands were preferable to the industry, prior to the loss of preference in the British market, and the government was urged to restrict surveys to those areas of the townships best suited to settlement. The government was cautioned to conduct,

... surveying and throwing open for settlement at a low price such tracts of land only as are really fit for cultivation. Especially endeavouring to draw settlers of all kinds back into the hardwood country on the headwaters of the western tributaries of the Ottawa. ... 30

The report of the missionary priests concurred in favouring hardwood regions for settlement. They were able to give detailed reports of the townships within their mission and at times they passed on the advice that was given to them from various sources,

This land I did not visit personally but I rely on the report of an intelligent Indian who is well acquainted with above mentioned places [Townships of Merritt and Campbell and those to the north and east of these]. By his statement it is flat and covered with hardwood consisting of maple, black birch, basswood and butternut. 31

The perception of good quality land was the vegetation association of black birch, maple and beech/basswood. Mention was often made of a scattering of balsam and cedar, the latter particularly significant in fence and foundation construction. Level land was, of course, preferred but even
hilly land was assessed as capable, if not too steep, for cultivation. Heavy, low land was often considered to be suitable for hay, an important crop for the shanties. Reference was occasionally made by the missionary priests of the advantage of a wooded lot over cleared land or "meadow lots". By burning the trees the land was provided with potash and any excess could be sold. It was such burning of the forest cover, however, that was a major grievance to the timber merchant.32

In assessing the areas of the townships within their missions the priests stressed the proximity of grist and saw mills, the presence of roads and the access to a chapel. The reference to the number of families to be accommodated was an indication that a settlement of sufficient population could soon afford a resident priest; one of the most difficult prerequisites to parish formation.

Hence, the movement of the French Canadians into the new townships of the Gatineau Valley was not to be left to chance or done in a random way. Once the clerical reports were assessed the advantages of colonizing the lands along the Gatineau were circulated among the priests of the crowded parishes of Montreal. Settlement was to be in groups so that in addition to helping each other and overcoming any shortcomings in land quality,

...The Canadians of French origin will have the great advantage of finding themselves reunited as in the parishes that they presently occupy without mingling with Protestants and without being exposed
to contact with people of different origin.33

While the bishop was accumulating detailed information from his priests he was having less success with the government. It was pointed out to his lordship that there were a number of regions that required surveys out of the limited funds available. If reports regarding the high risk of settlement in the Laurentians were accurate, money spent on surveys, colonization roads, and agents' salaries could not be recouped. To overcome this tardiness on the part of the government to complete township surveys and, at the same time, to thwart any new attempts by timber merchants to restrict surveying, the bishop adopted a new strategy. The settlers were instructed to form a colonization society, and as part of its function they would conduct their own surveys of the interior townships. When the bishop was informed by the Department of Crown Lands that finances that were allotted to survey specific regions had been consumed for the fiscal period, or when local societies pleaded lack-of-funds, he arranged to hire his own surveyors and to have the work completed in those regions perceived as most favourable to Catholic settlement. The Department guaranteed to reimburse the church for these expenditures when a sufficient number of settlers had been assembled to take up land in the newly surveyed territory.34 In this way the hierarchy was able to overcome the professed shortage of government funds.
A regulation by the Department of Crown Lands regarding the survey and settlement of new lands specified the appointment of a land agent to oversee the location of settlers upon surveyed lots and to issue location tickets. This was a duty that was often assumed by the surveyor himself. In the Gatineau the settlers were encouraged by their bishop to petition the government to have their priest appointed as land agent. Since the priest was missionary to several settlements he could then act as an agent for more than one community. Where priests were not appointed the bishop frequently intervened in the choice of who was to be appointed agent. Consequently settlement was encouraged and directed to those areas that were perceived as optimal by the clergy.

Bishop Guigues had great confidence in his missionary priests to guide these settlers and their new communities. Once established their growth was assured as the habitants from the older parishes along the St. Lawrence were encouraged to migrate to these new lands through the organization of the parish colonization societies. Size of community was significant to the colonization schemes of the church for only through population growth could the settlement realize an income that would permit them to support a resident priest and hence achieve parish status; a territorial rank that was considered tantamount to permanence.
Figure 5 demonstrates the growth in Catholic settlement in the county of Ottawa from 1851 to 1893. Although the county consisted of townships beyond the valley of the Gatineau, it was in this watershed that settlement was greatest during the forty-year period. The rate of increase of the French Catholic population, therefore, is fairly representative of the increase of French Canadian colonists along the Gatineau. There are other variables that account for settlement in this county other than the colonization program of the clergy. Certainly employment opportunities in Hull as well as in the shanties attracted new people to the county. However, the difference in the slope of the line for French and non-French Catholic settlers must reflect in a positive way the impact of the colonization program of the hierarchy of Quebec. The bishop of Ottawa was conscious of the necessity to avoid conflict among ethnic groups as well as with the timber merchants.

Ethnic Conflict: The Irish in the Valley

The most prevalent among the British settlers that preceded the French Canadians into the Ottawa Valley were the immigrants of Irish origin. Between 1819 and 1825, 68,534 Irishmen arrived in Canada most of whom sojourned or settled in and around Quebec and Montreal. Attracted by job opportunities associated with navigation improvements between Hull and Montreal, the Rideau Canal, and the seasonal labour demand in the shanties, they became, by 1830, the
dominant ethnic group in the Ottawa Valley. Those who were anxious to take up land and to farm, settled the narrow plains along the north shore between the Ottawa and the scarp bluffs of the Shield. The parental Ottawa Valley accent dominated the settlements in the township of Grenville and from Thurso, in Lochaber, to the village of Hull. West of this timber town the British settlers took up land in the townships adjacent to the river utilizing the broader land area between river and scarp and the proximity to the timber exploitation of the upper Ottawa. In Upper Canada the Irish became the most numerous among the settlers in Carleton County except for the townships of Fitzroy and Torbolton (Scotts) and the township of March (English). According to the historian Father Alexis de Barbezieux, the majority of these Irishmen were Protestants.

From 1840 to 1848 large numbers of Irish Immigrants settled in the present county of Renfrew. The Irish movement into the Ottawa Valley west of Bytown was encouraged by entrepreneurs of Irish origin who were active in the timber industry. James Henry Burke, the publisher of the Ottawa Tribune, wrote and spoke of the settlement possibilities in the Valley and attracted settlers to the area. John Egan (Eganville), a native of County Galway developed a successful lumber business along the Ottawa which, at its zenith, employed directly more than 2,000 men. Similar timber merchants who were active in Renfrew and North Lanark
encouraged their countrymen to settle this section of Upper Canada.

The first wave of Irish Protestants to penetrate the Valley were largely from Ulster and have been described as immigrants of rather low character; both anti-Catholic and anti-French. Many of these settlers conformed to the farm-abandonment pattern as the timber operations moved further up the Ottawa and its tributary valleys. Blanchard commented upon the settlers along the north shore,

Although we have marked some of these Irish Protestants in Buckingham, Hull and in Pontiac their influence in populating and in land improvement in the area has been limited.

Further evidence of land abandonment was confirmed by an article that appeared in the Ottawa Evening Citizen,

... but the poor people had little idea what they were coming to face. Go up on the top of the mountain at Kingsmere and look over the deserted farms here and you will get some idea of what they had to put up with.

The Irish Catholics arrived somewhat later than their Protestant countrymen. The precise year in which they appeared in appreciable numbers is indeterminate but Blanchard has suggested that no effective migration began into the valley before 1823. Their migration pattern was similar to the Protestants in that they first found employment in the shanties, on the public works along the river, and later many turned to agriculture. The tendency was for these English-speaking Catholics to settle in groups whenever possible. The major concentrations during the twenties were at La Petite Nation
on the north shore, at Longueuil, and at "La Chenais Ecarte" on the south shore.\textsuperscript{42} The latter was located six leagues (approximately 18 miles) upstream from Rigaud (Quebec). One of the missionary reports to the bishop of Montreal in 1826 described the Irish Catholics in their isolation at "Le Chenais" as greatly in need of an English-speaking missionary. The priest described the river on both sides above and below Petite Nation as having Irish and Scotch Catholics in many places. There were some Americans, "who had no religion at all."\textsuperscript{43} At this time settlement was scattered along the banks of the Ottawa River as far upstream as the Chaudiere Falls.

The few French Canadians at "La Chenais" were journey-men rather than bona fide residents and this made it impossible to establish a permanent mission. As long as they were transients their religious needs could be accommodated only in the shanties. Similarly, French Canadians who had been served by missions at Buckingham and in Cumberland townships had to be abandoned in 1820, after four years of service, because of their periodic absence in the shanties and their reluctance to provide the means for mass and any support for the priest. Many of these people were supplementing their income by selling rum to the Indians. A visiting priest was not entirely a welcome presence.

During the 1830's and early 40's some settlement penetrated into the tributary valleys in pursuit of the roving
shanty market. A report to the Propagation of the Faith in 1842 reported that the majority of the settlers around Chelsea, Wakefield and "up the Gatineau" were Irish Catholics. 44 Evidently many of these early settlers were taking advantage of a ready cash market and would not last once the shanties moved on. In his first pastoral visit to the Gatineau, Bishop Guigues reported that the quality of land on which the Irish had settled around Wakefield was inferior to that around Chelsea but, at the time, he was optimistic that eventually these colonists would be able to support a priest. The bishop soon learned that settlers who took little care in selecting their land would never reach the level of parish. In spite of the nomadic nature of many of these timber/farmers by 1851 the region of the Ottawa from Argenteuil to Pontiac County had earned the title of "Little Ireland". 45

As timber operations in the Valley expanded more French Canadians took up jobs in the shanties. Many Irish workers abandoned the bush to try farming, or took work on canal construction or to move to the United States. To fill their place more habitants came seasonally from the crowded parishes along the St. Lawrence and, of these, the majority stayed. In time these "chantiers" responded to the urging of the Oblate Fathers and left the life of the shanty to take advantage of the farming opportunities. Several French authors have explained this displacement of the English-
speaking lumbermen through the tolerance of the French Canadian for hard work, particularly the hard life in the bush. Furthermore, the habitant had need for cash, and his opportunities for earning a cash income in the older parishes were greatly restricted. It seems that the majority of Irish and Scots workers in the shanties were willing to work in the bush until they had a stake and then took up land to farm either in the Valley or in the townships of Central and later, Western Ontario. In time their numbers dwindled further as job opportunities in the cities attracted them from the difficult and uncertain life of farming. Relative to the French Canadians, the English-speaking settlers had a lower birth rate, thus the demand for land for offspring was less than among the habitants. As the British settlers moved on, their land, especially east of Hull, was taken up by French Canadian colonists.

In spite of this ethnic alteration, Irish settlers held on to the better lands along the lower Gatineau. The demand for agricultural products increased as the Hull-Bytown cnetres grew. Furthermore, some products could still move up the Ottawa River to the shanties. As the habitants penetrated the Gatineau they, therefore, took up land in the small valleys tributary to the main river. However, as the timber industry acquired limits further up the valley the French Canadians preceded the British and took up lands in those townships that flanked the Gatineau River. They some-
times showed a preference to locate proximally to the company farm on land cleared by the timberers and, when the shanties moved on, these sites often became the nuclei of future French Canadian parishes. Thus, north of the Irish sector of the Gatineau the valley became a predominantly French Canadian colonization region. From this location French Canadian settlement expanded further into the Shield and westward into Pontiac County (fig. 3).

The French Canadians not only faced land competition from British settlers along the north shore but a more violent form of conflict marred relations when nonfarming Irish immigrants turned their attention to the habitants. During the latter half of the 1830's a group of Irish workers, formerly employed on the construction of the Rideau Canal, sought to make inroads upon the French Canadian dominance of the shanties and particularly of the timber rafting. Led by Peter Aylen these displaced construction workers, known as Shiners created open hostilities against the French Canadian timberers. On the completion of the Rideau Canal (1832) the shiners had found periodic employment in the mills and on bridge construction. The term 'shiners' may be a corruption or Anglicization of the French term 'cheneur' applied to mill and bridge builders since 'cheneurs' worked largely with oak on bridge and mill foundations ("chêne" = oak). Their antipathy toward the men who worked in the bush or who took part in the drives led to ambushes along the river and
occasional attacks into the shanties. Eventually the shiners were able to dominate certain activities in the timber industry particularly rafting. Several successes were achieved in displacing the French Canadians from the shanties as well. This clash between the Irish immigrants and the French Canadian timberers during the 1830's and 40's has become known as the Shiners War.51

Cross has analysed this social disorder along the commercial frontier of the Ottawa as a heritage of the disorder and unrest that characterized the south of Ireland, the place of origin of most of the shiners. Rather than a creation of a frontier existence the hostility of the Irish was recognized as a manifestation of their treatment in Ireland. An earlier interpretation of this Irish Catholic attitude was made in 1877 by an Irish writer in Canada,

While the Catholic Canadian revered the constitution and the laws, the Catholic Irishman seemed to exist only that he might subvert both. But why was this? Because the laws were wise in Lower Canada and dealt out justice to the Catholic Canadiens whereas they were unwise in Ireland and dealt out injustice to the Catholic Irishman.52

The shiners were unable to displace the industrious French Canadians in the shanties competitively and so resorted to violence to win a place in this commercial frontier.

During the late 1830's and early 40's the Roman Catholic Church was not strong enough in the Ottawa Valley to influence the conflict between Irish and French. As
stated above, Bishop Bourget of Montreal was fully occupied in his attempt to colonize the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada and to prosyletize among the Indians and the shanties of his immense diocese. The Oblate Fathers were not fully operative in the Ottawa Valley until 1841 and, upon the erection of the Diocese of Bytown in 1847, Bishop Guigues inherited this animosity between Irish and French Canadian. Confrontation between the two groups, while not as acute as incidents during the Shiners War, were particularly common in Bytown. This conflict was not a new experience to the bishop. In 1844, as superior of the Oblate Fathers at Longueuil, he was sent to Bytown to settle a dispute that had arisen during the construction of the Basilica. The Irish Catholics had refused to meet financial commitments for the completion of the church and used, as an excuse, the activities of their French-born parish priest. Even when a bilingual priest was sent to Bytown to administer specifically to the needs of Irish parishioners they remained recalcitrant. During this confrontation Father Telman, the centre of the controversy, wrote to Bishop Bourget and his remarks were a harbinger of Irish demands.

*It is essential that you send to us an Irish priest from Ireland, pure of blood, body and soul, and, if it is possible, with a genealogy descended from one of the ancient kings of the old, unfortunate, but always great and noble Erin.*

All these outbursts were manifestations of the ethnic conflict between French and Irish Catholics. Cross has suggested that if the Oblate Fathers had been aware of the
intensity of the ethnic tensions in Bytown, "... they should have refused to come to the trouble spot." ^54^ Mgr. Guigues may have underestimated this conflict but it seems unlikely that he would have refused to come to Bytown. If one considers the importance of the Ottawa Valley to the plans of Bishop Bourget and the significance of the situation of Bytown to their fulfilment it is difficult to suggest an alternative. The Ottawa Valley mission was scheduled to attain diocesan status and Bytown was the inevitable site for the bishop's see.

Outside Bytown the confrontations between the two Catholic groups continued even after the formation of the Diocese of Bytown. The first cure in Plantagenet wrote to his bishop,

> You have suggested that I accompany you on your pastoral visit on the fourth of next month. It seems to me that this will be impossible since he[his Irish assistant] refuses openly to attend to any sick Canadiens saying, 'I do not understand one word of French'. Judge now, monseigneur, if this young priest is of very much help to me in a place where over three-fourths are Canadian. ^55^

That some Irish priests would make no attempt to learn French was a frequent complaint. The hierarchy was increasingly conscious of the problems that were to harass the organization of a diocese composed of a variety of ethnic settlers. When the Irish and French Canadian Catholics settled in the same area there was an attempt to have the bishop appoint two priests; one to be English-speaking and
the other to be French-speaking. To an ordinary who was concerned about the constant shortage of priests, such an arrangement was not feasible unless the community was large enough and sufficiently affluent to support two parishes. Bishop Guigues also faced the problem of a lack of communication and understanding among his priests. In spite of his own efforts to speak both languages well and to communicate with his priests in their mother tongue he sometimes faced internal movements toward dismemberment of his diocese based upon ethnic divisions. One of the more militant of this group made several attempts in later years to affect a change within the diocese.

... the appointment of an Irish bishop would have more influence over the Irish people in helping the clergy to get the yearly salary and to bishop. ...

... I am confident that the Irish clergy and people desire to preserve unity with you. But you will admit that we would naturally feel a greater claim to expect sympathy and generous action in our difficulties from an Irish bishop. If I were in your place I would not hesitate for a moment to explain to our Holy Father the propriety of dividing the diocese on account of our adequate numbers and to satisfy national aspirations.

There is no way to determine how representative of the Irish clergy such communication would be; however, there are many letters to the bishop that reflect an understanding and affection toward Bishops Guigues and Duhamel by Irish clergy. Nevertheless, potential conflict was a constant
reminder to the bishop that while his colonization program was designed to promote Catholic settlement within the valley, some spatial organization would be essential.

From his pastoral visits and from reports received from his priests then, Bishop Guigues was aware of the distribution of Irish Catholics west of Bytown. He believed that the few French Canadian settlers who were in this region were being spiritually neglected, a reflection of the Irish/French disharmony that was so prevalent in Bytown. What disturbed him most in the situation of French Canadian minorities was the propensity for mixed marriages. Perhaps because of the lack of strong Catholic communication among Irish/French parishioners the habitants were more likely to have social contact with Protestant neighbours. A strong mission would be necessary to return some of these people to their religion.

Hence, to maximize ethnic cooperation and to minimize conflict, Bishop Guigues planned to encourage and to direct French Canadian settlers into the Gatineau Valley and similar tributaries within the Quebec portion of his diocese. Irish Catholics were to be encouraged to continue westward into the territory situated between the Ottawa River and Lake Huron. This was a region that was already attracting British settlers because of expanding timber operations. He had complete confidence in his colonization policy to achieve this pattern. This was revealed in a communiqué to
the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon during his first year as bishop,

The new missions which must be formed, or sustained, are objects deserving of your compassion. When a priest plants the cross in a forward location the Irish and the Canadians rush to locate around it and Protestantism retires, whereas, when the priest does not appear ministers and Protestants will locate and live there, that is why this land, bordering the Ottawa River, which ought to have been Catholic and would be if the priests had been less dispersed, is covered with Protestants.59

That the timber industry was an agent of social dislocation is substantiated by the lawlessness that resulted from ethnic animosities, by the practice of timber pirating, and by the verbal flow of religious concern found in the 'mandements' of the hierarchy. The clergy was determined to minimize the conflict that arose between their settlers from French Canada and the timber merchants as well as with Catholics of different ethnic origin. This process of conflict minimization has had spatial consequences that reinforced and effected patterns of settlement that have evolved throughout the diocese.

