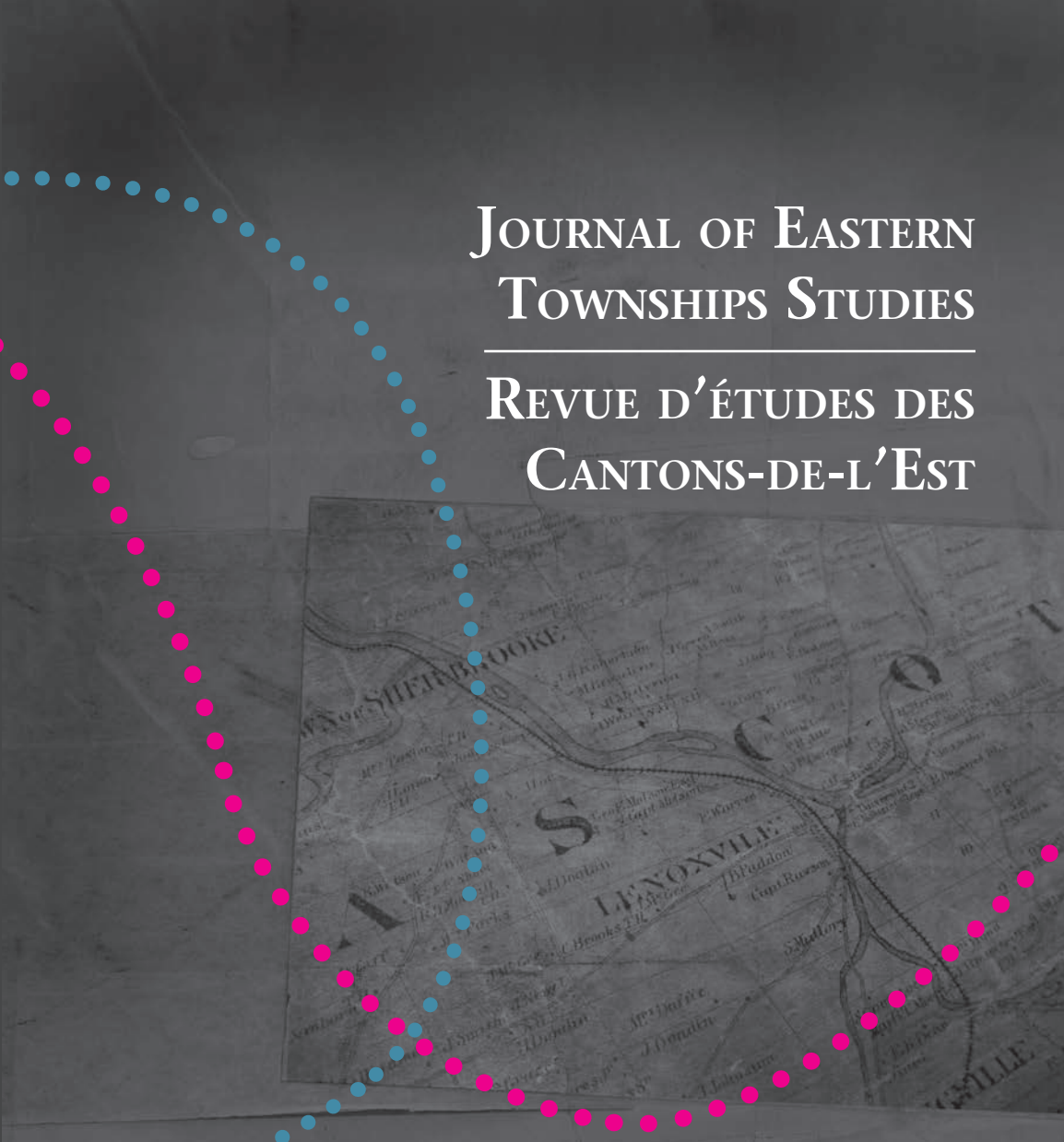
Journal of Eastern Townships Studies

Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est



Quebec Past and Present:

An International and Domestic Colloquium on Quebec Studies

Eastern Townships Resource Centre / Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est

Journal of Eastern Townships Studies

Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est

No 41
Fall / Automne 2013

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS / REMERCIEMENTS

For this issue we acknowledge the financial assistance of:

Quebec Ministry of International Relations, La Francophonie and External Trade

The United States Department of Education

Bishop's University

JETS Subscribers

Pour ce numéro, nous remercions de leur généreux soutien financier :

Le ministère des Relations internationales, de la Francophonie et du Commerce extérieur du Québec

Le département de l'Éducation des États-Unis

L'Université Bishop's

Les abonnés de la RECE

The *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* (JETS) is a refereed journal published by the Eastern Townships Resource Centre (ETRC). JETS is indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index, Canadian Index* and *CBCA*. The journal is accessible online in Micromedia's *CBCA Fulltext* database, Information Access Company's *Canadian Periodical Index* database, and EBSCO Publishing's *America: History & Life with Full Text* collection. We welcome articles relating to the Eastern Townships in all disciplines of the sciences and humanities. Typescripts in English or French should be between 2000 and 7000 words and conform to the style guides used in the author's field of study. JETS may accept articles of greater length on approval of the editor. Articles should be sent by email in a Word document to the editor in chief at the following address: *ccharpen@ubishops.ca*. Articles and works in progress should be accompanied by an abstract, in both French and English, of approximately 100 words.

La *Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est* (RECE) est une revue scientifique, arbitrée par des pairs et publiée par le Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est. Les articles parus dans la RECE sont répertoriés dans l'*Index des périodiques canadiens, Canadian Index* et *CBCA*. La revue peut être consultée dans la base de données *CBCA Fulltext* de Micromedia, dans celle de *l'Index des périodiques canadiens* de la société Information Access Company et dans la collection *America: History & Life with Full Text* d'EBSCO Publishing. Nous invitons les chercheurs et chercheuses de toutes les disciplines des sciences et sciences humaines à nous soumettre des articles portant sur les Cantons-de-l'Est. Nous acceptons des textes, en français ou en anglais, de 2 000 à 7 000 mots et présentés selon les normes de publication de la discipline de spécialisation. La RECE peut accepter des articles plus volumineux avec l'approbation de la rédactrice en chef. Les articles et les bilans doivent être accompagnés d'un résumé d'une centaine de mots en français et en anglais. Veuillez faire parvenir vos articles en format Word à l'adresse courriel suivante : *ccharpen@ubishops.ca*.

Cover / *Couverture* :
P996/096/017/001, Map of the District of St. Francis, Canada East /
Surveys of British and American Boundary Commissioners, British American Land Company, Crown Land Department, under the direction of O.W. Gray.
Published by Putnam and Gray, 1863.
Design : VisImage
Printing/*Impression* : Marquis imprimeur inc.
Legal deposit / *Dépôt légal* : 1st quarter, 2014 / *1e trimestre 2014*

NO 41
2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS
TABLE DES MATIÈRES

JOURNAL OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS STUDIES
REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS-DE-L'EST

Editors' Note / Mot de la rédaction

The collection of essays that comprise this special issue of the Journal of Eastern Townships Studies (JETS) is the result of a decidedly rich interuniversity collaborative initiative between the Eastern Townships Resource Centre (ETRC) at Bishop's University and the Institute on Québec Studies (IQS) at the State University of New York College at Plattsburgh (SUNY Plattsburgh). In the fall of 2012, a call for papers was issued to students and faculty at Bishop's and SUNY Plattsburgh (with select submissions also welcomed from the larger Quebec university community) to participate in a scholarly colloquium dedicated to the presentation and examination of original research broadly focused on Quebec. Submissions, which were encouraged from all academic disciplines, were reviewed by an academic review panel. Thirteen papers, by a total of seventeen authors, were ultimately selected. The colloquium, titled "Quebec Past and Present: An International and Domestic Colloquium on Quebec Studies," was convened at Bishop's, March 14–16, 2013. In addition to presentations from members of the Bishop's and SUNY Plattsburgh campuses, the colloquium also featured contributions from emerging and established scholars at Concordia University, Université Laval, École nationale d'administration publique (ENAP), and Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Expert commentary on each paper was provided by senior scholars from Bishop's, Université de Sherbrooke and Concordia.

Following the conclusion of the colloquium, all of the contributors were provided with a written detailed evaluative commentary of their respective work, the aim of which was to guide the authors in undertaking revisions to the manuscripts. As co-editors of this special issue of JETS, we are very pleased to present to you the very best papers from our colloquium.

In what is a significant policy-oriented work of timely scholarship, Amanda Pichette and Cheryl Gosselin examine the centrality of institutionalized organizations in affirming and promoting the place (and future) of English-speaking communities in Quebec (ESCQ). The vibrancy of the ESCQ, we learn, is intrinsically tied to the very health and dynamism of community groups and associations in the province. Pichette and Gosselin offer, drawing on sociological theory, a sophisticated institutional vitality model that generates

several important insights for Quebec's English-language community. Chief amongst these is arguably the need for the Government of Quebec – seemingly contrary to the recent political intentions and legislative preferences of the governing Parti Québécois – to provide official recognition and support for community-focused institutions. Rich in empirical evidence, this essay provides a terrific platform for ongoing research on the role(s), significance, and value of community based organizations for Quebec's English ethnolinguistic minority population.

Anthony Di Mascio, Assistant Professor in the School of Education at Bishop's, provides us with a superbly-written, well-researched comparative case study of schooling in Quebec and Vermont in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Cross-Border Schooling and the Complexity of Local Identities in the Quebec-Vermont Borderland Region: A Historical Analysis," introduces us to prevailing practices of cross-border schooling in a key borderland region; practices, we discover, that challenge prevailing views on the history of schooling. Deeply versed in the existing scholarly literature, Di Mascio's work is a compelling tour de force, advancing our collective understanding not simply about the history of schooling in a particular geographic region, but more broadly forcing us to re-evaluate precisely how we approach and understanding the critical concepts of identity, community, and culture for Canadians and Americans alike. Di Mascio's results, drawing on a variety of historical sources, persuasively demonstrate that educational practices in southern Quebec and northern Vermont illustrates: (1) a longstanding co-mingling of educational classroom content in Quebec (i.e., a clear embrace not an embargo of the American experience); (2) an equal commitment by English and French speaking families alike to engage in English language instructional opportunities in Vermont; and, (3) that the impact of the Canada-United States border (in this case between Quebec and Vermont) as an overriding force in shaping distinct national identity, should be regarded with caution. The border, Di Mascio's research points out, was a decidedly malleable – as opposed to a rigid – line of demarcation.

The third essay in this special issue of JETS, by ETRC Archivist Jody Robinson, provides us with an intimate profile of summer tourism on Lake Memphremagog during the latter part of the 19th century. Robinson, in her well-documented essay, focuses on four villas owned by wealthy Montreal elites of the time. Ms. Robinson, not only surveys the various architectural styles used for these summer homes on the shores of Memphremagog, but also gives her readers a personal glimpse into the lives and upper-class culture of the lake's first summer residents. As the author rightly concludes, the wealthy Montrealers'

desire to spend their summers in 'nature' by travelling to the Eastern Townships was a catalyst for unleashing a development process that would forever change the aesthetics of the lake.

Caroline Beaudoin of Concordia University introduces us to the shifting landscape of Le Marais – an environmentally diverse ecospace of one hundred and fifty hectares that has been shaped by geographic realities, unwelcome industrial development, urban intrusion, and most recently, a commitment by citizen advocates with government support to restore, safeguard, and nurture this wetlands region. By the close of the twentieth century, Le Marais – the Cherry River flows through the wetlands and into Lake Memphremagog – had experienced, Beaudoin writes, decades of purposeful neglect. The region had indeed deteriorated to the point that it was being regrettably utilized "as an unofficial municipal garbage dump, effectively reducing the marshland to a literal wasteland." This landscape would, however, be "reclaimed." The actions of Les Amis de la Rivière aux Cerises (LAMRAC), starting in 1997, has proven critical Beaudoin notes, to restoring ecological vibrancy to the region. An ongoing campaign by volunteers that has resulted over the years in the removal of more than seventy tons of industrial and household waste has contributed, in significant measure, to restore the health of the region. Beaudoin's essay is an important examination of the ill-treatment and ongoing resurrection of a treasured landscape in Quebec.

Alex Tremblay, a graduate student in the history program at Université Laval offers our readers a third historical essay. The author explores the life of former Quebec Premier Félix-Gabriel Marchand and two generations of his family which included his daughter Joséphine and son-in-law, the Senator Raoul Dandurand. This influential French-Canadian family from the late 19th century was part of an elite group who developed a growing interest in French culture during the period. Tremblay meticulously roots his analysis in primary sources such as family and official correspondence along with personal diaries to reveal the family's interest in building cultural metropolitan relationships with their French counterparts in France. These transatlantic networks, which Tremblay refers to as francophilia, shaped not only the Marchand family's cultural moorings and social standing but also led to the affirmation of diplomatic ties between Canada and France.

The final contribution in this volume, by Prem Gandhi and Neal Duffy of SUNY Plattsburgh, seeks, using economic modeling, to understand and explain the impact of new Canada-U.S. border security measures enacted in the post September 2001 world. Specifically, the authors examine whether these additional steps constitute a "thickening" of

the border, thereby posing additional costs to the effective movement of trade and investment. Paying particular attention to the cross-border region of northern New York and Quebec, Gandhi and Duffy's model generates compelling quantitative data that demonstrates that extra security measures can have "very substantial costs [transportation and transaction] over and above the 'natural' border effect and the regular costs associated with it." Gandhi and Duffy's message is clear – additional regulatory initiatives imposed at the Canada-United States border are costly, effectively acting as a drag on international trade and investment.

We trust that you will find these six essays, many of which directly focus on the Eastern Townships, offer a wide variety of original and interesting insights into Quebec society issues; most notably in the areas of cross-border relations, past and present, as well as the complex and varied processes of group identity formation. In addition to direct support provided by the ETRC and the IQS, we are most grateful to the Quebec Ministry of International Relations, La Francophonie and External Trade, and the United States Department of Education for facilitating the colloquium and publication of this special issue. The next Bishop's-SUNY Plattsburgh colloquium will be convened March 27–29, 2014; we look forward to showcasing the very best scholarship from that forum in an upcoming issue of JETS.

Les articles inclus dans ce numéro spécial de la Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est (RECE) émanent d'un projet collaboratif interuniversitaire extrêmement fructueux entre le Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est (CRCE) de l'Université Bishop's et l'Institut des études québécoises / Institute on Québec Studies (IQS) de la State University of New York College at Plattsburgh (SUNY Plattsburgh). En effet, à l'automne 2012, un appel de communications était lancé principalement aux étudiants et professeurs de Bishop's et de SUNY Plattsburgh (un nombre limité de soumissions pouvant également provenir de l'ensemble de la communauté universitaire québécoise). Cet appel était en lien avec un colloque scientifique visant à présenter des recherches originales sur le Québec. Les soumissions multidisciplinaires ont fait l'objet d'un examen par un comité d'évaluation universitaire et treize communications rédigées par dix-sept auteurs ont été sélectionnées. Intitulé « Quebec Past and Present: An International and Domestic Colloquium on Quebec Studies », le colloque s'est tenu à l'Université Bishops du 14 au 16 mars 2013. En plus de communications de membres des communautés universitaires de Bishop's et de SUNY Plattsburgh, le colloque incluait

des contributions de nouveaux chercheurs et de chercheurs établis de l'Université Concordia, de l'Université Laval, de l'École nationale d'administration publique (ENAP) et de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Chacune des communications était commentée par des experts de l'Université Bishop's, de l'Université de Sherbrooke et de l'Université Concordia. Après le colloque, les auteurs ont tous reçu une évaluation écrite et détaillée de son travail, et ce, dans le but d'orienter d'éventuelles révisions des manuscrits. À titre de corédacteurs invités de ce numéro spécial de la RECE, c'est avec grand plaisir que nous vous présentons les meilleures communications de ce colloque.

Dans une recherche importante et opportune axée sur les politiques en vigueur, Amanda Pichette et Cheryl Gosselin examinent le rôle central que jouent les institutions dans l'affirmation et la promotion de la place (et de l'avenir) des communautés d'expression anglaise du Québec (CEAQ). Nous apprenons que la vigueur des CEAQ est intrinsèquement liée à la santé et au dynamisme des groupes communautaires et des associations de la province. À partir d'approches théoriques en sociologie, les auteures offrent un modèle sophistiqué de vitalité institutionnelle qui fournit de nouvelles données importantes aux communautés québécoises d'expression anglaise. La plus importante est sans nul doute le besoin pour le gouvernement du Québec d'offrir une reconnaissance officielle et du soutien aux institutions qui travaillent avec les communautés – ce qui semble être en contradiction avec les récentes intentions politiques et préférences législatives du gouvernement du Parti québécois. D'une grande richesse empirique, cet article constitue une plateforme exceptionnelle pour la poursuite de recherches sur les rôles, la pertinence et la valeur des organismes communautaires pour la minorité ethnolinguistique anglophone du Québec.

Professeur adjoint à la School of Education de Bishop's, Anthony Di Mascio présente une étude de cas admirablement bien rédigée et documentée sur l'instruction au Québec et au Vermont au tournant du XX^{e} siècle. « Cross-Border Schooling and the Complexity of Local Identities in the Quebec-Vermont Borderland Region: A Historical Analysis » nous présente les pratiques d'instruction transfrontalières en vigueur dans une région frontalière importante. Nous découvrons des pratiques qui nous forcent à reconsidérer des hypothèses largement répandues en histoire de l'instruction. Sa grande connaissance de la littérature scientifique sur le sujet permet à l'auteur de livrer un travail qui est un véritable tour de force. Il fait progresser notre compréhension de l'histoire de l'instruction dans une région géographique donnée tout en nous forçant à réévaluer la façon dont nous approchons et

percevons les concepts d'identité, de communauté et de culture, et ce, autant du côté canadien qu'américain. Anthony Di Mascio étaye ses résultats à l'aide de diverses sources historiques et démontre de façon convaincante que les pratiques éducatives dans le sud du Québec et le nord du Vermont illustrent : (1) qu'il y avait depuis longtemps une coexistence du contenu pédagogique canadien et américain dans les classes du Québec (une intégration de l'expérience américaine plutôt qu'un embargo sur celle-ci); (2) que les familles anglophones et francophones profitaient tout autant de l'instruction en langue anglaise offerte au Vermont; et (3) qu'il faut exercer une certaine prudence avant de considérer la frontière Canada-États-Unis (dans ce cas, entre le Québec et le Vermont) comme une force prépondérante dans la construction d'une identité nationale distincte. La recherche d'Anthony Di Mascio souligne aussi que la frontière constituait une ligne de démarcation tout à fait malléable (par opposition à un caractère plus rigide).

Rédigé par Jody Robinson, archiviste du CRCE, le troisième article de ce numéro spécial trace un portrait intimiste du tourisme estival au lac Memphrémagog à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle. Dans un article bien documenté, l'auteure met l'accent sur quatre maisons de campagne dont les propriétaires appartenaient à l'élite montréalaise de l'époque. Jody Robinson ne dresse pas seulement la nomenclature des divers styles d'architecture de ces demeures riveraines estivales, mais elle permet également aux lecteurs d'entrevoir la vie et la culture de la haute bourgeoisie en villégiature au lac Memphrémagog. Elle conclut avec justesse que le désir de riches Montréalais de se déplacer dans les Cantons-de-l'Est afin de passer leurs étés dans la « nature » fut un catalyseur du processus de développement qui altérera les attraits du lac de façon permanente.

Caroline Beaudoin de l'Université Concordia nous fait connaître le paysage mouvant du marais de la rivière aux Cerises (Le Marais), un espace écologique diversifié de cent cinquante hectares qui a été façonné par des réalités géographiques, un développement industriel indésirable, l'intrusion urbaine et, plus récemment, un engagement citoyen ayant reçu l'appui du gouvernement pour restaurer, protéger et entretenir ces terres humides. À la fin du vingtième siècle, Le Marais – la rivière aux Cerises circule dans ces terres humides pour se jeter dans le lac Memphrémagog – avait subi des décennies de mauvais traitements et avait connu un tel déclin qu'il était malheureusement utilisé « comme dépotoir municipal non officiel, réduisant ces terres humides en terrain vague ». Mais ce paysage sera « reconquis ». Les actions entreprises par Les Amis de la rivière aux Cerises (LAMRAC) en 1997 ont été cruciales pour la restauration de sa vigueur écologique,

note l'auteure. Au cours des années, les campagnes mises sur pied par les bénévoles ont permis de retirer près de soixante-dix tonnes de déchets industriels et domestiques, ce qui a grandement contribué à restaurer la santé du marais. L'article de Caroline Beaudoin est une étude importante sur le mauvais traitement et la résurrection d'un trésor du paysage québécois.

Alex Tremblay, étudiant à la maîtrise en histoire à l'Université Laval, offre aux lecteurs un troisième article de nature historique dans lequel il explore la vie de l'ancien premier ministre du Québec Félix-Gabriel Marchand et de deux générations de sa famille, notamment sa fille Joséphine et son gendre, le sénateur Raoul Dandurand. Cette famille influente canadienne-française de la fin du XIX^{e} siècle faisait partie d'une élite ayant développé un intérêt grandissant envers la culture française de l'époque. L'auteur enracine méticuleusement son analyse dans des sources telles que de la correspondance familiale et officielle ainsi que des journaux intimes qui révèlent le désir de cette famille de bâtir des liens culturels métropolitains avec leurs vis-à-vis français. Ces réseaux transatlantiques, que l'auteur appelle francophilie, ont non seulement façonné la culture et le statut social de la famille Marchand, mais ont aussi mené à l'affirmation de liens diplomatiques entre le Canada et la France.

Prem Gandhi et Neal Duffy de SUNY Plattsburgh ont rédigé la dernière contribution de ce numéro. Par l'utilisation d'un modèle économique, les auteurs cherchent à comprendre et à expliquer l'impact des nouvelles mesures de sécurité à la frontière canado-américaine en vigueur depuis les évènements du 11 Septembre. Plus précisément, ils cherchent à déterminer si les mesures additionnelles constituent un « resserrement » de la frontière ayant pour effet de produire des coûts additionnels aux échanges commerciaux et aux investissements. Par l'étude spécifique de la région transfrontalière du nord de l'état de New York et du Québec, le modèle génère des données quantitatives irréfutables qui démontrent que l'ajout de mesures de sécurité peut comporter « des coûts très substantiels [transport et transaction] qui s'ajoutent à l'effet frontalier 'naturel' et aux coûts qui y sont normalement associés. » Le message de Prem Gandhi et de Neal Duffy est clair : les règlements additionnels imposés à la frontière canado-américaine sont coûteux et ont une influence négative sur le commerce et les investissements internationaux.

Ces six articles, dont plusieurs traitent directement des Cantons-de-l'Est, vous offrent une diversité de points de vue originaux et intéressants sur les enjeux de la société québécoise, plus précisément sur les relations transfrontalières, passées et présentes, ainsi que sur les processus variés de formation de l'identité des groupes. Nous

remercions le CRCE et l'IQS pour le soutien technique ainsi que le ministère des Relations internationales, de la Francophonie et du Commerce extérieur du Québec et le département de l'Éducation des États-Unis pour le soutien financier ayant permis la tenue du colloque et la publication de ce numéro spécial. Le prochain colloque Bishop's - SUNY Plattsburgh aura lieu du 27 au 29 mars 2014. C'est avec grand plaisir que nous vous en présenterons les meilleures recherches dans un prochain numéro de la RECE.

Cheryl Gosselin
JETS Guest Editor / Rédactrice invitée, RECE

Christopher Kirkey
JETS Guest Editor / Rédacteur invité, RECE

QUEBEC'S MINORITY ENGLISH-SPEAKING POPULATION: IDENTITY FORMATION AND AFFIRMATION THROUGH INSTITUTIONAL VITALITY

Amanda Pichette, M.A., and Cheryl Gosselin, Ph.D.,
Sociology Department, Bishop's University

Abstract

In an effort to more fully comprehend the realities of the English-speaking communities in Quebec (ESCQ), this paper explores the cultural reproduction of its collective identity through the community's institutional base. The institutions and organizations of the ESCQ are essentially social and cultural community groups through which members can claim ownership for their collective identity. From this perspective, this paper presents new research by introducing community concerns through semi-structured interviews conducted with institutional leaders from across the English-speaking population in the Spring of 2012. We investigate the intricate relationship between the ethnocultural identity of the community and how an institution has the ability to foster the links, bonds and attachments that contribute to enhancing community well-being and sustainability. This, we believe, is an important step in recognizing how the English-speaking community can build more recognition and ideological legitimacy and be seen as a contributing partner to the broader French-speaking community in Quebec.

Résumé

Dans le but de comprendre plus complètement les réalités des communautés d'expression anglaise (CEAQ) du Québec, ce document explore la reproduction culturelle de leur identité collective à travers la base communautaire institutionnelle. Les institutions et les organisations du CEAQ sont des groupes communautaires essentiellement sociaux et culturels à travers lesquels les membres peuvent réclamer leur identité collective. Sous cet angle, cet article présente de nouvelles recherches sur la vitalité des CEAQ en fournissant les préoccupations communautaires soulevées lors d'entrevues semi-structurées. Menées avec les leaders institutionnels provenant de la population anglophone au printemps de 2012, ces entrevues permettent d'étudier la relation complexe entre l'identité communautaire ethnoculturelle et la façon dont

une institution peut créer les liens qui contribuent à l'amélioration du bien-être et de la durabilité d'une communauté. Nous croyons qu'il s'agit d'une étape importante dans la reconnaissance de la façon dont la communauté anglophone peut construire plus de reconnaissance et de légitimité idéologique, et être considérée comme un partenaire de l'ensemble de la communauté francophone au Québec.

Introduction

Beginning with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s the English-speaking people of Quebec lost their once dominant minority status to an increasingly politicized French collective intent on using its majority position to establish a Québécois nation state. Through various political policies such as the Charter of the French Language, commonly referred to as Bill 101, the Québécois nation has been able to impose the dominance of the French language and culture on all its citizens. At the same time, a new collective identity for *le peuple Québécoise* was fostered based on rigid, binary representations of us-them French majority versus them-English-speaking, Allophones and cultural and religious minorities within its territory.

A recent example of how these majority-minority group relations continue to divide Francophones and Anglophones is the Parti Québécois (PQ) recently tabled Bill 14. If the Bill were to be passed by the Quebec National Assembly, amendments to the French Language Charter would follow resulting in further restrictions of the use of English in Quebec civil society. In addition, at the time of writing this paper the PQ has promised to table in the near future a new Charter of Secular Rights and Values that will introduce new restrictions on the religious practices and expressions of Quebec ethnocultural communities.

As an ethnolinguistic minority, the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ)[1] must be able to strengthen their vitality and safeguard the institutional representation they currently hold. The ESCQ rely on their institutions not only to provide access to crucial services in English but also to articulate their place, culture and way of life. ESCQ institutions represent a community cornerstone which has guaranteed its survival over the years. The vitality of its institutions helps promote intergenerational continuity; community development and sustainability that ensure that the ESCQ have a permanent space in the sociological landscape of Quebec. Furthermore, institutional vitality can be an expression of a strong collective identity, a grassroots process that aids in cultivating the organizational vehicles for English-

speaking communities to mobilize around shared interests so that they can build higher levels of institutional support within the broader political context of Quebec society.