6

Time has verified the assertion of the timber merchants that careful and systematic classification of land within the Shield was the only rational way to maximize revenue and to reduce the incidents of settlement failure. But the determination of the merchants to so convince the government was met by a bureaucratic reluctance to interfere with settlement.
This was considered by most people to be the chief public objective. The policies of the Roman Catholic Church have also been criticized for promoting colonization on lands that, in retrospect, would have been better left in forest. Some members of the clergy were criticized, not always unreasonably, for their apparent unqualified desire for the colonization of waste lands regardless of their suitability.

For the sake of the race and of the faith give the habitant unrestricted access to the bounties with which Providence has surrounded him.60

As previously mentioned, Bishop Guigues made surveys of his diocese through pastoral visits and 'circulaires' to his clergy. In the circular dated May, 1856, he directed his priests to ascertain the location of the lands that were most suited to agriculture within their parish or mission (chapter III). It should not be construed that this parochial survey of 1856 was a process that was followed by every bishop in the Ecclesiastic Province of Quebec. His program, however, should at least prevent a general condemnation of the church-sponsored colonization schemes as lacking in spatial perception. The bishop may be criticized for the unsystematic approach to his survey but considering the vast inchoate territory under his jurisdiction and his brief period in office, it may be interpreted as an early, if unsophisticated, attempt at land classification within his diocese. To this end there certainly was a convergence of the interests of the timber merchants and the colonization
schemes of the church.

One reason for failure in the colonization program was the zealous priest who overestimated the absorptive capacity of land within his mission. One must remember that the bishops of Montreal and Ottawa placed much faith in the opinions of their colonization priests. Even the renowned Curé Labelle has been criticized for a zealoussness that prevented him from assessing adequately the carrying capacity of the nascent parishes within the Laurentian Upland.61

Much of the land that was settled in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the valleys tributary to the Ottawa could indeed support a subsistence family-farm operation. These farms were capable of sustaining the family and providing a small surplus for sale to the shanties. Unfortunately, the small pockets of arable land within the Shield restricted the size of the operation of a farm. With changes in technology farmers could increase production if they could take advantage of new techniques, but to do so normally required an increase in the size of the holding. Because of the number of colonists in the valleys and of the inability to expand on to new land, farmers were often unable to make this adjustment. They fell further and further behind in the levels of production and income relative to farmers in regions beyond the Shield.

In spite of the failure of some missions the success of the colonization scheme within the Ottawa Valley must be
measured against the overall growth and development of the diocese. The successes and failures of individual parishes could be accommodated once the territorial organization of the diocese was secure. It is the analysis of the directives of the hierarchy that provides insight into overall achievements rather than the individual reports of parish priests to government committees.

The desire of the hierarchy to minimize Irish/French conflict and to maximize the cultural continuity of the habitant led to the policy of directing settlement to selected areas of the diocese. The spatial consequences of the decision cannot be correlated with absolute accuracy for it is recognized that there are other variables that influence individual and group behavior patterns. Catholic settlement and French Canadian expansion into the Ottawa Valley was associated with the commercial demand for labour and farm produce, and departmental surveys and road construction especially after Confederation. It is argued, however, that the decisions/undertakings of the hierarchy, as they relate to these other variables, have strongly affected the ethnic concentration of Catholics within the diocese. The separation of ethnic groups facilitated territorial organization through parish formation and also achieved a sense of permanence through the adherence of the habitants to a specific parcel of land. This involved the evolution of an iconography associated with place and territory. That is, the sense of
identity with a specific parish, with a priest of the same ethnic background, and an awareness of position within the hierarchy of administrative centres that constitute the diocese and the ecclesiastic province. This process provided a sense of permanence for the whole colonization program beyond Quebec.

Although most of the good farm land in Southern Ontario was being rapidly settled at the time of the formation of the Diocese of Ottawa, vacant land was still available in Russell and Prescott Counties. Conflicts among the hierarchy of the church, the government, and commercial interests could be less severe in these counties than in the Shield; furthermore, environmental restrictions were fewer. If the habitants could be assured that by crossing the civil boundary they could continue their traditional life-style this part of Ontario could become an integral part of colonization lands beyond Quebec.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER V

1 Guigues Papers, Bishop Guigues to the Sacred Proparation of the Faith, 29 November, 1849, R.des L., I, (1847-1850), 187, A.A.O.


3 The exception to this statement occurred in 1963 when the Diocese of Hull was created from the Quebec portion of the Archdiocese of Ottawa. The Ottawa River was taken as the boundary between Ottawa and its suffragan.


5 J.L.A.P.C., Appendix LL, 1847.

6 Ibid.


9 The Diary of a Lumberman, Gatineau River, Quebec, 1859-60, P.A.C.

10 C. Whitton, op. cit.


12 Ibid.


15 For a presentation of the early regulations that were issued in order to bring all operations under the control of the Crown see, C. Whitton, op. cit., "Timber Becomes Our Life: 1806-46". Prior to the Union of 1841, several large grants of forest land were made to influential individuals. These lands were sometimes held out of
use until escalating land and timber values produced a tidy profit. After the Union the licensing system was recast to prevent such abuses and to assure the standard and quality of Canadian timber. Unfortunately, the uniform tax on all 'sticks' promoted rapid cutting of the biggest and best timber. The government had been encour- aged by the growing reputation of Canadian timber that had followed upon the earlier regulations placed upon the industry. Furthermore, until the loss of preference in the British market actually occurred, there was a general feeling that such an occurrence could not happen to Canada, See C. Whitton, op. cit., "Half a Century of Economic Struggle: 1847-1897."

16 Guigues Papers, Rides L., II, (1848-1856), 198, A.A.O.

17 Guigues Paper, Rides L., I, (1847-1850), 79, "J’ai pu remarquer dans ces voyage que tous ces pays qui sont situés sur la rivière aux Lierres, et la rivière Gatineau offrent sous plusieurs rapports de grandes difficultés à la colonisation. Le terrain est montagneux, beaucoup de terres sont arides, les communications bien difficiles, il n’y a encore que peu de moulin et les prêtres y apparaînt (sic) très rarement, mais j’ai pu remarquer d’autre part que sous bien des rapports il était à désirer et possible de coloniser les lieux plus aisément que beaucoup d’autres."

18 loc. cit., "Les catholiques y sont dans une position, heureuse pour leur foi car ils sont éloignés de contact des villes et des protestants."


20 Father Delegee to Bishop Bourget, 1857 (Ottawa", 255.110/857-4), A.A.M.

"Le gouvernement est animé de bonnes intentions mais les ministres sont parfois oubliés de la diversité et la multiplicité de leurs occupations. Souvent aussi les bourgeois de chantier les circonviennent pour arrêter les progrès de la colonisation, il est donc important déjouer leurs intentions perverses. Ils empêchent qu’on ouvre des chemins, détournent le gouvernement de vendre les terres. Pour obtenir ce qui est juste il faut presser, relever tous les griefs fortement et souvent, faire des assemblées, envoyer des pétitions, car quand les gens sont durs d’oreilles il faut leur parler à voix haute. Les anglais le disent et sur tout ils le font; c’est aussi pour cela qu’ils sont écoutés."


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., See comments of James Henry Burke.


32. Father Deleage to Bishop Bourget, 1857, "Ottawa", 255.110/857-4, A.A.M.

33. "Information for the Colonization of the Gatineau", 1857, ("Ottawa", 255.110-857.5a), A.A.M. "Les canadiens d'origine française auront là le grand avantage de se trouver réunis comme dans les paroisses qu'ils habitent actuellement, sans mélange de protestants et sans être exposés à le trouver en contact avec des personnes d'origine différente."

34. Guigues Papers, P. Bouthillier (Dept. of Crown Lands) to Bishop Guigues, 3 September, 1848, R.des L., I, (1847-1850), 22-23, A.A.O.


Alexis de Barbezieux, op. cit.

N. F. Davin, op. cit., p. 311


loc. cit., "Bien que nous ayons repéré quelques-uns de ces Irlandais protestants dans Buckingham, Hull et en Pontiac, leur influence sur le peuplement et la mise en valeur du pays a été restreinte."

Ottawa Evening Citizen, "Reminiscences of the Ottawa and Earlier Days", 7 June, 1924.

"La Chenaie Ecarts" - "the secluded oak grove" is probably a reference to the small group settled at the present site of Hawkesbury.

Father Roupe "Notes sur la Mission sur la Riviere des Outaouais", 3 Juin, 1826, Notes on the History of the Diocese (file #22), A.A.O.

Guigues Papers, R.des L., II, (1848-1856), 74, A.A.O.

R. Blanchard, op. cit.

See particularly; R. Blanchard, Les Pays de l'Ottawa, and Alexis (de Barbezieux), op. cit.

See; R. Blanchard, op. cit. and J. Tasse, La Vallee de l'Outaouais, Montreal: 1873

P.M. Gibson, op. cit.

Some place names throughout the Gatineau and Laurentides reflect this penetration into the tributaries St. Cecil de Masham, St. Pierre de Wakefield, St. Emile de Suffolk. These names were frequently given to the community by the "pretre colonisateur" who initiated settlement at the site and/or acted as land agent for the habitants. The names combine a patron saint with the names that were given to townships surveyed prior to French Canadian settlement.

Ottawa Evening Citizen, 26 January, 1924. A poem written by Wm. Pitman Lett was published in the same edition of the Citizen to commemorate the Shiner's War.

".....A band of Irish raftsmen who,
Were to each other always true,
Combined together, war they made,

....."
To bannish from the lumber trade
All French Canadian competition
They made the wild attempt at least
To expirite poor Jean Baptiste
Among their victims they enrolled him
And made the place too hot to hold him..."

51 M.S. Cross, The Dark Druidical Groves: The
Lumber Community and the Commercial Frontier to 1854,
unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Toronto: University of Toronto,
1968. In his dissertation, Cross has presented a thorough
analysis of the Shiners' War in the Ottawa Valley.

52 N.F. Davin, op. cit., p. 254.

53 G. Carrières, (O.M.I.) Histoire Documentaire de
la Congrégation des Missions Oblats de Marie Immaculée
dans l'Est du Canada, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press,
"...il faut que vous nous envoyiez un Irlandais d'Irlande,
corps et âme, pur sang, et s'il se peut, avec une généa-
logie, descendant, chose assez facile, d'un des anciens
rois de la vieille, malheureuse mais toujours grande et
noble Erin."

54 M.S. Cross, op. cit., p. 524.

55 Guigues Papers, Father Bertrand (Plantagenet)
to Mgr. Guigues, R.des L., V, (1860-1870), 19 May, 1866,
A.A.O.
"Vous m'avez proposé de vous accompagner dans votre
visite pastorale le quatrième du mois prochain. Cela me
sera impossible vu qu'il a refusé ouvertement d'aller aux
malades Canadiens disant lui-même 'Je ne comprends pas un
mot de francais'. Juge maintenant, Monsieur, si ce
jeune prêtre m'aide beaucoup dans une place où plus des
trois-quarts sont Canadiens."

56 Father Casey to Bishop Duhamel, 2 October, 1873,
file:"Prêtres", A.A.O.

57 Op. cit., (no date), A.A.O.

58 Guigues Papers, "Circular" Bishop Guigues to
the priests of the diocese, 22 April, 1850, R.des L., II,
(1848-1856), 130, A.A.O.

59 Guigues Papers, Mgr. Guigues to the Sacred
Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, Lyon,
France, 10 November, 1848, R.des L., I, 49, A.A.O.
"Les nouvelles missions qu'il s'agit de former ou de
soutenir sont encore un objet bien capable d'attirer votre
compassion. Quand un prêtre va planter la croix dans un lieu un peu avance les Irlandais et les Canadiens courent se grouper autour de lui et le protestantisme s'éloigne, tandis que quand le prêtre n'y paraît pas les ministres et les protestants y fixent leur demeure, veuille pourquoi cette terre qui borde l'Ottawa qui aurait dû être catholique et qui l'aurait été si les prêtres avaient été moins disséminés est couverte de protestants."

"Circular", 22 April, 1850, op. cit., A.A.O.

"Pour l'amour de la race et de la foi, donnez à l'habitant accès, sans restrictions, aux bontés avec lesquelles la Providence l'a entouré."

Father Labelle was held responsible, ".....for having slightly exaggerated the advantages of certain regions and having kept silent about the hardships that attended the settler almost everywhere. These two apostles of colonization have created some serious difficulties", L'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canado-Canadienne-Française, "Le Problème de la Colonisation au Canada Français" Report on the Congress held in Chicoutimi, 1919, 171.
CHAPTER VI

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

One of the frustrations that the clergy encountered in their colonization program was the negative attitude among the habitants towards the Shield region of Quebec (chapter III). That portion of the Diocese of Ottawa in Eastern Ontario, however, was an extension of the St. Lawrence lowlands, an environment that was familiar to the French Canadians. If the stresses of adaptation to a new environment were physiographically minimal, the other features of the milieu could perhaps be accommodated more easily.

The Ottawa Valley and Eastern Ontario were subjected to glaciation several times during the Pleistocene. That movement in this region was generally southward is evident from the orientation of such features as rock striations, drumlins and eskers.¹ For example, a field of drumlins, located in the Manotick-North Gower area south of Ottawa, has a north-south alignment. Similar alignments among glacial features have been plotted to give an accurate picture of the trend of the Wisconsin ice sheet. It has been postulated that this southward moving ice mass was eventually deflected by ice that was moving southwest up the St. Lawrence Valley.²

It is generally accepted that the level topography of this portion of Eastern Ontario is not the result of
glacial erosion. This is in contrast to the neighbouring shield region which has numerous examples of such erosion. The main features of this area are associated with glacial deposition, post glacial lakes, and marine inundation. Unlike Western Ontario there are no pronounced recessional moraines in the Ottawa Valley. It is probable that those that were formed were subjected to water erosion and hence considerably moderated and modified. Similarly, till deposits are often buried beneath an overburden of sands and clays or have been reworked by fluvial erosion so that much of the surface fines have been removed. Where the till is exposed its composition reflects the nature of the local bedrock. According to Mackay the composition of the till reflects the dominance of Paleozoic bedrock within five to ten miles of the Precambrian boundary north of the Ottawa River.\textsuperscript{3} The till has a high content of sand, clay or clay and silt depending on whether the underlying bedrock upstream from the deposit was sandstone, shale or limestone.

Drumlins that occur in the area have had their profiles modified by the planing effect of water erosion and by the deposition of sands and clays between them. It is on the top of some of these ice-age remnants that boulder fields are found. Because the fines have been removed by water the drumlin surfaces are often difficult or impractical to cultivate.
Three bodies of water have been identified as having inundated the valley. The history of these post-glacial water bodies is quite complex but a considerable amount of research has been conducted upon their remnant features. Extensive clay deposits overlie bedrock, till, sand or gravel while deltaic deposits of sand, silt and clay have been identified throughout the valley. Profiles of clay deposits have revealed seasonal deposition in standing bodies of water and often these clays grade upwards through silts into sands indicating that deposition was into a receding water mass.

In the vicinity of the Ottawa River, deltaic deposits as far north as Petawawa were subsequently eroded as the embayment receded and sands and clays were transported by meltwater downstream and redeposited as deltaic sands or deep water clays. It has been suggested the same sediments may have been eroded and redeposited several times forming the extensive silts and sands of Carleton, Russell and Prescott counties. Tributary streams also contributed to the accumulation of sediments; however, those from the south were shorter, less voluminous and carried less debris than northern tributaries. As source water for the post-glacial Ottawa River diminished numerous channels were abandoned downstream leaving flat-floored depressions bordered by low bluffs.

Putnam and Chapman devised a map of the physiographic divisions of Eastern Ontario based upon the topographic form, depth and character of surface deposits and upon the kind and
configuration of bedrock outcrops. Seven classes were delimited on this basis. Mackay expanded their classes into nine and referred to these divisions as "natural land types". His preference for terminology was based upon the assumption that it was more reasonable to divide a territory into smaller units which could then be delimited, described and studied. His distinction among the natural land types was based upon topography and surficial material with the main emphasis upon the latter.

Except for the 'type' delimited as rock knob uplands the most extensive divisions are the clay plains and the sand-and-silt plains. Within the latter the areas of sand are more extensive than those of silt and they vary in depth from a few feet to 100 feet in depth. The surface configuration is generally flat except where dunes have formed. In the northern part of this land type the separation is usually quite marked whereas in the south there is a transitional zone between the sand and the clay plains. This difference is associated with the erosional action of the post-glacial Ottawa River and the fact that much of the sand has been removed thereby exposing areas of clay.

The largest series of sand plains occurs as a belt in Carleton, Russell and Prescott Counties for a distance of about fifty miles. Small outliers also occur in Prescott County. Within the plains the texture of the sands varies but, generally, the finer textured is in the southern area.
Occasionally the sand overlies clay sediments by only a few feet and this association can result in flooding during the spring, but drainage can be good to excessive where the sand beds are deep or near stream courses. This variation in drainage conditions is responsible for a wide variety of different soil profiles in many areas.8

Within the map area the most extensive type of surface deposit is the marine clay. Although patchy along the north shore of the Ottawa River, along the south shore the plains extend east to west with no interruption (fig. 6). Drainage conditions within the clay plains vary according to the slope of the land. A very gentle slope will produce surface water accumulation and soil saturation whereas increased conditions of slope fosters runoff before the water has an opportunity to seep into the ground. Where this occurs stream channels frequently erode deeply into the softer clays.

The rock knob upland occurs in the Canadian Shield but does not concur precisely with geologic limits because of the zone gradation into neighbouring land types. The surficial material, when present, is usually thin. Small areas of arable land are associated with pockets of fluvioglacial sands and clays that were deposited during glacial ablation in depressions within the pre-Pleistocene dissection of the Laurentian Plateau.

Several important northern rivers (the Gatineau, Lievres and Rouge Rivers) are tributary to the Ottawa River
Fig. 6

Natural Land Types
Lower Ottawa Valley and Eastern Ontario

- Rock Knob
- Shallow Soil
- Stony Lean
- Sand and Silt
- Shady Lawn
- Limestone Till
- Shallow Limestone
- Clay
- Peat and Muck

Ontario portion modified from Chapman and Putnam
(After J.R. Mackay, 1940)
and lie wholly within this division. Marine inundation penetrated well up the valleys of these tributaries with concomitant deposits. Subsequent erosion associated with the lowering of base level produced either gently sloping, or intermittent clay terraces along these valleys. The soils that developed on these sediments are quite suitable for agriculture. Above the marine limit pockets of morainic and till soils also occur. The silty clays of the marine transgression have been traced at present altitudes of 750 feet on the Rouge River.

The land type described as 'shallow soil' includes areas of shallow drift over bedrock. The drift is usually a stony till but shallow marine clays and sand deposits are also found. This land is frequently swampy and forest-covered.

Stony loam is fairly extensive in the counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry. Developed largely on till this land type is compiled from local bedrock. Zone sections have a concentration of boulders at the surface because of the removal of surface fines by waves and currents. Boulder fields were presumably a characteristic feature of this landscape before clearance, and stone fences contain the boulders today. The depth of the till is significant because of its influence upon soil formation. Shallowness can produce soils that are often poorly drained but they will have a
droughty characteristic when drainage is free. In those areas where the concentration of stones in the till declines the land type is classified as shaly loam. This is a significant variation since excessive stoniness is a major limitation to agriculture in the former land type.

The major difference between the limestone till plains and the shallow limestone plains is the depth of till covering. In the former the topography is undulating even when the bedrock is relatively flat while in the latter, limestone bedrock lies at or near the surface and the land is typically flat. Mackay has referred to this land type as "thin soils over limestone plains".\(^9\) Drainage in this area can be retarded to the point where large bogs have developed. This land is usually left in forest (elm, ash, cedar, spruce).

In addition to the bogs that have formed on the shallow limestone plains swamps have developed in former channels of the Ottawa River. The flatness of the channel floor and the impermeability of underlying clay are conducive to swampy conditions. Perhaps the best known bog in Eastern Ontario is the Mer Bleue Peat Bog east of Ottawa. The Alfred Bog in Prescott County is a similar formation.

**Soils**

The soils in this region are in the southern transitional belt of the podzol zone. Since the soils of Eastern Ontario and the Ottawa Valley are younger than those in the
western regions of Ontario leaching has taken place over a shorter period of time. However, in the better drained soils because of the high precipitation and a colder climate it is more advanced than in Western Ontario.

Because of the level topography, associated with post glacial inundation, inadequate drainage is a problem throughout the area. Putnam and Chapman have estimated that about half of the area suffers from drainage problems. In the Canada Land Inventory, drainage problems represent the most common limitation to use throughout the area. On the basis of shallow, sandy, wet and stony or excessively stony soil and bog Putnam and Chapman have stated that the areal ratio of poor land to good is about 60:40.

On the basis of texture there is a general correspondence between the soils and the natural land types described above. The heavy soils coincide roughly with the clay plains while the other predominant type, the light soils, correspond to the sand and silt plains. Together these two general types occupy about two thirds of the Ottawa Valley and Eastern Ontario.

Rather than give a detailed presentation of soils, a general description is presented to indicate the correlation between soils and natural land types. In the context of the later discussion of land settlement it will be necessary to give a more detailed description of land capabilities based upon the Canada Land Inventory. (See page 223).
This Inventory was completed during the mid 1960's and was devised as a method of classifying land for forest capabilities. Of particular value to this study the classifications have been mapped at a scale 1:250,000 and so it is possible closely to match settlement locations to the Inventory capability classifications. There are several advantages to the utilization of this survey to settlement correlation alone. A land surface classified as a homogeneous unit has been so assigned on the basis of subsoil, soil profile, depth, moisture, fertility, landform, climate and vegetation. Thus several significant variables have been incorporated into a single capability classification. Furthermore, classification is based on the estimated natural state of the land without improvements such as fertilization, drainage or other amelioration. This should help to overcome the problem of correlating settlement patterns of the nineteenth century with land/soil classifications of the twentieth century.

Returning then to the general discussion of the soils of the region emphasis will be placed upon the problems of management that are associated with the various types. The heavy clay soils are mostly acid and must have adequate drainage if good tillage is to be maintained. In the spring these soils can be very sticky and when excessively moist they are referred to as 'late' soils because ground temperatures ameliorate slowly. During the summer this type of soil will dry into hard clods if ploughed when it is too wet but if allowed to become too dry the hard surface can become
difficult to break up.\textsuperscript{13}

The clays of Renfrew County developed under forests of spruce and pine whereas those of Russell and Prescott to the east developed under hardwoods with an admixture of white pines. Here the conditions of drainage are poorer, reflecting the prevalence of flat land and an impervious subsoil. In some parts of Russell and Prescott this problem intensifies because in the Ottawa Valley precipitation increases from west to east.\textsuperscript{14}

As the soil grades into lighter texture the problems associated with soil management change but one condition prevails; the problem of drainage. A belt of silt and fine sandy loams extends across Prescott and Russell Counties and into Carleton. Unlike the clays this soil has good waterholding capacity and is easier to till. Unfortunately the pervious nature of the soil is conducive to waterlogging in the subsoil. Along the streams, however, where natural drainage conditions improve such problems become minimal. Where the poor sandy soils occur the water holding capacity of the soil deteriorates and there is an easy movement of ground water. These drouthy conditions are compounded by the general absence of organic material in the light sand soils. Occasionally a shallow impervious layer within the sand soils will produce a high water table and a high risk of swamp conditions. Artificial drainage in such areas can be tricky for if it is done too deeply, the water table will be
lowered too much and droughty conditions at the surface will develop. Organic content is higher in these shallower sand soils but this will deteriorate rapidly if careless drainage lowers the water table greatly. It is essential that organic material in the soil be maintained in sandy areas if a good soil structure is to be sustained.

During their extensive research in Eastern Ontario Putnam and Chapman concluded that the need for better drainage was the single biggest problem for the soils of Eastern Ontario. The flat topography, nearness to bedrock or impermeable strata and the texture of the surface soil are factors that singly or in combination have resulted in a region in which it is estimated that only 10% of the total area has well-drained soils.  

In the year 1879 a Commission was appointed, "to enquire into the agricultural resources of the Province of Ontario" and to enquire into matters that were connected with agriculture. The conditions and character of the soil were considered and, while fairly general in description, this section of the report reflects the topography and morphology of the region that has been outlined above. The details of soil composition have been presented below at the county level. A breakdown into individual townships will be given in the section dealing with colonization movements and patterns of settlement in Eastern Ontario. For comparison one county from Central Ontario and one from Western Ontario
have been included. York and Oxford Counties are generally considered to be among the best agricultural counties in Southern Ontario and therefore may be useful when discussing differences at the scale of the county. Each county is approximately equal in area to the united counties of Russell and Prescott.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character of the Soil</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>percentage</strong></td>
<td>Prescott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay loam</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy clay</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandy loam</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gravelly soil 20½</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sand</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black loam</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* in Lochiel township only
- inappreciable amounts
1. this percentage also includes heavy clay areas in pockets

Not only does Oxford County enjoy a greater acreage of clay loam soils but these lands are generally well drained.

Coupled with a longer frost free period this county is well ahead of those of Eastern Ontario in agricultural capabilities and production. It is interesting to note that the distribution of soil types in York County is not too different from that of Prescott County. The one exception is in the generally fertile clay loam soils. The major difference between the two counties that influences production is the relative absence of drainage problems in the Central Ontario county. Delays in spring planting and autumn harvesting effectively restricts the range of crops that can be grown in Eastern Ontario where drainage problems persist.
Russell County, for example, enjoys a larger percentage of sandy loams than any of the counties listed but because of a level topography, and/or a clay subsoil, or excessive permeability drainage problems offset advantages of this type.

An interesting contrast is revealed in the variation in cost of farm land in the counties in 1881. The cost of farm land does not reflect land quality alone but indicates accessibility to market, availability of farm land, land speculation and demand curves.

Cost of Farm Land, per acre, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
<th>3rd class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russell &amp; Prescott</td>
<td>$30-$40</td>
<td>$10-$25</td>
<td>$4-$10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas</td>
<td>$60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stormont</td>
<td>$40</td>
<td>a range of $8 to $40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glengarry</td>
<td>$45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>$50-$80</td>
<td>$40-$65</td>
<td>$20-$40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In York County land costs ranged from a low of $25 per acre to an exceptional high of $100 per acre. The average price of land within a radius of 20 miles of Toronto was from $70 to $80 per acre.

At the time that this survey was completed both areas had shifted their agricultural emphasis to dairying. Cheese factories and creameries were scattered throughout the countryside consequently farmers had an outlet for their milk. Oxford county was in a more favourable position for the fluid milk market with access to London-Woodstock-Inger-
Russell and Prescott farmers did not enjoy the same choice for their milk production and, for the inland townships, distance from market was the major complaint of their economic situation. Nevertheless, cheese factories and creameries absorbed their milk but at a lower price level than the fluid market. Proximity to shipping facilities at Montreal gave this region an edge over the export cheese producers in Western Ontario.

It would seem, therefore, that the price differential in land reflected the poor quality of land as a major factor with accessibility to market a secondary factor. Many farmers in Eastern Ontario were persuaded to sell out and take advantage of the encouraging reports regarding colonization in Western Canada during the 1880's.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER VI


4J.R. MacKay, Ibid.

5Ibid., MacKay has devoted two sections of his dissertation to a discussion of the theories relative to the formation of the terraces and bluffs in the Ottawa Valley.

6L.J. Chapman, D.F. Putnam, op. cit. Their divisions were considered to be a much "finer" division than the broader type of Physiographic division commonly used, e.g. Appalachian Highlands.

7J.R. MacKay, op. cit.


9J.R. MacKay, op. cit.


14J.R. MacKay, op. cit.


17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.


CHAPTER VII

FRENCH CANADIAN SETTLEMENT IN EASTERN ONTARIO;

RUSSELL AND PRESCOTT COUNTIES

To determine whether there was some relation between the undertakings of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and the processes and patterns of settlement in Eastern Ontario various archival records were consulted. To plot settlement between 1840 and 1910 surnames were used to differentiate between French Canadian and British, or other, settlers in the four counties of Russell, Prescott, Glengarry and Stormont. Municipal records of these counties are in the Ontario Archives, Toronto, for the years from 1840 to the early 1850's. These records provide information on the location of settlers by lot and concession. In addition, data on the amount of land cleared and the number of animals in possession are recorded. It was possible to determine whether a land owner was actively farming the land or holding it on speculation. If the acreage was entirely listed under "uncleared" land and he listed no animals on the land the name was not listed as a settler on that lot.

There are some shortcomings in the practice of using surnames to differentiate between the British and French Canadian settlers but reference to the census of 1871 verified the general accuracy of this form of analysis. The original documents of the census of 1871 are in the Public
Archives in Ottawa and for each family name the ethnic origin is provided. To link the two variables to a specific site, it is necessary to consult the microfilm records of "census number" and ethnic origin. Once these numbers have been obtained the original enumeration files of agricultural data must be consulted to link the assessment number to surname and lot number. The two sets of records thereby permit association of surname, ethnic origin, site location and occupation by lot and concession. In this way it was determined that for the time period 1840 to 1910 the use of surname to determine ethnic settlement is a sufficiently accurate technique. Little or no assimilation had occurred in the area so that names are indeed indicative of French Canadian origin.

Furthermore, errors in assigning a name to the wrong ethnic group were minimized because usually more than one family occupied a 200 acre lot. For the period prior to 1870 it is occasionally necessary to consult another source to obtain settlers by lot and concession. The Poll Books for specified townships are in the Public Archives and it was possible to utilize this reference source when the municipal records were lacking for certain townships.

Another advantage of the municipal data in the Ontario Archives and the agricultural records, census of Canada, in the Public Archives, Ottawa is the data provided for both land owners and tenants. Many settlers from Lower Canada entered Upper Canada to take up land as tenants, a
position they held for some time before being able to purchase property. To map an accurate pattern of settlement it is necessary to incorporate both tenant and free holder into the mapping procedure.

For the time periods 1885, 1895, and 1905 the Farmers Directories for the counties of Ontario were consulted. Produced by the Ingersoll Publishing Company these directories provide the names of tenants and freeholders by lot and concession for specified counties. It is assumed that by 1885 most occupied land in the four counties was being farmed and that it was no longer necessary to ascertain the number of acres cleared or the number of animals being pastured to assess whether a lot was being held in speculation or actually supporting a family. Each family name was plotted on a chart (appendix C) and subsequently recorded on a township map according to the dominant ethnic group per surveyed lot. It was usual for more than one family to work a two hundred acre lot during this period of settlement, hence, lots were assigned to an ethnic category according to the most numerous group. An even balance between British and French Canadian settlers was recorded as a third category; this appeared to be a usual occurrence when tenants were farming portions of a lot.

For most townships the survey system was conducted on a standard grid pattern and plotting was quite straightforward. Occasionally inebriated patterns are encountered which present a problem in accurate location. This was the
situation for Cornwall and Charlottenburg townships. To interpret the survey patterns utilized it was necessary to consult the county atlases, Public Archives of Canada.\textsuperscript{5} This was also the situation for townships along the Ottawa River which have first and second concessions "old survey" and "inland survey". The early directories do not differentiate between first concession "old" or "inland" survey. When this occurs the proper location can be ascertained through reference to the postal address of the settler. For example, a settler on concession #1, Cumberland township, postal address "Dickenson" was situated along the Ottawa River whereas a settler on concession #1, Cumberland township, postal address "Bear Rock" was situated on the inland concession. The county atlases were consulted to locate these postal addresses and to relate them to the proper concession.\textsuperscript{6}

It was found that the assessment and census roles, by township, were the most accurate method to plot settlement patterns. The Index to Land Patents can be erroneous because it was possible for a lot to change hands several times before an application for patent was made. Similarly the Abstract of Deeds records do not permit the location of tenants. Furthermore, the possibility of assigning a lot to a non-resident owner is higher with this source. Initials B and S ("barter and sale") indicate a change of owner while a listing of "mortgage" also indicates a change of name within deed records; these are highly subject to misinterpretation
unless one is searching only one concession or lot.

Once ethnic settlement patterns were plotted, over time, they were related to agricultural soil capability maps of the Canada Land Inventory and to the physiographic map of eastern Ontario devised by Putnam and Chapman. All three maps were plotted at the same scale. Overlays of the latter to settlement maps facilitated an interpretation of pattern to landscape types. In addition, surface profiles were constructed from the 1:50,000 series of the Canadian topographical maps, for various townships in Russell and Prescott counties, to test for further relationships between settlement patterns and landscape. Once the technique for establishing settlement patterns was determined it was necessary to relate this to information obtained from the various diocesan archives in Eastern Ontario. The decisions/undertakings of the hierarchy in spatial expansion were carefully researched and were related to the dates of commencement of missions and the pattern and date of settlement around that mission. As settlement maps were completed they were related to figure 7 which represents the parish and mission structure throughout Russell and Prescott. This map represented a significant visual link between the patterns of settlement, researched in government archives, and the processes of diocesan structure, gleaned from research in the diocesan archives.

**Russell and Prescott Counties**

As outlined in preceding chapters, letters to Rome
Roman Catholic Missions and Parishes in Russell and Prescott Counties

- **1849**: Date mission territory assigned to parish
- **1905**: Date of elevation to parish

- **pre 1847**
- **1847 - 1867**
- **1867 - 1899**
- **1899 - 1912**
- **1912 +**

*Source: A.A.O. Parish Histories*
from the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Lower Canada emphasized the need to organize territorially after the Act of Union in order to strengthen Catholicism and to thwart the advances of Protestantism in Canada. Mgr. Guigues was aware that this religious group was growing in the cities of the united provinces at the expense of Catholicism and it was this universal ecclesiastic struggle that reinforced his arguments for assistance from the Council of Lyon. Communications among the bishops of Lower Canada reveal their fear of Anglicification but after 1841 their overriding concern was the loss of French Catholics to the United States. However, while this was occasionally mentioned in communiques to Rome or to Lyon, supporting arguments for funds or territorial changes were generally those that would appeal to the universality of the Church.

Bishop Guigues had definite plans for the development of his diocese and for the processes that would ensure viable parishes. The focality of the cross (the church buildings) and the leadership efforts of the curés became standard colonization processes utilized by the bishop and colonization priests. The bishop overestimated Protestants' domination throughout his diocese and expressed his surprise at their sparseness in the townships to the south of Ottawa during a pastoral visit that was made shortly after his letter to Lyon.* This Protestant scarcity intensified his enthusiasm for Russell and Prescott counties and in 1851 he urged his *vide supra, ch.v, n.59.
colleague in Montreal to direct French Canadians toward these vacant lands. He feared that unless the hierarchy of Quebec moved quickly the Protestants would soon take greater advantage of the economic potential of the Ottawa Valley. Mgr. Bourget agreed with bishop Guigues that these counties held great potential for French Canadian colonization but before he could instruct his priests to direct parishioners from the Diocese of Montreal into Upper Canada he required more information on the region.7

In his reply Mgr. Guigues explained that the first advantage of this part of his diocese was the availability of farm land between Rigaud (Lower Canada) and Bytown (fig. 8). Vacant lands were significant because the French Canadians were to be encouraged to settle in groups. The townships in Russell and Prescott were described as comparable to the Eastern Townships of Mgr. Bourget’s diocese but without the disadvantage of the conflict with British absentee landowners and Protestant settlers. Land was available from the Canada Land Company, and the Clergy Reserves and if the habitant could be directed to these, exploitation by land speculators could be avoided.

Communication was another benefit to the habitant. Connectivity by road and river would facilitate the linkages with the old parishes in the Diocese of Montreal. The Ottawa River and its many tributaries could be used to transport farm produce upstream to the shanties. These, in turn, would
provide employment during the winter but the farmer could return to his land in the spring to begin cultivating his land. Mgr. Guigues was confident that the road between Bytown and Rigaud would facilitate inland penetration and that tributary roads would be expanded and improved.