In order to facilitate the development and survival of the ESCQ, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), propose that language is among the most salient dimensions of group identity. They develop a conceptual framework that is composed of socio-structural variables so that linguistic minorities can achieve greater levels of group autonomy. The group vitality framework, they suggest, is underpinned by a strong collective identity and is an integral component to building group status and formal institutional support for a language minority community. Thus, a resilient Anglophone social identity denotes a strong collective consciousness able to marshal action for sustainable social programming and institutional support for the community. However, within the broader socio-political context of Quebec, the English-speaking community is faced with the difficult task of articulating its identity within a social climate that remains indifferent (even hostile) toward linguistic and cultural minorities. The ESCQ also face more traditional challenges to their sustainability such as demographic decline due to stagnating birthrates, outmigration and an aging population. Herein lays our interest in language, identity and the institutional vitality of the ESCQ: how does the community see itself and what role does institutional vitality play in forming and affirming a collective identity for its members? Is the English language even a marker of identity for this population?

In an effort to more fully comprehend the realities of the ESCQ, we explore the cultural reproduction of its collective identity through the community's institutional base. The institutions and organizations of the ESCQ are essentially social and cultural community groups through which members can claim ownership for their collective identity. The ability to assert a strong group identity enables the formation of cohesive interpersonal relationships at the grassroots, community level. From this perspective, this paper presents new research by introducing community concerns through semi-structured interviews conducted with institutional leaders from across the English-speaking population in the Spring of 2012. We investigate the intricate relationship between the ethnocultural identity of the community and how an institution has the ability to foster the links, bonds and attachments that contribute to enhancing community well-being and sustainability. This, we believe, is an important step in recognizing how critical mass and engagement can build more recognition and ideological legitimacy for the community.

The goal of this research is to explore how community leaders conceive of institutional vitality according to the social realities and challenges faced by their various organizations within the community. For the purpose of this discussion, institutional vitality in the ESCQ refers to a set of diverse identities and actions that come together around common issues pertaining to health and social services, education, arts and culture as well as employment, housing, youth and seniors. We wanted to know if these leaders understood what was meant by institutional vitality and how it applied to their organization. We asked how leaders viewed the role of their organizations in affirming an Anglophone identity that is (or not) connected to the larger English-speaking collective. Strong leaders, who can mobilize members and show them the importance of engagement, contribute to shaping the collective identity of the community's institutions.

We also examine the practical realities found at the grassroots level because it is important to clarify how identity is shaped and formed through interpersonal exchanges within local communities. We explore with the leaders how the Anglophone identity has changed and resulted in a more diverse, heterogeneous population with varying social needs. Within this context we ask whether it is even possible for institutions which serve the community to envisage a collective Anglophone identity. The perspectives considered here contribute to an emergent portrait of institutional vitality for the English-speaking collective across Quebec. From these conversations, we developed an institutional vitality model that encompasses six interdependent factors to define collective identity in the ESCQ. A fundamental aspect to this work reveals that knowledge-sharing among community leaders and their partners (Hanrahan, Johnson and Walling, 2001; Normand, 2012) must form the backbone to community development initiatives working for social change. This is integral to understanding the collective consciousness of the community because people with lived experience bring agency to the issues they feel are most important to them. We are then, as researchers, able to better comprehend the role of identity formation and how to go about defining the community in a more collective manner.

We assert that a project of community institutional development in the ESCQ cannot happen without the acknowledgement and assistance from the State in addressing the needs and concerns of its minority populations throughout the province (Jedwab, 2007). That is, the Quebec government must support the issues of distress among the ESCQ in order to stem the demographic and institutional decline English-speaking Quebecers now face. We posit, in the absence of strong identity formation through institutional vitality and effective

leadership, the ESCQ will continue to lose its status and legitimacy unless the Quebec State takes an active role in recognizing the valuable contributions linguistic and ethnocultural minorities make to the economic, social and public culture of Quebec society.

This article begins with a brief discussion of anglo-Quebecers identity formation. We then describe the methodology used to conduct the qualitative research portion of our work. Interviews with community organization leaders guide our understanding of ESCQ identity formation and how the population functions as a linguistic minority that is increasingly forced to rely on its own efforts and initiatives to ensure its survival. The core of our essay focuses on six building blocks for institutional vitality and collective identity: leadership, continuity and knowledge transfer; community identity and ethnocultural diversity; critical mass, momentum and synergy; retaining youth; challenging sheer numbers as indicators of vitality and; partnerships with majority institutions come together through a holistic model as well as a bottom-up, knowledge-based community governance approach.

General Realities of Anglo-Quebecers' Identity Formation

Anglophones have made valuable contributions to Quebec society as one of the founding language and cultural groups in the province. Recalling this rich history helps the ESCQ bolster its sense of belonging and define its community space. English-speakers also play a valuable role in helping the Francophone community negotiate *difference* within its borders. Especially on the island of Montréal, the collective identity of the ESCQ has shifted over time to reflect the diverse demographic makeup of Quebec. All this is important for developing ways to engage, educate and mobilize the English-speaking community to increase its vitality. By first identifying what it means to be an Anglophone, the community can then delineate the goals and priorities needed for its collective voice to be heard. How ESCQ institutions view their role in Quebec toward developing a collective focus will largely influence the future survival of the English-speaking population. But how do we define this diverse and scattered language group at a time when many Anglophones feel anxious about the vitality of their community?

Implicit in the periodization offered by scholars of English-speaking identity formation in Quebec,[2] is the influential role the community's institutions and organizations play in the process. When the English-speaking community has control over its own institutions and organizations, it enjoys a strong collective identity of its own affirmation. As the population loses power over its organizational capacity and formal representation is denied, its collective agency

wanes and the population is positioned in a reactive stance to an externally imposed linguistic minority status. In other words, when a community possesses a network of institutions that responds to the needs of those who identify with the group, it has institutional completeness (Breton, 1964) and will retain a healthy sense of group consciousness. The interpersonal exchanges between individuals, who define themselves as English-speakers by virtue of using the language in their daily lives, foster the group identity of a community. This means that members' *social proximity* is needed for a collective identity to develop and it begins at the grassroots level of community engagement. Landry, Allard and Deveau (2011) relate that by creating institutions and organizations a group can define its "identity borders" through acquiring support and control over them.[3]

Moreover, institutions and community organizations are key indicators of group vitality because it is through them that individuals come together to define who they are, identify with a common cause and engage in collective actions in the public sphere. The extent to which this concerted action takes place can be explored by looking at the "institutional identity"[4] or ways in which the ESCQ and its community leaders view Anglophone vitality through the mission or mandate of their institutions and organizations. Part of this research involves distinguishing some of the knowledge-based community governance practices which indicate how well English-speaking institutions are able to adapt, learn and innovate in their environment. These practices are found in such organizations as the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) and the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN). In the present context, we ask, are the organizations and institutions that serve the ESCQ able to adapt to meet the changing needs of its linguistic, ethnic and culturally diverse members? The groups' ability to develop and innovate[5] in light of its socio-historical context and its mission is crucial to understanding its institutional completeness. The potential for innovation within an organization is particularly important as both provincial and federal funding continues to be drastically cut back. Increasingly, communities must explore other options independent of public support if they wish to develop and increase their vitality (Cardinal, 2007; Cardinal and Hudon, 2001). As well, in many cases the ESCQ institutions and organizations are less connected to formal networks in the broader French-speaking community and often work with minimal government funding (Blumel and Ravensbergen, 2011).

For the ESCQ we expand the term "institution" to incorporate entities such as women's societies, historical associations, interest-

based organizations such as drama and language arts, economic development corporations including employment centres and outreach, health and social services along with other community development facilities and structures that aid in immigrant integration. More traditional institutions are also included such as schools, hospitals, universities, research centres, radio and television outlets, newspapers and financial and commercial organizations.[6] Although many of these latter institutions may operate in English, a mandate to identity with the English-speaking community is often absent. Our research examines the grassroots institutions, associations and organizations that identify with the English-speaking community and garner *informal institutional control* from within the ESCQ.

For many rural and regional areas English-speaking communities that do not have formal institutional support, ethnolinguistic identity development and intergenerational transmission of the English language occur predominantly through their community organizations. *Informal institutional control* then, comes from *within* the minority language community at the grassroots level and can develop into *formal institutional control* to the degree that the ESCQ is able to occupy decision-making roles within the institutions of the dominant majority. In order for the ESCQ to have formal institutional control, they must have representation at the formal institutional level within the public sphere.[7] Group identity is not only predicated on language use and proficiency and if we wish to examine how vitality relates to the English-speaking community through the presence of its unique institutions, we need to apply an understanding of identity in the ESCQs to the current vitality models in place (Government of Canada, 2006).

Existing vitality models offered in the scholarly literature and their various attributes offer a partial interpretation of group identity formation for the English-speaking community (Fishman, 1990; Gilbert, 2010; Giles *et al*, 1977; Landry *et al*, 2007; Sachdev and Bourhis, 1990). However, these models lack the ability to capture the social, political and historical dynamics of identity formation within the organizations and institutions of the ESCQ. As will be discussed, the demographic and ethnic composition is undergoing fundamental change in the community and there also persists a lack of perceived legitimacy for offering services in the English language (Urtnowski *et al*, 2012). The literature guided us to conclude that for group vitality to emerge, the institutional context of the group must be analyzed as a space that has the potential to cultivate strong identity formation.

Research Question(S) and Methodology

This research explores how the English-speaking community conceives of institutional vitality according to the social realities and challenges they face in their various institutions and organizations. We ask: *How can the English-speaking community define itself as a collective through its institutions? What is the relationship between institutional vitality and identity construction in forming an English-speaking identity?* To situate the research question(s), we asked community leaders three questions pertaining to institutional vitality and the English language as a social marker of identity for the ESCQ.[8] Here we focus our attention on grassroots institutions, associations and organizations that identify with the English-speaking community and garner *informal institutional control* from within the ESCQ.

We conducted semi-structured interviews with executive directors in their professional capacities of prominent institutions and community organizations of the ESCQ.[9] We also held discussions with academics working in the field. The executive directors (referred to as community leaders) were selected from a variety of sectors of the English-speaking community such as arts and culture, education, health and social services, faith-based institutions (churches), community development organizations, and community media.[10] We ensured a wide geographic coverage of Quebec to balance the high concentration of Anglophones in Montréal with those in areas such as the Eastern Townships, Gaspé, Magdalene Islands, Lower North Shore, and Rouyn-Noranda.

DISCUSSION

Six Building Blocks for Institutional Vitality and Collective Identity

The collective identity of the English-speaking community develops from the institutional support that is sustained within each organization and institution. This process, identified through knowledge-based community governance practices, illustrates our notion of the group vitality model for the ESCQ.

The six interdependent factors (building blocks) discussed below, reflect the consultations with the community that have identified how to build strong organizational capacity within a given institution. There are many beneficial experiences and examples of innovation and success in the Anglophone communities across Quebec that have increased their capacity for greater institutional support. Once they are harmonized with the needs of a particular community, the building blocks help define the collective identity of the institutions and organizations (Hanrahan *et al,* 2001). In this way, we can more fully understand how these groups form cohesive interpersonal networks within the broader community in which they exist.

1) Leadership, Continuity and Knowledge Transfer

Leadership and continuity is stimulated at the grassroots level and it is central for a strong collective identity to develop in the ESCQ. Leaders are the *doers* that carry out mandates, execute initiatives, and provide the essential charisma and leadership necessary to mobilize community members to action around its common interests. Effective leadership can advance the common interest which is a necessary condition for social action. The continuity of an organization depends on the ability of leaders to transmit knowledge-based strategies to other leaders. Those individuals who are charged with defining and implementing a community's agenda can play a decisive role in shaping its institutional objectives.

How individuals become engaged and more aware of Anglophone contributions to Quebec society is demonstrated by the events and activities that are organized in a local community. For example, Townshippers' Day, an annual bilingual festival held in the Eastern Townships to celebrate English-speaking culture and history provides an opportunity to get people out and learn more about their cultural roots and their belonging in Quebec. This event is also an information fair for regional communities to learn more about what services and programs are available in English. More importantly, it provides Anglophone leaders with an opportunity to promote community development by engaging with and mobilizing new members of the community around social issues that affect both the ESCQ and the broader French-speaking community. In keeping with Gilbert (2010) notion of the "social milieu," the grassroots level can strengthen community life and be represented through events such as Townshippers' Day. As a micro-level social milieu, strong leaders take the knowledge-base of the community and harness its potential to establish common bonds and links between like-minded individuals and groups.

To transmit a collective identity for its members, leadership must have a *broad thinking* outlook that goes beyond the scope of a primary mission. Whether that is a principle within a school or a religious leader that conducts service during worship, an institution should reach out into the community to promote the vitality of its community-base. According to respondent #2, Executive Director of the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN), strong leaders sees the opportunities in collaboration where local organizations work together to come up with priorities to improve the well-being of its members. Referred to as a "multifaceted level" of leadership, she says that leaders must understand that they serve very important roles in the broader thinking of a community on multiple levels. The Executive Director of

the Queen Elizabeth Health Complex (QEHC), respondent #3, referred to this leadership as "transformative" wherein members have the ability to be interconnected and network within their communities.

2) Challenging Sheer Numbers as Indicators of Vitality

The "sheer numbers" of English-speaking residents which make up the demographic concentration in a community cannot alone measure the strength of ethnolinguistic vitality. That is, a community that seems to have a large number of English-speakers and an adequate number of institutions serving the community does not necessarily guarantee a strong collective identity. In this sense, there is a need to reexamine how we interpret demographic decline within the English-speaking community. Micro-transformations at the community level which have led to progress on institutional support fronts for English-speaking communities tell a great deal about the shifting vitality in recent years.

In Thetford Mines, for example, there is a higher degree of institutional and community vitality because of the initiatives and governance strategies that have redefined collective identity in this community. Located approximately 100 km southwest of Quebec City, this community has 600 Anglophones and is spread across three administrative regions. Described by respondent #4, the Executive Director of Jeffrey Hale Community Partners, as once in a state of "palliative care," the community was rapidly declining and most Anglophones who were left represented an older, more isolated population. The perception was that the community and its organizations would eventually disappear. However, although Thetford Mines had significant infrastructure in different institutions with several English-language churches and two English language schools, it lacked the foundational base of a community focus

Thetford Mines eventually built a collective institutional identity thereby contributing to reconnecting different age groups through social proximity and intergenerational language transmission. In November 2000, the leaders who were tasked with revitalization created the Megantic English Speaking Community Development Corporation (MCDC). This entity continues to maintain the new initiatives and priorities that the community has established and ensures the rural communities actively participate in the development of the greater English- speaking community.

Thetford Mines demonstrates how stronger institutional vitality can be sustained when individual members shift their perception of community; they come to recognize their role in the community as a collective endeavour. Thetford Mines redefined the community and

reimagined how social interactions take place at the level of social proximity so that the "geographic milieu" can include the greater English-speaking community as a whole. They changed the traditional ways of social interaction where some members participated in a different faith-based denomination. This allowed English-speakers to move freely and connect with other English-speakers regardless of religious faith. Thetford Mines also recognized that the peripheral English-speaking community, which included young bilingual Anglophone and Francophone parents of children at the English schools, is a part of the community and needed to be actively engaged as well.

Another example of building community support is reflected by Avante, a women's centre located in the Brome Missisquoi region. Respondent #5, Executive Director of Avante, describes her mandate as helping English-speaking women who live in isolation develop stronger ties to the community. With a feminist orientation, they promote and defend women's rights towards achieving greater autonomy and equality. The term "Avante" is Italian which means "to move forward" and the goal of the centre is to provide help and support to women located in rural areas surrounding Lac Brome.

Avante fosters integration around sensitive issues and works with the community image to provide women with a safe space to express their concerns as well as motivate them to get involved in the community which boosts their self image and self esteem. The organization acts as a "porthole" or a "gateway" that women can come through to figure out what's out there in the French-speaking community. According to this respondent, "The centre addresses the need for women to free themselves from their present social conditions that dictate and limit their behavior and think about expanding how they might live and work within the community." Institutional vitality here plays an integral role in affirming a collective identity for its members by building "life-exchange networks."

Since 1997, Avante has been developing ties with English-speaking networks as well as with partners of the Francophone majority to represent their concerns as a collectivity on committees and round tables.[11] A *Health Matters* seminar is given through teleconference through a partnership with local CLSCs as well as other telehealth conferences which are organized regionally with the CHSSN. We see how important social proximity is when members are able to take part in the organizations and institutions in the community. More than 40 percent of Avante's members are unilingual and most want to receive information in English and they want to *learn* in their language. Avante practices community-based governance and cross-collaborates

with the community development committee at the local Town Hall to mobilize the community around shared interests. This women's organization represents the strong links and bonds that are needed to engender a collective consciousness among the broader English-speaking community.

3) Critical Mass, Momentum and Synergy

The community leaders discussed that for strong institutional vitality to be developed, critical mass, momentum and synergy must be encouraged by community identification. Respondent #2 defines critical mass as "a type of synergistic effect that occurs when organizations are able to communicate and coordinate their efforts in certain priority areas; they bring more weight to bear in policy circles when they share valuable resources and knowledge-base transfers." Critical mass represents the knowledge-base strategies that are developed and brought together as a planned framework for development in key priority areas such as retaining youth through economic or internship opportunities in the regions. Likewise, respondent #6 the Executive Director of Townshippers' Association explains:

By building the networks we are gaining strength because we are not alone. We have more influence because we are supported by a wider network. This critical mass or snowball effect feeds back into the regions because of how the network is influencing us. Your institutions are going to be part of your network. Even though the realities are so different the common voice and theme is still the language—we are linguistic minorities even though we have different environments and histories.

Townshippers' Association located in the Eastern Townships represents one of the strongest examples of informal institutional control within the regions. The association has been active for 33 years, promoting the interests of the English-speaking community to strengthen its cultural identity. Many programs are in place that addresses heritage and culture, community development, health and social services and youth. With a very strong knowledge-base, Townshippers' has developed a strong community-based network approach to community governance within its region.

Townshippers' has also garnered a significant amount of influence at decision-making levels because they are supported by a wider network and they are well integrated in the Francophone majority sector. The association belongs to five networks and this network approach feeds back into the regions helping to build the capacity around culture and needs-based services available to the community. Multiple leaders are required with expertise in varying areas in order

for vitality to be sustainable in each sector. Townshippers' works alongside other English-speaking partner organizations such as the QCGN, the Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation (CEDEC) and Youth Employment Services (YES) to foster economic development. Through collaboration, what is learned from these organizations allows Townshippers' to take a greater leadership role within its community.

4) A Community of Communities

A fourth component for institutional vitality in the ESCQ is a reconceptualization of community identity which sees a diverse collective as a "community of communities." Expanding the identity borders and recognizing that the ESCQ is no longer ethnically homogenous suggests redefining who constitutes an English-speaking Quebecer to incorporate a more inclusive definition. English-speaking immigrants and Allophones represent a large source of future growth for the ESCQ. A diverse English-speaking immigrant population requires that the ESCQ take measures to address their changing demographics. Especially within Montréal, the population is even more multiethnic and multilingual. The Anglophone population can add to their existing numbers and increase its overall diversity and vitality. Community identity will appear differently depending on the region the English-speaking institution resides in. Overtime, with greater institutional control the community has the ability to acquire a "public face" (Landry *et al*, 2011) and present an identity which reflects its institutional and community make-up.

One challenging factor to sustaining a collective identity for the ESCQ is a perceived lack of legitimacy for offering support services in English. Sometimes, offering services in English is viewed as a threat to Quebec's francization interests. This may inhibit the ability of an English-speaking institution to identify along linguistic lines. Along with this, the community continues to face challenges around issues of inclusion and belonging in a predominantly French-speaking majority. Because the community is so heterogeneous, their cultural and religious aspects must be considered as they adapt to the Quebec context. The ESCQ can provide the bridge to connect newcomers to the social and political realities in Quebec as they cross over in their enculturation, learning and adapting to the French common culture and language. This fuels the impetus for the English-speaking community to partner more effectively with Anglophone ethnic/racial minorities (participant, Priorities Setting Forum, March, 2012; interview notes). Bridging with immigrants and newcomers to aid in integration provides the ESCQ with a way to rally around common

concerns with a unified voice and work towards a compromise within Quebec's current political context.

Instead of focusing on their identity as "English-speaking," some interest-based organizations within the arts and culture sector of the ESCQ have chosen to concentrate on the cultural investment they offer their diverse membership. For example, the Quebec Drama Federation (QDF) situates the arts around the individuals working within community theatre. Relationships are established with fellow artists who speak other languages and come from different cultures. According to respondent #7, Executive Director of the QDF, "[t]he commonality becomes the cultural investment that is contributed to… We work for the pure love and enthusiasm 'in doing'; in this medium language does not matter and the arts act as the cross-pollinator [between language communities]."

Respondent #8, Professor of Social Linguistics at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), explains that the arts/culture sector becomes a shared interest that acts as "a bridge of pleasure" as the community experiences something with newcomers who are attempting to integrate into Quebec society. The ESCQ can facilitate integration by building bridges with newcomers through common interest in speaking English as well as French. Rodgers, Garber and Needles (2008) point out that ethnocultural minorities have a great deal to contribute by bringing new energy, stimulating art forms and a capacity to build bridges of understanding among various ethnic groups (p. 114). According to respondent #9, Executive Director of the English-language Arts network (ELAN), "Introducing a traditionally homogenous group of Caucasian artists to a diverse, multicultural talent base of racial/ethnic artists has an interesting outcome... It enables cultural and linguistic communities to understand each other and contribute to regenerating community vitality as well as introducing new cultural identities."

5) Retaining Youth

The Coasters Association on the Lower North Shore and the Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA) in the Gaspé peninsula recognize that youth retention is one of the largest challenges many of the rural communities are facing. Respondent #10, Executive Director of Coasters relates, "The lack of economic opportunity forces youth to look elsewhere and without young people returning to their home communities there will be no future families, no students in schools and, eventually, no critical mass to mandate social services." Both organizations point to long-term development programming provided

by the appropriate institutional infrastructure as crucial to fostering economic opportunities to keep young people in the regions.

Developing a strong social identity in young people at the grassroots level of civic involvement engenders a sense of belonging to and connectedness with Anglophone culture and heritage. Intergenerational knowledge transfers cannot take place if there are no younger generations coming up to contribute to community support, especially in these more rural and remote areas. Young Quebecers today are more diverse than ever before. Many do not identify with their parents generation because the realities are different for them. They are more bilingual and in many ways, more integrated into the wider French-speaking society. Cultural identity does not seem to play an important role in the decisions they make about their future.

Many communities are isolated or small and do not offer as many opportunities as larger cities. Some leave the regions and migrate to the urban areas of the province and others leave Quebec altogether and migrate to other provinces in search of work. Community leaders in the regional communities relate that some Anglophone youth are often out of work or they have never worked in their regional communities; their only option is to migrate to the cities to explore job opportunities. Respondent #2, discussed that numerous community experiences in recent years indicate what happens when there is a missing group of leadership that is neither able to address nor pursue vital community interests.

Communities are recognizing the importance of creating economic opportunities which permit the youth to stay in the regions. Respondent #11, Executive Director of the Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders (CAMI) relates that "local economic employability and youth retention are interdependent factors to growing and developing a strong institutional support base. The fisheries as the main industry sector have been in decline, and the community was forced to develop other sectors of their economy." CAMI soon realized that the development of these sectors presented an opportunity to involve the youth and make them a priority within the planning and elaboration process. Through partnerships with the local CEDEC office, CAMI is now engaged in a multi-year restructuring plan that aims to diversify its economic resource base in tourism. This will provide opportunities for youth to stay and work in the community by upgrading existing infrastructure to carry out phase one of this strategic development plan.

The Quebec Community Groups Network [12] (2005) has also asserted that programs must be developed for the English-speaking communities that encourage young people to explore their creativity, along with

supporting them with the proper funding and resources to fully engage them in community life. "This involves giving Anglophone youth decision-making powers to effect change" (Respondent #6). They also face challenges integrating into Quebec society because they have lower rates of political participation and they have higher rates of unemployment compared with their Francophone counterparts. Strong leaders can encourage and set an example for young people to work towards becoming involved in civic and provincial politics in Quebec. Youth empowerment begins by creating more opportunities to improve cross-collaboration among Anglophone and Francophone youth to realize the collective aspirations they have for their community.

6) Partnerships with Majority Institutions

For community development initiatives to take hold and be well-rooted in the public sphere, partnerships with majority French-speaking institutions become essential. Respondent #4 explains that the community development landscape in Quebec is changing: "Today more and more communities are realizing that they are both stakeholders in the broader 'community' in which they exist. They realize that they can work together for common goals and share resources and capacity." Respondent #12, Executive Director of the Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA), poignantly describes how networks effect community development in the Gaspé:

> We work locally but we want to get the biggest bang for our buck so we also work greatly with regional partners and we can cover more territory in less time. This ensures that you are including everyone so no one is stepping on anybody's toes. Everyone is coming to the table and possibilities are being discussed and shared and the most appropriate organization is taking their piece of the puzzle and doing what they do best.

Within Health and Social Services, CHSSN manages a Quebec-wide Networking and Partnership Initiative (NPI) that is designed to support the community in maintaining access to services for the English-speaking communities. The NPIs provide a forum for member organizations to share information and tools with other stakeholders whom they would not otherwise have the opportunity to meet. English-speaking organizations then take the information they receive about new projects and services and distribute it more widely to the English-speaking community. According to respondent #4, once effective networking and coordination is achieved within English-

speaking institutions, policies that foster exchanges and partnerships with majority institutions can be developed.

In order to effectively partner with and influence majority institutions, both English-speaking leaders and their community institutions must be recognized as players, as an additional piece of the puzzle. Integral to community vitality is a leader who has a very deep understanding of the community, its identity, realities and needs. "An ideal leader is able to establish meaningful and effective relationships with other organizations, institutions and fellow leaders. Bilingualism is a must, not only for effective communication, but also for the foundation of mutual trust and respect that form the bedrock for open exchanges and dialogue" (Respondent #2).

Presently, there are divergent opinions and approaches as to the best way to bring about these partnerships with majority institutions. CASA uses professionally trained people who are paid to liaise with majority institutions, while Neighbours in Rouyn-Noranda, with less resources, rely on volunteers to do this. The need for partnerships varies according to the differences between communities of varying size and geographic setting. CASA has worked with a CSSS (Centre de santé et de services sociaux) in the Gaspé as well as on a partnership agreement at the school board level with a Francophone institution. Essentially, it is important to forge a mutual interest that enables the community with the school board for example, to work side by side to increase their community vitality. Projects and partnerships must be multiyear in order to build a strong knowledge base and the continuity that is necessary overtime for sustainable development. Efforts at establishing a rapprochement between the two language communities benefits the province overall economically from increasing Anglophone vitality in these communities. Gradually they begin to work together to transform the traditional confines of separate "silos" and build horizontal governance structures for cross-linguistic collaboration and community development.

Respondent #12 says that CREs (Conférence régionale des élus) have helped address and fund social development priorities for underprivileged communities like hers in the Gaspé region: "The provincial government has knocked on our door and asked us where we need help because Anglos are at the top of the poverty list in many regions of Quebec." Working alongside Québec-based *regroupements* or coalitions with funding bodies of the provincial government is slowly taking place in small ways. It is apparent that there are nascent partnerships which are transforming the traditional conceptions based on "two solitudes." Another example, CASA has signed a four-year contribution agreement with *Emploi Québec* and the *Commission*

jeunesse to provide services in English that target Anglophone youth in order to increase their employment possibilities in the Gaspé. This respondent also relates that building these partnerships with the majority institutions requires an immense amount of time, energy and dedication to forge the requisite capacity of the partnerships and establishing a relationship built on trust that all parties can contribute to the proper knowledge-base.