In his letter to the ordinary of Montreal, the bishop assured his colleague that this territory was not a frontier land. Some Catholic families were already established, mills were in operation and chapels were either operative, served by a missionary priest, or their location was established to ensure future settlements. Guigues emphasized that Protestants were not yet located in these counties in large numbers and hence, "... the French Canadians, in coming to this location will find his Ottawa River and will remain there, master of both banks."8

The quality of the land was given in general terms and it is apparent from Guigues' papers that his priority for praise was the absorptive capacity of the region. If the land was relatively free of Protestant settlement conflict would be minimal. Concurrently, there would be space so that future generations could be accommodated and cooperation among the habitants would be maximized. There was much land that was available for cultivation within his diocese and the mission chapel and the visiting priest would create the nucleus for settlement expansion. Bishop Guigues also encouraged people to enter his diocese who would function in a
service capacity to the rural population. It is evident from population records compiled for settlement maps that the French Canadians were well represented in small communities in Russell and Prescott but not as well in the larger centres such as Hawkesbury.

Prior to the erection of the Diocese of Ottawa, French Canadian penetration into the Ontario portion of the diocese was apparently random. A few families had entered East and West Hawkesbury Townships but their spatial concentration was not marked. Families were contiguous where possible but the penetration lacked organization and nucleated patterns of settlement were absent (fig. 8). On his first pastoral visit into the townships of Hawkesbury in 1848, the bishop expressed surprise at the number of French Canadian families already in the region. Most of the land in West Hawkesbury had been taken up by 1841. At this time settlement was largely concentrated on the till plains where natural drainage conditions made a wet season less hazardous to hay crops than the marine clays. Relative to the other townships in Russell and Prescott, limestone till plains are well distributed in Hawkesbury. In this township the topography, while gently rolling, presented little or no restriction to cultivation.9 In his history of this region Thomas contrasted the east and west portions of Hawkesbury,

It is said that the soil here is lighter than it is in East Hawkesbury; in the latter township they raise better crops, especially of hay, but in wet seasons this rule is reversed, the crops of the western township being more abundant 10
Fig. 8
Land Settlement in Russell, Prescott, Glengarry, and Stormont Counties, 1841

Origin
- French
- French and British
- British or Other
- Unoccupied

Source: Ontario Municipal Records, Ontario Archives
Land Settlement in Russell, Prescott, Glengarry, and Stormont Counties, 1861

Fig. 10

Origin
- French
- French and British
- British or Other
- Unoccupied
- Parish or Mission Centre

Source: Township Assessment Records, Public Archives of Canada.
Fig. 11

Land Settlement in Russell, Prescott, Glengarry, and Stormont Counties, 1871.

Origin
- Dark: French
- Very dark: French and British
- Medium dark: British or Other
- Light: Unoccupied
- X: Parish or Mission Centre

Source: Agricultural Statistics, Census of Canada.
Hay and oats were produced for the timber areas but one must assume that the farmers who settled the heavier lands in East Hawkesbury faced the problems of excessive moisture for several decades. In the report of the Agricultural Commissioner in 1881 less than 5% of the cleared land in East Hawkesbury had been "underdrained" but more than three times this amount had been so improved in West Hawkesbury.

While some French Canadians had settled along the margins of the till plain their settlement expansion was onto the heavier soils of the clay plains. By 1851 many French Canadians who had located on the regions of lighter soils were displaced by English-speaking farmers and their concentration on the wetter lands was now more marked (fig. 9). This pattern intensified in the following decade especially on the inland clay plains where little dissection occurred to break the monotony of the flat topography. In east Hawkesbury the village of St. Eugene is situated in these clay plains and it was here that Bishop Guigues created his mission centre in 1848. The territory was administered by the parish priest from l'Orignal but by 1855 St. Eugene had developed to the position where it could support a resident priest and, hence, was elevated to a parish. French Canadian settlement in East Hawkesbury increased from 1848 but was noticeably absent in the western township until the 1870's. Once St. Eugene achieved parish status mission territory was assigned first in the region around Chute-à-Blondeau on the Ottawa
River and later in the southern section of the township focused upon Ste. Anne de Prescott. Thus, the entire township was under the jurisdiction of the parish priest of St. Eugene and habitants from the neighbouring counties in Lower Canada, especially Vaudreuil and Soulanges, were made aware of available lands for settlement. The annual reports from the parishes in East Hawkesbury record heavy immigration of families from this source.

In plotting ethnic settlement in West Hawkesbury and in researching the annual reports of the parish of Vankleek Hill one is struck by the transient nature of French Canadian settlement. English speaking settlers maintained their numerical superiority especially inland from the Ottawa River on the more fertile soils of the limestone till plains. The settlement map of 1871 (fig. 11) illustrates a period of relatively strong French Canadian colonization in West Hawkesbury but location was, in general, concentrated in the northwest portion of the township on the lower land associated with the fine sand and clay plains. According to the agricultural report of 1881 the heavy clays of the township predominate along the frontconcessions with extensive sandy soils along the western margins; the farmer's choice of crop production was, therefore, limited. It may be postulated that the French Canadian colonists were unable to displace or replace English-speaking farmers in the more fertile regions of the townships. For the mill town of Hawkesbury, proximity
first to the markets of the timber and lumber industry and later (according to the agricultural report of 1880) to Ottawa and Montreal made farming a profitable venture for settlers well situated to the town and to the river. During the 1860's and 1870's as more land was colonized in Russell and Prescott, French Canadians on marginal lands in West Hawkesbury migrated into the parishes or missions that were more strongly French Canadian. At the turn of the century the pattern remained relatively unchanged. The numbers of French Canadian had increased as large farm lots were subdivided to accommodate more families. This was a slow process, however, for land was available in other parishes within the diocese that was cheaper and less crowded than in the townships of Hawkesbury.

Westward, an interesting pattern of colonization evolved in the townships of North and South Plantagenet (fig.12). A small group of French Canadians had settled near the town of Plantagenet during the 1830's. Similar to Hawkesbury, the town was dominated by saw mill activity preparing pine timber that had been cut from stands near South Nation River. Because of their early settlement some habitants obtained lots in the lower valley of the South Nation, north of Plantagenet, where soil limitations to agriculture are minimal and drainage conditions considerably better than elsewhere in the township. In the northwest, around the town of Wendover on the Ottawa River "habitants", who arrived later, spread southward onto the wetter lands of the clay
SOIL CAPABILITY CLASSIFICATION
(Canada Land Inventory)

Descriptive Legend

Classes

1  Soils in this class have no significant limitations in use for crops
2  Soils in this class have moderate limitations that restrict the range
    of crops or require moderate conservation practices
3  Soils in this class have moderately severe limitations that restrict
    the range of crops or require special conservation practices
4  Soils in this class have severe limitations that restrict the range
    of crops or require special conservation practices or both
5  Soils in this class have very severe limitations that restrict their
    capability of producing perennial forage crops and improvement
    practices are not feasible
6  Soils in this class are capable only of producing perennial forage
    crops and improvement practices are not feasible
7  Soils in this class have no capability for arable culture or permanent
    pasture

Subclasses

Excepting class 1, the classes are divided into subclasses on the basis of one
or more of nine kinds of limitations. Only four of these limitations are
presented below.

Subclass P: stoniness - stones interfere with tillage, planting and harvesting

Subclass R: shallowness to bedrock - solid bedrock is less than 3 feet from the
    surface

Subclass S: adverse soil characteristics - include one or more of the
    following: low permeability, low moisture-holding capacity,
    salinity, undesirable structure

Subclass W: excess water - excess water other than from flooding (separate
    subclass) limits use for agriculture. Excess water may be due to
    poor drainage, a high water table, see page or runoff from
    surrounding areas.

Conventions

Large arabic numerals denote capability classes. Small arabic numerals placed
after a class numeral give the approximate proportion of the class out of a
total of ten. Letters placed after class numerals denote the subclasses,
    i.e. the limitations.

Examples

An area of class 4 land with stoniness and excess water limitations is shown
thus:

An area of class 2 with adverse soil characteristics and class 4 with stoniness
limitations, in the proportions 7:3 is shown thus:

27 45 4p

223
Land Settlement by Township with Physiographic Regions and Soil Capability for Agriculture

Origin
- French
- French and British
- British or Other
- Unoccupied

P. Plantagenet
C. Curran
F. Fournier
L. St. Isidore

N. Plantagenet - S. Plantagenet Townships

Canada Land Inventory

After Putnam and Chapman
plains; a section of the township that had been avoided by British settlers (fig. 12).

In 1839, the town of Plantagenet, with its environs, was designated as mission territory of the priests in L'Orignal. Many Irish were among the early Catholic settlers and it was to satisfy the needs of both ethnic groups that the mission was first established. However, because of friction among the Catholics in the area, and the resultant inability to erect a church, a second mission centre was established three miles to the south in Curran and this, too, was served by the priests of L'Orignal.

The French colonists settled near this second mission whereas English-speaking settlers dominated the centre of the township particularly in the sand plain region where the large stands of pine timber were being exploited. The concessions southeast of Curran were open for settlement but the land here, while having greater capability for agriculture, was wetter than those where British settlement was concentrated. This section of the Ottawa Valley clay plains is part of an old post-glacial estuary of the Ottawa River and is subject to flooding during spring run-offs and during exceptionally heavy summer rains. That the South Nation River system has not yet established drainage in its whole territory is evidenced by the numerous peat bogs within its basin.
Between 1851 and 1861 French Canadian colonists took up the lots on the level clay plains that extend eastward from the South Nation River as a peninsula of land into the Alfred Bog. From the valley of the South Nation, French settlement gradually encroached upon the higher land of the sand plains west of Curran (fig. 10). The parish records of Curran provide an overview of the rural activities that sustained these French settlers who were attracted to this mission centre. Pine timber was the major species logged from the township, however,

Other species of wood which could not be used on the square were cut and floated in smaller rafts to the nearest mill and there converted into lumber for construction. The parish of St. Luc was admirably situated to greatly benefit by the advantages of this industry.

The lumber industry, even important as it was, would only be very transitory. It gradually gave way to agriculture. The farms which the settlers cleared were excellent; they were the cream of the Nation and the Ottawa River Valleys. As the forest disappeared the farmers settled more firmly and in large numbers. Grain, butter and livestock found a good remunerative market. Numerous families came from the neighbouring counties of Vaudreuil and Soulanges and even some from Ireland.

Once the Curran - Plantagenet missions were elevated to parish status the resident priest there was given the responsibility for mission centre in South Plantagenet township, one at Fournier and the other in the sparsely settled area around St. Isidore de Prescott. In his record of a pastoral visit to these mission centres in 1859 Bishop Guigues wrote,
When I located the cross to mark the site of the future church in July, 1854, there were only 29 families there—almost all Irish. To-day this number has doubled and the majority has become Canadian... The colonists number 120 Catholic families total. They are poor as yet but their lands are excellent and united. There are few Protestants. The Rev. Bertrand will attend the mission once a month in this chapel and several times a year at Scotch River [St. Isidore de Prescott]. Let us hope that these religious benefits will promote colonization in these localities.14

The bishop's move concurred with the erection of a mill at Fournier by a settler from Lower Canada. This is described in the Historical Atlas of the county as the date in which French settlement began in the region.15 Because of the number of parishioners in the vicinity, Fournier achieved parish status in 1866. A young French Canadian priest was assigned as first resident curé and was given charge, at the same time, of the mission of St. Isidore and of Routhier in Caledonia Township (fig. 13).

Between Curran and St. Isidore, British settlers were strongly committed to the coarse sand plains that bisect the township and to the valley lands of the South Nation River; to the south of this wedge of British settlement the land was vacant. This portion of the valley was described in 1879 as having good agricultural land "... with only sufficient undulation to admit of convenient drainage". Land at the confluence of the Scotch and South Nation Rivers was considered particularly good for agriculture, as periodic flooding had here provided alluvial deposits that were valued. To the
Land Settlement by Township with Physiographic Regions and Soil Capability for Agriculture

Origin

- French
- French and British
- British or Other
- Unoccupied
south along the Ridge Road, which followed the trend of the
drier coarse sands of the flanking sand plain, the soil,
while light, was considered favourable to husbandry.

In spite of the general wetness of the valley lands,
settlers of British origin held on to these farms and to the
"ridge" lands to the south. Only the valley lands further
downstream where the river changes course abruptly in the
vicinity of the Alfred bog and where flooding is more frequent,
were the French settlers able to colonize in large numbers.
This earlier wedge of English-speaking settlement survived
and separated the French Canadian parishes of Curran and
St. Isidore. It is probable that these British farmers were
able to take advantage of the markets of the timber/lumber
industry focused upon "Plantagenet Mills". Later, with the
proliferation of cheese factories throughout the county they
had an outlet for manufacturing-grade milk, and proximity to
the Ridge Road assured easy access to these processing
plants.

It was around the mission centre of St. Isidore that
the next group of habitants clustered. From the level land
around this mission, French Canadian colonists made some
inroads onto the better drained soils but the major movement
was east and west of St. Isidore along the clay plains south
of the "Ridge" in South Plantagenet and Caledonia (fig. 12).

The concentration of French Canadian colonists around
the mission centre of Scotch River was duplicated in the
neighbouring township of Caledonia around St. Bernardin (fig.13). The township is dominated, physiographically, by peat bogs to the north and south. Between the two the sand plain ridge of South Plantagenet extends as a wedge of high ground. The first settlers into this township too were of British origin. These farmers reflected the preference of their English-speaking neighbours in South Plantagenet and settled along the sand ridge. Southward the ridge grades gently onto the clay plains, and the poor drainage condition along the southern flanks of the sand ridge is a reflection of the increasing flatness of the topography and the clay subsoil. These conditions eventually deteriorate into bogs within the clay plain. Along the margins of these depressions some Irish settlers obtained land at low prices and burned off the overburden of peat in order to farm the underlying clay soils.14

Between 1871 and 1885 French Canadian colonists responded to the encouragement of the clergy and settlement between St. Isidore and St. Bernardin gradually merged. The habitants took up lots on the clay plain and on the southern flank of the ridge and eased their way between Irish Catholics to the south and other English-speaking "ridge settlers" to the north. Once again the habitant had not been repulsed by the presence of wet, flat land. (Fig.13).

The apparent preference of the French Canadian colonist to settle on the wetter clay soils is mentioned in
records of the church of St. Thomas d'Alfred. Here the resident priest referred to the earliest habitants in the township (c. 1850) and their attempts at surface drainage of some of the wetter areas,

Armed with long glistening spades they would take pleasure in sliding out the heaviest shovels of clay and fling them far and wide. 17

French Canadian settlement in Alfred was most prominent in the clay plains and along the margins of the Alfred Bog. There are references in the parish records to the grand fires that were made when the dried moss was burned off the land. 18 By 1885 the major concentration of English-speaking settlers remained on the higher land associated with the deltaic sands between the towns of Plantagenet and Alfred. The parish priest informed his bishop,

Groups of Anglo-Saxons bit by bit installed themselves on the sandy or rocky hills, at Vankleek Hill, at Saint Eugene, on the ridge of Caledonia and other similar elevations, where the government generously established them in reward for their loyalty to the Crown. But these Anglo-Saxons were careful not to descend onto the flat open country [la plaine] to excavate trenches, or large and deep draining ditches, to drain the water the five or six miles to the Ottawa or its tributaries. 19

The abandonment of this better drained land was a very gradual process on the part of the British colonist so the map of settlement of Alfred township for 1905, portrays a tiny pocket of English-speaking farmers in the boundary region of North Plantagenet and Alfred proximal to the Ottawa River. (Fig. 24 & 25).
Colonization developed continuously in several townships in Russell and Prescott. Rather than a wave of settlement advancing from the counties of Beauharnois, Soulanges or Vaudreuil or elsewhere in Lower Canada, small pockets developed usually around the mission centres as the hierarchy had planned. One of the best illustrations of the pattern and process of colonization in Eastern Ontario is in Russell Township. In his first pastoral visit to this inland township Mgr. Guigues recorded his surprise that the Protestants had not taken up land here, as they had in Cumberland township to the North of Russell, and that the greatest part of the township was unsettled. He recorded several French Canadian families here in 1848 but it seems probable that these were transients of the type described by the early missionary priests for no record of their presence appears in the municipal records in the Ontario Archives. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the bishop there were sufficient amenities within the township to favour French Canadian settlement.

... the small Castor River flows through; a direct road is to be opened to Bytown next year; five saw mills and a grist mill are there and in full operation; lands are of an excellent quality and are available in 200 acre lots. These lands are not yet taken. These are all precious advantages to colonization.

The bishop believed that more than one family could be accommodated on these lots of 200 acres and he selected Embrun as the site for the mission chapel around which the habitants were to gather. The settlement map of 1861 demonstrates the success of the mission (fig. 10). The first
missionary priest to this centre (1852) was Father Déléage a young French Canadian who later devoted much of his time and energies to the colonization of the Gatineau Valley. This priest evidently followed his bishops' instructions well for by 1864 the mission had attained sufficient Catholic population and specific territorial organization to support a resident priest and, hence, to attain parish status.

The development of French-speaking and English-speaking settlement was markedly separate in Russell township. British settlement in 1841, although sparse, focused upon two pockets of land of good quality soil that had developed on small till plains in the northwest and southwest sectors of the township (fig. 8). The land here was well enough drained and easily managed with the only impediment to tillage being the occasional presence of stones. The British settlers spread north and south from these two pockets onto land of only slightly lower fertility until they occupied all the land in the western half of the township. In contrast to this pattern the habitants colonized the land near Embrun and along the major road through the township to Ottawa. This road lies very close to the junction between the clay and sand plains. From this junction habitant settlement extended first southward on to the clay plains and later, as lots were taken up here, northward on to the drier soils of the sand plains. The term drier must be accepted here as relative for the topography north of Embrun is still quite level hence the
Land Settlement by Township with Physiographic Regions and Soil Capability for Agriculture

Russell Township

Profiles: see figs. 10a, 17

Origin

- [French]
- [French and British]
- [British or Other]
- [Unoccupied]
limitations to tillage are associated with poor drainage in seasons of heavy precipitation (fig. 15). The profiles that extend northwest and northeast of Embrun illustrate the change in elevation between the region settled by British and French Canadian colonists. (Fig. 16 & 17). While the change in elevation is not great, extending only 25 to 50 feet it is generally associated with gradation from the lower heavier soils of the clay plains to the lighter soils of the sand plains. On the higher elevations better drainage is associated with soil texture and topography where rolling fields are less prone to saturation during a wet period.

An example of the role of the parish priest in aiding the colonization of mission territory may also be taken from Russell township. By the turn of the century French Canadian settlers were well established in the eastern half of the township (figs. 15 & 25). Father Forget, the cure of Embrun, informed his bishop that the habitants in the vicinity of Marionville wished to erect their own chapel. The priest encouraged Mgr. Duhamel to accede to their wishes even though the mission would be established in the midst of Protestants for these people were willing and anxious to sell their land.