Likewise, CAMI has initiated similar partnership projects aimed at fostering institutional vitality. Respondent #11 remarks, "Partnership is really about community vitality—access to the Francophone community to share knowledge in their institutions." CAMI does the logistics and members from the CSSS come and do workshops and translate documents which contribute to the overall sharing of the knowledge base. The volunteers play a key role as representatives that can access this information and bring it back to the community.

Conclusion and Further Research

We have seen that institutional vitality plays a central role in supporting the identity markers of the minority English-speaking collective of Quebec. Institutional vitality is an ongoing, collaborative process uniting academic inquiry with active community engagement that builds relevant meaning to the objectives and language used to speak about the collective life of the ESCQ. This process is essentially most observable at the grassroots level.

We ask what will be the future role of institutional vitality in maintaining a collective identity for the ESCQ. We suggest two avenues to institutional vitality that the ESCQ will need to work on. First, ESCQ leaders and members must take a more active role in promoting community development priorities in partnership with majority institutions. The ESCQ will need to expand their present institutional identity to include the capacity to serve the majority Francophone population. Second, the already ethnoculturally diverse English-speaking population will have to become even more diversified. The ESCQ needs to redefine its collective identity as a community of communities. The current identity markers must open up to incorporate immigrants in the province. The interests of these two groups are no longer diametrically opposed. The ESCQ must aid in newcomer integration by bridging immigrants through its institutions. If ESCQ institutions are already collaborating with Francophone majority organizations, then the English-speaking population can play a supporting role in Quebec's francization project. As discussed, Anglophones must be recognized for their contributions to Quebec society so that they can develop a sense of belonging to the province.

In this way, an English-speaking collective identity can be well-rooted in the institutions and organizations they represent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blumel, S., & Ravensbergen, F. (2011). In the know: preliminary results of a study on the relationship between community groups serving the English-speaking bilingual and ethno-cultural communities of Quebec and the Government of Quebec. *Journal of the Eastern Townships Studies*, 119–136.

Bourhis, R. (2008). *The Vitality of the English-speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*. Montréal: CEETUM, Université de Montréal.

Bourhis, R., & Landry, R. (2008). Group Vitality, cultural autonomy and the wellness of language minorities. In R. Bourhis (Ed.), *The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec: From community decline to revival* (pp. 181–206). Montréal: CIRLM: Université de Montréal.

Breton, R. (1964). Institutional Completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants. *American Journal of Sociology, 70*, 193–205.

Cardinal, L. (2007). Language Politics and Horizontal Governance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 185*, 89–107.

Cardinal, L., & Hudon, M. (2001). *The Governance of Canada's Official Language Minorities: A Preliminary Study.* Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

Fishman, J. (1990). What is reversing language shift (RLS) and how can it succeed? *Journal of Multicultural Development, 11*, 5–36.

Gilbert, A. (2010). *Territoires francophones : études géographiques sur la vitalité des communautés francophones du Canada.* Sillery : Septentrion.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R., & Taylor, D. (1977). Toward a Theory of Language in Ethnic Groups Relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, Ethinicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

Government of Canada. (2006). *Sharper View : Evaluating the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services.

Hanrahan, L., Johnson, J., & Walling, R. (2001). *The Holland Centre Experience: A community development model for minorities*. Quebec City: Holland Resources Development Corporation.

Jedwab, J. (2007). Follow the leaders: Reconciling identity and governance in Quebec's Anglophone Population. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 71–87.

Jedwab, J., & Maynard, H. (2008). Politics of Community: The Evolving Challenge of Representing English-speaking Quebecers. In R. B. (Ed.), *The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec: From community decline to revival* (pp. 165–184). Montréal: CIRLM: Université de Montréal.

Landry, R., Allard, R., & Deveau, K. (2007). A macroscopic intergroup approach to the study of ethnolinguistic development. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 185*, 225–253.

Landry, R., Allard, R., & Deveau, K. (2011). *Schooling and Cultural Autonomy: A Canada–wide Study in Francophone Minority Schools*. Ottawa: Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.

Normand, M. (2012). *Innovation in Community Governance: Volume 1: Catalogue of Practices*. University of Ottawa. Ottawa: Community University Research Alliance (CURA).

Normand, M. (2012). *Innovation in Community Governance: Volume 2: Literature Review.* University of Ottawa. Ottawa: Community University Research Alliance (CURA).

Quebec Community Groups Network. (2005). Community Development Plan for the English Speaking Communities of Quebec: 2005–2010. Montréal. Retrieved January 23, 2012, from http://www.qcgn.ca.

Rodgers, G., Garber, R., & Needles, J. (2008). The Artistic and Cultural Vitality of English-speaking Quebec. In R. Bourhis, *The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec: From community decline to revival* (pp. 107–126). Montréal: CIRLM: Université de Montréal.

Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. (1990). Language and Social Identification. In D. Abrams, & M. Hobb (Eds.), *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and critical advances* (pp. 101–124). Harlow, Essex: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Thériault, J. (2007). Ethnolinguistic minorities and national integration in Canada. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language , 185*, 255–263.

Urtnowski, K., O'Donnell, L., Shragge, E., Robineau, A., & Forgues, E. (2012). Immigration, Settlement and Integration in Quebec's Anglophone Communities: A Preliminary Report. *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies, 38*, 7–32.

APPENDIX I: LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Respondent #1: Qu'anglo Communications & Consulting (Ormstown)

Respondent #2: Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) (Quebec City)

Respondent #3: Queen Elizabeth Health Complex (QEHC) (Montréal)

Respondent #4: Jeffery Hale Community Partners (Quebec City)

Respondent #5: Avante Women's Centre (Lac Brome)

Respondent #6: Townshippers' Association (Lennoxville)

Respondent #7: Quebec Drama Federation (Montréal)

Respondent #8: Professor of Social Linguistics, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) (Montréal)

Respondent #9: English-language Arts Network (ELAN) (Montréal)

Respondent #10: Coasters Association (Lower North Shore)

Respondent #11: Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders (CAMI) (Magdalen Islands)

Respondent #12: Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA) (Gaspé peninsula)

Respondent #13: Quebec English School Boards Association (QESBA) (Montréal)

Respondent #14: Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation (CEDEC) (Magog)

Respondent #15: The Centre for Community Organizations (COCo) (Montréal)

Respondent #16: Neighbours Association (Rouyn-Noranda)

Respondent #17: Canadian Heritage (PCH)

Respondent #18: Professor of Sociology, Bishop's University (Lennoxville)

Respondent #19: Community Learning Center (CLC) (Magog)

Respondent #20: Learn Quebec (Laval)

Respondent #21: Rawdon Historical Association/Anglican and United Church (Rawdon)

Respondent #22: Quebec English-speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) (Montréal)

Respondent #23: Quebec Community Newspapers Association (QCNA) (Montréal)

NOTES

1 English-speaking Community of Quebec collectively refers to the English-speaking communities throughout the province. We also use the terms English-speaking and Anglophone interchangeably although we do recognize that the federal and Quebec's provincial governments employ them differently for statistical purposes.

2 See especially Jedwab (2007).

3 Levels of institutional and organizational support and control differ because of the demographic and geographical factors of the ESCQ. The disparities between urban and rural located institutions are considerable and the English-speaking population is so heterogeneous which makes institutional completeness uneven across the province. On the island of Montréal, the ESCQ has a relatively high degree of institutional support and control (Bourhis and Landry, 2008). Overall it appears the English-speaking community has strong institutional support and control in education, health and social services and a variety of cultural and media outlets; however, in areas of employment and economic development very few programs offer services in English to assist local and regional communities (Jedwab and Maynard, 2008). In isolated geographic areas where English-speaking populations are low such as the North Shore region, institutional support and control is weak.

4 Here, a broad definition of institutional identity is implied which accounts for the complexity or race, ethnicity, culture and religion because increasingly, individuals do not conceive of themselves solely along linguistic lines.

5 Innovation as a process is made up of social learning, knowledge co-production, and the collaboration of a diverse array of actors (Normand, 2012, vol.1). By identifying a social need, the innovation process means adopting new rules of action and new norms. These develop out of compromises in consensus building among leaders who are committed to the project (Normand, 2012, vol.2).

6 Thériault (2007) advances the idea of "social organizations" to differentiate between the more traditional conceptions of institutions as the group's means of historical continuity. Social organizations serve more utilitarian roles that can be adapted to the groups; evolving needs and these community-based institutions are at the heart of institutional vitality for the ESCQ.

7 The English language and culture has the ability to function in important social domains that foster its upward mobility through formal and informal institutional control (Bourhis and Landry, 2008). Currently, most formal representation has been limited in Quebec to areas such as business, some Members of the Legislative Committee (MLAs) and cabinet members and professional

associations. Although Anglophones are represented to some extent on Quebec's English-speaking school board association (QESBA), in municipal governance positions and also on a variety of advisory committees, this representation is not uniform across all of the communities in Quebec and it varies as well, in amplitude.

8 a. In your experience, what type of leadership is needed to best serve the interests of the English-speaking communities of Quebec?

b. How can Anglophone communities develop/have influence at the institutional level?

c. The English language needs to be widespread across a variety of institutional contexts such as government services, public administration, corporation and industries along with business and finance, education and media. This allows for its members to see their language as legitimate and socially recognized. How important is social organization and grassroots mobilization to fostering strong institutional control in different sectors such as education, arts/culture, business and health/social services?

9 This research is part of the Institutional Vitality Research Project (IVRP) contracted by the QCGN. The IVRP is funded by the QCGN and has been contracted to Amanda Pichette. Dr. Cheryl Gosselin, co-author, is also on the advisory committee for the project. The interviews took place within the context of this project and the executive directors interviewed herein all work for QCGN member-organizations.

10 See Appendix I for a list of the organizations consulted and respondents.

11 Avante participates in the Table régionale des centres de femmes de la Montérégie, the Table de concertation et de prévention de la violence conjugale et sexuelle de Brome-Missisquoi, and the politique familiale de Bedford.

12 QCGN is made up of approximately 32 regional and sectoral community organizations from across the province. They promote the vitality of Quebec's English-speaking communities by responding to the priority needs and expectations of their community organizations.

CROSS-BORDER SCHOOLING AND THE COMPLEXITY OF LOCAL IDENTITIES IN THE QUEBEC-VERMONT BORDERLAND REGION: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Anthony Di Mascio[1], Assistant Professor, School of Education
Bishop's University

Abstract
This paper examines the history of cross-border education in the Eastern Townships of Quebec and Northern Vermont borderland region. Considering that the legal and administrative jurisdiction over schooling rests at the provincial and state levels, the sharing of schools along an international borderline raises challenging questions about the administrative and cultural history of education. This paper argues that by crossing educational boundaries, the people of the borderland region challenge us to rethink three strongly held assumptions in public schooling's history: first, that school advocates in Canada were motivated to establish public schools in order to counter the threat of American republicanism; second, that Quebec education has been rigidly divided between French and English systems; and third, that the Canada-U.S. borderline represents a clear demarcation between social and political views and values.

Résumé
L'article examine l'histoire de l'éducation transfrontalière dans les Cantons-de-l'Est et la région frontalière du nord du Vermont. Considérant que la juridiction légale et administrative sur les établissements d'enseignement était déjà établie à l'échelle de la province et de l'État, la présence d'un enseignement international transfrontalier est une caractéristique étonnante de l'histoire administrative et culturelle de cette région. L'article soutient que les gens de la région frontalière qui fréquentaient l'école de l'autre côté de la frontière nous défient de reconsidérer trois hypothèses fermement soutenues en histoire de l'éducation : en premier lieu, que la motivation des défenseurs de l'enseignement au Canada était animée par le besoin d'établir des écoles publiques afin de bloquer la menace du républicanisme américain; en deuxième lieu, que l'éducation au Québec a été rigoureusement divisée entre les systèmes français et anglais; et en troisième lieu, que la frontière entre le Canada et

les États-Unis établit une démarcation nette entre les opinions et les valeurs sociales et politiques.

In 1931, Charles Benjamin Howard, the Liberal Member of Parliament for Sherbrooke, Quebec, raised questions in the House of Commons about census taking in Rock Island, Quebec. The Three Villages, including Rock Island and Stanstead in Quebec, and Derby Line in Vermont, he pointed out, shared churches, theaters, libraries, ice skating rinks, schools, and other social and cultural institutions. His concern was whether Mr. Downing, the census officer in charge of the area, lived in Canada or the United States. In response to Howard's concern, Henry Herbert Stevens, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, could not verify Mr. Downing's address, which may well have been across the line in the United States, but noted that his place of business and post office address were in the province of Quebec. The answer seems to have satisfied Howard, and the issue was dropped.[2] By 1931 standards, this was a rather mundane question that went unnoticed by the press and public. In fact, Stevens' response indicates that the possibility of a census official living across the border was of little concern. In our own post-9/11 world, however, it is hard to imagine such a concern not receiving public attention. Indeed, the idea of Canadians and Americans sharing churches, theaters, libraries, ice skating rinks, and schools along an unchecked and permeable border has become virtually unfathomable. Yet, for well over a century such institutions were indeed shared.

This paper examines cross-border schooling in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Quebec and Vermont. The particular concern is that inhabitants living in two nations were able to traverse the border as part of their everyday lives, and share publicly-funded schools. Considering that the legal and administrative jurisdiction over schooling evolved firmly at the provincial and state levels in the two countries, the presence of international cross-border schooling raises challenging questions about the administrative and cultural history of education in this region and in both countries at large. This paper explores the complexity of inhabitants in two countries educating their children together, and asks what that can tell us about community, culture, and identity among people with a shared local history but separate national histories. The paper concludes by suggesting that by crossing educational boundaries, the people of the borderland region challenge us to rethink three strongly held assumptions in public schooling's history: first, that school advocates

in Canada were motivated to establish public schools in order to transmit culture in ways that would serve as a form of security against the threat of American republicanism; second, that Quebec education has been rigidly divided between French and English systems; and third, that the Canada-US borderline represents a clear demarcation between social and political views and values.

The Historiography of Borderlands and Education

Identity along borders and boundaries has attracted a world of scholarly attention in recent years. Since at least the 1980s, scholars, and most notably anthropologists, have emphasized the divergence and intersections of communities typically examined in isolation due to their geo-political borders.[3] Victoria M. Phaneuf points out that the result has been a focus on borders, with the terms "border" and "boundary" being used interchangeably.[4] The literature on borders and boundaries, she furthermore points out, characteristically emphasizes their role in the maintenance of difference within or between nation states.

Studies that consider the intersections of communities along borderlands in North America tend to concentrate on migration and trade patterns, with the result being a historiographical body of work that is concentrated heavily on political and economic history.[5] As geographic delineators of boundaries, borders are typically presented as the lines that separate communities, regions, and nations. In the case of North America, however, the Canada-US border has also come to represent a geo-political line that is continually negotiated in relation to cultural identity, social values, and political and economic cooperation. Canada-US borderland themes tend to emphasize similarities, as seen through common languages, values, and histories.[6] Some significant studies, however, have also considered the symbolic role of the Canada-US border as representative of the line demarcating differences in values, culture, and identity.[7]

In studies of the Canada-US border, Quebec has received far less attention than other parts of Canada. Those studies that do consider the history between Quebec and the United States tend to focus on migration to New England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[8] When Quebec-US relations are considered in these cases, scholars have tended to focus on the importance of language identity among French Canadians, and thus emphasize the differences that the border symbolizes.

In recent years, scholars have begun to rethink the Quebec-US border in ways that consider patterns of cultural similarities and the intersections of communities. The aforementioned work by Phaneuf

has examined the Quebec-Vermont border region in order to answer questions about the identity of the Americans living there. She finds that being what she calls a "borderlander" forms a central identity for these Americans, shaping their culture, values, historical narratives, and behaviour. Their relationship with the border sets them apart from those unconnected to the region who create and enforce the laws regulating the border.[9] Other borderland scholars, such as Matthew Farfan, have highlighted the extent to which communities on both sides of the border have been connected historically, and how that connection continues to be a defining feature of life along the borderland.[10]

Still others have also begun to examine more closely the complexity of Quebec's and Vermont's cultural dynamics, and the impact of that complexity on the shaping of social and cultural institutions. In a study on borderland identity in the early nineteenth century, Canadian historian J.I. Little demonstrates that religion helped forge a distinctive national identity for English Canadians in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and that the making of that identity was shaped through links of kith and kin across the border. In a study on Vermont identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American historian Paul M. Searls points out the significance of Vermont's relationship with Quebec in defining the boundaries of Vermont's imagined community.[11] In all of these studies, the borderland has added a layer of complexity to the historical narratives of Quebec and Vermont.

In the writing of the history of education in Quebec, the US-Canada border has virtually been ignored. Educational scholars in Quebec have characteristically concentrated on the historical internal forces pushing for educational development in the province. The central theme in schooling's history in Quebec is that of cultural dualism, marked by divided French and English systems of education.[12] Scholars of education have done little to consider borders, and the extent to which school development in borderland regions can be woven into their historical narratives.

In a similar vein, educational historians of Vermont have done little to consider borders and borderlands. The writing of educational history in Vermont itself is scarce, and studies that do exist tend to focus on the political and legal development of the system.[13] Emphasis is almost always placed on the local nature of schooling and school decision-making, and the state's own internal forces of division, conceptually highlighted in the divide between rural and urban elements, which have resulted in two different experiences of schooling in Vermont. Those studies that do weave Vermont educational history into an even broader narrative tend to situate it within patterns of educational

development in New England. Like historians of education in Quebec, historians of education in Vermont have failed to consider the educational relationship of certain localities which form community relationships with neighbours across the Canada-US border.

A study of cross-border education offers to advance our understanding of schooling, culture, and borderland identity in Quebec and Vermont. Canadian scholars have written extensively about the questions that major school promoters of the nineteenth century had about itinerant American teachers, the influx of American textbooks, and the dangers of inculcating Quebec and Canadian children with republican, American values.[14] What we know less about, however, are those parents, community leaders, and students who established shared educational institutions in both nations. Thus, while the importance of local agency in the shaping of the school system has received growing attention in recent years, notably absent from the existing literature is an analysis of those Quebec residents who chose an education outside of the province while still living within the province, as well as those Vermonters who chose to attend schools in Quebec while living in the United States. Historical studies of Quebec and Vermont identity overwhelmingly concentrate on internal forces of difference and disintegration. This paper, however, suggests that identity and culture in Quebec and Vermont was also shaped by equal forces of integration with community along the borderland.

Sources and Methodology

The main sources for this study are school registers and other enrolment and attendance records in Vermont and Quebec. In Vermont, school registers are kept in the various local town clerk offices for an indefinite period. The surviving registers date back to the late nineteenth century. This paper focuses on the borderland region of Essex County, and in particular the town clerk records of Norton and Canaan Vermont. For much of the nineteenth century, school registers as we know them were not kept. A record of enrolment and attendance was, for the most part, the responsibility of individual teachers in the various schools. A complete repository of enrolment for the period to the 1890s is absent, and so for this study a consolidated list from a scattering of records kept in local archives, museums, and town clerk offices was compiled. In this respect, the archival work of the Vermont Northeast Kingdom Genealogy Association was indispensable; they have amassed the most complete listing of school enrolment records for the schools of Northern Vermont and have made them accessible to the public via their website.[15] In many cases, student addresses are listed, and so Lower Canada (the province's name to 1841), Canada East (its name

from 1841 to 1867), and Quebec (the province's name since 1867) residences were flagged and entered into a database containing the names of Quebec children attending Vermont schools.

From the 1890s to 1923, the names of students listed in the surviving school registers were cross-checked with Canadian censuses from 1891, 1901, and 1911 to determine which students were residing in Quebec.[16] Beginning in 1923, the Vermont Department of Education made the historian's task much easier by adding a section to the register in which teachers were to record "Non-Resident Pupils" as well as their town of residence. The Quebec students were easily flagged and entered into the database.

The enrolment records and school registers of the Quebec schools are housed for the most part by local school boards. The most pertinent to this study are the records kept by what is now called the Eastern Townships School Board.[17] Other enrolment and attendance records are housed in the province's central archive, the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. Unfortunately, most Quebec school registers for schools along the borderland region for the period to 1950 have been lost or destroyed. From the records that do exist, however, we are offered additional insight into the world of cross-border education in the Eastern Townships and Northern Vermont. As will be discussed later in the paper, however, surviving data on the Canadian side of the border is much more scarce than that on the American side.

A variety of other sources were used to contextualize these records, including superintendent reports, local newspapers, personal writings from local inhabitants, and other relevant archival material related to the schools. Because of how limited such records are, however, what is desperately needed is an oral history of former teachers and students who attended these schools. With the existing records indicating that Quebec children attended Vermont public schools as late as 1972, we can be sure that much of that population is not only still alive, but also still quite young, and so there is an opportunity to gain a world of insight into experiences they had as children attending school across the border. We may also gain an understanding of the reasons and motivations parents had for sending their children to school across the border.

Findings

From the period covering 1800 to 1899, the surviving records indicate a total of 588 residents of Quebec enrolled in 28 Vermont schools along the entire Eastern Townships-Northern Vermont borderland region.[18] Most of these schools, however, were not what we can call

"public schools" in the contemporary definition of the term. While many were aided in part or in full by the state, schooling at this time was completely voluntary in Quebec, and parents were left on their own to decide whether or not their children should attend school. Nevertheless, we should note that the machinery of public schooling had already been set in motion, and parents did not have a lack of options when it came to schools for their children. The Common School Act of 1841 allowed for the publicly-aided schooling of the entire population of Canada East (present-day Quebec).[19] Its subsequent revisions in the 1840s and 1850s saw government funding to schools increase considerably. By the time of Confederation in 1867, publicly-funded schooling was a central component of Quebec social policy, and the British North America Act entrenched the right to education in the new constitution, leaving its operation and control in the hands of the provinces. While schooling was not made compulsory in Quebec until well into the twentieth century, it would be incorrect to suggest that the people of Quebec did not have options or public support when it came to the questions and decisions about sending their children to school, because they did.

While it is also true that the Eastern Townships of Quebec itself is a more remote region, between 1875 and 1900 we find, on average, 21 publicly-supported schools operating on the Quebec side of this small borderland strip.[20] In many ways, the province of Quebec was leading the development of public schooling in Canada. Its success at the World Fair of Chicago in 1893 highlights this point. Of the ninety-two prizes awarded to Canadian exhibits about education that year, the province of Quebec took forty-five.[21] This is an astonishingly high number, especially in light of the fact that schooling in Quebec was still not compulsory. Considering that neighbouring Ontario, with a longer history of publicly-aided schooling and with compulsory schooling itself introduced in 1871, took home only twenty-four awards, Quebec's success is made even more astonishing. Indeed, Quebec was no educational backwater, and the people of Quebec did not need to cross educational jurisdictions in order to school their children.

Yet, as the numbers indicate, they did; and the trend continued into the twentieth century. From 1900 to 1923, the surviving school records indicate that 25 children living in present-day Stanhope, Quebec attended the publicly funded and administered Norton Village School on the US side of the border.[22] The US school was only minutes away by foot, and so it made sense to do so since the Quebec alternative would have been a school in Dixville, more than 6 kilometres away. Along the Hereford, Quebec and Canaan, Vermont border, 49 children

crossed the line to attend school in Vermont.[23] Writing on the history of the Stanhope-Norton region, former Norton Village School teacher Lydia C. Andrews notes that at the turn of the twentieth century Sainte-Suzanne de Boundary Line (Stanhope, Quebec) and Norton Mills (Norton, Vermont) "constituted the same academic municipalities."[24] In 1903, in fact, the Reverend M. Leblanc of Norton and Father Amédée Goyette of Stanhope worked together to acquire a house for the purpose of offering an education for the children who lived in the border towns. The building that was secured was the Damon and Baker Drug Store, which was built deliberately astride the border.[25] The educational agreement that was reached by the two religious leaders, according to Andrews, specified the following:

1. A school was to be established for the same advantages to children of both localities: Stanhope and Norton.
2. That the priest from Stanhope would render himself personally responsible for the necessary and important purchases such as the building and furniture.
3. The school would be regulated by the academic laws of the Province of Quebec.
4. The Boundary Line School: Stanhope-Norton Mills should remain as ONE and not be divided as if in fact establishing a school for Stanhope and a school for Norton Mills.[26]

The school was a unique bilingual institution offering courses in both French and English, in keeping with its mandate to serve both the French-speaking and English-speaking communities on both sides of the border.[27] Archival records for this school are scarce, and so we are left only with the statistics that Andrews herself was able to provide. By these records, we know that at its opening in 1903, St. Paul School, as it was named, saw an enrolment of 120 students from both the Canadian and American sides. Its numbers increased in the 1920s, and in 1923 the building even saw a new 3600 square-foot section constructed.[28] Records at the Coaticook Historical Society, however, indicate that by 1948 interest in the school had waned. The building itself was deemed unsuitable by the Board of Education and had to be shut down. The Sisters of the Presentation-de-Marie, who had been put in charge of the school, continued their work in a new structure in neighbouring Compton, Quebec.[29] While the school continued to welcome boarders from both Canada and the US, it was no longer a borderland school adhering to the fourth principal of the school's founding.

Most school registers for Norton Village School for the 1920s were lost, but they re-appear beginning in 1928. From the period 1928 to

1965, the records indicate a total of 43 Quebec children attending the Vermont public school.[30] Similar numbers appear in the school registers of Canaan Vermont, where 30 Quebec children received their education in Canaan, Vermont during the same period.[31] By the late 1950s, Quebec children along the Stanhope, Quebec-Norton, Vermont border either stopped attending Norton Village School, or the teachers simply stopped recording them. The latter is probably not the case, as we see the number of children in Hereford, Quebec attending Canaan, Vermont schools declining as well. While the numbers dwindled, however, it is interesting to note that at least one family in Hereford, Quebec continued to send their children to school in Vermont as late as 1972.[32]

Schooling in Quebec was made compulsory in 1943, and so one might have expected the decline in cross-border schooling to have happened earlier. With residents paying compulsory school taxes in Quebec, and with a system of provincial regulations and standards set in place, parents were now obligated to support and use the system. A significant number of Quebec parents living along the borderland, however, continued to choose to send their children to school in Vermont. Despite the new era of compulsory schooling in Quebec, this act by borderland parents did not seem to raise any official concern. In fact, in the Norton Village School register of 1947–48, "Commissioners of Education, Province of Quebec" are listed as visitors on September 22, 1947. These commissioners were charged with visiting schools in Quebec to both ensure that children were attending school, and also to report on the condition of instruction at the school. It seems to have mattered not to these commissioners that the children of Stanhope, Quebec and its neighbouring towns were attending school in Vermont. They inspected it as they would any other, ensuring that the children were indeed attending school and receiving proper instruction. Their report was presumably sent to the Inspector of Schools for the region. There are no existing records that can be found from commissioner or inspector reports indicating objection or apprehension about Quebec children attending school in Vermont. In fact, from the reports that do exist there is no mention about cross-border schooling. The silence of commissioners and inspectors, in this regard, might be quite telling. The fact that Quebec children were attending school in the United States was, perhaps, nothing to be concerned about.

Certain Vermont parents, like their Quebec counterparts, also chose to send their children to schools across the border. The historical record, however, is extremely limited with the evidence of cross-border schooling in this regard. As noted earlier, a number of

Americans chose the St. Paul borderland school serving the Stanhope, Quebec and Norton, Vermont communities. The home residences of its students are impossible to arrive at with the available evidence, but we can safely assume that roughly half of the students would have come from the United States.

In the publicly-funded and administered schools of the Eastern Townships, the historical record is also limited. School registers have virtually all been lost or destroyed, and those that have survived date only from the 1940s onward.[33] Moreover, the quality and quantity of information provided in the Quebec school registers are, compared to those found in Vermont, extremely limited. Unlike their Vermont counterparts, teachers in Quebec were not required to list the place of residence of their students, let alone whether they came from out of town or out of country. What we are left with, then, is a list of student names. In order to determine which students were from Vermont, these names can be cross-checked with census enumerations in the United States. The United States' census sunset law of 72 years, however, has only made the 1940 national census recently available; and so even if we can determine that some of the children listed in the Quebec school registers resided in the United States, the volume of evidence itself would remain inconclusive at best. We can reasonably conclude, however, that few if any Vermont children were sent to Quebec schools in the elementary years. With elementary schools on the Quebec side being geographically farther from the border than the Vermont schools, only a small number of parents would likely have chosen the Canadian schools.

At the high school level, however, we have stronger evidence to support the notion of a cross-border culture of schooling that Vermonters themselves actively participated in. The borderland historian is once again indebted to Norton Village School teacher Lydia Andrews, who followed her students' progress even after they left her classroom in grade 8. Andrews kept meticulous records about where her elementary students would later attend high school and college, and what occupation they eventually found themselves in. While we only have records for seventy-eight of her students, we can note that of the twenty-two that can be confirmed to have attended high school, fifteen attended high school at Canaan High School in Canaan, Vermont, two at St. Johnsbury Academy in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and five chose Coaticook Academy in Coaticook, Quebec. Of those five, three were Americans. We also have records of one Vermont student who left Norton Village School early to attend a Catholic school in Sherbrooke, Quebec, and then returned to school in Vermont at Canaan High School.[34] Interestingly, in the surviving school registers

of Coaticook Academy housed at the Eastern Townships School Board Archives, there is evidence of at least two students who left the high school during the Second World War to join the US Army.[35] While the registers do not list their residence, it is safe to assume that they were indeed Americans who enlisted in their own country for military service.

Based on the available record, it is impossible to draw any broad conclusions about why certain Vermonters would have chosen to go to school in Quebec. Their choice may have been based on religion, on a real or imagined belief in higher academic standards, or on the fact that their parents had themselves attended school across the border. The more likely explanation, however, is that, like their Canadian counterparts who chose the Norton Village School for the elementary years, the Canadian school simply represented the closest geographic option for their wants and needs. In the case of high school choices, Coaticook Academy was located 18 kilometres away, Canaan High School was 24 kilometres away, and St. Johnsbury Academy was a distant 85 kilometres away. We can speculate that those who chose Coaticook Academy were probably those who lived closest to the Canadian border in Norton, Vermont. To them, Coaticook was no more foreign a town than Canaan or St. Johnsbury. They were part of a borderland world in which the international border could be ignored for matters of local expediency.

Analysis and Conclusions

What do we make of cross-border schooling in the Eastern Townships and Northern Vermont? Was this simply an educational anomaly that should perhaps interest the historian but really not offer much in terms of forcing us to rethink the history of schooling in this region? I believe that it is not, and that cross-border schooling can tell us much about not only the history of schooling, but also about identity, community, and culture among the people of Canada and the United States. At the very least it is a reminder about just how permeable our border has been. In this regard, the border was much more permeable for Canadians, and with good reason. With well-funded, publicly administered, and well-regulated American schools within walking distance, there was little need for Canadians to either build their own schools or send their children miles away for an education. Cross-border schooling, in a historical context, thus forces us to rethink three myths in the history of Quebec education.

The first myth is that of a fear of American education and the danger it posed to a British colony and, later, an autonomous Dominion. Historians have noted at length the extent to which early

school advocates in Canada based their arguments for a homegrown common school system in large part upon the premise that without a closely controlled Canadian system, the threat of American teachers, textbooks, and republican ideas would infiltrate the mind of the young. But what was happening on the Canadian side? Along the border of Quebec and Vermont, we see not fear of American education but rather a cultural synthesis of the two countries. If the textbooks used in the schools of the Eastern Townships borderland region are any indication, then Canadians did not fear American education but rather embraced it. Of the sixty surviving textbooks from 1800 to 1870 housed at the Colby Curtis Museum in Stanstead, Quebec, all but four are American textbooks.[36] Of the four textbooks that were printed in Canada, two are reprints of American books. So, only two of the surviving sample of textbooks were written and published on the Canadian side. This is hardly an indication of a fear of the United States and American ideas.

One would think, and historians have certainly argued, that once the machinery of mass schooling took form, the use of American textbooks diminished. Standardization, regulation, and state control would ensure that Canadian children were reading from Canadian books and learning Canadian values. But again, the borderland region of Quebec and Vermont seems to have been an exception, and, moreover, the exception was understandable and acceptable to state officials themselves. Superintendents were required to monitor the textbooks used in schools, and as W.M. Thompson, the school inspector of the Compton-Stanstead Protestant district, noted in 1892, "Uniformity exists in nearly all the municipalities, and with the exception of a few American books in schools near the United States boundary, only those authorized by the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction are used."[37] This was acceptable, as far as the superintendent was concerned, and we can conclude that the central government office in Quebec, by virtue of its silence on the matter, agreed. At the very least we can argue that the issue raised no official concern.

We might also think that once schooling became compulsory in 1943, enrolment in American schools would drop. But they did not. In fact, along the Stanhope, Quebec-Norton, Vermont border, enrolments saw a sharp spike in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In September 1947, as noted above, Quebec commissioners can even be found on the visitors list of Norton Village School. What do we make of Quebec officials inspecting a school in Vermont? How did they monitor the teaching? How did they evaluate the quality of the curriculum? Was it enough that the students were simply in school?

Did it matter not that the school was American? Did it matter not that students were pledging allegiance to the American flag and republic every morning? In this case, the answer seems to be that an American education was not objectionable. It was perfectly acceptable for Quebec children along the US border to be attending schools on the American side, as it had been for the previous 100 years. The fear of foreign, republican values has been written about extensively. Indeed, "anti-Americanism" itself has often been considered by scholars to be a central defining feature of being Canadian.[38] The borderland region of the Eastern Townships and Northern Vermont, however, suggests that that scholarship represents more a myth than it does a reality.

The second myth that cross-border schooling calls into question is that of the French/English divide in relation to Quebec education. The historiography typically presents the history as the "two worlds" of Quebec education.[39] Yet, the evidence along the border indicates that both English and French speaking families were sending their children to school in the United States. In some cases, it mattered not that the children themselves could not speak English. Records kept by Norton Village School teacher Lydia Andrews, for example, demonstrates that at least five of her students in the late 1940s and early 1950s began school with the ability to speak French only.[40] What do we make of this? Why did French-speaking parents living in Quebec choose to send their children to a school in the United States where instruction was only available in English? Did they hope to secure some sort of educational advantage for their children? Or, were they simply following compulsory school laws and social conventions which dictated that parents should send their children to school? And since it was easiest, by virtue of geography, to send those children down the road for such schooling, the reason for choosing the American one may have simply been a matter of convenience. Ultimately, the answer cannot be drawn from the school records alone, but it is indeed clear that language was not a factor when choosing a school, and educating children alongside both their Canadian and American English-speaking peers was normal enough.

This idea also forces us to challenge a third myth that is called into question by the history of cross-border schooling in the Eastern Townships and Northern Vermont: that the Canada-US borderline represents a clear demarcation between social and political views and values. That is, cross-border schooling demonstrates that the debate about identity in Quebec and Vermont is even more complex then we have previously assumed. While the "two solitudes" in Quebec may have been a real, and even defining, feature of Quebec society throughout the twentieth century, along the borderland of Quebec

and Vermont we can find yet another solitude. This borderland identity is one that defies definition. It is one that saw a minister in Vermont team with a priest in Quebec to offer a religious education to the children of what they considered to be a single community. It is also one that saw Vermont school administrators welcome Canadian children into their schools. In the case of Canaan, Vermont, it also saw them send school buses into Canada in order to make sure that the "non-resident" children were able to get to school. Catholic or Protestant, Canadian or American, Francophone or Anglophone: the divides did not matter much. The borderland region was in many ways a world of its own, and perhaps any attempt to define it would be futile. Residents were connected in ways that, as Phaneuf has pointed out, outsiders are unlikely to understand. When asked about living "on the edge of a foreign country," June Elliott, a woman from Derby Line, responded vehemently: "Foreign country – that's no foreign country!" Travelling into Quebec, she insisted "didn't seem as though it were any more significant than going into New Hampshire.... It was one community, essentially."[41]

In the end, the importance of the history of cross-border education is not so much in that it offers us a different history of Quebec, but rather that it offers us a history of a different Quebec. And, on the American side, it offers us a history of a different Vermont. Values, culture, and identity meant something different to the people of the borderland region. Their identity was part and parcel of the borderland community in which they lived. That identity was shaped by the boundaries those borders represented, and, in the case of schooling, by the boundaries that the people of the borderland region chose to ignore.

NOTES

1 The author would like to acknowledge the research assistance of Emilie Bowles, Eric Heyser, André Lachance, Ryan Millar, and Jessica Plouffe, as well as the financial support of the *Fonds de recherche du Québec – Société et culture*. He would also like to thank Cheryl Gosselin, Christopher Kirkey, and Sabrina Moisan for their valuable comments and feedback.

2 Canada. House of Commons. Debates (Hansard). 17th Parliament, 32nd session, (1 July 1931). p. 3237.

3 See Arjun Appadurai, "Theory in Anthropology: Center and Periphery," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, 1 (1986): 356–361 and "Putting Hierarchy in its Place," *Cultural Anthropology* 3, 1 (1988): 36–49; Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture:' Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 1 (1992): 6–23; Néstor Garcia Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: Univeristy of Minnesota Press, 1995).

4 Victoria M. Phaneuf, "Towards a Vermont-Québec Border Study: Interviews from the Northeast Kingdom," MA, University of Arizona, 2006.

5 See Josiah Heyman, *Life and Labor on the Border: Working People of Northeastern Sonora* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991); Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, "Shifting borders, free trade and frontier narratives: US, Canada and Mexico," *American Literary History* 16, 1 (1994): 88–102; John Herd Thompson and Morton Weinfeld, "Entry and Exit: Canadian Immigration Policy in Context," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 538 (1995): 185–198; Scott Wheeler, *Rumrunners and Revenuers: Prohibition in Vermont* (Shelburne, Vermont: The New England Press, 2002).

6 Victoria M. Phaneuf, "The Vermont Québec Border Region: Negotiations of Identity and Logic in the Northeast Kingdom," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 28, 1: 112.

7 See W.H. New, *Borderlands: How We Talk about Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); Clark Blaise, *The Border as Fiction* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Borderlands Project, 1990).

8 See Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal : USJBA, 1958); John Hudson, "Migration to an American Frontier," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1976) 66, 2: 242–265; Gerard J. Brault, *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986); François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains* (Paris: Belin, 1989); Armand B. Chartier, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1775–1990* (Montréal: Septentrion, 1991); Yves Roby, *Les Franco-américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* : *rêves et réalités* (Montréal: Septentrion, 2000); Jacques

Ferland, "Canadiens, Acadiens, and Canada : Knowledge and Ethnicity in Labour History," *Labour / Le Travail* (2002) 50: 101–115.

9 Phaneuf, "The Vermont-Québec Border Region," 109.

10 Matthew Farfan, *The Vermont-Quebec Border: Life on the Line* (Charleston SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009). Jean Manore also explores the ways in which communities astride the border have been connected historically, concentrating specifically on the Abenaki, and considers the ways in which they became separated by the Imperial forces that created the border. Jean L. Manore, "The Historical Erasure of an Indigenous Identity in Borderlands: The Western Abenaki of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Quebec," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 26, 2 (2011): 179–196.

11 See J.I. Little, *Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792–1852* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Paul M. Searls, *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865–1910* (Hanover: University of New Hampshire Press, 2006). Of equal importance in the historiography is research by Quebec and American historians who have examined the impact of Franco-American migration to New England on the identity of New Englanders and Quebeckers alike. See, for example, Yves Roby, *Les Franco-américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* : *rêves et réalités* (Montréal: Septentrion, 2000); Armand B. Chartier, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1775–1990* (Montréal: Septentrion, 1991); Gerard J. Brault, *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986); Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal : USJBA, 1958); François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains* (Paris: Belin, 1989).

12 See, for example, Louis-Philippe Audet, *Histoire de l'enseignement au Québec, 1608–1971*, 2 vols (Montreal: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971); Andrée Dufour, *Histoire de l'éducation au Québec* (Montréal: Boréal, 1997); and Roger Magnuson, *The Two Worlds of Quebec Education during the Traditional Era, 1760–1940* (London, ON: Althouse Press, 2005).

13 See Seth M. Zorack, "Vermont's Tradition of Education and the Vermont Constitution," *Albany Law Review* 69, 2 (2006): 581–590; John A. Sautter, "Equity and History: Vermont's Education Revolution of the Early 1890s," *Vermont History* 76, 1 (2008): 1–18; Clyde Greenleaf Fussell, "The Emergence of Public Education as a Function of the State of Vermont" (Ph.D., University of Connecticut, 1958); Mason Sereno Stone, *History of Education, State of Vermont* (Montpelier: Capital City Press, 1936); George Gary Bush, *History of Education in Vermont* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900).

14 See, for example, Louis-Philippe Audet, *Histoire de l'enseignement au Québec, 1608–1971*, 2 vols (Montreal: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971); Andrée Dufour, *Histoire de l'éducation au Québec* (Montreal: Boréal, 1997); and Roger Magnuson, *The Two Worlds of Quebec Education during the Traditional Era, 1760–1940* (London, ON: Althouse Press, 2005).

15 Vermont Northeast Kingdom Genealogy, [Online] *http://www.nekg-vt.com/schools/*.

16 Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Census of Canada, 1891; Census of Canada, 1901, Census of Canada, 1911. [Online] *http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/Pages/census.aspx*. Full manuscript copies of all three censuses can be found online. Census data for the period from 1921 onward is not yet available to the public.

17 The Eastern Townships School Board Archives (hereafter ETSBA) are located in the basement of Princess Elizabeth Elementary School in Magog, Quebec.

18 Tabulated from the data gathered on the Vermont Northeast Kingdom Genealogy website, [online] *http://www.nekg-vt.com/schools/*.

19 Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM). Common School Act of 1841, *Journals of the Province of Canada*, 1841.

20 *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec*. Quebec: Department of Public Instruction, 1875–1900.

21 *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec*, 1894–95, p. 74.

22 Norton Town Clerk Office (NTCO), School Registers, Norton Village School, 1900–1923.

23 Canaan Town Clerk Office (CTCO), School Registers, all schools, 1900–1923.

24 Lydia C. Andrews, *Three Towns: Norton & Averill, Vermont, Stanhope, Quebec. A History of the Northeast Kingdom*. Norton, Vermont: The Three Towns Historical Society (1986, r. 2011), 139.

25 Ibid., 139.

26 Ibid., 139–140.

27 Ibid., 140–141.

28 Ibid., 140–141.

29 Société d'histoire de Coaticook (SHC), Report of the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary Convent.

30 NTCO, School Registers, Norton Village School, 1928–1955.

31 CTCO, School Registers, 1923–1955.

32 CTCO, Canaan High School School Register, 1971–72.

33 ETSBA, records relating to Hereford, Compton County, Coaticook, and Stanstead County. There are a scattering of pre-1940 registers and enrolment records, but still not enough to draw any substantive conclusions about cross-border schooling on the Quebec side.

34 NTCO, Norton Village School Records.

35 ETSBA, School Registers, Coaticook, Box 1933–1946.

36 Pierre Rastoul, "A Southern Wind: American Printers and the Emergence of the Press in the Eastern Townships," paper presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the *Fédération des sociétés d'histoire du Québec*, 26 May 2012; Pierre Rastoul, "Libraries and their Influence in the Stanstead Area," paper presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Stanstead Historical Society, 9 June 2012.

37 *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec*, 1892–93, 101.

38 For a discussion on counter-American sentiment in the historical context, see Adam J. Green, "Introduction" in *Images of Americans: The United States in Canadian Newspapers During the 1960s* (Ph.D., University of Ottawa, 2006).

39 Magnuson, *The Two Worlds of Quebec Education,* 2005.

40 NTCO, Norton Village School Records.

41 June Elliott, Personal Communication, 28 June 2006, quoted in Phaneuf, "The Vermont-Quebec Border Region," 115.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF VILLÉGIATURE ON LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG, 1860–1890

Jody Robinson, Archivist,
Eastern Townships Resource Centre, Bishop's University

Abstract
This article examines growing trend towards *villégiature* in nineteenth-century Quebec as it looks at the country estates of Montreal *villégiateurs* on Lake Memphremagog, in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. In particular, the architectural styles of the estates of Sir Hugh Allan, Alexander Molson, Judge Charles Dewey Day and John Murray are at the centre of this analysis. The article concludes that the architecture and landscaping of these estates demonstrates the occupants' notions of nature, leisure and social status as well as indicating the contemporary influences of romanticism and antimodernism.

Résumé
Cet article illustre la tendance croissante vers la villégiature au Québec au XIX^e^ siècle par l'étude des maisons de campagne des villégiateurs montréalais au lac Memphrémagog, dans la région des Cantons-de-l'Est au Québec. En particulier, les styles architecturaux des maisons de campagne de sir Hugh Allan, d'Alexander Molson, du juge Charles Dewey Day et de John Murray sont au cœur de cette analyse. L'article conclut que l'architecture et l'aménagement paysager de ces maisons de campagne démontrent ce que représentaient la nature, les loisirs et le statut social pour ces résidents et offrent un indicateur des influences contemporaines du romantisme et de l'anti-modernisme.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a growing number of wealthy Montrealers were choosing to escape the city during the summer months, preferring locations with more 'congenial' scenery and fresher air. Among the popular summer destinations were the shores of Lake Memphremagog, with its picturesque landscapes and perceived rejuvenating qualities.[1] From 1860 to the early twentieth-century, a selection of upper-class Montreal families made Lake Memphremagog, in Quebec's Eastern Townships region, their summer

home. Along the pristine shores they built impressive country estates with sprawling lawns and gardens, wharves to dock their personal yachts, and servants to wait on them.

The presence of wealthy summer tourists on Lake Memphremagog was part of a broader North American trend, most often termed *villégiature* in Quebec history. The word 'villégiature,' coming from the Italian *villegiatura* and which lacks a suitable English equivalent, means to take a vacation in the country, at the ocean or in some other pleasurable location, for the purpose of relaxation.[2] The emergence of this phenomenon, which can first be seen in European countries such as England and France, was primarily a result of the societal and cultural changes brought about by industrialization and romanticism at the turn of the nineteenth century.[3] Significantly, however, *villégiature* was specifically an elite trend. During this time period, they were the only social class that had the financial means to travel to distant locations and pay for lodging for prolonged periods of time. Furthermore, romantic concepts, such as the appreciation of nature and the picturesque, were well received by members of the upper class, thus creating in them a desire to seek out nature and the wilderness that did not exist among members of the working classes. Lake Memphremagog's estate-owning Montreal families are particularly significant because they represent a distinct group of *villégiateurs*. In part, the Montrealers under examination here were among the wealthiest and most influential families in Quebec and a study of the way they experienced *villégiature* allows us to understand the ways in which their upper-class status and culture affected their pursuit of leisure and nature.

Through an examination of primary sources, the following article will present evidence of the strong romantic influences in the experience of *villégiature* in Quebec and, more specifically, in the Lake Memphremagog region. The architecture of the country houses built by Montrealers demonstrated styles that purposely integrated elements that were linked to romanticism. Likewise, they chose picturesque locations and landscaping so that they would be able to appropriately appreciate their natural surroundings. Furthermore, in studying the Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog, it is evident that they were heavily influenced by their upper-class status. While the architectural styles and landscaping demonstrate the influences of romanticism, they also indicate an obvious status consciousness as they sought to denote to on-lookers the wealth and prestige of their upper-class position.

Although they chose to leave behind many aspects of urban life, the Montrealers brought their upper-class value system with them to

their summer homes. The growing wealth of the Montreal elite into the mid-nineteenth century resulted in a more pronounced effort to clearly define themselves from the less affluent in various ways. Among other symbols, it was common for them to express social status through their living spaces, their houses growing in proportion to their wealth.[4] Their summer estates were no exception to this attitude. The Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog were proud and withheld no expense in the construction of their estates. A number of them commissioned the famous Montreal photographer, William Notman, to produce prints of their properties. Fortunately, many of these photographs have survived to the present, along with a few others, which allow us to view some of the original grandeur of the estates.

Without architectural plans available for study, photographs are the best way to determine the architectural styles used in the construction of these estates. As a result, photographs form the chief primary source consulted for the following examination of country-house architecture on Lake Memphremagog. Extracts from the *Stanstead Journal*, the Eastern Townships' oldest, continuously published newspaper, were also used to supplement the information available through photographs.

By studying the Montrealers' lakeside country estates, the following discussion will demonstrate how romanticism and upper-class culture strongly influenced many of the architectural and landscaping styles preferred by the Montreal elite.

1. Upper-class culture through architecture

As *villégiature* became increasingly fashionable in Quebec into the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of architectural styles were applied to the summer houses that were springing up in the countryside and along the seashore. Eager to emulate their American and English counterparts, many of the elite adopted styles popular in other regions, which were readily available through architectural pattern books from the U.S. and England.[5] Particularly common for country-house architecture were the Shingle, Second Empire, Italianate, Gothic Revival and Palladian styles. Architectural styles varied from house to house but one thing remained common among the majority: each style played off of architectural elements from historical periods.[6] The implied historical connection was intended to evoke images and feelings tied to their historical setting. The rapid societal changes brought about by industrialization pushed members of the upper class – many being *nouveau-riche* – to want to establish a connection to the past and to 'traditional' values, which they did in part

through architecture.[7] For example, Italianate and Italian Renaissance styles identified with the humanist ideals of the Renaissance period.[8] Similarly, North American Queen Anne Revival and Shingle-style were founded in the notions of vernacular architecture and gentility.[9] Regardless of the specific style, the ostentatious architectural styles of the nineteenth century were largely intended as public displays of success, culture, power, and wealth. While this was particularly true when it came to their mansions in the city, it was also a factor in country house styles.

As alluded to earlier, architectural styles during this period were also defined by elements common to romantic thought, such as eclecticism and the picturesque. More generally, romanticism describes a new tendency most prevalent among the middle and upper classes to attribute high worth to feelings, imagination and emotions evoked by secular experience. Included within romantic thought were the ideas of the sublime and the picturesque, which were frequently used as descriptors during this period. The sublime referred to the quality in art, literature and natural phenomena that induced its audience into awe while the picturesque referred to a quality in landscape that was visually attractive but lacked the profound emotional impact of the sublime.[10] It is possible to see the widespread effects of romanticism in the methods of interpretation throughout Western art, architecture, landscape, literature, etc. In particular, romanticism created a climate where wilderness and nature could be appreciated.

When applied to architecture, these characteristics produced design elements that were meant to be eye-catching and dramatic. Additionally, to onlookers, they were intended to reference historical periods which suggested old, family wealth or a 'more simple' time. Such features included large projecting windows, turrets, high chimneys, irregular forms and striking gables.[11] In a particular example, one pattern book author refers to the functionality as well as the visual appeal of one of these design characteristics: "Hoods over the windows […] relieve, by their shadows, what might otherwise appear to be a very plain exterior."[12] The application of the picturesque is particularly true for country houses as they often aspired to mimic the dramatic qualities of the natural landscape.

It is in this way that country-house architecture differed from urban architecture. It needed to combine the strong belief in the conspicuous status symbol with the desire to commune with nature. Styles were carefully chosen for the aesthetic environments they would create, which needed to be enjoyed from the outdoors. In the case of the summer villas around Lake Memphremagog, this aim resulted in architectural styles that were less assuming and pretentious

than their urban counterparts. As will be seen below, the villas were impressive but still relatively modest, especially when juxtaposed to the later, turn-of-the-century summer villas of Montreal's elite in other Quebec regions.[13] This modesty can be partially attributed to the still comparatively juvenile state of Quebec's industrial revolution and the consequently limited fortunes. In the same way that industrialization lagged a few decades behind the United States, Quebec's popular architectural styles lagged somewhat behind the architectural trends to the south.[14] Although they present more muted forms of the popular, nineteenth-century country house styles, the existing photographs of the country houses along Lake Memphremagog's eastern shore indicate that there were clear commonalities among them. If considering the architectural styles as part of a spectrum ranging from the grandiose to the modest, *Belmere* and *Fern Hill* would be in the centre while *Glenbrook*, as a modest design, and *Dunkeld*, as grandiose, would be at opposite ends. Through the following exploration of their similarities and differences, it will be shown that each property conveyed specific tenets of romanticism, as well as indicating the particular preferences of its specific owner.

1.1 Sir Hugh Allan's *Belmere* and Alexander Molson's *Fern Hill*

While the family of Sir Hugh Allan owned *Belmere* for over a century, a significant part of the estate was actually constructed under the direction of Henry Chapman, *Belmere's* original owner. John Murray describes the construction of Chapman's residence in a letter to his mother in 1864, which indicates that the main house had already been completed by the time Allan purchased it in 1866.[15] Thus, Chapman was likely responsible for many of the architectural style choices for the country house. However, the specifics of which owner may have built what are not of utmost importance for this examination. Regardless of who built it, the fact that Hugh Allan chose to purchase *Belmere*, and for a price exponentially more than what Chapman had paid, indicates that the estate met his personal preferences.

Hugh Allan first amassed his fortune through a fleet of steamships he owned and operated with his brother, Andrew Allan, which was known popularly as the Allan Line. Similarly to other successful Montreal businessmen, Allan expanded his interests beyond shipping to manufacturing, insurance, natural resources and railway promotion.[16] In recognition of his remarkable accomplishments and contribution to the commerce of Canada, Hugh Allan was knighted by the Queen in July 1871.[17] It is not surprising, then, that by 1870, Allan was one of the richest men in Canada.[18] His Montreal residence,

known as *Ravenscrag*, was appropriately extravagant in its size and design, built conspicuously on the slopes of Mount Royal.[19]

Belmere, as Allan's summer estate, consisted of the main house (also known as the 'big house'), boathouse, bathing house, two wharfs, gardener's cottage, bowling alley, hermitage, farmhouse and other farm buildings. The main summer house no longer exists unfortunately and because there are no known architectural plans, we now have to rely on photographs for insight into what it looked like originally. Purchased by Allan in 1866, some of the best photographs that have survived of *Belmere* were taken by Notman in June 1870, in honour of Allan's royal guest, Prince Arthur.[20] A series of these photographs, along with others that Notman had taken in 1867, were printed and bound as gifts; only a few copies still exist today.[21] The bound album is incredibly useful to gain a perspective of the original estate as it includes photographs of the grounds, the buildings, the views and the visitors.