The church will be built in the midst of Protestants, and as all wish to sell, I have no doubt that in a few years the Catholics will be the owners of all this first-class land in the vicinity of the new church.21

In the next few years several French Canadian families settled near Marionville and purchased land from Protestant
Russell Township: Embrun – West – Northwest

Vertical Exaggeration 40 x
farmers. The bishop was informed that this movement was growing and that it was time to elevate the mission to a parish, but this situation had been achieved by an unusual manoeuvre. In spite of the priest's forecast, land available in Russell could not accommodate all incoming French Catholic colonists and settlement spread southward across the diocesan boundary into Winchester township. Under the urging of curé Forget, Mgr. Duhamel persuaded his counterpart in Kingston, Mgr. Gauthier, to permit the French Catholics who had settled in Winchester (Diocese of Kingston) to attend the new mission in Marionville (Diocese of Ottawa).

To persuade Rome that a boundary adjustment was required, and hence to incorporate the French Catholics of Winchester into the Diocese of Ottawa, the Catholics of one of Ottawa's own boundary townships would be assigned to Kingston. The Catholics in this township (Marlborough) were of British origin. Specific concessions in each township were to be traded so that the new boundary would incorporate the habitants into Ottawa Diocese and the English-speaking Catholics of Marlborough township into Kingston Diocese. The Holy See did not agree to these boundary changes but through a verbal agreement between the two bishops the French Canadians of Winchester were still allowed to attend Marionville and through their support, Marionville achieved parish status in 1906. The linkage of these settlers to the Diocese of Ottawa must be considered a significant factor in delaying the assimilation of the habitants into the English-speaking
society of the Diocese of Kingston.

An interesting pattern of settlement developed in the townships of Cumberland and Clarence in Russell County (fig. 18). British settlers dominated the old surveyed lots along the river, but in 1854 as settlement moved inland there appeared to be an ethnic division within the township settlement pattern as there had been in the township of Russell. In reference to the settlement maps of 1861 and 1871 (figs. 10 & 11) there appears to be a definite ethnic preference with French Canadian concentration in Clarence and British settlers dominating the township of Cumberland. There was a strong Protestant element among these early settlers in Cumberland and it was the opinion of the hierarchy that the best balance for the township would be to promote Irish Catholic settlement in this region and efforts to this end were directed firstly toward the river concessions and later (1867) into Sarsfield.22 This policy is partially revealed through an entry by Bishop Guigues in his reference to his missions and parishes. Commenting upon Cumberland, in 1856, he wrote,

>The priest [of Irish descent] resides in this locality [village of Cumberland] in order, through his presence, to attract Catholics and to balance the Protestant force which is quite considerable in this locality 23

Between the undulating land of the Ottawa River concession of Cumberland (old survey) and the better drained soils south of Navan and Sarsfield, the area is drained by a
Cumberland and Clarence Townships

Land Settlement by Township with Physiographic Regions and Soil Capability for Agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French and British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British or Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unoccupied</td>
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</tbody>
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number of small creeks. The land is flat, drainage is poorly
developed, and wetness is the major impediment to agricul-
ture. These low lands were avoided by the British settlers
who concentrated upon the higher, drier soils to the north
and to the south. The growth of British settlement was
slow in the township and lots were taken up on the lower
clay plains only gradually. The penetration of French
colonization entered from the northwest, emanating in this
instance from the small cluster of settlers around Orleans
in Carleton County, and followed the low, wet land of the
clay plains.

French settlement around Orleans dates from the
late 1840's and, like most communities along the river, the
growth of habitant population here was slow. During a
pastoral visit in 1849 Guigues recorded that only nine
French families settled here and that they were difficult to
reach,

...it is impossible to approach them on a
dirt road, in a carriage, and a voyage by canoe
for a dozen miles is expensive and difficult. 24

The initiative for mission status lay with the in-
habitants - a strange contrast to inland mission centres and
parish status for Orleans was not attained until 1860. On
his last visit to the parish in 1871 Mgr. Guigues recorded,
..."the population is scarcely increasing". 25
At this time the parishioners were given permission to erect
a church in stone. It was not declared to be completed by
the bishop until 1885; a direct measure of the poverty and
slow growth of the parish.
The first inland mission of Cumberland township had been established at Bearbrook in 1865 but shortly thereafter it was moved to Sarsfield. The mission was managed first from Clarence Creek, to the east, and later from the parish of Orleans. French Canadian priests administered the mission but French colonists were slow in entering this section of the township; land was still available in Clarence to the east. Sarsfield did not achieve parish status until 1885 almost twenty years after the mission had been established. Part of the explanation for this slow growth is given by the bishop in 1870,

The increase in the parishes has been mostly Canadian - more so than Irish. One cannot be too surprised at this for the Irish population receive few migrants to Canada. A great number of young men go to the United States and some families who were well established, sell their property - in order to join their children or their acquaintances in the United States 26

In time the second concentration of habitants in Cumberland clustered around Sarsfield but on poorer land that had been avoided by British settlers. The settlement map of 1905 illustrates the pattern that had developed in other parts of Russell and Prescott,(fig. 25). The French Canadians in Cumberland dominated the lower lands of the clay plain between Orleans and Sarsfield while British settlers maintained their position on the higher land along the Ottawa and inland on the better drained soils south of Navan. As the emigration of British (Irish) settlers continued the habitants gradually penetrated onto this higher land from the
lower clay plains.

Early French Canadian settlement in Clarence township nucleated around Bourget (formerly "The Brook") and Clarence Creek in the mid 1850's. Clarence Creek was declared a mission centre to the parish priest of Cumberland in 1885 but three years later it was placed under the care of Plantagenet. During this time numerous French Canadians arrived from the Diocese of Montreal.\(^{27}\) Colonists gradually occupied the vacant land between these two communities and, once again, they demonstrated a preference for the low clay soils of Cobb Lake Creek and Clarence Creek (fig. 18).

Between this flat, valley land and the English-speaking settlers of Cumberland township to the west a ridge of land, associated with deltaic deposits, contained soils inferior to those of the valley. An undulating topography resulted in poor drainage throughout and soils had a variety of adverse characteristics.\(^{28}\) Since the early settlers avoided this ridge of land it represented a barrier between the two ethnic groups that was not surmounted until the 1880's (fig. 18).

In the Historical Atlas of Russell and Prescott Counties the township of Clarence is described as "... probably the least favourably adapted to purpose of agriculture of any township in Russell County."\(^{29}\) The profile taken across the deltaic deposits of North Plantagenet, between Curran and the valley of Cobbs Lake Creek illustrates the ethnic land type preferences (fig. 19). During the
1850's French Canadian colonists clustered around the mission centre of Clarence Creek and, later, around Bourget (Clarence Township). Both villages are situated on the margin of the deltaic deposits of Clarence Township. The habitants who entered Clarence took up land along the arc of clay plain that lies to the east of Clarence Creek and Bourget, and later spread westward onto the higher land. This pattern is similar to that of the South Nation River to the East in North Plantagenet (fig. 12).

Very few roads penetrated into the townships even as late as 1860; those of any quality served the lots near the Ottawa River. The L'Orignal-Bytown road that served the Ottawa River lots, and was joined by many township roads, was constructed between 1843 and 1848. The completion of this communication route had been delayed because of a shortage of funds and controversy over the best route. In the early years of its development, money was in short supply because of funds spent on the Ottawa works, particularly slides on the river. A change in the routing of the road was recommended by T.C. Keefer because the original line was "...through a section where no road could be efficiently made or kept in repair if made." Gullies and swamps were the greatest hindrance close to the river.

The resultant delays in completion of the road evoked petitions from settlers along the Ottawa River. The signators were predominantly British. In one petition, submitted
in 1847, 85 signatures appeared favouring "the front road" and of these only four were French Canadian. These petitions provide corroborative evidence to the municipal records that the few settlers who occupied the land along the south bank of the Ottawa in the 1840's, were mostly of British origin. It also provides one indication why settlement along the "front land" of Russell and Prescott was slower than in counties of central Ontario during this period.

By the end of Bishop Guigues' reign as the ordinary of the Diocese of Ottawa, the French Canadians had attained numerical superiority in Prescott County and were increasing in Russell County (fig. 20). A few years before his death in 1874 the bishop wrote,

The future of Catholicism in the diocese depends largely upon Canadian colonization. Furthermore, it is in Upper Canada that the increase is the greatest, especially the region between Ottawa and Rigaud. The Canadians find that these lands are more favourable to colonization and are proceeding there in large numbers whereas in the English sections, [the settler] appears disposed to abandon it [the land].

In notes that were written prior to his death, Bishop Guigues stated that the migration of Canadians into this territory had been encouraged by every means possible.

... the encouragement of priest, through the construction of churches and schools and finally in giving them lawful (fair) influence in all localities where, by their numbers they have been able to obtain it.
Until the demise of the original bishop of Bytown the work of colonization was conducted at the scale of the parish, and this included mission areas, a significant element in the organization of the movement of people. A parish priest, anxious to have his mission territory elevated to parish status for reasons of work-load and dedication to his own parishioners, was an essential element in the communication network that assured a continual flow of habitants into Upper Canada. His knowledge of available land, added to the bishop's information gained through pastoral visits, was relayed to the hierarchy of the ecclesiatical province of Quebec. Because of this network of information flow, and the intense focality of the chapel/church to the life-style of the habitant, the movement of French Canadian settlers into Eastern Ontario continued throughout the reign of Bishop Guigues. The bishop made reference to the "good land" that awaited the habitants between Rigaud and Ottawa, but the goodness of the land was associated more with the absence of other religious and ethnic groups and the ability of Russell and Prescott to absorb future generations of French Canadian farmers than to any inherent fertility that would provide easy material rewards to sweat and toil.

The second bishop of Ottawa was Thomas Duhamel, a former priest from St. Eugene in East Hawkesbury. This man had first hand experience with the colonization of Eastern Ontario at the parish level and complemented the program that
his predecessor had inaugurated. Bishop Duhamel accepted the significance of the site of the cross to colonization and the importance of Eastern Ontario to the ecclesiastic program. In the early years of his reign the hierarchy of Quebec was closely associated with the growing movement to encourage French Canadians to migrate to Manitoba. Duhamel gave permission for the missionary priest from the prairies to solicit throughout his diocese but cautioned,

You ought not to expect to attract many of my flock to Manitoba for you know that the Valley of the Ottawa still requires several thousand colonists to clear the magnificent land that is found here 35

The significant aspects of Bishop Duhamel's term were his association with Father Labelle, the elevation of the formal colonization process to diocesan scale and the concomitant association with the government of Quebec. The work of Father Labelle was confined largely to the Quebec portion of the diocese but his influence in directing and encouraging French Canadians to enter the Ottawa Valley was felt throughout the ecclesiastic province of Ottawa. Prior to his appointment as deputy minister of Agriculture and Colonization in the government of Quebec he travelled extensively throughout the Diocese of Ottawa selecting areas for settlement. He was given permission by Bishop Duhamel to place the cross thus marking the site of a future church, a responsibility normally reserved for the ordinary of the diocese. Labelle's work throughout the Ottawa Valley inspired other priests to the
work of colonization particularly into the Upper Ottawa and Northern Ontario. He was responsible for directing colonization into several tributary valleys that penetrated the Laurentian Uplands and his work provided the model for others to follow. Duhamel believed that the priest's successes in this part of his diocese would serve as an inspiration and a hallmark of success for the rest of the diocese.36

Eight years after his installation as the bishop of Ottawa, Mgr. Duhamel joined with the Diocese of Montreal in creating a new joint Diocesan Society of Colonization. Their aim was to promote settlement "... in new townships, that is, on lands not yet settled or only partially so"39. The major difference between this society and those that had been organized previously was the scale of organization and their linkages with the provincial government of Quebec. During the 1880's the two diocesan societies of Montreal and Ottawa were affiliated and had a common secretary-treasurer.38 In addition to the advantage of money sources through this affiliation, the bishop of Ottawa could readily obtain bilingual priests from Montreal for various parishes. French Canadians appear to have had no objection to a bilingual priest as long as he was of French Canadian origin, but letters to the bishop from Irish Catholics throughout the diocese indicate a strong preference on their part for an Irish priest. Both bishops were able to influence ethnic settlement patterns throughout the diocese through the placement of Irish and French priests.39
The Society of Colonization of Quebec (civil) was inaugurated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council in January, 1872. It was formed to centralize the efforts of the many societies in the province. Its basic field unit of operation was the parish and the head of any new colony was a missionary. In this way the civil program could utilize the network and the experience of the hierarchy and conversely the church-sponsored programmes received a boost through this civil recognition and support. Parish societies were thus affiliated with this provincial society and this included the Diocese of Ottawa.

It is through the operation of the diocesan societies that one discovers the influence of the civil government of Quebec upon French Canadian settlement patterns beyond the boundaries of the province. The definition of the society, formed in 1882 was a society founded under the patronage of Mgr. Duhamel and "... approved by the Quebec government"; the objective of the society was to promote "... the colonization of the rich and fertile lands of the Ottawa Valley. The society was funded in two ways. Members, parishioners throughout the diocese, contributed a yearly fee and the Quebec government promised to match one third of the subscriptions obtained by each diocesan society. It may be argued that these moneys would be designated for Quebec territory in the Diocese of Ottawa but because of the bishop's position of supremacy within his own diocese he could manipulate funds in a way which would not be practicable for a
government agency. Furthermore, because of the affiliation of Montreal and Ottawa, moneys could be, and apparently were, directed from the former to the latter when necessary. The receipt book for the colonization society for the 1880's reveals that funds were directed into parishes and missions on the Ontario side of the diocese. In 1887 Mgr. Lorraine, the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac (later the Diocese of Pembroke) wrote a warm letter of appreciation to Mgr. Fabre, Archbishop of Montreal, for a grant of $200.00 to his colonization society. In the correspondence between the two there is no indication whether the money was to be used exclusively in Quebec. However, it was about this time that the French Canadian colonization of Northern Ontario was being strongly promoted by the hierarchy of the church.41

In the diocese, a Diocesan Preacher of Colonization was appointed whose task was to promote and to maintain the society in the churches, chapels and schools within the Archdiocese of Ottawa. He collected yearly contributions and donations on behalf of colonization and provided information about the lands that were intended for colonization. Within the established parishes young people were recruited to colonize these designated lands. During the visit of the Diocesan Preacher, Father Nolin, to Russell and Prescott funds were solicited but at the same time land within the counties was assessed for their ability to accommodate families from Quebec.42 While Father Nolin had an office
within the chancery of Ottawa, his residence was at the College Ste. Marie in Montreal. The work of the two diocesan societies can thus be seen as a culmination of the church programmes that had begun in the 1840's in Montreal and also as an integral part of the Quebec civil program.

In 1892 Joseph Tassé spoke in the Senate of Canada against the methods used in the census of 1891. He maintained that the classification of "origin of population" and "the language used" tended to obliterate the distribution of the French-Canadian population. To exemplify his argument he stated,

The county of Prescott, 3/4 English just forty years ago, has now completely reversed this proportion. In Russell, in Glengarry, in Cornwall and in Stormont we have made enormous progress. Our people have taken root in the soil which is deserted by its ancient occupants.43

His description of the processes and patterns of settlement in the four counties was inaccurate. In some areas replacement was only a part of the process of colonization, Tassé was later quoted in an article in a Hull newspaper as saying that his figures for growth rates in several parishes in Russell and Prescott had been supplied by Mgr. Routhier, the vicar general of the Diocese of Ottawa. In a letter to the senator the Vicar General was reported as saying, "Continue, monsieur le senator, to work for the Canadians; you will find much ingratitude but there will be many thankful hearts."44 Such communication was a prototype of the link-
ages that Franco-Ontarians were to establish with Francophone politicians at the federal level with the advent of L'Association Canadienne Francaise d'Education d'Ontario.

Meanwhile, much of the work of colonization in the diocese was now carried on by the society and by the diocesan preacher. While Mgr. Duhamel sustained as high a level of interest as had his predecessor in French Canadian settlement, the processes associated with this phase of colonization were by 1890, well established and his participation lay more in administration than inspiration. His attempts to expand territorially reflected his concern with the viability of the colonization schemes in his own and suffragan dioceses. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, the attention of the hierarchy of Quebec had shifted to 'Nouvel Ontario' and a colonization thrust westward to link up with the French Canadians in Manitoba.

During his efforts to have the Vicariat Apostolic of Mont Laurier created and made suffragan to his archdiocese, Duhamel wrote that such territorial reorganization was essential to the success of colonization in the Ottawa Valley. Mgr. Fabré of Montreal responded to this by explaining that the archbishop of Ottawa was overzealous about the colonization of Ottawa Valley. He felt that this region had been placed on a secure foundation of French Canadian Catholic settlement and it was now time to direct the work of colonization toward Manitoba "... in order to repel the ever-
The growing population of English Protestants. The archbishop of Montreal reminded Mgr. Duhamel that Father Labelle himself was soliciting and directing Europeans (of French mother tongue) to Manitoba rather than to the valley of the Ottawa. It is true that Labelle had long envisaged a swath of French Canadian settlement through northern Ontario, following the railway, in order to strengthen the position of the French-speaking settlers of the west. But he never conceded that colonization throughout the Ottawa Valley could be taken for granted. He expressed this in his support of the elevation of Ottawa to an archdiocese and in his attempts to aid in preventing the bishops of Ontario from extending their own territory to the Ottawa River. Just the year prior to the above exchange between the two archbishops, Labelle had written about the significance of maintaining a strong movement in the Diocese of Ottawa,

Through the future Archdiocese of Ottawa, the province of Quebec has a lodging [foothold] in Ontario ... The French population is pouring into Ontario by the valley of the Ottawa and the peninsula southwest of the province of Quebec [Russell, Prescott and Glengarry] and is becoming the principal force of the Diocese of Ottawa in Ontario and weakens the Protestant element to the benefit of other provinces.

While the argument between Duhamel and Fabré was over territory it is useful to contrast the shift in attitudes toward the areas of colonization on the part of the hierarchy of Quebec. In spite of the apparent shift in interest, Mgr. Duhamel observed a steady progress in the movement of French
speaking colonists into his diocese until his death in 1910.