Looking for examples in A.J. Downing's popular, contemporary country house architectural pattern book, *Belmere's* main house appears most similar to the 'plain timber cottage-villa' but has been designed with elements of Gothic Revival.[22] Without question, *Belmere*

View of *Belmere*, with employees on lawn, ca. 1870.
Source: William Notman, "Servants Group," (Stanstead Historical Society).

Avenue at *Belmere*, ca. 1870
Source: William Notman, "Belmere," (Stanstead Historical Society).

cannot be considered a villa by this American standard because of its size. Smaller than a villa but larger than a cottage and made with clapboard siding rather than stone, brick or stucco made it a 'cottage-villa' according to Downing.

Although generally symmetrical and lacking the very dramatic features of some contemporary styles, the house displayed a number of picturesque Gothic Revival characteristics. The steep roof, cross gable, tall windows, verandah with decorative brackets, along with the recurring use of the lancet arch (in the windows as well as on the flat-board balustrades of the second floor balcony), the carved barge-boards, finials and drip moldings set *Belmere* apart from traditional, vernacular architecture.[23] Also interesting are the circular and modified cathedral windows, the latter of which was not often seen in villa/cottage architecture during this time period. The decorative architectural details added whimsy and beauty to an otherwise traditional building. According to Downing, Gothic Revival was meant to express a certain level of modesty yet maintain a recognizable air of the picturesque and that the design "is that of a man or family of domestic tastes, but with strong aspirations after something higher than social pleasures."[24] In particular, the tall chimney, the pointed gable and horizontal lines of the verandah were designed to catch the eye of the on-looker.

View of *Fern Hill*, 1867.
Source: William Notman, "Fern Hill from the Avenue, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

Furthermore, the large bay windows and tall casement windows, which extended almost to the floor, were intended to allow more light into the house, thus bringing more of the 'outside in'.

Although somewhat similar to *Belmere*, Alexander Molson's summer estate, *Fern Hill,* possessed features that differentiated it from the other estates that emerged lakeside and demonstrated the unique preferences of its owner. Alexander Molson was among the earliest Montrealers to buy Memphremagog lakefront property.[25] Late in 1862, Alexander purchased 50 acres from George W. Brown and, in 1864, purchased the remaining 115-acre farm from Brown.[26] The original estate no longer exists and we are, again, left with a series of photographs that were taken by Notman in 1867, as well as some descriptions in contemporary published sources. As with other summer estates around Lake Memphremagog, *Fern Hill* consisted of the large country house, a boathouse, stables, farm house and barn. Specific to *Fern Hill,* an impressive orchard also made up part of the estate.

Looking again to A.J. Downing's pattern book, *Fern Hill*'s main house was an example of a plain timber cottage-villa with architectural influences from the Swiss Cottage style.[27] *Fern Hill* was rather simple in its basic design but stood out from the vernacular farm houses

***Fern Hill* from across the lake, 1867.**
Source: William Notman, "A. Molson's house, Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

through its impressive size and architectural features. Various design characteristics identified *Fern Hill* as influenced by the Swiss Cottage design; the cutout flat-board balustrades, the second-floor balcony with its gabled overhang and the gabled windows were intended to give the occupants a picturesque, almost "storybook" escape from the burdens of modern industrialization.[28] Other characteristics also contributed to its overall picturesque appearance, such as its sprawling, irregular lay-out, towering chimneys, bargeboards, latticework, finials and multiple ornate cupolas.

While both *Belmere* and *Fern Hill* were clearly styled after the popular country house architectural designs of the period, neither of the estates adhered closely to specific pattern. They each possessed varying design characteristics that were picturesque, irregular and eclectic. Clearly, they fit well into the romantic tendencies of the period, but also reflected the unique preferences of Allan and Molson.

1.2 Judge Day's *Glenbrook* and John Murray's *Dunkeld*

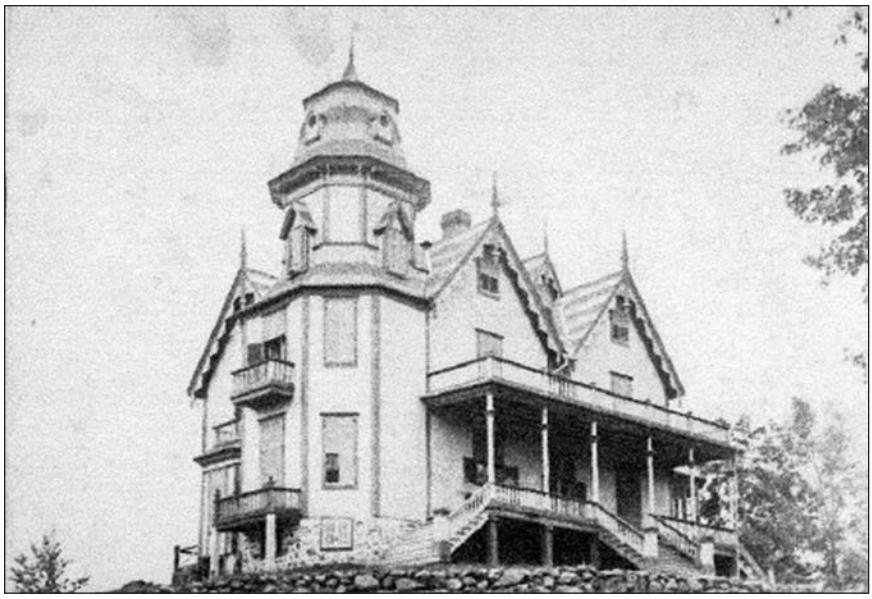
The estates of Judge Day and John Murray are interesting for their styles which were unique in comparison to the country estates of Sir Hugh Allan and Alexander Molson. As mentioned earlier, Judge Day's *Glenbrook* was particularly modest in design and was notably opposite from John Murray's *Dunkeld*.

The first Montrealer to purchase property on Lake Memphremagog was Judge Charles D. Day, who acquired part of a lakeside farm from James B. Hoyt in 1856. By the time he sold the property to his neighbour, A. Molson, in 1873, he had acquired a total of 273 acres including three of the lake's islands.[29] It is unknown exactly why

Judge Day's *Glenbrook*, 1867.
Source: William Notman, "Newport from Glen Brook, Judge Day's house, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

Judge Day kept his property on Lake Memphremagog for less than a decade, only to continue to make summer visits to the lake in the years following.[30] It is not unreasonable, however, to suggest that after being appointed to the Canadian Pacific Railway Royal Commission, Judge Day may have felt the need to physically distance himself from Sir Hugh, who had been implicated in the affair.[31]

Only a few Notman photographs of *Glenbrook*, also from 1867, are available for examination today, but nonetheless offer a window on what the estate looked like during Judge Day's time there. In general, Judge Day's summer house looked the part of a vernacular timber farmhouse except for its large size. The only picturesque characteristics that it possessed were the wrap-around verandah and the dormer windows, which – while not intrinsically picturesque – added visual interest and character to the design.[32] The architectural style of *Glenbrook* communicated a very different message to onlookers when compared to those of *Belmere* and *Fern Hill*; it was meant to blend in rather than to stand out. This unassuming style, described as "charming" in one newspaper article, may have reflected Judge Day's personality traits as well.[33] When news of the sale of his property and departure from the lake reached the townspeople, a disappointment was expressed in the *Stanstead Journal* as a Georgeville correspondent wrote "We are sure we speak sentiments of the people generally in



John Murray's Dunkeld, ca. 1890, Source: Anonymous, "Dunkeld," (W.A. Murray collection, Private Collection, Georgeville, Quebec).

saying we hope Judge Day will find a place to his mind without leaving the Township."[34] Even five years later, it appears that the people of Georgeville had not yet lost hope that Judge Day would return: "There is a good bit of news that Hon. Judge Day is about buying back his old place […]."[35] While this rumour went unfounded, it indicates that Judge Day had built up a relationship with the local people during his summers spent on the shores of Lake Memphremagog.

Although John Murray had lived on Lake Memphremagog since the early 1860s, he did not build a proper estate house until after the deaths of his father, William Murray, in 1874 and his mother in 1880.[36] *Dunkeld* was certainly unique compared to its counterparts on the Eastern shore of the lake; it was designed in the Queen Anne Revival architectural style, popular in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and not comparable to the more common styles of country houses in the region. Queen Anne Revival was characterized by prominent chimneys, large verandahs, turrets, varied shingle and surface patterns, and widespread use of embellishments (e.g. brackets, finials, spindles, bargeboards, etc.), most of which *Dunkeld* possessed. These elements paired with steep cross gables, numerous dormer windows, the bay window and balconies made *Dunkeld* quintessentially picturesque in style.[37] In many ways, its design was better suited for the urban, upper-class neighbourhood of Montreal than the shores of Lake Memphremagog.

Dunkeld, ca. 1890
Source: Anonymous, "Dunkeld,"
(W.A. Murray collection, Private Collection, Georgeville, Quebec).

Picturesque architectural elements were intended to create a structure that was visually pleasing and striking to the onlooker. At the same time, however, these styles were intended to convey the wealth and social status of the residents.[38] In this way, *Dunkeld* spoke louder than other country houses along the lake. The grandiosity of Murray's house can be explained by a few factors. First, and probably most significantly, the *Dunkeld* property was John Murray's primary residence, rather than simply a country house. For this reason, it had to be comfortable enough to live in year-round. Also, while other Montrealers were able to convey their status through their ostentatious primary residences in the upper-class neighbourhood of the 'Square Mile,' Murray's *Dunkeld* did not have an urban counterpart. Given this, it is not surprising that *Dunkeld* resembled the upper-class houses of Montreal more than the country houses of Lake Memphremagog.

Notably, *Belmere, Fern Hill,* and particularly *Glenbrook* all conveyed some elements of vernacular architecture in their design, in particular through their material of construction. Downing describes this plain timber cottage-villa as a 'real' structure, one which derives its character from its "simplicity and fitness of construction."[39] Downing also emphasized the necessity that the design of a cottage or villa must suit its surroundings. Witold Rybczynski has identified an expressiveness and fantasy in estate and cottage architecture, which is not typical of urban architecture.[40] These architectural styles, described by Downing and chosen by the Montrealers, were best suited for the natural and

rustic surroundings of the lake and were chosen for their romantic and picturesque qualities. Though important, the houses of *Belmere*, *Fern Hill* and *Glenbrook* only made up a portion of the estate. As summer retreats, where great amounts of time were meant to be passed outdoors, the landscaping and agricultural buildings were significant components of the estates.

2. Creating structured nature: landscape design

The Romantic Movement gave Western society a framework in which nature and wilderness could be appreciated. As discussed earlier, it ushered in a period where notions of the picturesque and of the sublime influenced the way natural phenomena and landscapes where interpreted and valued.[41] Transcendentalism was also on the rise during this period and influenced how nineteenth-century contemporary writers viewed nature. This movement promoted the belief that nature and wilderness gave a person better access to spiritual truths and that the wilderness possessed unique aesthetic and inspirational qualities.[42] Although Transcendentalism was an American movement, many of the most prominent names in Transcendentalism were from New England and it is not unreasonable to assume that Montrealers, being in close geographic proximity and often with familial ties to the region, would have been exposed to these ideas in some way.

Furthermore, industrial businessmen increasingly sought out refuge from the suffocating confines of their urban surroundings. T.J. Jackson Lears argues this dissatisfaction grew out of emerging anti-modernist thought, which found the educated bourgeoisie desiring experiences that were outside of Victorian respectability and would recapture 'real life' experiences.[43] Some of these real life experiences could be found through pre-modern activities such as hunting, 'gathering' (agriculture) and, in general, a return to the land.[44] It has also been argued that one's perception of and relationship with nature and the countryside was dependent on their position relative to it. Working the land would carry a different appeal and significance to *villégiateurs* who experienced it as a pastime to be enjoyed during weekends or a few months during the summer rather than those for whom it was their source of livelihood.[45]

These interpretations of the urban, industrial environment versus nature heavily influenced the appeal of Lake Memphremagog and its surroundings to upper-class *villégiateurs*. The picturesque mountain views, crisp water, fresh air, and availability of rolling farmland to occupy made Lake Memphremagog, along with other areas in the Eastern Townships, a prime getaway destination. Each of the early Montrealers to settle at the lake also had working farms as a part of

their estate, which they continued to operate and employed people to oversee year-round. This is evidenced by estate photographs and newspaper descriptions. The Allans had a farm house where their tenant farmer, Robert Parker, lived for 26 years.[46] Also, through the years, various farm buildings at the estates succumbed to fire or narrowly escaped being destroyed.[47] In particular, the Molson estate, *Fern Hill*, was widely known for its extensive vegetable gardens and orchards.[48] Molson, along with fellow lakeside estate-owner R.A. Lindsay, also a Montrealer, strove to raise prize produce and animals: "R.A. Lindsay, Esq., of Woodland farm received the first prize on his Ayershire Bull […]. We suppose that A. Molson's Fern Hill farm has produced more and better fruit than any other farm in this county."[49] Their retention of 'gentleman's farms' and their participation in local agricultural exhibitions suggest that the farms played a notable part in their retreat to the country and may have been perceived as contributing to the 'real life' experience that Jackson Lears describes.

Beyond selecting the location that would be their country getaway, *villégiateurs* went a step further by influencing how they experienced nature. Although Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog wanted to sojourn in places close to nature, their estates were displays of controlled nature, rather than wild nature. The photographs of *Belmere, Fern Hill, Glenbook,* and *Dunkeld* give evidence of this. To guide them in this, there was no lack of contemporary literature with instructions on proper methods of landscape gardening. André Parmentier, recognized as the originator of picturesque principles in landscape design, introduced the upper class to these principles at the turn of the nineteenth century.[50] A.J. Downing followed with his *Treatise on Landscape Gardening,* as he argued to readers that proper landscape gardening increased one's personal enjoyment as well as expressed cultural and social status. Downing's work was wildly successful in bringing the upper and middle classes to the realization of the merits of residential landscape design. Nineteenth-century picturesque landscape design literature often focused on historical styles, such as Italianate and eclecticism, which were trends also present in architecture.[51]

Unfortunately, too few photographs of the early Lake Memphremagog estates exist to determine a specific type of landscape design. Nonetheless, the photographs available now, along with other sources, show a combination of careful landscaping paired with an admiration for the wilderness just beyond. Photographs of Sir Hugh's *Belmere* show extensive manicured lawns, foliage-covered arbours along with gardens and shrubbery. Molson's *Fern Hill* shows even more detailed landscaping with multiple gazebos, substantial flower gardens,

View of *Belmere's* lawns, ca. 1867.
Source: William Notman, "Belmere," (Stanstead Historical Society).

vegetable gardens and walking paths. Reports found in the *Stanstead Journal* also express the significant extent of the landscaping on the estates. A description of a trip to Memphremagog in 1867 describes Molson's estate with a few lines about his gardens, "[…] his productive garden with its acre of asparagus and thriving fruit trees […]."[52] Later, in 1879, a correspondent writes "[…] lots of trees and shrubbery for gardens, &c. are being freighted out for those pleasant summer resorts [*Woodlands, Fern Hill,* and *Glenbrook*]."[53] There is no doubt that the Montreal estate-owners were engaged in the beautification of their properties.

Beyond their manicured lawns and gardens, the Allans, Molsons, and others demonstrated their parallel admiration of the wilderness. The Notman collection of Lake Memphremagog area photographs from the 1860s contains numerous images of mountain and shoreline views from the estates. In the Allans' album of *Belmere*, 17 of the 33 photographs were views of relatively untransformed nature. In the McCord Museum's Notman collection, there are a handful of similar views from the grounds of *Belmere*. Likewise, the Notman views from *Fern Hill* and *Glenbrook* also included a greater number of landscape,

The gardens at *Fern Hill*, 1867.
Source: William Notman, "A. Molson's house, Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

or 'scenic,' views than of the carefully maintained estates or country houses. The large number of these photographs suggests that wild nature held an equal evaluation among the Lake Memphremagog Montrealers.

The North American literature on nature, the wilderness and tourism during the nineteenth century suggests something similar. As discussed earlier, the wilderness was seen as having rejuvenating and inspirational qualities while 'picturesque' landscapes were valued as an element of taste.[54] Lynda Villeneuve, in her study of landscape and myth in nineteenth-century Charlevoix, further describes representations of the picturesque. She explains that, in England, the possession of topographical art was seen as a symbol of high society, political and social power as well as personal success; a meaning that was carried into Quebec in the nineteenth century. Although landscape photographs were not art in the traditional sense, they often reflected many of the qualities present in picturesque topographical art. Such qualities included the subtle placement of trees in the foreground with mountains in the background, which made the landscape more majestic and striking.[55] Given this, the landscape photographs taken

Untransformed nature on the *Belmere* estate, ca. 1867. Source: William Notman, "Mount Orford," (Stanstead Historical Society).

from the Montrealers' estates may have been a way for the estate-owners to portray their success and wealth to friends and family. Furthermore, the Montrealers' focus on images depicting wild nature demonstrates that they also attributed much value and meaning to it. Through their estates, they were able to exact some control over nature while simultaneously admiring the untamed nature that lied just beyond the boundaries of their influence.

This admiration for views of wild nature likely influenced their choice of Lake Memphremagog as a summer getaway over

Untransformed nature on *Glenbrook* estate, 1867 Source: William Notman, "Judge Day's house, Glen Brook, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

other popular destinations. Mid-century travel guides expounded on the 'untamed' scenery, forests and rolling hills offered by Lake Memphremagog. However, along with the gradual development of *villégiature* came significant changes to the view from the lake.

3. The view from the lake

Drawn by fertile soil and access to the water, many of the first settlers along the shores of Lake Memphremagog cleared large wooded areas in order to cultivate the land. The areas too mountainous for such ends, largely along the Western shore, were left untamed forests. For *villégiateurs* first visiting the lake in the late 1850s and 1860s, forests, mountains, farmland and quaint farmhouses would have been the predominant views from the lake. Furthermore, the shores around the lake would have been essentially undeveloped with few docks or wharves to disturb the natural landscape, all of which would have attracted *villégiateurs* to the area.

The early travel literature and other available descriptions of Lake Memphremagog produced in the mid-1800s focus on this picturesque landscape. Shortly after the launch of the *Mountain Maid* in 1850, a description of a day trip on the steamer appeared in the *Stanstead Journal* wherein the author described the 'natural beauties' as well as the 'feminine beauties' of the excursion. Included within the description, he wrote "[t]he scenery about 'Owl's Head' struck me as awful in its sublimity [sic], and is worth a page of description. Then there were the beautiful and highly cultivated farms along the shores of the Lake, indicative of the skill and industry of their thriving occupants."[56] The article is significant for its demonstration of the characteristics of the Lake in 1850, at the beginnings of *villégiature* in the area and, in particular, what characteristics were most valued.

Into the early 1860s, published travel guides that included the Lake Memphremagog area generally focused on the mountains of the Western shore, wooded hills of the Eastern shore and occasionally noted the attractive farmland. Dix's *Handbook for Lake Memphremagog,* dated from around 1864, chiefly details the natural and wild scenery while making brief mention of the "upland being dotted with farms and pretty dwellings" and of Georgeville being "a pretty rural village" with "handsome dwellings."[57] In Trollope's *North America*, from 1862, his brief time on the Lake also focuses on the natural landscape.[58] Into the latter part of the 1860s, much of the literature continued to focus on the undeveloped views.[59] However, as summer estates were built up along the lakeshore, their presence was the first step in a long process that would forever change the view from the lake.

It was not long after the arrival of the Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog that the estates began to make their appearance in contemporary publications. One of the first mentions of the estates appears in Burt's *Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley*, published in 1866. He makes many of the typical remarks about the lake, such as noting the "grand and inspiring" scenery, but also comments on the "splendid" summer residences of wealthy Montreal men.[60] While Burt's note on the estates is brief, it was demonstrative of the developing trend to feature the impressive estates in descriptions of lakeshore scenery. In later literature, the country houses often feature more prominently. *Car Window Glimpses,* published by Quebec Central Railway in the 1880s, features a relatively brief description of Lake Memphremagog's natural attributes but includes a line about the "handsome summer homes" that can be seen, along with a prominent sketch of Sir Hugh's 'villa' as seen from the lake.[61] The 1882 *Picturesque Canada* also includes Sir Hugh in its detail of the Lake, "Yonder, on the opposite headland, is that old sea-king's Chateau [*Belmere*]; for, in the swelter of summer, it was his custom to rest here from the care of his fleets, and brace his nerves with 'the wine of mountain air.'"[62]

Perhaps the most interesting commentary describing the general scene of the grand estates from the lake comes from a newspaper article, wherein the writer observes that "[t]his is now the charming part of the lake. Nature has done her part well and man is now aiding to make the picture fascinating. Let all who wish to see wealth and beauty enjoying nature in the most pleasant and agreeable way."[63] In these three sentences, the writer was able to sum up one of the significant effects the country estates had on the view from the lake; part of the Lake's tourist appeal was redirected from natural scenery and quaint farmland to the lavish estates and country houses along the shore. As seen above, this redirection is evidenced by the changing descriptions in the tourist literature in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The increasing number of *villégiateurs* that purchased lakeshore property into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially as the rising middle class became better able to afford summer cottages, had another significant effect on the landscape of the lake. They were also the first phases in a process called 'exploitation encirclement,' as described by Jan Lundgren, which has affected the major lakes in the Eastern Townships. In the process of exploitation encirclement, tourist real estate development around a lake – in such forms as cottages, estates and condominiums – eventually leads to the almost complete elimination of public access to the lake and contributes extensively to the "ecological impairment of the natural

lakeshore."[64] Although this process took over a century to complete in the case of Lake Memphremagog, it has its origins in the first summer estates of wealthy Montreal businessmen.

Conclusion

Upper-class ideas of romanticism and the picturesque greatly informed the elite's pursuit of *villégiature* in mid-nineteenth century Quebec. In particular, the Romantic Movement encouraged Montreal's upper-class to escape the confines of the industrializing city and seek out refuge and rejuvenation in natural surroundings. As has been demonstrated above, the appreciation of the picturesque, the sublime and wilderness influenced their choice of Lake Memphremagog for their summer destination. These principles also played a major role in the architectural styles and landscaping of their summer estates. Furthermore, the Montrealers generally selected styles with the dual aim of reflecting nature's beauty and displaying their privileged status. In the end, however, their migration to the lake was the first step in a process that would eventually detract from the qualities that had originally attracted them to this place and would forever change the lake.

NOTES)

1 Many sources make direct reference or allude to Lake Memphremagog's romantic and healthful setting, including: "Lake Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 14 September 1871; N.P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, from drawings by W.H. Bartlett,* Vol. I & Vol. II, (1842, reprint, London: Peter Martin Associates, 1967); Anthony Trollope, *North America*, (New York: Harper, 1862); John Ross Dix, *A Hand Book for Lake Memphremagog, with Route List,* (Boston: Evans & Co., 1864); and Henry M. Burt, *Burt's Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley, containing descriptions of Mount Holyoke, Mount Mansfield, White Mountains, Lake Memphremagog, Lake Willoughby, Montreal, Quebec, etc.,* (Springfield: New England Publishing, 1866).

2 Michèle Dagenais, "Fuir la ville : villégiature et villégiateurs dans la région de Montréal, 1890–1940," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 58, 3 (2005): 319 and Michel Lessard and Gaston Cadrin, "Les sentiers de la villégiature," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 33 (1993): 10.

3 With the rapid urbanization of the nineteenth century, poor sanitation and over-crowding made North American cities unhealthy environments where disease and sickness spread rapidly. Contemporaries also believed the fast-paced urban, industrial

life to be detrimental to their mental health. A number of historians identify the connection between the detrimental urban environment and the growth of *villégiature*, such as Caroline Aubin-des Roches, "Retrouver la ville à la campagne," *Urban History Review* 34 (2006): 17–31, and Dagenais, "Fuir la ville." Robert Fishman, in *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia,* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), discusses the creation of nineteenth-century suburbs and points to the moral degradation of the cities as part of the drive behind the creation of suburban communities. The elites viewed a move to the suburbs as a way to protect women and children from the "dangers, cruelty, bad language, suffering and immorality" that ran rampant in the city (58). Given the otherwise similarity between the origins of the suburbs and country estates, the morality question likely played a role in their desire to escape the city.

4 Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840–1895." (Doctoral Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 1997), 205–7.

5 For examples, see Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses: Including Designs for cottages, farm-houses and villas*. 1850, (reprint, Ottawa: Algrove Publishing, 2002)*;* George E. Woodward, *Woodward's Cottages and Farm Houses*, (New York: Orange Judd & Co., 1867); and D.H. Jacques, *The House: A Manual of Rural Architecture, or, How to Build Country Houses and Out-buildings*, (New York: American News Co., 1866).

6 See Peter Ennals and Deryck W. Holdsworth, *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling of Three Centuries*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) for a general description of architectural styles and trends common in Canada during the nineteenth century.

7 Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (New York: Cambridge, 1983), 1–2, 12.

8 François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal: Le Mille carré doré, 1850–1930*, (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1986), 33.

9 Mark Alan Hewitt, *The Architect and the American Country House, 1890–1940*, (New Haven, Mass.: Yale University Press, 1990), 69–77, 155 and Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 2–5, 59–62.

10 Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 7–9. William Cronon also defines the sublime through the powerful emotions it evoked but, in place of the picturesque, he identifies a 'domesticated sublime.' Similar to the definition other authors have given to the picturesque, Cronon describes domesticated sublime in writing that "the religious sentiments [wilderness] evoked were

more those of a pleasant parish church than those of a grand cathedral […]" [William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 75].

11 France Gagnon-Pratte, *Maisons de compagne des Montréalais, 1892–1924: l'architecture des frères Maxwell*, (Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1987), 130; and France Gagnon-Pratte and Philippe Dubé, "La Villa," *Continuité*, no. 40 (1988), 22–25.

12 Woodward, *Woodward's Cottage and Farm Houses*, 65.

13 For examples of the Montrealers' extravagant urban residences, Rémillard and Merrett provide a detailed survey in *Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal*. Gagnon-Pratte, in her survey of the Maxwell brothers' architecture in *Maisons de compagne des Montréalais*, demonstrates the extent of the turn-of-the-century opulence when it came to country-house architecture. These summer houses were designed largely without restraint as they aimed to be representations of stability for future generations as well as objects of admiration (Gagnon-Pratte, *Maisons de compagne des Montréalais,* 17–18, 55).

14 Peter Ennals and Deryck W. Holdsworth, *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling of Three Centuries*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 149.

15 John Scott, "A Briefing Paper on the nineteenth Century Summer Retreats on Lake Memphremagog," (unpublished, 2006), 14.

16 Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), 68.

17 George MacLean Rose, *The Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography: Being Chiefly Men of the Time,* (Toronto: Pose Publications, 1886), 35–6.

18 MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 78.

19 "Ravenscrag," *Canadian Illustrated News,* 30 November 1872, 339.

20 "Belmere, Lake Memphremagog," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 16 July 1870, 35.

21 One known surviving copy is preserved by the Stanstead Historical Society, in Stanstead, Quebec.

22 Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 295–300.

23 John Milnes Baker, *American House Styles: A Concise Guide,* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 66–7 and Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 295–7.

24 Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 295.