Throughout the reign of Bishops Guigues and Duhamel the social linkages across the provincial boundary were encouraged. The economic realities of the Ottawa Valley had necessitated that the drainage system of the Ottawa River function as a unit through the extraction, cutting and shipment of timber and lumber. Similarly the boundary presented no barrier to the movement of French Canadians beyond their own perception of the potential dangers to their language rights outside Quebec. To the church, the operation of a diocese lying in two civil provinces meant that many civil laws pertaining to parish activities and organization could apply in one portion of the diocese only. In Quebec a parish, once erected through civil and canon law, becomes an incorporated unit financially responsible for all land and buildings secured in the name of the parish. It is therefore paramount that parishes become viable units in order to maintain their financial as well as clerical responsibilities, and this is why civil and parish limits coincide in Quebec. In Ontario the real property of the parish is in the name of the bishop, consequently parish boundaries can be altered without concern of jeopardizing the viability of the parish. This difference in parish organization was advantageous to the colonization work in Russell and Prescott because parishes could be readily restructured to accommodate changes in settlement patterns without involving civil legislation.
As long as a settlement was classified as mission territory no civil restrictions were applicable and parish priests near the Ottawa River were frequently charged with missions across the boundary. L'Original originally came under the jurisdiction of the priests of Petite Nation in Lower Canada while Montebello (Quebec) was under the care of the priests of Lefaivre in Upper Canada (fig. 7). Priests were encouraged to move across the river to visit neighbouring parishes and the proximity of Russell and Prescott to the older parishes of the Diocese of Montreal meant that familial ties between colonization lands and homestead could be the more early maintained.

Another instrument that entrenched the social linkages across the provincial boundary was the circulation of French language newspapers. They were dedicated to the interests of the French Canadians in the Valley but all supported the work of the diocesan colonization societies of Montreal and Ottawa. As early as 1862 Le Colonisateur, published in Montreal, directed the attention of its readers to the advantages of settling in the Ottawa Valley. One of the early French language newspapers in Russell and Prescott was L'Interprète (1886) published in St. Victor d'Alfred. The publishers consider the newspaper as . . . "l'organe des groupes Francais d'Ontario Est" and claimed that it was in the interests of both publishers and merchants to promote French Canadian colonization in Eastern Ontario. Before its
demise it was able to extend its circulation across the river into Quebec. In 1895 Le Ralliement began publication in Clarence Creek and declared its intention to carry on the work to which l’Interprète had been dedicated. The publishers also attempted to reinforce the linkages across the river,

Le Ralliement is the affair of no one person, or group, it belongs to a society that is composed of the many citizens of Labelle [Quebec] and of Russell [Ontario] who are designated as subeditors and manager 

The newspaper from L'Original, La Concorde (1899) was also considered by the editors to be the organ of French Canadian interests in Eastern Ontario, especially in Russell and Prescott, but articles were frequently published about the colonists in the Quebec counties across the river. A policy statement emphasized the linkages that were essential between Labelle township and the population of Russell and Prescott. L'Ontario Français (1902), published in Ottawa, carried advertisements from Montreal and Ottawa and news items from communities on both sides of the river.

Throughout the early years of the French Canadian colonization of Russell and Prescott the demand for grain and animal products in the up-river shanties provided a market for farm produce. Within the counties themselves there was some timber and lumber activity that would consume produce from those farmers who wished to farm beyond the subsistence level. The shanties continued to attract the male youths from the parishes of Russell and Prescott as late as the end of the century. 


The inhabitants of Russell and Prescott had long been relatively isolated from the markets of Montreal and Ottawa because of distance. Railways linking Ottawa to Montreal and to the Grand Trunk route did not at first penetrate the counties, but by 1882 the Canada Atlantic Railway linked Ottawa to Coteau on the St. Lawrence at the Quebec - Ontario boundary. At the time that the counties received railway service the farmers began to take advantage of the trend to dairying. Throughout the countryside cheese factories were established as the British market for Canadian cheddar cheese expanded. Proximity to the milk producer was a strong locational factor for the industry. The widespread distribution of these factories was predicated upon distance and time; proximity to the producer and the necessity to manufacture cheese daily. For many years most local communities had a cheese factory, at the time a low-order central place function reinforcing the location of the parish church and/or the grist and saw mills of the counties.

The rural orientation of these milk processors was advantageous to the colonization program of the hierarchy. It was another economic activity that would bind the habitant to the land and, at the same time, it introduced some prosperity into the townships. The clergy supported the transition to dairy farming with the same zeal with which they promoted colonization. Also the intensification of dairying fitted well the basic notions of the rural life-style. So too, no doubt, did the organization of many of the cheese factories as cooperatives.
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"Lorsque je plantais, en juillet 1854, la croix pour marquer la place de la future église, il n'y avait la que vingt-neuf familles, presque toutes irlandaises. Aujourd'hui ce nombre a doublé et la majorité est devenue canadienne... Les colons sont au nombre de 120 familles catholiques. Ils sont encore pauvres, mais leurs terres sont excellentes et unies. Il y a peu de protestants. Le Rev. M. Bertrand fera la mission une fois par mois dans cette chapelle et quelque fois dans l'année à la Scotch River. Espérons que ces avantages religieux favoriseront la colonisation dans ces parages."

15 Historical Atlas of the Counties of Prescott and Russell, op. cit., P.A.C.

16 Parish Records, St. Bernardin, "Parish History", A.A.O.

17 Parish Records, St. Thomas d'Alfred (Lefaivre, Ontario) N.D. "Parish History", A.A.O.
"Armés de longues bêches luisantes, ils avaient plaisir à y faire glisser les grosses bêches de glaise, les lançant haut et loin".

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.
"Des groupes d'Anglo-Saxons s'étaient peu à peu installés sur les coteaux de sable ou de roche, à Vankleek Hill, à Saint-Eugène sur le Ridge de Caledonia et autres hauteurs semblables, où le gouvernement les avait généreusement établis en récompense de leur loyauté à la Couronne. Mais ces Anglo-Saxons se gardaient bien de descendre dans la plaine pour y creuser des fossés, des égouts larges et profonds qui iraient conduire l'eau jusqu'à la rivière Ottawa ou du moins à cinq ou six milles de distance, à ses tributaires."

20 Guigues Papers, 14 November, 1851, op. cit., 130, A.A.A.
"...la petite rivière de Castor le traverse un chemin direct doit être ouvert jusqu'à Bytown l'année prochaine, cinq maulins à vent et à farine y sont en pleine opération; des terres d'une excellente qualité de deux cents acres chaque... Ces terres ce sont pas encore prises des avantages précieux pour une nouvelle colonisation."

"L'église sera bâtie au milieu des protestants, et comme tous désirent vendre, je ne doute pas que les Catholiques avant quelque années seraient les propriétaires de tous
ce terrains de premiere classe à proximité de la nouvelle église."


23 Ibid., "Le prêtre demeure dans cette localité afin d'attirer, par sa présence, des catholiques et d'équilibrer la force protestante qui est très considérable dans cette localité."

24 Parish Records, Orleans, "Notes Historique", A.A.O.
"...il est impossible d'y aborder par le chemin de terre, en voiture et un voyage en canot d'une douzaine de milles est dispendieux et difficile."

25 Ibid., "...la population n'augmentant quère."

26 "Paroisses et Missions du Diocese: Notes", file #23, c.1870, A.A.O.
"Il sera facile de remarquer que l'augmentation des paroisses ont été plutôt canadiennes qu'Irlandaises on ne peut pas en être surpris car la population Irlandaise a peu émigré au Canada. Un grand nombre de jeunes gens vont dans les États Unis et quelques familles mêmes bien vendent leurs propriétés pour aller rejoindre leurs enfants ou leurs connaissance dans les États Unis."

27 Parish Records - Annual Reports, A.A.O., see also, L. Brault, op. cit.

28 Canada Land Inventory, "Soil Capability for Agriculture", Ottawa - 3LG. In addition to excessive wetness the most prominent symbol for the soil in this part of Clarence township is the subclass "s". This is an adverse characteristic that exhibits one or more of the following: undesirable structure, low permeability, a restricted rooting zone because of soil characteristics, low natural fertility, low moisture holding capacity, salinity.

29 Historical Atlas: Russell and Prescott, op. cit., P.A.C.

30 Provincial Secretary's Correspondence: Canada West, R.G.5, Series C1, P.A.C.

31 Ibid., 23 May, 1845, #13,900.

32 Ibid., 31 May, 1847.
"Paroisses et Missions du Diocèse: Notes", file #23, C.1872, A.A.O.

"L'avenir du catholicisme dans le diocèse dépend en grande partie de l'immigration canadienne. On remarquera pareillement que c'est dans le Haut Canada que l'augmentation des paroisses est la plus considérable surtout dans la partie occupée entre Ottawa et Rigaud. Les canadiennes trouvent que ces terres sont plus favorables à la colonisation et s'y portent en grand nombre tandis que la partie anglaise paraît disposée à l'abandonner."

Ibid., "On a encourage l'émigration par toutes les voies possible soit en appelant des prêtres soit en bâtissant des églises des maisons d'éducation soit enfin en leur donnant une juste influence dans toutes les localités où, par leur nombre, ils ont pu l'obtenir."

Duhamel Papers, Mgr. Duhamel to Rev. Lacombe, 30 March, 1876, R.des L., (1874-1879), 118-119, A.A.O.

"Vous ne devriez pas vous attendre à pouvoir attirer plusieurs de mon troupeau au Manitoba car vous savez que la Vallée de l'Ottawa a besoin de milliers de colons encore pour défricher la terre magnifique qui s'y rouve."

Duhamel Papers, Mgr. Duhamel to Cure A. Labelle, 28 October, 1877 and 31 September, 1878, R.des L., 317 and 550, A.A.O.


"Diocese of Ottawa" 225.110/1879-1896, A.A.M.

Petit Manuel de la Société de Colonisation de l'Archidiocèse d'Ottawa", op. cit., A.A.O.

Mgr. Lorraine to Mgr. Fabre, 8 October, 1887, "Diocesan Correspondence; Pembroke" 255.119/887, A.A.M.

Annual Reports to the bishop from the parishes of Russell and Prescott. "Parishes: Annual Reports", A.A.O.

Spectateur d'Hull, 19 July, 1892.
Les comté de Prescott qui était aux trois-quarts anglais voilà quarante ans, a absolument renversé cette proportion. Dans Russell, dans Glengarry, dans Cornwall et Stormont nous avons fait des progrès énormes. Nos gens prennent
racine dans le sol qui est déserté par ses anciens occupants."

44 Ibid.

45 Mgr. Fabre to the Apostolic Delegate, "Diocese of Canada" 301.004/890, A.A.M.

Father Labelle, a letter in support of the elevation of Ottawa to archdiocese, c.1889, file #20 "Archeveche d'Ottawa", A.A.O.

"...la population française déversant dans Ontario par la vallée de l'Ottawa et la péninsule sud-ouest de la province de Québec, fait la principale force du Diocèse d'Ottawa dans Ontario et affaiblit l'élément protestant au profit des autres provinces."

47 Le Ralliement 11 April, 1895, (Clarence Creek), P.A.C.

48 Parish Records, "Rapport Annuel", A.A.O. As part of this report priests were required to record the number of families that had left the parish and their destination. There was a separate section for young people.

CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH CANADIAN SETTLEMENT IN EASTERN ONTARIO;

GLENGARRY AND STORMONT COUNTIES

As indicated in figures 8 and 9 settlement data was not available for various townships in the counties of Glengarry and Stormont prior to the agricultural census of 1861. Unfortunately, parish records of the Archdiocese of Kingston do not provide precise data on the population of the townships for this early period. French Canadian penetration into these St. Lawrence River counties was, however, minimal before 1860. To substantiate this, circumstantial evidence was obtained from the township school petitions of the Eastern District (1844-1849).

School petitions were presented by school trustees, school teachers, individuals or groups to the Court of the Quarter Sessions or to the Municipal Council of the District. The petitions presented local discontent regarding school district divisions, as established in 1842, or dissatisfaction over subsequent changes in the areas of the districts. The value of the petitions is in the record of names submitted to the Council and the cadastral maps that were occasionally submitted along with the petitions. These provide the names of lot occupants for the various districts.

Petitions for each township were searched to determine
the presence of French Canadians among the settlers of Glengarry and Stormont. In the Lancaster school petitions (1844-1849) only five signees were French Canadians. The petitions for Cornwall township contained four French Canadian surnames for the same time period. All petitions from the remaining townships in the Eastern District contain only British names. Many of the British families would have been in these Counties for two or more generations by 1849.

After the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, settlers within the United States who wished to remain under the British flag had to emigrate to another part of the Empire. One group of "Loyalists" entered Canada via the Lake Champlain - Richelieu route. Their European origins varied and when distributed to the lands along the Upper St. Lawrence they were settled as carefully as possible in homogeneous groupings. Highland Scots Catholics were placed adjacent to the Catholic province of Quebec. Their Presbyterian countrymen were located next so that Glengarry County received its first wave of ethnic settlement from Scotland via upper New York State. German Protestant settlers were located farther west in Osnabruck (Stormont County), Williamsburg and Matilda Townships (Dundas County).

Three years later, several hundred Highlanders emigrated directly to Glengarry County under the leadership of Alexander Macdonell (Scotus). A Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Macdonell founded the parish of St. Raphael in
Charlottenburg township. Scots settlers continued to arrive in Glengarry and Catholic settlement spread into Kenyon and Lochiel townships (fig. 21).

A second wave of emigration from Scotland came after 1820 associated with the "Great Immigration" of 1820-1850. These people completed the British occupation of Glengarry and extended Scots' settlement into Roxborough and French townships. Throughout the 1850's and 1860's Glengarry and Stormont retained its Scots character but,

A few years after, the tide turned. While the ambitious Scotchmen were seeking their fortunes in railroad building, mining, and industrial pursuits, and as a result neglecting the development of their farms, the French gradually bought up the farms."

Cambridge township (Russell County) was the last township of the Ottawa Diocese to accommodate colonists from Lower Canada. The northern half of the township contains some of the poorest soil in the eastern counties. They have been classified by the Canada Land Inventory as soils with limitations so severe that sustained production of annual field crops is not feasible without large capital investments to improve fertility. Excessive wetness is the major limitation to agriculture in the southern half of the township. Early settlers avoided these flat lands and entered the county of Stormont to take up land proximal to Crysler and Moose Creek (Finch township). The lumber industry was operative between the two centres and, according to parish
records, French Canadian settlers took up land there in order to work the shanties in the off-season. ⁵ (Figs. 10 & 11).

To the north, St. Albert was given mission status by the bishop of Ottawa in 1868 and was put under the care of the parish priest of Embrun. French Canadians were encouraged to settle near this mission centre and by 1871 the habitants were located around and between Crysler, St. Albert and Moose Creek - transcending the boundary of the Dioceses of Kingston and Ottawa. Colonization developed northward into the empty lands of Clarence township; as has been related in the previous chapter, the habitant showed less hesitation than his British counterpart to farm the low, wet land in the valley of the South Nation river (fig. 22). In 1881 the Montreal to Ottawa section of the Canada Atlantic Railway was constructed through Moose Creek and Crysler and this event was accompanied by a further influx of French Canadians. In Moose Creek a new carding mill and a shingle mill added to the labour demands provided by the sawmills located there already. Thus in the period 1860-80 the French settlement frontier had penetrated from the Ottawa River as far as the county line generally.

The counties of Glengarry and Stormont are dominated by two physiographic regions; the Lancaster Flats bordering the St. Lawrence river and, to the north, the Glengarry till plains. Landscape and soils within these two regions have a complex distributional pattern. The better soils that
developed on the clay plains of southern Lancaster township were first occupied by Scots Catholic and Protestant settlers. The Lancaster Flats gradually diminish to the west in Charlottenburg and Cornwall townships as the till plains again dominate the surface of Stormont County. This plain consists of water-laid clays to fine sands that overlay the till and extends eastward into the counties of Soulanges and Vaudreuil in Quebec.

French Canadians who entered Lancaster township from Lower Canada settled initially near the margin of the clay soils. As more 'habitants' entered Ontario, their settlement spread northward into Lochiel township onto the poorer soils of the Glengarry till plains. Putnam and Chapman describe this area as a physiographic region of low relief within an undulating to rolling surface composed of long drumlinoidal ridges, some well-formed drumlins and intervening areas of clay flats and swamps. In Lochiel and Lancaster townships, a sluggish drainage pattern adds to the problem of heavy soils that become excessively wet in periods of heavy precipitation; streams cannot accommodate intense runoff and low areas are subject of flooding. On higher ground the major impediment to cultivation is the stoniness of the soil, and rock piles and stone fences are a feature of the present landscape in Glengarry and Stormont. This poor land was among the earliest to be abandoned by the Scots Catholics. It is probable that they were appreciative of the 'habitant' to whom they could sell their land.
It was about the mid 1870's that the rate of growth of the Scots in the two counties began to wane (fig. 23). Immigration had declined and settlers were attracted by colonization schemes to Western Canada that held promise of better land than that of Stormont and Glengarry. The soils of these eastern counties required considerable attention to overcome the limitations to agricultural production. The cash incomes of the shanties along the Ottawa and in the valleys of the South Nation and Castor Rivers (Russell and Prescott) provided an alternative to the back-breaking work of improving the land in Stormont and Glengarry. The farmers of the latter were particularly criticized for their lack of attention to good farm management. As the shanties of the Ottawa moved further upriver it became increasingly difficult for Glengarrians to get home for spring planting unless they left before the spring breakup. Shanty bosses were not happy to have workers leave while timber could still be ice-piled. An editorial that appeared in the Cornwall Observer in 1843 chastized the Scots for,

If farmers of the Eastern District in general, and more particularly those of Highland Scotch descent, would but pay a little more attention to agriculture and proportionately less attention, to lumbering they wouldn't have farms mortgaged?

Because of the complexity of the landscape and soil patterns in Glengarry County the association of settlement to physiographic feature and soil regions is not as apparent as in Russell and Prescott. What is observable however is a difference between the process and pattern of settlement.
There is a marked contrast in the settlement patterns among the four peninsular counties of eastern Ontario in 1871 (fig. 11). In Glengarry and Stormont counties much of the land was still occupied by British settlers mostly of Scots origin. French Canadians entered Glengarry individually and took up lots, or worked as farm labourers, along the concessions of the townships. Unable to settle in large groups because of extensive British settlement and because of the absence of a colonization scheme designed for their benefit, the habitants were dispersed; this comprised a situation conducive to assimilation. An editorial describing this movement appeared in Le Devoir in 1921 and classified it as one parallel to what occurred in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. In both cases it was "... an invasion of territory ..." by an expanding population that was searching for land to accommodate their sons. In the case of the border townships of Lochiel and Lancaster one or two purchases would be made by settlers from Soulanges or Vaudreuil and, once established, the young habitants encouraged others to join them. (Fig. 24)

At no time did the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Kingston or Alexandria form a colonization society comparable to those that operated within the ecclesiastic province of Quebec. On the contrary the territorial organization of the Diocese of Alexandria comprised, in part, an attempt to maintain an English-speaking hierarchy in Glengarry and Stormont.
On the other hand there was no special effort on the part of the hierarchy to counter the growth of French-speaking parishioners by promoting British Catholics to enter the two counties. The consensus among most priests was that the French would assimilate into their new community and that the religion would be the unifying factor for the two ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{9}

Outside the province of Quebec or the protection of a predominantly French-speaking parish the habitants in Glengarry and Stormont were forced to use English as the prevailing language outside the home. In some cases French Canadians in Lancaster township were reported to be learning Gaelic in order to communicate with their Scots neighbours or landlords.\textsuperscript{10} It was not until 1910 that the Anglification of French Canadians in Glengarry and Stormont received a firm and committed counterattack. This was the year of the formation of L'Association Canadienne-Francaise d'Education d'Ontario. Until that date the French-speaking settlers in the Diocese of Kingston (qua Alexandria) were able to resist assimilation for two reasons. The first must be attributed to the familial contacts that were made with the old parishes in Quebec and with the French Canadian parishes along the southern limit of the Diocese of Ottawa. The second factor was associated with land left vacant by British settlers who were attracted to the new lands of western Canada and the continuous flow of French Canadians into Stormont and Glen-
garry to take up the vacant lots (fig. 25).

Because the hierarchy of Kingston was English-speaking the French Canadians frequently returned to their old parish across the border for important occasions such as a baptism and, frequently, to say confession. Parish records of Alexandria contain numerous documents relating to this practice. One communication from the parish priest of Glen Nevis, Father D.R. Macdonald, complained to his bishop that fourteen families within his parish went regularly to mass at Rivière Beaudette in Quebec and that the year before, seven children were baptized in Quebec, "... there is no excuse for going outside the parish as I baptized others at chapel." On the demise of a French Canadian parishioner in Glen Nevis the family sent directly for the priest from Rivière Beaudette to administer the last sacraments. After death, the deceased was removed from Glengarry and buried at St. Polycarpe, Quebec without the knowledge of the priest of Glen Nevis. The latter complained that the priest of the Quebec parish "... is more a pastor to two-thirds of these families than I am." Mgr. Macdonell relayed this complaint to his colleague in the Diocese of Valleyfield. The answer from the latter was rather noncomital,

I must say, at least on not having been given proof to the contrary, that to the present Father Freville appears to me to have acted within the limits of his rights and of his duties. For the future I shall recommend that he be even more circumspect, if it is possible.
This situation was repeated at various times in those parishes of Glengarry that were close to the Quebec border. Along the boundary of the Diocese of Ottawa the pattern was similar but not as intense as for those who could return easily to their family parish in Quebec. In 1879 Mgr. Duhamel received a request from the parish priest of St. Eugene (East Hawkesbury township). Several French Canadians from the parish of Lochiel, Glengarry County, had approached the priest to ask if he would receive their confessional. In his reply to the priest Mgr. Duhamel reflects his concern for the Canadians in Stormont and Glengarry,

You may, without any misgivings, hear the confessional of the Canadiens of Lochiel in the full understanding that they always belong to the parish of Lochiel and that they must make their communion there. These poor Canadians; God will be propitious to them 14

Bishop Duhamel frequently expressed his concern for the French Canadian settlers beyond his diocese. Such concern fore-shadowed his attempt to have the diocese of Alexandria made suffragan to Ottawa.

According to the parish records of Stormont and Glengarry it was arranged between Ottawa and Alexandria that French-speaking priests from the Diocese of Ottawa would visit parishes with a large number of Canadians, such as Crysler and Moose Creek, to hear confessions and to work with candidates for confirmation. Bishop Macdonell was aware of the desire of his French Canadian parishioners to have a priest of their own language and ethnic origin but his efforts
to meet their needs fell short of this request. In addition to the periodic visits by French Canadian priests from the Diocese of Ottawa the bishop requested priests from the Archbishop of Montreal. These priests were on loan, however, for bishop Macdonell emphasized that as soon as the young seminarians, from his own diocese, completed their studies in Montreal they would be sufficiently bilingual to meet the needs of French Canadians in Alexandria.

It is apparent that the creation of a French Canadian parish, through the appointment of a priest of French mother tongue, would be contrary to the objectives that were given as the raison d'être of the Diocese of Alexandria. With the exception of Crysler and Moose Creek no nucleation of French Canadian settlement had occurred in Stormont or Glengarry, a process of settlement that predominated in Prescott and Russell. The bishop was adamant that the habitants' needs could be met by priests who were of British origin but were considered, by the ordinary, to be bilingual. In June 1904 Bishop Macdonell refused a petition for a French Canadian priest for he had, in his opinion, as many priests as the diocese required. His advice to the people of Moose Creek was to encourage their sons to enter the priesthood and to obtain a French Canadian priest from their own ranks. Just a year prior to this petition, the ordinary had informed his archbishop that he had no need of a bilingual priest that had been offered to him from Kingston.
Bishop Macdonell was equally unaccommodating when he received requests for French courses in the parochial schools. Typical of these requests was one submitted from the town of Alexandria in 1901. The French Canadians wished to have a course in French studies to accompany English courses. This would satisfy three objectives: to bind the children to their families; to understand parental direction, and to profit from religious instruction in church. This was not acceptable to Mgr. Macdonell for he felt that the French language was not necessary for these needs, "... their real reason is to propagate and perpetuate the French language." 16 It was more reasonable that children should learn their catechism in the language in which they were educated and, in Ontario, the language of education was to be English. In his reply Macdonell alludes to outside agitation but does not declare its source.

...parents can educate their children in French but at their expense only. Build your own schools, hire your own teachers and bear all expenses on your own. 17

The use of the language in the home and the occasional contact with parishes in Quebec or in the Diocese of Ottawa were the only countervailing measures to this episcopal resistance to the creation of French Canadian parishes. The social environment was thus in marked contrast to the counties of Russell and Prescott to the north. The focality of the habitant in Alexandria was his home; the church did not have the same social attraction to the French Canadian
settler that it was designed to have in the Diocese of Ottawa at least not until the displacement process had proceeded more than half way to completion.

From the inception of the Diocese of Alexandria in 1890 the number of non-French Catholics continued to decline. (fig. 23). As land became available the news filtered into neighbouring parishes in Quebec, or into Russell, and a new French Canadian family would arrive. This inflow helped to sustain the language and added strength to the petitions. Settlement patterns along concession lines suggest that the information and movement flow was from relative to relative or friend to friend.

The resistance to the petitions for French language courses in the schools of Alexandria by Mgr. Macdonell was not necessarily an attempt to promote the assimilation of this ethnic group. The bishop believed that the Roman Catholic religion could unify the two ethnic groups within his diocese. His was a poor diocese and the expenses associated with this innovation were considered beyond the means of the church. Furthermore, it was the opinion of the Catholic hierarchy of Ontario that any attempt on the part of French Catholics to win language privileges within the schools would reflect upon the separate schools of the province. The hierarchy of Alexandria was in a very difficult position in 1910. The French Canadians were increasing in the diocese and requests for French Canadian priests and
language rights in the schools expanded accordingly. To grant either would only intensify this trend as it had done in Russell and Prescott. Indeed this was the era in which the French language schools of Ontario would begin to have greater influence than the location of the church in the entrenchment of a French Canadian society in Ontario.  

According to one source the Scots Catholics who remained in Stormont and Glengarry were often resentful of this loss of highland flavour to the cradle of Catholicism in Ontario. A measure of this frustration appeared in 1925 when several members of the clergy attempted to retain the traditional character of the hierarchy of Glengarry and Stormont through drastic territorial adjustment - the dissolution of the Diocese of Alexandria. By this date the efforts to wrest Prescott County from Ottawa had failed and suggestions had been presented that the only solution was to absorb Dundas and Grenville Counties to the west. Part of the argument for this was based upon the function of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry as a civil unit. However, this westward extension was not only to aid the diocese financially, "... the more self-contained and self-supporting a diocese is, the more canonical it is ..." It also reflected the attitude of some members of the diocese regarding the retention of an English-speaking hierarchy. This could be accomplished only if it was a predominantly English-speaking population that was added by such expansion. As was only to
be expected, Kingston was in no position to give up this territory and the consultors resorted to dismemberment.

In a memorandum regarding the future status of the Diocese of Alexandria, the Rev. D.R. Macdonald of Glen Nevis, consultor of the diocese, presented an impassioned plea to his bishop.

The Diocese of Alexandria owes its existence to the attempt made by the Archbishop of Ottawa in 1888/89 to have the counties of Stormont and Glengarry, at that time a part of the Diocese of Kingston, attached to Ottawa. The reason for this desire was that the French Canadian residents in this territory, who were insufficiently and inefficiently cared for by the priests of English speech, it was alleged, might be properly cared for under the rule of the French Canadian archbishop and priests of Ottawa.

The movement originated in Ottawa and was exclusively a nationalist one. The institution of the new Diocese of Alexandria was intended to prevent this attempted absorption. Our conclusion is that the establishment of Alexandria as a diocese has not provided the expected permanent result. The scheme has failed. Therefore, we should be put back where we were. In other words, the Diocese of Alexandria should disappear and become reincorporated into the Archdiocese of Kingston.22

This declaration reflects the frustration among some members of the clergy with the change in the composition of the Catholic population of the Alexandria Diocese.

Beyond the boundaries of the Archdiocese of Ottawa, French Canadians were being assimilated into the predominately British society of Ontario. The hierarchy had contributed markedly to the movement of the habitant into the province and to the maintenance of his language and traditions.
Indeed the role of the clergy in Northern Ontario would continue the work started by Bishop Guigues in the 1840's. However, in Southern Ontario a new tack was needed. The clergy would now work beyond the limits of the diocese and through membership in, and contacts with, lay societies, such as ACFEO. Colonization of French Canadians beyond the province of Quebec could still be a reality, but not primarily under the stimulus and guidance of the formal diocesan organization. It never had in fact been so organized in the counties of Glengarry and Stormont, where the individual replacement process dominated throughout the period of this study.

Between 1921 and 1931 the French Canadians surpassed the British settlers of Glengarry as the predominant ethnic group in the county. In Stormont county it was not until 1941 that the French Canadians attained numerical superiority as an ethnic group.23

As the largest urban centre in the four-county study area Cornwall developed as an industrial town and a port-of-entry on the St. Lawrence River. Canal construction around the Long Sault rapids (1834-1843) brought a large influx of population and, with the harnessing of water power, industrial sites were laid out in the 1860's. Flour milling, tanneries, woolen mills and foundries provided employment that supported a population of 2033 by 1871. Of this total only 323 were of French origin (15.9% of the total population) so it seems that
the early phase of industrialization did not have great attraction for French Canadians. There were almost 2,000 living in the rural areas of Stormont county and Cornwall townships (11% of the total population). Of this urban French Canadian population the majority were labourers but a few were classified as tradesmen - carpenters, weavers, corders, dyers, etc. None were recorded in the Cornwall directory as professionals - doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.24

In 1870 the manufacturing of cotton began in Cornwall and in the next decade the production of paper was added to the industrial sector of the town.25 Within the same period the French Canadian population experienced a fourfold increase and formed 30% of the total population. By 1901 it had doubled and formed 38% of the population.26 While the majority were labourers and tradesmen, many operated service and commercial enterprises - barbers, grocers, dressmakers, haberdashers, etc. - but still none were listed as professionals.27 They remained a minority in Cornwall until the annexation of 29,000 acres of township land in 1957. The population of the city was increased by 158% with this boundary change. In 1961 the population of French origin formed 53.7% of the total population of Cornwall.28 They were now the dominant ethnic group throughout the four-county area of Eastern Ontario.
REFERENCES, CHAPTER VIII

1 Municipal Records, Eastern District, School Petitions, M.S.40-2, O.A.

2 Ibid., Lancaster School Petitions, 1844-1849.


5 "Parish Records" vide. records for Crysler and Moose Creek, D.A.A.

6 Census of Canada, 1871, (Agricultural Statistics), P.A.C.


8 "Le Devoir", 26 August, 1921.

9 Various "lettres pastorales" from Guigues and Duhamel emphasized this in spite of the patterns of settlement that developed, A.A.O. This was a similar theme in the Diocese of Alexandria - The Rev. R.J. Macdonald, Cornwall, Ontario, personal communication.

10 Ibid., The Rev. R.J. Macdonald.


12 Ibid.

13 Mgr. Emard to Mgr. Macdonell, 1 April, 1908, "Parish Records: Glen Nevis", D.A.A.

"Je dois dire, du moins n'ayant pas été donné preuve contraire, qu'à date le Père Prévost m'apparaît avoir agi dans les limites de ses droits et de son devoir. A l'avenir, je recommanderai qu'il soit encore plus circonspect si possible."

14 Duhamel Papers, Mgr. Duhamel to Rev. F. Towner (St. Eugene), 9 October, 1879, R.des L., (1879-1885), 2, A.A.O.

"Vous pouvez, sans aucune crainte, entendre le confessionnal des Canadiens de Lochiel dans l'entente qu'ils appartien-
nent toujours à la paroisse de Lochiel et qu'ils doivent communier là. Ces pauvres Canadiens, Dieu leur sera toujours propice."

15 Mgr. Macdonell to Mgr. Gauthier, 30 June, 1903, file "Alexandria" (University of Ottawa), ACPEO.

16 Mgr. Macdonell to petitioners of Alexandria, 27 December, 1901, "Schools - Alexandria", D.A.A.

17 Ibid.

18 Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française, University of Ottawa, The early records, documents, etc. of ACPEO indicate the significance of French language schools to settlement in Eastern Ontario. Particularly, "Rapport de 1910, ACPEO". See also: A. Godbout, L'Origine des Écoles Françaises dans l'Ontario, Les Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1972; M. Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict" Canadian Historical Review, XLVII, (3), 1966.

19 Mgr. R.J. Macdonald, Cornwall, Ontario, personal communication.


22 Couturier Papers, The Rev. D.R. MacDonald, Glen Nevis, to Mgr. Couturier, 6 December, 1925, D.A.A.

23 Census of Canada, 1871, "Population", I, table III.

24 McAlpine's Ottawa and Kingston City Directory, Montreal: Published by McAlpine and Everett Co., 1875, P.A.C.

25 J. F. Pringle, Lunenburg or the Old Eastern District: Its Settlement and Early Progress, Cornwall, 1890

26 Census of Canada, 1891, "Population", I.


CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In spite of an early acceptance of Turner's frontier thesis, the concept seems to have little relevance to the frontier of French Canada after 1840. Even with the isolation of the 'chantier' and the absence of traditional forms of authority in the frontier, at least initially, the French Canadians produced no new social institutions that were lasting nor developed there any cultural innovations that ultimately altered institutional organizations within the core area. Expansion into frontier regions beyond the ecumene of the St. Lawrence lowlands was sporadic. The attitude of the habitants toward frontier lands was one of rejection; they preferred, in general, to remain in their own parishes or, once the alternative was presented, to move into the industrial economy of New England. Frontier settlement did not occur on a large scale beyond the St. Lawrence lowlands until it was organized by the church hierarchy, and hence such movement was protected by institutional policies. Potential settlers were discouraged from individual movement into the frontier in order that group efforts might overcome the wilderness environment. Social disorganization was not, therefore, characteristic of the frontiers of French Canada.

It would seem that the assessment of Eccles and Harris is accurate regarding the hardy character of the
habitant in contrast to his counterpart in France. But while the Canadian was relatively free from the authority of the seigneur it would be difficult to prove that he was ever able fully to escape the influence of the Catholic hierarchy. After the Conquest of 1763 one cannot consider the human and spatial interactions among French Canadians without reference to the activities of the clergy. Harris has postulated that with the scarcity of agricultural land in Lower Canada and the contraction of the fur trade, a social and economic system based largely upon the institutional organization and control of land became more congruous. In his distinction between the post and pre-conquest periods Harris suggests that the seigneurial system provided the social and economic framework for continuance of rural life in French Canada, but only makes a passing reference to the role of the clergy in leading settlers from the overpopulated lowlands.

Eccles' investigation of the institutional organizations within French Canada and his analysis of social and administrative features provide a substantive link between frontier life-style and core area administration, though he did not attempt to show linkages in broader view so as to demonstrate the conditioning effect of decisions/undertakings in other core areas. His conclusions regarding the lack of environmental determinism upon the form and function of institutional organizations beyond the seigneuries is, how-
ever, significant to this study. Clark's paradigm regarding the failure of established institutions to meet the challenge of a changed life-style associated with frontier development is not congruent with the undertakings of the clergy as outlined in the present study. Many French Canadians did enter the frontier to take advantage of the cash incomes of timber extraction and, later, lumber production, but disturbances in the social relationships among the French Canadian families and among other Catholics in this frontier were eventually minimized because of the activities of shanty priests, because of the constant encouragement for "les bucherons" to leave the shanties and farm the land, and because of undertakings that operated within the frontiers of diocesan areas to minimize conflict and competition. The "forces of the environment" were corralled because decisions/undertakings were frequently formulated with an intimate knowledge of those 'forces' that were operative within the diocesan area.

Clark's implication that French Canadian colonists "tended" to function within a closed frontier indicates a lack of awareness of the intensity of the church-sponsored colonization program that was operative within and beyond the civil limits of Quebec. To understand the nature of this closed frontier it is essential to comprehend the development of ecclesiastic territorial control in Quebec and beyond. The isolation of the French Catholic population was
secured through a carefully structured plan of colonization that functioned through an elaborate ecclesiastic territorial organization. Settlement processes designed to minimize conflict and competition and to maximize cooperation at the mission and parish level provides a geographically clearer interpretation than merely a reference to "...elaborate denominational controls of the church."  