25 As is suggested by his family name, Alexander Molson was part of the prominent Montreal Molson family, who had first made their mark with their brewery and later expanded into other areas of industry. Alexander, the youngest of John Molson Jr.'s five sons, is mentioned largely in passing in the histories of the Montreal Molsons. His primary profession was vice-president and manager of the Mechanics' Bank in Montreal [*The Bankers' Almanac for 1873* (New York: Banker's Magazine and Statistical Register, 1873), 242]. In *The Molsons: The Birth of a Business Empire* by Doug Hunter, Alexander is named only in the family tree (Toronto: Penguin/ Viking, 2001, xxv) and in *The Molson Family* by Bernard K Sandwell he is acknowledged only with a few brief lines (Montreal: Ronalds, 1933, 154, 240). However, upon his father's death, Alexander was left with a generous annuity and was a part of Montreal's elite social circle (*Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "John Moslon," by Alfred Dubuc and Robert Tremblay, accessed 4 March 2012*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=4091&&PHPSESSID=be7dhstgkjrn7vb305reff0e54*).

26 Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 785, "George W. Brown to Alexander Molson," 21 December 1864; Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 806, "George W. Brown to Alexander Molson," 12 January 1865 and Scott, "A Briefing Paper," 6, 11.

27 For a description of the Swiss Cottage style, see Andrew Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 122–5.

28 Baker, *American House Styles*, 74.

29 Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 19, no. 366, "Charles Dewey Day to Alexander Molson," 13 May 1873. Judge Charles Dewey Day moved with his family from Vermont to Montreal as a young boy. He was educated in Montreal and admitted to the bar in 1827. During his career, Day achieved political prominence through his work as solicitor general in the Executive Council, his appointment to the Court of the Queen's Bench and as a judge to the Superior Court, as well as being one of three judges to codify Lower Canada's civil law. Day also possessed a particular interest in education, which led him to his involvement with the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning as well as to his part in McGill's mid-century revival. In Montreal, the Judge had a house on Durocher Street, just outside of the traditional limits of the 'Square Mile' but still within the elite neighbourhood. [Mrs. Robert W. S. Mackay, ed., *Mackay's Montreal Directory, New Edition, Corrected in May and June 1857–1858,* (Montreal: Owler & Stevenson, 1857), 87 and *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "Charles Dewey Day", by Carman Miller, accessed 4 March 2012*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=5467&&PHPSESSID=o75dsc2co5ec0jvhnuqk5udee1*].

30 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 17 July 1873; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 2 August 1877 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 15 August 1878.

31 *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "Charles Dewey Day," by Carman Miller, accessed 4 March 2012*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=5467&&PHPSESSID=o75dsc2co5ec0jvhnuqk5udee1*.

32 Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 47.

33 "Notes of a Trip from Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 6 June 1864.

34 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 17 July 1873.

35 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 15 August 1878.

36 John Murray was one of William Murray's sons, who was a prominent Montreal businessman. In 1867, William founded he Canada Shipping Company, popularly known as the Beaver Line for the company's flag bearing the Canadian beaver. During his lifetime, William built up a sizeable fortune in insurance and shipping. Beyond these interests, he founded the Mount Royal Cemetery Company in 1847 along with others, including John Molson, and served time as a director of the St. Andrew's Society. From when he purchased the Lake Memphremagog property in 1861, up until his death, William's oldest sons, John and Walter Gow lived as gentleman farmers on Lake Memphremagog (Jody Robinson, "The loveliest lake in the New Dominion: Montreal villégiateurs on Lake Memphremagog, 1860–1914," Master's Thesis, Université de Sherbrooke, 2012, 59–61).

37 Baker, *American House Styles*, 88–9.

38 Jansen, *Wild Things,* 11, and McLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 205–7.

39 Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 300.

40 Witold Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend*, (New York: Viking: 1991), 172.

41 Jasen, *Wild Things*.

42 Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 67–9, 85–6.

43 T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place for Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 5–7.

44 Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

45 Aubin-des Roches, "Retrouver la ville," 17–31.

46 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 21 April 1894.

47 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 20 February 1896 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 11 February 1897.

48 "Notes of a Trip from Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 6 June 1867; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 11 October 1877; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 22 July 1897.

49 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 11 October 1877.

50 Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 314.

51 Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971), 260–6.

52 "Notes of Trip From Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 June 1867.

53 "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 15 May 1979.

54 Nash, W*ilderness,* 88-9 and Jasen, *Wild Things*, 7–8.

55 Lynda Villeneuve, *Paysage, mythe et territorialité: Charlevoix au XIX^e^ siècle, pour une nouvelle approache du paysage,* (Sainte-Foy, Que.: Presses Université Laval, 1999), 77–80.

56 "Pleasure Trip on Lake Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 10 October 1850.

57 Dix, *A Hand Book*, 14, 47.

58 Trollope, *North America*, Chapter 4.

59 Other travel guides featuring descriptions of Lake Memphremagog are H. B. Small, *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide Giving a Description of Canadian Lake and River Scenery and Places of Historical Interest,* (Montreal: M. Longmoore & Co., 1866) and Burt, *Burt's Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley.*

60 Burt, *Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley,* 191–203.

61 Quebec Central Railway, *Car Window Glimpses en Route to Quebec by Daylight via Quebec Central Railway*, (ca. 1881; reprint, Sherbrooke, Que.: Page-Sangster, 1952), Anna Lebaron fonds, P022, Eastern Townships Resource Centre, Sherbrooke, Quebec.

62 George Munro Grant, ed., *Picturesque Canada; The Country As It Was and Is*, vol. 2, (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882), 693–4.

63 "Memphremagog," *Sherbrooke Gazette*, 10 September 1864.

64 Jan O. Lundgren, "The Tourism Development Process in the Eastern Townships – The Changing Tourist Product Composition," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 8 (1996): 5–24. J.I. Little's article, "Scenic Tourism," also addresses the changes along Lake Memphremagog's lakeshore. In particular, he identifies logging and real estate development as the principle causes of the deterioration of the lake's natural and romantic scenery ["Scenic Tourism on the Northeastern Borderland: Lake Memphremagog's Steamboat Excursions and Resort Hotels, 1850–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009), 735–6].

CHERRY RIVER'S WETLANDS: AN UNINTENTIONALLY CREATED ECOSCAPE

Caroline Beaudoin
Department of Art History, Concordia University

Abstract
This study examines the various meanings the term *landscape* harbors as an interdisciplinary cultural agent, and its long established traditional role as a manifestation of dominant cultural values and interests, both visually and materially. Focusing on the Eastern Townships' Lake Memphremagog region and the relatively small, yet dynamically charged, wetland referred to as *Le Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises*, this research traces the designated zone's shifting significance to the surrounding area, beginning with its unintentional creation during the late 19th century's industrially prosperous era.

Résumé
Cette étude examine les multiples significations que le terme paysage suscite en tant qu'agent culturel interdisciplinaire et son rôle traditionnel bien établi d'une manifestation, à la fois visuelle et matérielle, de valeurs et d'intérêts dominants d'un point de vue culturel. Axée sur la région du Lac Memphrémagog dans les Cantons de l'Est et, plus particulièrement, le Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises, un endroit relativement restreint mais dynamique, cette recherche suit l'importance changeante de cette zone par rapport à son environnement commençant par sa création involontaire à la fin du 19e siècle.

Introduction

Landscape studies have traditionally preoccupied, until relatively recently, the art historical and art critical fields. Landscapes have covered tremendous theoretical ground since the 18th century aesthetic dictums informed the western world's methods of appreciating them relative to theories of the beautiful, sublime, and picturesque. According to environmental aesthetics scholar Allen Carlson, this period "firmly entrenched landscapes rather than works of art as

the central focus of aesthetic theory as the paradigmatic objects of aesthetic experience."[1] He adds that "the picturesque gradually became, throughout the nineteenth century, the dominant idea concerning the appreciation of landscapes."[2] Yet, as anthropologist Tim Ingold points out, to this day "we are accustomed, by the conventions of modern society, to describe our experience of landscape as though we were viewing a picture."[3] Ingold, perceives landscape as a story, a story based on and imbedded in history. He maintains that landscape cultivates meanings, but it is not a space to which meanings can be attached.[4] Given the term landscape's apparent ease and frequency with which it slips from one discipline into another, as a research topic it has become highly accessible through the methods of both visual and material cultural studies. Prevalent dichotomies inherent to the term enhance its cultural meaningfulness with a vibrancy fraught with tension. Common antinomies include landscape as narrative or picturesque, familiar or foreign, cultivated or wild. It is spiritual and commercial, venerated and exploited. It includes imaginary and physical space; it is considered in both spatial and temporal terms. Landscapes are universal and personal, collective and individual. In *Landscape and Power* W.J.T. Mitchell summarily defines landscape as "a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and the commodity inside the package."[5]

Landscape research raises awareness about the environment, aesthetics, nature, history, heritage, and countless other contemporary concerns. For example, geographer David Lowenthal and art historian W.J.T. Mitchell agree landscape defines identity. The geographer maintains that "each people treasures physical features felt to be distinctively their own. Landscapes are compelling symbols of national identity."[6] The art historian, however, examines "the way landscape circulates as a medium of exchange, a site of visual appropriation, a focus for the formation of identity."[7] Landscapes are occasionally sublime or intellectual. They often refer to either imaginary or physical spaces. They are at once universal and personal, collective and private. This diverse and extensive scope seems to counter Mitchell's claim that "landscape remains relatively underanalyzed."[8] Given the term's current cross-disciplinary appeal and multiple cultural meanings, this study apprehends "landscape" conceptually, both spatially and temporally, while situating it relative to existing scholarship. Many disciplines now include landscape topics within their curriculums. Using the term "landscape" as a keyword search within Bishop's University's John Bassett library, and then sorting the

results chronologically, a striking pattern emerged. Of the 260 listed publications, prior to the 1980s the overwhelming majority of titles referred to landscape in either artistic or aesthetic terms. Post 1980 publications concerned with landscapes explode beyond the fine arts discipline into divergent fields including anthropology, geography, biology, sociology, economics, environmental studies, and many others.

This study on the city of Magog Quebec's Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises, hereafter referred to as Le Marais, thus endeavours to present this particularly fascinating landscape as a unique space that has evolved beyond the traditional, and still popular, way of approaching landscapes as "scenic" views, into a thriving three dimensional natural environment. It also calls attention to the historical shift in cultural attitudes towards the landscape, as it underscores how collective identities are indelibly linked to the land, whether on a national, regional, or even municipal level. Clearly, as Mitchell points out, the landscape "exerts a subtle power over people, eliciting a broad range of emotions and meanings that may be difficult to specify."[9] Despite this difficulty, the landscape is, for better or worse, the setting in which histories unfold and heritages are cultivated. Mitchell does specify that "whatever the power of landscape might be, and of its unfoldings into space and place, it is surely the medium in which we live, and move, and have our being, and where we are destined, ultimately, to return."[10]

Encompassing the everyday to the extraordinary, landscapes reflect any period's dominant cultural values, throughout history. Once the seeds of a nation's identity take root, the landscape becomes an indelible symbol of that maturing identity, both visually through its representations, and materially through its sustainability. Art historian Simon Schama stresses how "national identity [...] would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition."[11] Adding to the enduring tradition of enriching the landscape as a homeland, he maintains that "before it can ever be a repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock."[12]

Given the term's expansiveness, which grows exponentially with each subsequent decade, one questions what component of landscape precisely, according to Mitchell, "remains under analyzed." His statement nonetheless prompts reflection that elicits an array of questions including the following: should an uninhabited landscape be referred to as a landscape, or does it become a natural space, or wilderness? To what extent are the terms landscape, nature, environment, and wilderness interchangeable? What roles do time,

nature, humans, labor, leisure, tourism, and the economy play in our contemporary perceptions of landscape? For whom, and in what ways, did landscape fulfill modernity's nation building agenda? How do environmental priorities alter the landscape? Although the purpose of this study is not intended to engage with such questions directly, they nonetheless inform the direction it takes. This essay does consider, more specifically, the various roles and meanings the term landscape holds for the Lake Memphremagog region through an analysis of Le Marais, a vibrant and diverse wetland ecosystem within the Eastern Townships of Quebec. The Quebec government has recently acknowledged that it has become globally recognized that wetlands, once perceived as virtually useless, play an equally important role as agricultural land and forests, advocating how "les biens et services écologiques qu'ils procurent à la société représentent indéniablement un moteur pour l'économie locale, régionale, nationale et mondiale. Il est donc primordial de conserver ces milieux, particulièrement dans les régions où les développements urbains ont contribué à leur dégradation ou à leur disparition."[13] It is worth noting that approximately 10% of the province's overall territory, amounting to 170 000 km^2, is now categorized as wetland terrain.

The region's historical development

Following the United States' war of independence, several New England's Loyalists settled around the banks of Lake Memphremagog in search of new opportunities. The most prominent was Nicholas Austin who received the Township of Bolton on the lake's west bank to colonize as a reward for his loyalty to the British Crown. He soon relocated to the east bank, drawn by the lake's resourceful natural outlet that drains into the Magog River, making use of the waterway's current to establish the area's first saw and flour mills.[14] The small community was thus named The Outlet in recognition of this point, precisely where Lake Memphremagog funnels into the Magog River. In 1799 Ralph Merry III purchased the mills from Austin, enhancing their productivity to such an extent that he was recognized as the settlement's official founder.[15] As one of the country's greatest resources during the early industrial era, particularly throughout Quebec, the rivers were promoted early on by Eastern Township politicians and merchants eager to advance the region's economic development. As early as 1845 the area's first textile mill, the Magog Manufacturing Co., opened for business along the Magog River, an ideal location due to its current's proven capacity to generate power. By 1849 the Township of Magog was established, permanently changing the community's name from The Outlet to Magog. An aggressive fire destroyed the

original buildings in 1857. The mill eventually reopened in 1875 only to shut again after a few short years.[16] Undeterred by the previous mill owner's failure, William Hobbs, Alvin Head Moore and Deputy Charles Colby secured the waterway rights in 1881 from the British American Land Company for a period of 25 years, on behalf of a renewed Magog Manufacturing Co.[17] The three partners transformed the older company, changed its name to the Magog Cotton & Print Co., and eventually incorporated it in 1883, making it "the largest joint stock enterprise ever undertaken in the Townships"[18] and "the only calico printing plant in Canada."[19] Barbara Austin's research on the Dominion Textiles Corporation describes how the textile industry in Canada began with men who "were seeking to circumvent British control of the cotton trade in Canada by setting up domestic manufacturing facilities,"[20] no doubt motivated to assert its autonomy as a young confederation. It was at this time that the factory built its first dam on the Magog River that would cause the wetland's water levels to significantly rise.[21]

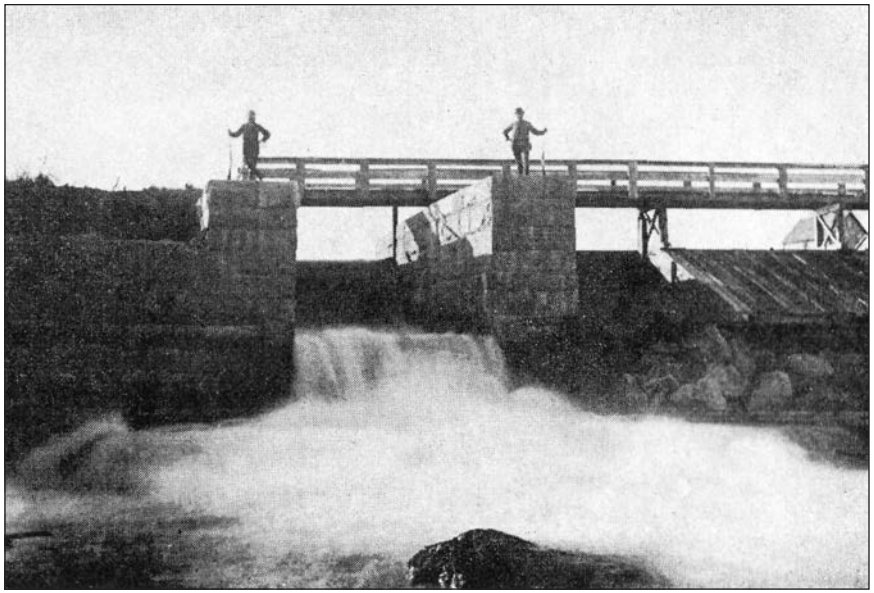


Figure 1. Magog's First Dam.
***Commercial and Industrial Story of Magog, Quebec,* 41.**

By 1887 the factory employed 150 workers and produced 6 million yards of fabric, an output which represented 25% of the total printed cotton consumed in Canada.[22] The next year, due in large part to the factory's success, the Township of Magog was raised to the municipal status of Village, and eventually graduated to the City of Magog in

1890.[23] By 1907 Magog's factory had "become the largest calico print works on the continent, with the Magog label on fabrics carrying its [n]ame to every corner of the world."[24] (Figure 2) As such the City of Magog, like several other industrial cities throughout Quebec, was permanently settled due to two main waterways, the Magog River and Lake Memphremagog. The towns or cities that emerged during the first wave of industrialization between 1850–1890, such as Magog, were characterized by an organic, spontaneous growth which developed in tandem with the Company's progress, unlike later patriarchal "Company Towns" which were rigorously structured and systematically planned. As one historian pointed out, in Magog "one thing became plain; as the textile industry thrived in the future, so would thrive Magog [...] Both municipality and manufacturer had come to see that they must progress and develop together."[25] It was thus in this way that the city's identity was inextricably tied to the manufacturing industry, which in turn relied on the territory's waterways.

Figure 2. Photograph of the Magog Textile Mill. Courtesy of the Eastern Township Research Center, (P042 Newton Brookhouse fonds).

During the middle of the 19th century, however, Magog had also become known as a summer resort and tourist destination, attracting some of Montreal's wealthiest citizens including Sir Hugh Allan, the

Redpath family, the Gaults, and the Molsons who "bought land and erected buildings"[26] along the eastern banks of Lake Memphremagog. The families and guests of these elite industrialists enjoyed many leisurely summers on their vast estates. In 1867, the year of Canada's confederation, Allan launched his 167 foot passenger steamer *The Lady of the Lake* on Memphremagog which sailed until 1917 (figure 3). This paddle-wheel steamship was licensed to carry more than 600 passengers at a time, accommodating travellers and vacationers between Magog and Newport twice daily as it stopped at villages and various landings along the way.[27]At the turn of the century an admirer of the area wrote how "no lake in Northern Vermont, or along the Canadian Frontier, is more beautiful in appearance, attractive in scenic effects, better suited to the wants of the tourist, or is more accessible by highway or rail than is Lake Memphremagog, or the 'Geneva of Canada', as it is frequently and appropriately called."[28] Industrialization's steam engine technology revolutionized our perceptions of the landscape by enhancing its accessibility and diversifying its resourcefulness.

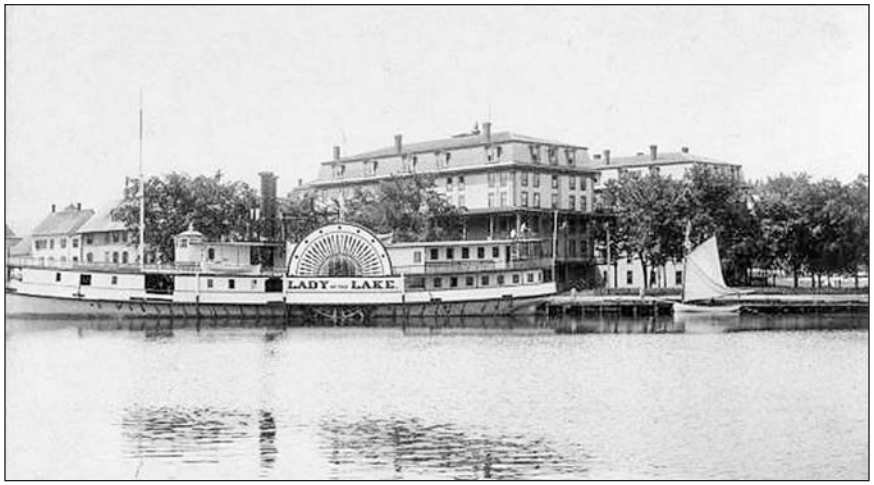


Figure 3. Lady of the Lake (1867–1917): This photograph from the 1880s is of Sir Hugh Allan's famous sidewheeler, docked next to the Memphremagog House on Lake Memphremagog in Newport, Vermont. Magog & Lake Memphremagog–A beautiful region to discover! <*www.magogquebec.ca/wp-content/gallery/historical/boats-lady-of-the-lake-5.jpg*>, consulted on December 20, 2013.

Lake Memphremagog and Le Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises

Le Marais is located across Route 112 from the northern shore of Lake Memphremagog, situated between the city of Magog and Mount Orford National Park. Lake Memphremagog is a rather narrow lake

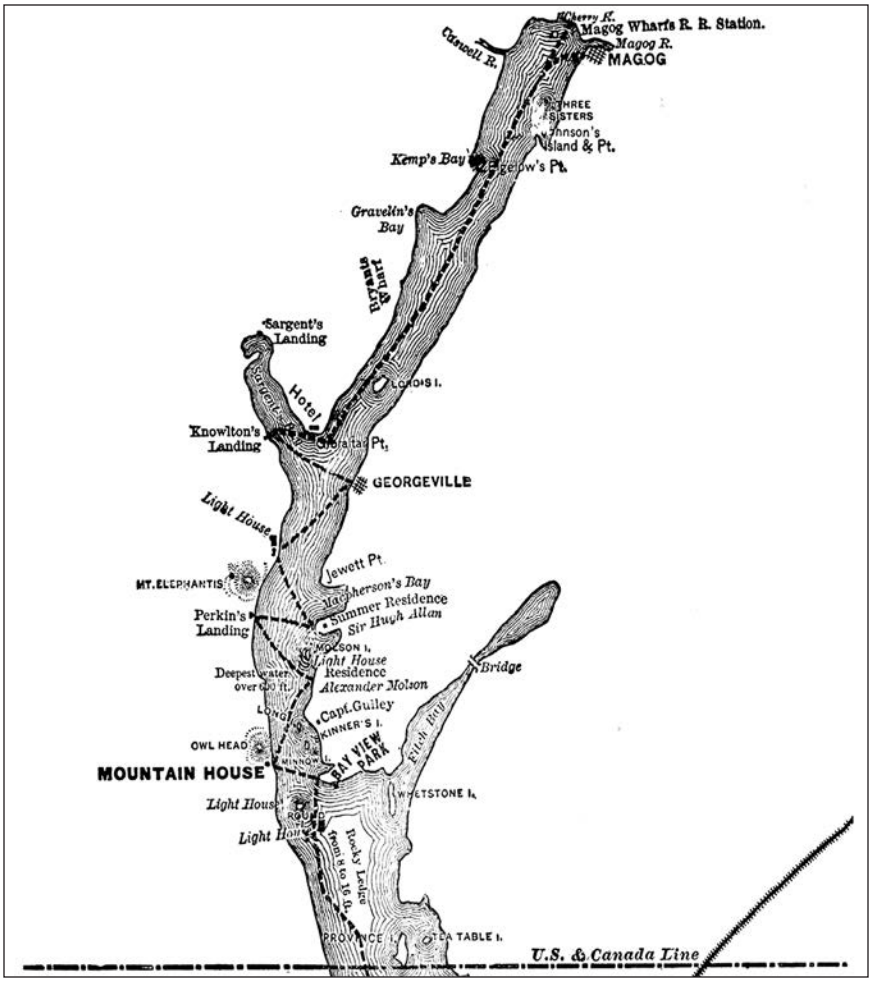


Figure 4. Lake Memphremagog on Canadian side of border.
Hildreth, D.W. Beautiful Memphremagog.
Newport: The Express & Standard, 1905. np.

that is approximately fifty kilometres long and irregularly shaped. It is reputed to have "the longest stretch of navigable water in the Eastern Townships."[29] (Figure 4) The majority of its overall surface area is located in Quebec, although it is an international body of water, given that its southern shore is situated in Newport, Vermont where four state rivers poor directly into it, providing 71% of the lake's inflow. The MRC's Cherry River (Rivière aux Cerises) supplies the remaining 29%. The lake drains, on the northern side of the border, into Magog River at the point which inspired the settlement's original name, The Outlet, as previously noted. In light of its international value "the governments

of Vermont and Québec, signed an Environmental Cooperation Agreement on Managing the Waters of Lake Memphremagog in September 1989."[30] It is currently recognized as "the largest body of water in the Estrie region. Its water quality is a major regional concern due to the fact that this lake is the source of drinking water for nearly half of the region's population and offers a unique potential for recreational and vacationing use in Québec."[31] Given that the lake occupies such a prominent role in the local population's current everyday lives and the city's historical development, it is considered as the heart of Magog, both materially as a natural and recreational resource, and visually as a popular and picturesque tourist magnet.

Le Marais is directly linked to Lake Memphremagog, as it first intercepts the water flow from Cherry River into the lake. Given its location between the lake and river it serves a vital function that contributes to the lake's water quality, which will be discussed further shortly. Le Marais is, quite literally, a three dimensional organic landscape of shifting perspectives, diverse ecosystems, and seasonal changes that autonomously characterize its formidable natural territory (figure 5). This wetland naturally originated during the last glacial age, although it was further transformed, unintentionally, into its current state largely due to human activities that commenced during the 18th century era, when mill owner Nicholas Austin erected the first dam in 1797, at the lake's northern outlet.[32] The human circumstances contributing to the marsh's creation call to mind philosopher Félix Guattari's 'new ecosophical logic', by paralleling "the manner in which an artist may be led to alter his work after the intrusion of some accidental detail, an event-incident that suddenly makes his initial project bifurcate."[33] Guattari emphasizes how "there is a proverb 'the exception proves the rule', but the exception can just as easily deflect the rule, or even recreate it."[34] Magog's Marais is a material embodiment of such an exception, precisely as the resulting "accidental" side-effect of an "event-incident" that began during modernity's industrial period. The site eventually transformed again

Figure 5. Scenes from Le Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises. 2013. Digital Photograph Montage. Caroline Beaudoin.

during the mid twentieth century when it became the municipality's unofficial, yet regularly used, garbage dump for over two decades.