Cross interpreted the role of the Roman Catholic clergy in terms of their local activities within the Ottawa Valley itself rather than in terms of the overall organization of the ecclesiastic province of which the Valley formed only a part. In the Valley, however, the hierarchy itself had to be adjusted to distance and a wide dispersion of settlement - a settlement that was transitory because it was in the first instance associated with a moving commercial rather than a static agrarian frontier. This areal accommodation, however, could be achieved through regular territorial reorganization with the erection of new diocesan centres of administration, but both Rome and London had to be convinced of the desirability and expediency of this move. The territory that was to constitute the Diocese of Bytown and so be absorbed into the orbit of the ecclesiastic province of Quebec, had greater significance for the hierarchy as a potential agrarian frontier than as a commercial frontier.

In general, the frontiers and many others who may have an interest in the processes and patterns of a
frontier milieu have concentrated upon those that were operative within a given frontier region alone. But other processes were operative as well, and these originated with the decisions/undertakings of core area administrators, many of whom had no first-hand experience with this region. Furthermore, such administrators were in contact with their counterparts in other core areas and so concentration upon frontier regions alone cannot provide a model through which one can comprehensively assess the significance of such interactions to undertakings that were directed at the frontier, and the manifestations of which, in the frontier itself, are studied and discussed in vacuo, so to speak.

Gottman's paradigm of iconography and the movement factor places core area decisions and the associated outcomes in the frontier milieu, into a spatial context. Through such linkages it is possible to analyze the significance of both the natural and the social environment in institutional territorial organization. The flow of people into the new diocesan territory was essential to establish a linkage between the see, in Ottawa, the ecumene and the frontier. Even in the absence of a fully developed communication network, territory would be firmly controlled once parishes were created. At the same time this movement had to accommodate colonization policies that were designed to relieve pressures within the higher-order ecumene of the Diocese of Montreal and, later, that of Valleyfield. To understand the
movement of people, messages, and ideas between Quebec and Eastern Ontario one must reconstruct the relationship that existed between the frontier, as embodied in the Diocese of Ottawa, and the administrative core areas of Quebec. Such interaction among core areas must be accommodated and this has taken us beyond Gottman's paradigm.

Jones' concept of the unified field theory is seen as the strongest in linking core area decisions/undertakings with the outcome/achievements in frontier regions. In the development of the Ottawa Valley from mission territory through diocese to archdiocese the chain in his paradigm of the institutional organization of space is applicable. If one wishes to concentrate research within the political area, to assess the spatial patterns and locational features of French Catholic settlers, the basin linkages would allow one to develop a significant relationship between the policies of the diocesan hierarchy (decisions) and the colonization schemes (movement) in Eastern Ontario. To determine associations between these spatial relations and locational features outside the basin, however, one is left in need of access to another "basin". It is the hierarchical continuum of Whebell's territorial organization paradigm that facilitates an analysis of interaction beyond Jones' political area that, in this case, is the diocesan territory. Associations among core areas is a significant feature of Whebell's paradigm. Through these linkages it is possible to
assess how the decisions/undertakings within one administrative core area becomes a conditioning element for decisions/undertakings that are established in other core areas. These may be at a lower order of organization, or as in diocesan organization, with cores at the same level. Within this conditioning matrix environmental relationships are readily and necessarily accommodated. It is this aspect of the Sprout's paradigm of environmental relationships between decisions and achievements, that makes it such a valuable additive to Whebell's concept of core area analysis. Decisions/Undertakings becomes the operative framework whereby frontiers of separation evolve into frontiers of conflict. Bilateral agreements upon the location of boundaries resolves this conflict spatially if not in perpetuity.

The disputes that arose over boundaries of ecclesiastic territory are clearer if viewed from the role of the core area in the intercourse described above. Whebell has pointed out the paucity of attention to the role of core areas as the source of pressure for the creation of new units or, alternatively, of resistance to change in existing units. As stated above, all territory on earth is so organized as to be under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church. That is, every square foot of surface is allocated to some jurisdiction; the first principle of internal territorial division. In each instance of territorial confrontation the policy of the decision-makers of the church was based
upon interpretations of the conditions in the frontier areas according to their own perception of the problems and according to their values as associated with a set of regional needs. It is, therefore, meaningful to discuss these boundary disputes from the standpoint of the respective core areas rather than as isolated studies of the boundary itself in a frontier zone.

The penetration of French Canadian settlers into Russell and Prescott counties is closely associated with the territorial organization and expansion of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Quebec. The processes operative in this expansion were significant elements in the previous milieu of French Canadians and, hence, a conditioning factor upon their own decisions/undertakings. The whole pattern of decision-movement-achievement was influenced by ecclesiastic, territorial organization in which the Church represented elements of conservation and fixation. The expansionism of the hierarchy and the associated colonization of French Canadians beyond Quebec is more clearly comprehensible when analysed through the core area concept of territoriality.

In the movement of Catholic settlers into the frontier diocese considerable importance was attached to the site and situation of the mission chapel (local core). Added to the activities of a grist mill and/or a sawmill, the chapel created a nodality that accommodated all the needs of the Catholic settler. The chapel (later the parish church) was
central in the iconography of the agrarian frontier in the valley. It was designed to communicate a message of security and permanence in the midst of an environment that was new to the habitant. The whole fabric of mission-parish-see, with ecclesiastic linkages to the culture core area of Quebec, was a deliberate and expressive use of landscape.

Once the movement into the Diocese of Ottawa was in progress, human and spatial interactions within the new territory were influenced through precise locational policies because the forms of internal competition and conflict varied throughout the diocese. Within the Laurentides the concentration of agrarian with commercial timbering activities within the valleys made policies of relative isolation difficult to implement. Although Bishop Guigues wished to promote French Catholic settlement within the valley of the Gatineau and to encourage Irish Catholics (and others) to settle further up the Ottawa Valley he achieved only partial success in this plan; the lower section of the Gatineau retained its English-speaking population. Agrarian settlement further up this tributary valley became predominantly French Canadian but it proved to be a region that could not accommodate changes in farming technology. Distances and low incomes precluded much change from the production of hardy grains and cattle into more profitable dairy production.

Although the clergy did not attempt to prevent the habitant from working in the shanties they tried to persuade
the colonists that contact with this commercial activity should remain subordinate to farming. In spite of the influence of market fluctuations upon timbering, as a source of cash income the shanty was usually preferable to total reliance upon farming. In 1909 many families were attracted to an offer to leave the Gatineau Valley and to settle in a new French-speaking community on the lower Fraser River in British Columbia.¹¹ The Fraser River Lumber Company erected this community near the present site of Fraser Mills to attract French Canadian lumbermen from Quebec and colonists from the Gatineau were taken to this western province for their skills in the forest rather than their ability in agriculture.

Although families left the Laurentides¹² many were able to take up land within the Diocese of Ottawa because of the colonization program that was operating within Russell and Prescott Counties. The few English-speaking settlers who had entered these counties demonstrated a preference for the higher drier land associated with the till plains and deltaic deposits. The lower areas of lacustrine clays were available and probably attractive because land costs would have been lower there. The French Canadian colonists showed no hesitation to take up these wetter lands. Some drainage works were attempted but were of the type that could be done by farmers working together. Effective land drainage in these townships was outside the capacity of one farmer, how-
ever, and the societal organization that developed around the mission and the parish meant that the colonists in concert could cope with the problem. From a nucleated settlement around successive mission centres French Canadians spread onto the wetter clay soils of Russell and Prescott.

The possibilities of French Canadian assimilation through contact with English-speaking settlers were here minimized because of locational factors that were reinforced by the hierarchy. These were associated with a willingness by the habitant to colonize the patches of vacant clay soils and with the strong sense of community among the colonists; this characteristic was reinforced by encouraging new settlers to migrate from the same parish in Quebec. The presence of a mission or parish priest whose mother-tongue was French ensured French language contacts beyond the home. With cooperation thus maximized the townships of Russell and Prescott continued to be territory valuable to the colonization program of the hierarchy of Quebec.

Settlement of French Canadians in the townships of Glengarry and Stormont on the other hand represented a push-pull factor that was associated with population pressure upon the land in Quebec and relatively underpopulated land in Eastern Ontario. Although lots had been alienated from the Crown in these counties much of the land was not being farmed. Settlers from French Canada could rent or buy a portion of a 200-acre lot from the owner while maintaining their social
and familial contacts with 'home' parishes across the boundary. As this form of penetration developed the hierarchy of the Diocese of Ottawa considered the possibilities of absorbing Stormont and Glengarry into a provincial structure with Ottawa. The formal organization of the Diocese of Alexandria through core area ascendancy was, therefore, partly a response to perceived regional needs in the Diocese of Kingston. In addition to meeting the requirements of suffragan territory for the resulting archdiocese of Kingston, an English-speaking hierarchy in Alexandria might thwart the territorial intentions of the hierarchy of Quebec. As long as the hierarchy of Alexandria retained its British heritage, the religious homogeneity of the counties could be assured. With English language parishes, French Catholic parishioners would gradually assimilate into a British milieu. Ethnic conflict would not, therefore, interfere with the struggle for separate school education in Ontario nor would a predominantly Protestant Ontario be able to identify Catholicism with French Canadian penetration into the province.

While the formal organization of diocesan territory helped to sustain a British hierarchy in Stormont and Glengarry there was no complementary functional reorganization of the territory to influence human spatial interaction and, hence, to perpetuate English-speaking parishes. The boundaries of the diocese were "subsequent" to parish structures. The patterns of human interaction and the patterns of settlement
that eventually produced a change in the composition of the
diocese were introduced and sustained from outside the new
territory. Contacts with parishes in Soulanges and Vaud-
reuil and with frontier parishes in Russell and Prescott
maintained the movement of French Canadians into Glengarry
and Stormont and reduced the rate of assimilation in an
English-speaking (and Gaelic) milieu. This whole process
was intensified after 1910 through the work of the members
of l'Association Canadienne-Francaise d'Education d'Ontario.
Organized in 1910, ACFEO was conceived by a group of laymen
and clerics who were concerned about the rights of French
Canadians in Ontario and the threat of assimilation. ACFEO
took up where Bishop Duhamel had left off in the efforts of
colonization and the security of French Canadians in Ontario.
The attention of the organization toward the ecclesiastic
territory of Alexandria was two-fold. Through connections
with the hierarchy of Quebec and contacts in Rome attempts
were apparently made to influence the appointment of a
French Canadian bishop to Alexandria and secondly, to have
the diocese made suffragan to Ottawa.\footnote{13} While the latter has
yet to be achieved the hierarchy of Alexandria has had for
several years now a predominantly French Canadian membership.

In view of the empirical evidence of ecclesiastic
territorial organization it is possible to make some adjust-
ments to the model of territoriality as proposed by Whebell.
In the model (fig. 26 ) a time scale along the vertical axis
represents a developmental dimension. Along the horizontal
axis the scale provides an areal dimension to accommodate territorial expansion/contraction and a movement component that involves spatial interaction. A full circuit beginning with decisions/undertakings by core area administrators is applied to an ecumene and/or frontier region. The outcome/achievement of the program provides an input into the core area. Outcomes/achievements are influenced not only by decisions themselves but by the social and natural environment of the area. If apperception of this environment is accurate decisions/undertakings will result in growth and development. Adverse apperception results in delay in territorial development.

Population movement beyond the civil boundary of a state or province places the cultural boundary within the frontier zone of an adjacent state or province. This situation of a cultural boundary no longer in alignment with the civil boundary may stabilize. Various forms of interaction across the civil limits can help to maintain the cultural characteristics of the external population. It is possible that insurrection or the threat of it, or the obvious disruption of areal organization, can bring about an agreement between respective core area administrators and a boundary adjustment once again aligns the cultural and civil boundaries. Assuming that the civil limit is permeable a cultural mingling will develop across the new boundary.
Concurrently administrative centres within the expanding and developing ecumene assume a new order of territorial responsibility and serve to link the whole more securely to the original administrative core area. Over time the frontier is shrinking areally as permanent settlement and communication networks develop. In the ecclesiastic organization of territory the linkage of parish to diocesan see helped to provide this even in the absence of a sophisticated "civil" communication web.

The organization of frontier territory may not provide the desired outcome/achievements and the whole system may revert to an earlier structure in order to maximize efficiency. This was the recommendation of members of the hierarchy of Alexandria as territorial organization failed to stop an apparent advance of the frontier of Ottawa Archdiocese.

The dissertation has been an attempt to explain the patterns and processes of French Canadian settlement in Eastern Ontario through the application of a model of territoriality. Within the area of study certain features have been left untouched. No detailed analysis has been made of the individual parish in order to determine differences in attitudes between the habitants of Eastern Ontario and of Quebec. One comment received during a field interview stated that the French Canadians of Glengarry felt superior to the people of Quebec. Is there any basis for this statement and if so is it possible that of new
elements in the socio-political milieu of the migrating habitant, the ownership of land through free and common socage was at all influential in such cultural self-awareness?

Did the attitudes of the French Canadian settlers of Eastern Ontario differ from other ethnic groups regarding the improvement of land? This relates particularly to the attitudes toward land drainage and to the application of funds made available through the provincial drainage acts. The shortage of archival material that relates to the work and the successes of agricultural missionaries may be overcome with a change in policy in certain archives and with systematic cataloguing, so that this question could be investigated more thoroughly.

The application of the model used here to 'Nouvel Ontario' could provide insight into the linkages between the French Canadian colonists of this frontier region and the core area of Quebec. Land settlement through this area was linked to transportation routes through Northern Ontario. It may not be feasible, therefore, to hypothesize a simple association between land preference and ethnic concentrations. The locality of mission location could, however, be applied to determine whether decisions/undertakings of the church hierarchy were applied to minimize conflict and competition and to maximize cooperation within this frontier. How significant were core area linkages between Pembroke and Ottawa to these decisions/undertakings? Are the processes
of ecclesiastic territorial organization in 'Nouvel Ontario' a reflection of the organization that occurred for the Diocese of Ottawa? Is it possible to correlate the processes and patterns of French Canadian settlement in Northern Ontario with this ecclesiastic territorial organization?

There are many problems regarding the processes and patterns of French Canadian settlement in this northern territory of the original Diocese of Ottawa that have yet to be investigated. It is hoped that the approach that has been applied to Eastern Ontario will be of some value to future research in the north.
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APPENDIX "A"

In response to the 'circulaire' of his bishop, Father Déléage, from his mission at Desert River (Gatineau Valley), advised settlement to begin in the autumn to take full advantage of the winter roads along the Gatineau and of the assistance of neighbours.

The most convenient time, therefore, for a settler to choose a farm and to build a shanty, would be in the middle of October then he may go up by the mail stage a part of the way for 10 shillings and perform the remainder of the road on foot. At this time of the year the neighbours could lend him an assisting hand. After building his shanty he may underbrush four or five acres after which he is at liberty to return to his family to hire and make up a few pounds in the course of three of four months. In February, he should send his provisions wanted taking advantage of the good roads and every article then being at a low rate and transport cheaper and safer. Then he may move in his family about the 10th of March having still time to chop and burn the land which he is supposed to have underbrushed the previous fall so that out of 4 acres cleared he may be able to sow 2½ bushels of wheat and plant 1¾ acres of potatoes which product will offer him nearly enough for the support of his family for the ensuing year. After planting he may go to work for provisions and earn clothing and other necessaries for the use of the family.....I give him till the 15th of June to chop, log and seed down the 4 acres above mentioned or plant his crops. After spending the summer as above stated, he returns home on the 10th August to reap his crop and save it. Then until potato digging he can underbrush 6 acres more and after having secured his potato crop he can chop 3 acres of his underbrushed land and chop his firewood for the winter season. By the 15th of November, he is at liberty to hire out, supposing at £3 a month for the space of 5 months which will amount to £15 which amount will procure both the necessaries of life and clothing to his family for the period of a year, besides the crop raised on his farm,
which will enable him to spend his summer still to improve his farm. He may likewise on the ensuing winter hire out and with the revenue of his farm considerably improved be enabled to purchase a yoke of oxen.

Father Deleage, O.M.I.
6 April, 1856
Desert River
APPENDIX "B"

PONTIAC/PEMBROKE: SUPPRAGAN TO OTTAWA

By papal decree dated July 11, 1882 the vicariate apostolic of Pontiac was established and comprised the territory that now contains the Diocese of Pembroke, Timmins, Amos, Hearst, and the vicariate apostolic of James Bay. Boundary adjustment between the Dioceses of Ottawa and Peterborough had given the Severn River territory to the latter but with the formation of Pontiac, townships in northern Hastings county and land within the district of Haliburton were obtained from the Dioceses of Kingston (fig. ). It is probable that these townships were considered to be a reasonable addition to this new territory for settlement along the Ottawa-Opeongo and the Peterson colonization roads assured a linkage with the Ottawa valley. In addition to this westward thrust into Ontario the vicariate was given jurisdiction over vast territory in northern Quebec.

The boundary in Ontario coincided with those of the surveyed townships in Haliburton but north of this district no survey had been done, thus, the boundary was extended northward from the last surveyed township until it reached the watershed of the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay. This height of land was followed to the 81st line of longitude whereupon this became the western boundary to the shores of Hudson Bay. When the survey of townships in Nipissing (c.1904) was com-
pleted their extreme western boundaries did not follow the extension of the townships in Haliburton as had the ecclesiastic boundary consequently ecclesiastic territorial limits no longer conformed to civil limits. The ecclesiastic boundary remained in this confused state until 1936 when the bishops of Sault Ste. Marie, Pembroke and Haileybury clarified the situation. Such delay is in marked contrast to the efforts put forth by bishop Guigues to have his western territory precisely delimited.

The colonization projects that were directed into this new ecclesiastic territory centred first upon Lake Temiskaming in the Quebec portion of the vicariate; a region that was well within the boundaries. In the 1880's French Canadian colonization penetrated the valley of the Mattawa River and followed the Canadian National Railway line into the land referred to as "Nouvel Ontario" by the French Canadians. Colonization was paramount among the various programs in this suffragan territory but since it was a scheme that could function well within the limits of jurisdiction, pressure for boundary adjustment was forthcoming only from without. That is, when neighbouring dioceses asked for precise delimitation. Core area administrators did not perceive a necessity for adjustment until well after their frontiers of separation became frontiers of contact.

North of North Bay, I think, but I am not sure, that the survey of townships was also completed at that time (c.1904): in any case, it was finished so long after so that rectification
could have been made had anyone bothered about it. No doubt the fact that the area and population involved were insignificant was the reason that things were left as they were. . . . Pretty nearly the only thing that is straight about the Diocese of Pembroke (always excepting of course, its bishop) is the northern boundary namely the 47th parallel of latitude and that is not easy to find either. It may be that this parallel coincides with the boundary of some of the townships in Northern Ontario.

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