A combination of natural and collateral events mutually contributed to the formation and history of the wetland territory presently known throughout the region as Le Marais. Beginning in 1883 the textiles factory built its first dam, causing the lake's water levels to rise which in turn spilled over to the wetlands bordering la Rivière aux Cerises. Secondly, in 1877 railway tracks were laid by the Magog & Waterloo Railway Company cutting right through a portion of Le Marais' present territory. In order to properly level the tracks, the company had to adequately reinforce them by creating huge embankments of landfill which caused the wetland's water levels to deepen in certain areas. A decade later, in 1887, the Canadian Pacific Railways purchased the Magog & Waterloo Railway to add to their expanding trans-continental line, subsequently shifting the tracks to the south due to concerns regarding the marsh's fluctuating water levels (figure 6). In a 1905 publication entitled *Beautiful Memphremagog*, the author, in his earnestness to promote the region to would-be travellers, explains that "when modern enterprise struck the place, resulting principally through the erection of the Dominion Cott[o]n Textile Co.'s mills and the advent of the Sherbrooke section of the Canadian Pacific railroad

Figure 6. 1930 aerial photograph of Cherry River. Courtesy of LAMRAC. This photo illustrates the trace of original track line curving through the heart of Le Marais, as well as CPR's 1887 relocated line situated between the original track and hwy 112.

into the town, it leaped into prominence, and increased in population until it now stands as one of the thriving towns of the frontier."[35] Progress and prosperity were deeply entrenched cultural values during the industrial era. Indeed, they were so important to Magog's development that they were the featured motto on the municipality's coat of arms from 1890 to 1950. The landscape was perceived either in terms of its natural resources, or in terms of its beautiful and picturesque scenery. By 1897 the City of Magog, in partnership with the textiles manufacturing company, jointly built its first hydroelectric dam which subsequently caused the marshland area to double in size. After a 60 ft. length of the original stone and wood dam collapsed following heavy rains in 1915, a stronger concrete dam and new brick hydroelectric facility, still in use today, were completed in 1920. Gradually the lake's water level stabilized and by 1930 the marshland reached, and has ever since, maintained its current water level. Since 1930 however, the wetland's overall surface area has decreased by 30% primarily due to urban development.[36]

Although human activity inadvertently contributed to the marsh's permanence in 1877, from 1950 and 1971 it conversely threatened the terrain's integrity. The area closest to Chemin Roy was commonly used as an unofficial municipal garbage dump, effectively reducing the marshland to a literal wasteland for just over two decades. When LAMRAC (Les Amis de la Rivière aux Cerises) was first founded in 1997, it took the association two years to remove over sixty tons of accumulated waste from the land. Following the cleanup campaign, Le Marais became accessible to the public in 2000. Recently, during the fall 2012, over ten more tons of waste were removed from the area by a group of local volunteers.[37] A spokesperson for the group has estimated that between five and ten more similar cleaning campaigns will be required in order to further restore the integrity of Le Marais' diverse ecosystem. The wetland currently consists of four different and distinct natural environments including swamp, marsh, forest, and peat bog. The distinction made between swamp, bog, or marsh is based on the measured depth of water in any given area. The site is accessible to human visitors by trail and boardwalk throughout the year, and kayak or canoe prior to the region's winter freeze. LAMRAC'S website proudly offers visitors "le plus long réseau de sentiers sur pilotis au Québec et [est] le seul milieu humide offrant un site entièrement accessible à l'année," adding that "le Marais est une destination de choix pour la population locale et touristique."[38] Without Le Marais' boardwalk, the site would have remained impenetrable by foot in much of the area due to the density of growth in deep water areas surrounding the river, confirming that indeed "man-made elements

in the wetland micro-landscape, such as a boardwalk on a bog mat [...] may even promote visual, recreational, and educational values by providing access to an otherwise restricted and extremely delicate area."[39] Le Marais' trails and boardwalk were carefully designed by a biologist and a geographer who adapted the trajectory in deference to the surrounding natural environment to ensure minimal disturbance to the wetland's fragile ecosystem. The wetland is currently home to 363 kinds of plants, trees and flora, 151 types of birds, 14 species of reptiles and amphibians, 24 types of mammals, and 23 varieties of fish. In order to monitor the ecosystem's diversity and safeguard its integrity, an updated inventory of the territory's various species is undertaken every five years.[40]

The marsh's practical ecological function amplifies its apparent aesthetic value. If Lake Memphremagog is perceived as the heart of Magog, then Le Marais must be regarded as its kidneys. Because the marsh is strategically situated between the two bodies of water, and contiguous to both, it functions as a vital organ that contributes to the community's well being by preliminarily processing its main water supply. The marsh essentially filters the water flowing from Cherry River before it funnels into Lake Memphremagog. Considering the lake's resourcefulness as a supplier for a significant portion of the region's drinking water, Le Marais' vitality as a natural purifying filtration system for the lake basin is an essential contributor to the region's environmental quality.

LAMRAC

In 1989 a group of citizens, with the support from two local municipal governments, obtained sufficient provincial funding from the Fondation de la faune du Québec to secure the purchase of 90 of the wetland's 150 hectares. The acquired space was classified as a "public park."[41] By 1997 LAMRAC was founded and entrusted to manage the site; the association's most pressing initial objective was to decontaminate the area that had served as the area's garbage dump for 21 years. LAMRAC's current mission and the various governments' encouraging support demonstrate the benefits that can be realized when potential methods advocated by Guattari ultimately "enable the singular, the exceptional, the rare, to coexist with a State structure that is the least burdensome possible,"[42] on a daily basis. LAMRAC's mandate is to manage the wetland's many activities and terrain, in addition to maintaining its various installations. As part of its mission the association values innovation, creativity, and respect for the territory's natural environment. It endorses social responsibility and engagement through a commitment to several educational programs.

It also strives to promote and preserve the wetland's overall terrain, as it pursues further development of Le Marais' ecological, cultural, and tourism interests.[43] LAMRAC welcomes more than 120 000 visitors per year, of which the majority are residents of Magog-Orford who enjoy the site's trails and boardwalks. Additionally, "les groupes scolaires, les camps de jour et les centres de la petite enfance fréquentent également le site du Marais sur une base régulière. Les touristes de passage, des familles notamment, constituent également une masse non négligeable des visiteurs."[44]

Wetland values and vocations

LAMRAC recently constructed the Centre d'Interpretation du Marais (CIM) , a state of the art eco-friendly cultural center with an educational mission.[45] As part of promoting the new center, LAMRAC and the City of Magog jointly hosted a photography competition, under the theme of *Les mystères du Marais*, to coincide with the city's annual Semaine de la culture. Figure 7 was selected by the competition's jury to be displayed in the new center during its official opening ceremony. The centre's educational orientation and inaugural photo competition underscore Smardon's conviction that wetlands are favourable visual-cultural resources for photography and valued site's for learning about

Figure 7. Les Mystères du Marais. 2010. Digital Photograph. Caroline Beaudoin.

nature. The centre's choice of a mystery theme for its photography competition reinforces Hammitt's theory regarding wetlands and how "people like to experience a mixture of open bog mat and wooded screens, which provide 'mystery' or intrigue about areas yet to be explored."[46] Given that Magog's CIM was constructed more than three decades after Hammitt's 1978 study was conducted, presumably a bond exists between mystery and wetlands that stems from the tradition of attributing sublime mystiques to the landscape.

By 2007 Magog's Marais was in need of a new facility to accommodate the increased volume of visitors to the site and the public's growing interest with ecological issues. In keeping with LAMRAC's environmental mandate the association chose the architect Marc Dufour to design a "green" center, which was completed in June 2007.[47] CIM's conscientious design demonstrates a broad concern for sustainable development and environmental integrity issues, with noticeable emphasis given to minimizing the building's effects on the environment. The structure's visual assimilation with its immediate environment is fully apparent (figure 8). Inspired by the wetland's richly diverse vegetation, Dufour's plans emulate the irregular form of a plant cell:

> Comme la cellule, la construction permet les échanges avec l'extérieur tout en étant bien protégé des agressions. La partie nord est constituée de murs aveugles et d'une toiture réfléchissante. Elle abrite par ailleurs les fonctions plus privées du CIM : bureaux, salle mécanique, entreposage, etc. La partie sud, pour sa part, forme un lieu d'échange avec la communauté et avec la nature. Vitrée et lumineuse, avec une toiture végétale et un mur solaire, cette zone est imprégnée des bienfaits du soleil et d'une magnifique percée sur le milieu naturel.[48]

CIM's windows are strategically positioned and protected by deciduous trees to maximize available sunlight throughout the winter, and to shield the interior from its intense heat during the summer. Its ecological design principles minimize the negative environmental impact of the building through enhanced efficiency and its moderate use of materials, energy, and space. The structure's vertical emphasis characteristically responds to these principles, as does its strategic

Figure 8. CIM. 2013. Digital Photograph. Caroline Beaudoin.

placement and deliberate directional orientation. Additionally, its overall design was conceived to readily adapt to new and innovative technologies, and shifting needs. CIM's mission is primarily educational. It hosts several educational activities throughout the year and also offers a variety of services including rental space, exhibits, and workshops. CIM's instructional mandate reinforces Smardon's conviction "that from an educational perspective, one of the most important qualities of wetlands is the diversity of different attributes which can be seen or experienced per unit area."[49]

Conclusion

Seemingly, amidst today's global and boundless virtual world, there is nonetheless a keen interest in focusing on the particular, the singular, and the minutiae contained within our greater environments which contribute to our appreciation of the everyday through an admiration for the ordinary. This interest in deepening our understanding of the various environments we inhabit invariably informs our cultural identities. As anthropologist Tim Ingold advocates "the landscape is neither identical to nature, nor is it on the side of humanity against nature. As the familiar domain of our dwelling, it is *with* us, not *against* us, but it is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are part of it."[50] Wandering through Le Marais, the overwhelming tranquility amplifies the individual's sensory perceptions, making the landscape a lived, as opposed to imagined, experience that facilitates becoming one with it.

Le Marais has become an unintentionally created organic landscape in contrast to other carefully planned municipal spaces such as landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted's designs of New York City's Central Park, that first opened in 1857, and Montreal's Mount Royal Park which was inaugurated in 1876. This distinction calls attention to how we perceive some landscapes as specific destinations, and others as part of our everyday surroundings. The 19th and early 20th century taste for designed urban parks also calls attention to how landscapes were admired with pride when they were humanly composed, and easily overlooked with detachment, if not abused, in their natural state. Either way the landscape was assessed in terms of its perceived human value, whether recreationally as a site for leisure, or economically as a natural resource. Based on Le Marais' most recent and sustained efforts, it is clear that the 21st century recognizes the enormous need and collective potential to create methods and strategies devised to minimize, if not reverse, the harm done to physical spaces and the various species inhabiting such landscapes exploited as resources. In Magog's case, as it was throughout North America during modernity, industrial mills,

and mining and railway companies manipulated the natural landscape for corporate profit in the name of the "Nation's" best interest. This practice is gradually shifting towards Guattari's vision of a "collective interest [which] ought to be expanded to include companies that, in the short term, don't profit anyone, but in the long term are the conduits of a processual enrichment for the whole of humanity."[51] The philosopher's "three ecologies" introduces the idea that culture, heritage, and humanity must gain equal or superior social significance over the economy within contemporary capitalist systems. He explains how "without modifications to the social and material environment, there can be no change in mentalities. Here, we are in the presence of a circle that leads me to postulate the necessity of founding an 'ecosophy' that would link environmental ecology to social ecology and to mental ecology."[52] In one study geographer David Lowenthal found that "almost two out of three Americans identify themselves as environmentalists, valuing environment over economic growth."[53] Apparently there still exists a perplexing gap between how some individuals perceive themselves versus how they perceive the collective as social agents operating within a greater national environment. This denial phenomenon of perceiving gaps between personal and prevalent cultural values exacerbates the "ever-widening rift" identified by Lowenthal, "between the wilderness that created us and the civilization that we created."[54] Sites such as Le Marais and efforts undertaken by associations like LAMRAC, however, demonstrate that collective commitments do exist, and are certainly effective in narrowing such rifts. Guattari argues in favor of creativity as a means of liberating humanity from its debilitating and destructive social pattern, insisting that it is up to individuals to assume their importance and potential by breaking away from the collective in order to ultimately benefit the collective. He advocates individuality and creativity as the keys to true progress. LAMRAC's initiative demonstrates such individuality and creativity through its innovative and shared commitment to protecting, preserving, and promoting Magog's marshland that once served, not too long ago, as a literal wasteland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Austin, Barbara J. *Life cycles and strategy of a Canadian company: Dominion Textile:1873–1983*, vols. 1 and 2. 1985: Concordia University Theses (PhD).

Carlson, Allen. "Environmental Aesthetics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2012 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.) <*http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/environmental-aesthetics/*>. Consulted on January 25, 2013.

——. *Nature & Landscape: An Introduction to Environmental Aesthetics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Cliche, Vincent. "LAMRAC lève le voile sur son Centre d'observation et d'éducation." *Le Reflet du Lac*. <*http://www.lerefletdulac.com/Societe/Education/2010-02-18/article-916766/LAMRAC-leve-le-voile-sur-son-Centre-dobservation-et-deducation/1*>, consulted December 10, 2010.

Farfan, Matthew, "Steamers of Lake Memphremagog, Part 1," *Townships heritage web magazine*. <*http://townshipsheritage.com/article/steamers-lake-memphremagog-part->, consulted June 15, 2013

Gaudreau, Serge. *Au fil du temps: Histoire de l'industrie textile à Magog (1883–1993)*. Québec : Dépôt légal, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1995.

Girard, Pierre-Olivier, "Un ancien dépotoir rejette ses ordures près du marais." *Le Reflet du Lac*. <*http://www.lerefletdulac.com/Communaute/2012-12-05/article-3134021/Un-ancien-depotoir-rejette-ses-ordures-pres-du-marais/1*>. 5 décembre 2012.

Guattari, Félix. *The Three Ecologies*. 2nd ed. London: Continuum Books, 2000.

——. "Remaking Social Practices." *The Guattari Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Hildreth, D.W. *Beautiful Memphremagog*, np.

Houde, Stéphanie Houde. *Le Reflet du Lac* (journaliste : Vincent Cliche), 18 février 2010. "LAMRAC lève le voile sur son Centre d'observation et d'éducation." <*http://www.lerefletdulac.com/Societe/Education/2010-02-18/article-916766/LAMRAC-leve-le-voile-sur-son-Centre-dobservation-et-deducation/1*>, consulted December 15, 2010.

Ingold, Tim. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2011.

LAMRAC. *Website*. <http://maraisauxcerises.com/>

Lowenthal, David. "Environment as Heritage," *Culture, Landscape, and the Environment: The Linacre Lectures 1997*. Ed. Howard Morphy and Kate Flint. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

MDDEFP (Ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement, de la Faune et des Parcs). *Milieux humides*. <*http://www.mddep.gouv.qc.ca/eau/rives/milieuxhumides.htm*>, consulted on June 15, 2013.

——. *Lake Memphremagog Water Quality. Summary.* <*http://www.mddep.gouv.qc.ca/eau/eco_aqua/memphremagog/index-en.htm*>, consulted on February 17, 2013.

Mitchel, W.J.T., ed. *Landscape and Power*. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Paradis, Alexandre. *Commercial and Industrial Story of Magog*. Magog: n.p., 1981.

Peters, John. "Magog Evolved Around the Textile Industry," *The Outlet*, September 1987, vol. 4, no. 86.

Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

Smardon, Richard C., ed. *The Future of Wetlands: Assessing Visual-Cultural Values*. New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co. Publishers, Inc., 1983.

Vaillancourt, Benoit. *Le Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises*. unpublished: issued by LAMRAC (Les Amis du Marais de la Rivière aux Cerises).

Ville de Magog. *Portrait de la ville*. *Historique*. <*http://ville.magog.qc.ca/b_1.asp?idMenu=60*>, *La Ville de Magog*>, consulted on May 25, 2011.

ENDNOTES

1 Carlson, *Nature & Landscape*, 90.

2 Carlson, *Nature & Landscape*, 91.

3 Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment,* 193.

4 Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment,* 192.

5 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power,* 5.

6 Lowenthal, *Environment as Heritage*, 198.

7 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power,* 2.

8 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power,* viii.

9 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power,* vii.

10 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, xii.

11 Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 15.

12 Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 6–7.

13 MDDEFP. *Milieux humides*.

14 Ville de Magog. *Portrait de la ville*. *Historique*.

15 Ville de Magog. *Portrait de la ville*. *Historique*.

16 Gaudreau, *Au fil du temps*, 1.

17 Gaudreau, *Au fil du temps*, 16–17.

18 Gaudreau, *Au fil du temps*, 25.

19 Paradis, *Commercial and Industrial Story of Magog*, 41.

20 Austin 1985: 55.

21 Paradis, 41.

22 Gaudreau, *Au fil du temps*, 30.

23 Gaudreau, *Au fil du temps*, 30.

24 Paradis, *Commercial and Industrial Story of Magog*, 44.

25 Paradis, *Commercial and Industrial Story of Magog*, 38.

26 Peters, 1987: 5.

27 Farfan. "Steamers of Lake Memphremagog, Part 1."

28 Hildreth, *Beautiful Memphremagog*, np.

29 Farfan. "Steamers of Lake Memphremagog, Part 1."

30 MDDEFP. *Lake Memphremagog Water Quality. Summary.*

31 MDDEFP. *Lake Memphremagog Water Quality. Summary.*

32 LAMRAC. *En photos/aménagement. <http://maraisauxcerises.com/lamrac/amenagement/en-photos-v15-61.php#plan>*, consulted on February 17, 2013.

33 Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 33.

34 Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 33.

35 Hildreth, *Beautiful Memphremagog*, np.

36 Houde. *Le Reflet du Lac* (journaliste : Vincent Cliche), 18 février 2010. "LAMRAC lève le voile sur son Centre d'observation et d'éducation."

37 Girard, *Le Reflet du Lac*.

38 LAMRAC. *En photos/aménagement.<http://maraisauxcerises.com/lamrac/amenagement/en-photos-v15-61.php#plan>*, consulted on February 17, 2012.

39 Smardon, *The Future of Wetlands,* 11.

40 LAMRAC. *En photos/aménagement.<http://maraisauxcerises.com/lamrac/amenagement/en-photos-v15-61.php#plan>*, consulted on February 17, 2012.

41 LAMRAC. *En photos/aménagement.<http://maraisauxcerises.com/lamrac/general/association-du-marais-de-la-riviere-aux-cerises.php>*, consulted on June 11, 2013.

42 Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 34.

43 LAMRAC. *Association du Marais-de-la-Rivière-aux-Cerises. <http://maraisauxcerises.com/lamrac/general/association-du-marais-de-la-riviere-aux-cerises.php>*, consulted on June 11, 2013.

44 LAMRAC. *Association du Marais-de-la-Rivière-aux-Cerises <http://maraisauxcerises.com/lamrac/general/association-du-marais-de-la-riviere-aux-cerises.php>*, consulted on June 11, 2013.

45 Cliche. *Le Reflet du Lac*.

46 Hammitt, in Smardon, *The Future of Wetlands,* 10.

47 LAMRAC. *Le Centre d'interprétation du Marais*. <*http://maraisauxcerises.com/general/le-centre-dinterpretation-du-marais.php*>, consulted on June 14, 2013.

48 LAMRAC. *Le Centre d'interprétation du Marais*. <*http://maraisauxcerises.com/general/le-centre-dinterpretation-du-marais.php*>, consulted on June 14, 2013.

49 Smardon, *The Future of Wetlands,* 9.

50 Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment,* 191.

51 Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 43.

52 Guattari, *Remaking Social Practices*, 264.

53 Lowenthal, *Environment as Heritage,* 203.

54 Lowenthal, *Environment as Heritage,* 207.

LES EFFETS DE LA FRANCOPHILIE SUR LES ÉLITES POLITIQUES CANADIENNES-FRANÇAISES : L'EXEMPLE DE LA FAMILLE MARCHAND (1855–1942)[1]

Alex Tremblay, étudiant à la maîtrise en histoire
Université Laval

Résumé
Durant la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle, l'intérêt grandissant des élites canadiennes-françaises pour la France les amène à se redéfinir, voire à poser des gestes concrets pour affirmer cette francophilie. Le cas de la famille de l'ancien premier ministre Félix-Gabriel Marchand illustre bien ce phénomène sur deux générations, soit du début de sa vie active, en 1855, au décès de son gendre, le sénateur Raoul Dandurand en 1942. Cet article vise donc à explorer les causes de cette francophilie. Puis, en se penchant sur des sources privées (correspondance familiale, journaux intimes, etc.), il montre comment les Marchand se sont constitué un réseau social au sein duquel les Français installés au Québec ou simplement de passage prennent une place prépondérante et comment cette francophilie a influencé leurs pratiques culturelles et les répercussions de celle-ci dans l'exercice des fonctions politiques de Félix-Gabriel Marchand et de son gendre Raoul Dandurand. Bien plus que de simples amitiés, les relations qu'ils nouent avec des Français contribuent au développement des relations diplomatiques entre le Canada et la France.

Abstract
During the second half of the nineteenth century, French-Canadian elites developed a growing interest for French culture. This led them to redefine their francophilia, and take concrete actions to assert it. To illustrate, this paper examines two generations of the family of former Quebec Premier Félix-Gabriel Marchand, from the beginning of his active life in 1855 to the death of his son-in-law, Senator Raoul Dandurand, in 1942. The paper first explores the roots of this francophilia. Then, through the analysis of Marchand family papers (correspondence, diaries, etc.), it shows how francophilia guided the elites in building their networks of socialization, how it influenced their cultural practices and how it shaped their political actions. The relationship of these political elites with the French went well beyond friendship and involved the development of diplomatic ties between Canada and France.

Plus qu'aux flunkeys canadiens-français pur sang, on pourrait lui pardonner à lui, dont le sang est mêlé (sa mère ayant été écossaise), une teinte d'anglification; mais, malgré cette tache originelle, mon cher père [Félix-Gabriel Marchand] se montre et se sent aussi français qu'un Vendéen[2],

—Joséphine Marchand, 1897.

Introduction

Dans la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle, l'intérêt pour la France croît sensiblement au Québec. Bien que les liens avec la France n'aient jamais été rompus depuis la Conquête[3], après le passage de *La Capricieuse* (1855), le regard des élites canadiennes-françaises se tourne de plus en plus assidûment vers leur ancienne métropole. On s'en inspire lors de la création de nouveaux établissements d'enseignement supérieur[4], on en cherche la reconnaissance littéraire et on développe des relations diplomatiques avec ce pays. Les voyages de Canadiens français en France se font de plus en plus fréquents et la présence française au Québec s'accroît. L'immigration française augmente sensiblement dans le dernier tiers du XIX[e] siècle alors que bon nombre de musiciens et de comédiens en provenance de l'Hexagone contribuent à faire connaître la culture de leurs pays au Québec.

Dans ce contexte, plusieurs Canadiens français, voire même certains Canadiens anglais[5], développent un vif intérêt pour la culture française. Cette francophilie, souvent évoquée dans les biographies de personnages marquants de cette époque[6] et dans les travaux d'historiens sur les relations entre la France et le Québec[7], n'a pourtant jamais fait l'objet d'une étude à part entière. Ses racines sont souvent décrites avec moult précisions[8], mais personne ne s'est intéressé directement à ses effets. Or, au tournant du XX[e] siècle, elle a de réels impacts sur la société et la culture québécoise ainsi que sur la manière dont ses tenants dotés de fonctions politiques interviennent dans la sphère publique.

Afin de le démontrer, nous nous pencherons sur l'exemple de la famille Marchand et, plus spécifiquement, sur trois de ses membres : Félix-Gabriel, sa fille Joséphine et l'époux de celle-ci, Raoul Dandurand. Le premier, à titre de conseiller municipal de la ville de Saint-Jean (1858–1859) puis, à titre de premier ministre du Québec (1897–1900) laisse transparaître sa francophilie dans l'exercice de ses fonctions. La seconde prend part activement au rapprochement avec la France en entretenant des liens avec les consuls français en poste au Québec et en représentant le Canada à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1900. Le dernier est quant à lui responsable de l'ouverture de la légation du Canada à Paris en 1927 et est l'un un des principaux artisans des

relations diplomatiques entre la France et le Canada dans la première moitié du XX^e^ siècle[9]. La famille Marchand constitue donc un cas particulièrement intéressant qui permet de jauger des effets de la francophilie sur les élites politiques canadiennes-françaises sur deux générations, soit du début de la vie active de Félix-Gabriel Marchand, en 1855, au décès de son gendre Raoul Dandurand en 1942.

À la lumière de nos recherches, il appert que, au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, l'intérêt pour la France croît sensiblement au sein des élites canadiennes-françaises et que son statut de métropole culturelle – qu'elle occupait déjà aux côtés de l'Angleterre et du Vatican au début du XIX^e^ siècle[10] – s'accroît de façon significative. Cela a pour conséquence de modifier les structures des élites et d'orienter leurs actions politiques vers un rapprochement – tant idéologique que diplomatique – avec la France. Afin de le démontrer, nous nous appuyons sur la correspondance familiale des Marchand, sur les *Mémoires* de Raoul Dandurand[11] et sur le journal intime de Joséphine Marchand[12]. À ces sources, s'ajoutent quelques articles de journaux de l'époque auxquels les Marchand collaborent ainsi que diverses sources nous informant des actions politiques des membres de cette famille (procès-verbaux du conseil municipal de Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, débats du Sénat, débats de l'Assemblée législative, etc.). Bien que ce corpus ne nous permette pas de saisir pleinement la dimension économique des échanges entre la France et le Québec à cette époque, celui-ci offre un regard personnel et détaillé sur les échanges politiques et culturels entre ces deux États. Il s'avère donc on ne peut plus pertinent pour étudier la France comme métropole culturelle.

Nous nous pencherons d'abord sur l'image que les Marchand se font de la France. Cela permettra de montrer comment leur francophilie contribue à faire de la France un modèle pour les élites canadiennes-françaises bien que cela ne les empêche pas de formuler certaines critiques à l'encontre de leur ancienne métropole. Puis, nous nous attarderons à montrer comment cet intérêt pour la France modifie les réseaux de sociabilité des élites et s'impose comme un symbole d'appartenance à cette classe sociale. Enfin, nous nous intéresserons aux effets politiques de cette francophilie et démontrerons son impact dans les politiques québécoises et dans le développement de rapports plus soutenus entre le Canada et la France.

1. La construction d'une nouvelle image de la France

1.1 La Troisième République : un modèle politique

Au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, la France s'impose de plus en plus comme un modèle politique et culturel au sein des élites canadiennes-françaises d'allégeance libérale. On s'y compare,

on l'admire. La Troisième République suscite alors l'intérêt de bon nombre de notables libéraux au Québec. C'est notamment le cas de Joséphine Marchand dont la pensée politique s'inspire largement des idées républicaines françaises[13] et qui admire les chefs républicains français[14]. C'est également le cas de son mari, Raoul Dandurand, pour qui la France apparait comme un État dont les parlementaires sont dotés de qualités intellectuelles, d'une compétence et d'une culture ineffables. Lorsqu'il compare le Canada à la France, il conclut qu'« il nous faut parcourir un long chemin avant d'atteindre le niveau des parlementaires français. Le Palais-Bourbon et le Luxembourg sont remplis de professeurs de toutes les universités françaises[15] ». Certes, la France – particulièrement celle de la Troisième République – révulse toujours les milieux ultramontains et la presse conservatrice[16], mais il n'en demeure pas moins qu'elle jouit d'une image de plus en plus enviable au sein des élites libérales et que ces défenseurs ne sont pas dénués d'importance. En octobre 1890, la visite du comte de Paris et de son fils à Montréal donne l'occasion à un groupe de notables qui s'opposent à ce que le prétendant orléaniste au trône de France soit reçu en grandes pompes de faire une profession de foi républicaine et d'affirmer leur attachement au système politique français. Plusieurs centaines de personnes de partout au Québec, parmi lesquelles figurent des noms aussi prestigieux que l'ancien ministre de la Justice Rodolphe Laflamme, l'ancien maire de Montréal Honoré Beaugrand, le conseiller législatif Wilfrid Prévost, l'homme de lettres Louis Fréchette et le jeune avocat Raoul Dandurand signent une adresse au président de la République française dans laquelle ils présentent « leurs plus respectueux hommages et [réitèrent] leur sympathique adhésion aux institutions républicaines que la France s'est librement données[17] ». Toutefois, même s'il est l'un des organisateurs de cette manifestation politique et qu'il admire la France de la Troisième République, Dandurand prendra bien soin de se distancier de cet évènement en qualifiant plus tard de « légende » le fait qu'il aurait lancé au comte de Paris : « Vive la République![18] ». Cependant, cela ne l'empêche pas de glisser dans ses lignes un éloge de la France et de la République lors de son premier discours au Sénat (février 1898) en faisant référence à la France lorsqu'il évoque la prospérité du Canada. C'est parce que l'ancienne métropole constitue un modèle commercial et politique puisque celle-ci est la « plus riche nation du monde » et qu'elle est « assise sur le roc », voire « immortelle[19] », aux yeux du nouveau sénateur.

1.2 La France de la Troisième République : un modèle culturel

Au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, la culture de l'Hexagone rayonne de plus en plus au Québec et son statut de métropole culturelle s'affirme davantage au sein des élites canadiennes-françaises. La France demeure certes « le pays de nos ancêtres[20] » évoqué par Félix-Gabriel Marchand dans ses souvenirs de voyages, mais elle devient surtout un modèle culturel. Pour Joséphine Marchand, elle est « notre patrie intellectuelle », le « foyer de toutes les lumières[21] ». Ainsi, pour Raoul Dandurand, les Canadiens français sont des « héritiers » de la France et celle-ci est pour eux « une seconde patrie spirituelle » au même titre que la Grèce l'est pour la France[22]. Les élites politiques apprécient donc particulièrement le caractère moderne de la France de cette époque. La « magnificence » du Paris haussmannien au tournant du XX^e^ siècle et ses « splendeurs modernes[23] » suscitent l'admiration de Félix-Gabriel Marchand tout comme celle de bon nombre de notables occidentaux. Paris domine alors le marché de l'art international et ses universités jouissent d'une réputation enviable[24]. En matière de mode vestimentaire, elle s'impose et ce, depuis le XVIII^e^ siècle, comme la « référence suprême du chic et du bon ton[25] » alors que, dans le domaine de l'urbanisme, elle devient un modèle prisé dont le rayonnement s'étend par delà de ses frontières.

En littérature, par exemple, on se compare au modèle français et on s'en inspire. Mieux, on juge en partie de la valeur de ses travaux à l'appréciation qu'ont les hommes de lettres français de ceux-ci. Le cas de la famille Marchand l'illustre parfaitement. Le théâtre de Félix-Gabriel Marchand puise largement dans celui d'Émile Augier, dramaturge français en vogue sous le Second Empire[26]. Qui plus est, il est particulièrement fier de la lettre qu'il a reçue de Lamartine dans laquelle l'auteur lui témoigne de l'intérêt de sa prose[27]. Sa fille, quant à elle, s'abreuve de littérature française – elle lit Dumas, Lamartine, La Bruyère, La Fontaine, La Rochefoucauld et bien d'autres auteurs français. Lorsque vient le temps de vanter les mérites des hommes de lettres québécois, Joséphine cherche à montrer leur valeur en les comparant aux plus grands auteurs français :

> Arthur Buies me paraît l'excentrique et original Alphonse Karr canadien; la prose de Marmette me fait penser à celle de Lamartine; Fréchette se rapproche de Victor Hugo; Faucher de St-Maurice, de Chauteaubriand; Legendre, de Paul Féval. J'allais oublier mon cher papa, dont les comédies ont la gaieté et l'humour de certaines de Molière[28].

Sous la plume de Joséphine Marchand, Karr, Lamartine, Hugo, Chateaubriand, Féval et Molière deviennent donc un idéal à atteindre et une référence pouvant témoigner de la valeur des auteurs qu'elle cite.

Cette admiration est même si grande que, lorsque Joséphine se prend à préférer les romans de Joseph Marmette à ceux de la romancière française Raoul de Navary, elle affirme qu'elle « hasarde peut-être là une opinion de petit connaisseur » et se demande « [l]e patriotisme excuse-t-il l'ignorance?[29] ». Pour Joséphine, comme pour bon nombre de ses contemporains, oser penser qu'un auteur québécois peut présenter plus d'intérêt qu'un romancier français, c'est faire preuve d'ignorance. Dans ce contexte, être publié dans l'Hexagone devient un rêve. Pour Joséphine, la consécration littéraire serait donc de faire un petit article et de l'envoyer au *Monde illustré* de Paris [30].

Les élites canadiennes-françaises s'inscrivent donc dans un mouvement international auquel participent d'ailleurs aussi les élites américaines[31] et britanniques[32]. Toutefois, à la distinction des notables d'ailleurs dans le monde, ceux du Québec s'affichent fièrement comme les héritiers de cette culture. À l'occasion du dévoilement du monument dédié à Samuel de Champlain, Joséphine Marchand le rappelle très clairement : « nous sommes issus de la première nation du monde », les Canadiens français sont « héritiers du génie latin[33] ».

1.3 Une admiration qui n'est pas dénuée de critiques

La France devient donc non seulement un modèle politique aux yeux de bon nombre des élites d'allégeance libérale mais, surtout, un modèle culturel. Il faut cependant se garder de voir derrière ce nouveau regard une admiration aveugle de la part de ces élites. Celles-ci demeurent critiques face à la Troisième République. Dans ses *Mémoires*, Raoul Dandurand mentionne que le « bel ensemble de valeurs intellectuelles [qui siègent à l'Assemblée nationale et au Sénat en France] présente le danger d'une instabilité perpétuelle[34] ». Sa femme, pourtant si admirative devant l'érudition des citoyens de l'Hexagone et si éprise de littérature française, est aussi capable de porter un regard critique sur la France. Elle déplore, par exemple, l'impossibilité d'avoir une conversation soutenue avec le comte Claude-Gabriel de Sesmaisons, consul de France à Québec de 1881 à 1883, puisqu'il dispose de peu de « ressources conversationnelles[35] ». De même, tout auteur français n'est pas digne d'être admiré pour Joséphine Marchand comme en témoigne son journal dans lequel elle critique sévèrement certains romanciers français: « Oh la ! la ! que c'est fou, et que ces romanciers sont bêtes! Qu'ils rapetissent l'humanité[36]. » De plus, l'attrait pour l'Angleterre demeure présent même s'il s'estompe de plus en plus derrière l'aura de la France sur le plan culturel. Au cours d'un discours resté célèbre prononcé en juin 1877, Wilfrid Laurier – dont Raoul Dandurand est particulièrement proche – se réclame d'un libéralisme anglais réformiste et se distancie du libéralisme français révolutionnaire[37]. De même,

lorsque vient le temps de défendre son appui à la France au Sénat, Raoul Dandurand invoque la presse britannique et des personnalités britanniques de premier plan[38] appuyant les politiques françaises[39]. Cela démontre bien l'importance que conserve le Royaume-Uni sur le plan politique aux yeux des élites canadiennes-françaises. Celui-ci demeure un modèle fréquemment cité. Londres continue d'être une métropole culturelle importante. Cependant, peu à peu, le rayonnement de la France sur les élites canadiennes-françaises s'accroît et cela les amène à la voir différemment, Paris prenant peu à peu le dessus sur Londres sur le plan culturel.

2. La modification des structures des réseaux de sociabilité des élites

2.1 La volonté croissante de faire une place aux Français au sein de son réseau social

L'attrait pour la France des élites canadiennes-françaises a également des effets importants sur la structure des élites. En effet, leur intérêt grandissant pour la France pousse les notables les plus francophiles à insérer les Français installés au Québec ou simplement de passage dans leur réseau de sociabilité, voire à leur donner une place prépondérante au sein de celui-ci. Ainsi, dès l'arrivée d'un consul français au Québec, en 1859, sa résidence devient un lieu de rendez-vous prisé par les élites de la ville de Québec : « tout ce que la société de la ville de Québec compte de beaux esprits, les Parent, les Garneau, les Ferland, les Chauveau, les La Rue, les Casgrain et les Taché[40] » se retrouvent chez le consul Charles-André-Philippe Gauldrée-Boileau. Ses successeurs – sauf exception – connaissent le même succès : Albert Lefaivre (en poste de 1875 à 1881) noue de nombreuses amitiés avec des personnalités canadiennes[41], Georges Dubail (en poste de 1886 à 1890) réussit à réunir certaines des personnalités les plus en vue de l'époque autour de lui[42] pour fonder la Chambre de commerce française de Montréal en 1886 alors qu'Alfred Kleckowski (en poste de 1894 à 1906) est considéré par l'Université Laval comme un précieux « ami[43] » et reçoit de cette institution un doctorat honoris causa le 18 juin 1900.

Les Marchand ne font pas exception à cet intérêt pour la France. Dès son adolescence, Félix-Gabriel Marchand entretient une amitié avec Henri Tugault, un jeune Français dont les parents ont émigré au Canada en 1836[44]. Particulièrement proche de cet ami, il part en voyage en France avec lui en 1850 et œuvre à ses côtés au conseil municipal de Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu à compter de 1858. Puis, lorsqu'il est appelé à siéger à l'Assemblée législative à compter de 1867, il se met à fréquenter assidûment les consuls généraux de France à Québec. Il est, entre autres, invité à dîner par les consuls Albert Lefaivre[45], Georges Dubail[46] et Alfred Kleckowski[47]. Il est même assez intime avec

l'historien François-Edme Rameau de Saint-Père pour le recevoir à Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu en 1888[48]. Sa fille et son gendre s'entourent également de Français. Joséphine fréquente régulièrement les Obalski[49] dont elle semble particulièrement proche puisqu'ils ont l'amabilité de l'héberger à l'occasion d'un séjour à Québec en 1885[50]. En novembre 1893, lorsqu'elle apprend que l'écrivain français Paul Bourget et son épouse sont de passage au Canada, elle laisse à l'attention de l'auteur sa carte et une critique d'un des derniers romans qu'elle a signée dans *Le Coin du feu* dans l'espoir que Bourget manifeste le désir de la rencontrer[51]. Raoul noue, quant à lui, de nombreuses amitiés avec des hommes politiques et des intellectuels français. Il est un ami intime de Gabriel Hanotaux, fréquente assidûment Aristide Briand et est reçu à dîner par Raymond Poincaré. Qui plus est, à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle, son étude d'avocats est située dans le même bâtiment que le consulat général de France[52]. La proximité est donc non seulement amicale mais aussi physique.

2.2 La francophilie, symbole d'appartenance aux élites

La francophilie devient également un symbole d'appartenance aux élites au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Le cas de la famille Marchand permet bien de le mettre en lumière. À l'époque, il est de bon ton de connaître la France pour briller dans les salons. Dans son journal, Joséphine rapporte que « [c]omme j'aime l'étude et que je suis les évènements politiques de mon pays et de la France, je constate que les personnes instruites aiment assez à causer avec moi[53] ». De même, lorsqu'elle rencontre pour la première fois Raoul Dandurand, elle lui demande s'il s'intéresse « aux choses de la France[54] », condition nécessaire, semble-t-il, pour être véritablement digne d'intérêt à ses yeux et, pour lui prouver qu'elle s'inscrit aussi dans cette culture, elle lui répond qu'elle lit les journaux français que son père reçoit.

L'attrait pour la France devient même un facteur distinctif permettant de départager d'une part, les élites et, d'autre part, le peuple. Pour Raoul Dandurand, « [l]a masse [populaire] n'a gardé qu'un sentiment platonique pour le pays de ses origines[55] » et il ne peut pas « lui reprocher cette absence ou cet affaiblissement de sentiment » pour la France, car celle-ci « l'a complètement abandonnée[56] ». Les élites, cependant, se doivent de s'inscrire dans une culture élitaire au sein de laquelle la France constitue un idéal, un modèle à atteindre pour être digne de son rang afin de se démarquer de la « pensée populaire » : « Notre état colonial et notre modeste situation poussent une élite à se retourner vers la France pour y puiser tout ce qui lui manque ici[57] ». La francophilie devient donc un facteur permettant de jauger de l'appartenance aux élites.

Dans ce contexte, il importe de tenir compte de cet intérêt pour la France dans l'éducation offerte aux notables de demain. Déjà, dans la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle, quelques personnes aisées font bénéficier leurs enfants de leur abonnement à des journaux français et les encouragent à cultiver un amour pour la France. C'est le cas de Joséphine Marchand comme nous l'avons vu, mais aussi de Raoul Dandurand dont le père admire les idéaux républicains – tant américains que français. Le jeune Raoul s'initie donc dès son enfance aux débats politiques où s'affrontent royalistes et républicains en lisant la presse parisienne et les débats parlementaires français rapportés dans le *Courrier des Etats-Unis*[58]. Toutefois, alors que, dans les années 1880, il scandalise son professeur d'éléments latins – le futur M[gr] Adélard Langevin – lorsqu'il se déclare républicain, dans le premier tiers du XX[e] siècle, l'amour de la France est largement intégré dans l'éducation des jeunes élites. Signe de l'importance qu'accordent les élites canadiennes-françaises à éduquer leurs enfants dans une certaine francophilie, en 1917, Raoul Dandurand affirme que « toute la pensée [de la jeunesse instruite] se nourrit de la pensée française[59] ». En janvier 1938, Dandurand participe même à la fondation du Collège Stanislas de Montréal, filiale du prestigieux établissement d'enseignement parisien du même nom. L'établissement de cette école offrant une formation française en plein cœur d'Outremont, lieu de résidence par excellence des élites canadiennes-françaises, démontre bien l'intérêt du sénateur à transmettre la francophilie qui l'habite aux notables de demain[60].

3. Les effets de la francophilie sur les actions politiques des élites

3.1 Des politiques qui s'inspirent de la France et la mettent en valeur

La francophilie des élites politiques canadiennes-françaises se traduit également dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions politiques : tantôt elles s'inspirent de la France et en rappellent le souvenir, tantôt elles l'appuient. Les activités politiques de Félix-Gabriel Marchand permettent d'ailleurs de le constater et ce, dès ses débuts dans l'arène publique. En mars 1858, à peine quelques mois après qu'il ait été élu conseiller municipal de la ville de Saint-Jean, Marchand propose de changer le nom anglais de certaines rues pour les remplacer par des noms dont la prononciation et, idéalement, l'orthographe seraient le même en anglais et en français. Il profite alors de l'occasion pour mettre de l'avant les racines françaises de la colonie en proposant que deux des principales artères de la ville – Front Street et McComming Street – soient respectivement renommées rues Richelieu et Champlain[61]. De même, lorsqu'il devient premier ministre, son gouvernement nomme

un canton Honfleur en l'honneur de la ville d'où est parti Samuel de Champlain[62]. Bien plus qu'une fantaisie toponymique, ces gestes sont significatifs pour Félix-Gabriel Marchand. Dans une lettre adressée à un prêtre déplorant l'anglicisation de la toponymie de la province de Québec, Marchand répond :

> Il y a déjà bien longtemps que je déplore comme vous les changements que l'on opère dans la physionomie de notre province, par cette manie à laquelle participent quelquefois nos compatriotes d'origine française, de donner à nos localités, à nos rues, à nos bureaux de poste et à nos institutions financières et industrielles des noms anglais. […] Soyez certains que nous sommes désireux comme vous de conserver à notre province, sa physionomie française[63].

Qui plus est, les politiques françaises alimentent la réflexion des hommes politiques québécois. Dès le début des années 1880, Chapleau propose une série de mesures dans le domaine de l'éducation s'inspirant des réformes alors menées par Jules Ferry en France. En effet, son cabinet fait voter « un bill d'inspiration française » visant à uniformiser les manuels scolaires, propose des mesures retirant au clergé le droit de choisir les livres de religion et de morale et suggère qu'on enlève au Conseil de l'Instruction publique l'inspection des écoles[64]. Bien que ces lois soient rejetées par le Conseil législatif devant l'ire des évêques et des ultramontains, la France demeure un modèle politique dans le domaine de l'éducation chez certains libéraux et même chez certains conservateurs modérés tels que Chapleau. Lors des débats sur le projet de ministère de l'Instruction publique du gouvernement Marchand (1897), le député libéral Henri-Sévérin Béland se lève d'ailleurs en chambre pour citer Adolphe Thiers et rappeler que les idées d'Honoré Mercier sur cette question s'inspiraient de celle d'Émile de Girardin[65]. De même, Joseph-Émery Robidoux, ministre responsable de ce projet, prend pour exemple l'excellence de la France en matière d'enseignement du dessin pour démontrer l'importance de réformer le système d'éducation. Selon lui, « la supériorité de l'industrie française » s'explique par le soin que met ce pays dans ses écoles et « si l'on voit aujourd'hui, la France, l'Allemagne, la Belgique et l'Angleterre rivaliser dans l'industrie c'est dans l'expansion de l'étude du dessin [et, donc, dans l'imitation du modèle français] qu'il faut en chercher les causes[66] ». Le cabinet Marchand se garde toutefois d'affirmer trop explicitement que la France républicaine constitue l'un de ses modèles[67] puisque Jules Ferry est vu par les milieux ultramontains et les communautés religieuses comme l'« implacable ennemi des congrégations catholiques[68] ». Néanmoins, les conservateurs y voient une filiation nette avec la réforme de l'éducation menée en France à la même époque. Pour le député de Dorchester, Louis-Philippe Pelletier,

« [l]a clause au sujet des examens que les ministres et les frères devront passer est la même que celle contenue dans la loi de Jules Ferry en 1881[69] ».

La volonté d'abolir le Conseil législatif du gouvernement Marchand trouve également écho dans les débats ayant cours au Palais Bourbon dans les années 1880. Il faut cependant se garder de voir dans les débats qui animent l'Hexagone une cause directe de la volonté du gouvernement Marchand d'abolir le Conseil législatif. Déjà, dans les années 1870, les libéraux en proposaient la suppression. Toutefois, les vives contestations contre le Sénat qui animent alors la France alimentent probablement les troupes libérales. Les Marchand en sont sans doute d'ailleurs informés par les journaux français auxquels ils sont abonnés comme en fait foi cette boutade de Joséphine : « Heureusement que Baptiste tient à ses vieilles et indispensables institutions. Il ne sait trop pourquoi, mais il ne souffrait pas qu'on portât une main profanatrice sur l'illustre conseil Législatif et son papa le Sénat. Il ne crie pas comme les Français actuellement : Sus au Sénat! Tant mieux pour les candidats Canadiens[70] ». En effet, dans les années 1870, le Sénat français est perçu par bon nombre de républicains comme une institution visant à freiner « l'évolution » de la France vers une République puisqu'il est en mesure de s'opposer aux réformes de la Troisième République[71]. Cela frustre également le gouvernement Marchand qui voit sa loi sur l'Instruction publique torpillée par le Conseil législatif après qu'elle ait été adoptée en chambre.

3.2 L'affirmation politique de son admiration pour la France

L'appui le plus solide aux politiques françaises et à la France de manière plus générale demeure cependant symbolique et vise à affirmer son attachement pour la France tout en consolidant les liens avec celle-ci. Ainsi, en juillet 1887, à l'occasion de la visite de la frégate française *La Minerve*, Félix-Gabriel Marchand, alors président de l'Assemblée législative, ordonne qu'on hisse les drapeaux sur les trois tours de l'hôtel du parlement en guise d'amitié pour son commandant et son équipage. Or, par « inadvertance… ou obéissance de l'employé », un grand pavillon français est hissé au sommet de la tour centrale et fait ombrage aux « tout petits anglais sur les tours latérales ». L'erreur cause scandale. Le gouverneur, Lord Stanley, dépêche l'un de ses aides de camp auprès de Marchand pour l'en aviser. Dans son journal, sa fille rapporte alors que :

> Mon père reçut très poliment l'émissaire vice-royal, se répandit en commentaires sur la gaucherie de l'employé, appela son secrétaire, se livra à une enquête, ordonna qu'on recherchât le coupable et, l'ayant trouvé, on lui enjoignit de réparer immédiatement sa bévue, tant et si

> bien que nos amis français virent, jusqu'à la fin, le *trois couleurs* flotter au sommet de notre Chambre nationale. Lorsque, enfin, on descendit le flamboyant usurpateur, la *Minerve* était loin, et les petits légitimes furent abaissés en même temps[72].

Marchand n'hésite donc pas à utiliser l'appareil politique pour exprimer ses sympathies à la France, et ce, même s'il doit causer un petit scandale avec le gouverneur anglais. Pire, il se montre peu pressé de corriger l'erreur pour que le tricolore flotte au-dessus de Québec jusqu'après le départ du navire français. Quelques années plus tard, lorsqu'il devient premier ministre, la mort de Félix Faure, en février 1899, lui donne une nouvelle occasion de témoigner de son attachement à la France. Dès le lendemain du décès de Faure, Marchand fait son éloge en chambre et propose que l'Assemblée législative, en ajournant ses travaux, offre ses sympathies à la France[73]. Puis, il adresse à madame Faure, au président du Sénat français et au consul de France à Montréal ses condoléances au nom de la province de Québec. Or, bien plus qu'une simple politesse, ce geste s'inscrit dans une volonté de rapprocher le Québec de la France et de consolider ses relations – tant personnelles que diplomatiques – avec le consul de ce pays, ce que ce dernier ne manque d'ailleurs pas d'apprécier[74]. Le geste est d'autant plus significatif, qu'il s'agit de la première fois qu'un premier ministre québécois se lève en chambre pour saluer la mémoire d'un homme politique français.

3.3 Le développement d'un réseau d'échanges avec la France

La francophilie des élites canadiennes-françaises permet également de renforcer les liens qui existent entre la France et le Québec. À travers des relations personnelles, c'est tout un appareil paradiplomatique qui se met en place. Certes, lorsque Raoul Dandurand entretient une amitié avec Gabriel Hanotaux ou avec Aristide Briand, il le fait d'abord à titre personnel. Toutefois, ces relations personnelles entre personnalités ayant des fonctions politiques de premier plan[75] débouchent fréquemment sur des rapprochements entre le Canada (ou le Québec) et la France. C'est, par exemple, au cours d'un séjour chez Hanotaux que Raoul Dandurand décide de fonder le Comité France-Amérique de Montréal, organisme réunissant bon nombre des plus influents notables de la métropole[76] et dont le but est de développer des relations culturelles, économiques et artistiques entre le Canada et la France[77]. De même, en 1927, lorsque le Canada désire ouvrir une légation du Canada à Paris, c'est vers Raoul Dandurand qu'on se tourne pour engager les pourparlers puisqu'il possède un large réseau de contacts en France mais, aussi, en Angleterre. Il se rend d'abord chez Austen Chamberlain, ministre des Affaires étrangères britannique et se juge « assez intime avec sir Austen pour me rendre chez lui sans escorte[78] ».

Puis, à Paris, il est reçu par l'ambassadeur de Grande-Bretagne en France, lord Crewe qu'il connaît déjà et par Aristide Briand qu'il a déjà vu à maintes reprises[79]. Ces rapports et échanges avec des Français – voire des Britanniques – facilitent l'ouverture de la légation du Canada à Paris et permettent donc de consolider concrètement les liens entre le Canada et la France.

Le cas de Raoul Dandurand est cependant loin d'être une exception. À cette époque, plusieurs membres des élites se servent de leurs amitiés et relations d'affaires pour consolider les relations entre la France et le Canada. En 1881, par exemple, le commissaire général du Canada à Paris, Hector Fabre, fait profiter le gouvernement Chapleau de son réseau de contacts en France pour mettre sur pied le Crédit foncier franco-canadien et de multiples autres projets (établissement d'une ligne de navigation directe entre Montréal et Le Havre, investissements dans plusieurs projets miniers, etc.)[80]. L'un de ses successeurs, Philippe Roy, met quant à lui à profit ses relations et ses amitiés dans les milieux politiques libéraux et financiers afin d'amasser des fonds pour créer la maison des étudiants canadiens à Paris en 1926[81].

De plus, Raoul Dandurand cherche également à favoriser les échanges entre la France et le Québec. Lorsqu'il fonde le Collège Stanislas, il accorde une grande importance à ce que les années de travail des professeurs français dans cet établissement soient reconnues dans l'Hexagone afin de favoriser le recrutement d'enseignants de qualité et d'inscrire cette école dans le réseau d'enseignement français[82]. De même, tout au long de sa carrière, il favorise la venue de parlementaires français au Québec et l'inverse afin de renforcer les liens qui existent entre les deux États. En 1912, par exemple, à titre de président du Comité France-Amérique de Montréal, il participe à la préparation du voyage en Amérique d'un groupe de dignitaires français au sein duquel on compte plusieurs politiciens et intellectuels à l'occasion du premier congrès de la langue française en Amérique.

Conclusion

Au cours des décennies suivant le passage de *La Capricieuse* (1855), l'image de mère patrie qu'occupe la France dans l'esprit des élites canadiennes-françaises s'estompe peu à peu alors que celle de modèle politique et culturel s'accroît. La francophilie des élites politiques canadiennes-françaises s'exprime d'abord timidement au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} siècle, principalement à travers une admiration pour la culture rayonnante de la France et un désir de fréquenter des gens natifs de l'Hexagone. Toutefois, dès le début du XX^{e} siècle. voire même déjà sous le gouvernement Marchand (1897–1900), cet intérêt pour la France s'affirme de façon plus marquée en devenant

particulièrement important dans l'esprit de plusieurs membres des élites politiques, particulièrement ceux d'obédience libérale. La France, jusqu'alors un modèle admiré, devient un modèle culturel et, dans une moindre mesure, politique imité dont on souhaite se rapprocher concrètement – tant sur le plan intellectuel par le biais d'une formation française que sur le plan diplomatique par l'établissement de canaux d'échange officieux et officiels.

Le Canada, par le biais du Statut de Westminster (1931), affirme alors son autonomie face à la Grande-Bretagne et entend de plus en plus développer lui-même ses relations avec d'autres États tout en s'émancipant peu à peu des rapports coloniaux qu'il entretient avec le Royaume-Uni et, dans une certaine mesure – sur le plan sentimental du moins –, avec la France. En ce sens, cette période marque un changement d'attitude important des élites face à l'Europe, celle-ci passant de métropole politique à métropole culturelle.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

SOURCES

Archives publiques

Collection Marchand-Dandurand, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG27 III B3 1.

Fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Québec, P174.

Procès-verbaux de la ville de Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, 1858.

Sources manuscrites

Journaux *(dépouillement sélectif, 1890–1900)*

Le Canada français

La Patrie

Sources imprimées

Dandurand, Raoul. *Raoul Dandurand, le sénateur-diplomate : mémoires, 1861–1942*. 2e édition, Sainte-Foy, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000 (1967).

Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982.

Débats du Sénat, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1898–1923.

Lovell's Montreal Directory, for 1898–99, Montréal, John Lovell & Son, 1898.

Marchand, Félix-Gabriel. *Mélanges poétiques et littéraires*. Montréal, C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1899.

Marchand, Joséphine. *Journal intime (1879–1900)*. Lachine, Éditions de la Pleine Lune, 2000.

Études

Baguenard, Jacques. *Le Sénat*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1990.

Charle, Christophe. « Paris métropole culturelle: essai de comparaison avec Berlin (1880–1920) ». *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, vol. 111, no 1, 1999, p. 455–476.

Désilets, Andrée. « CHAPLEAU, sir Joseph-Adolphe ». *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*. http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-f.php?&id_nbr=6024, consulté le 14 juillet 2013.

Doucet, Sophie. « Joséphine Marchand-Dandurand ou 'Le Laurier féminin' : Une journaliste féministe, moderne, libérale et nationaliste (1861–1925) ». Mémoire de maîtrise, Montréal, Université de Montréal, 2003.

Fabre, Gérard. « Un arc transatlantique et sa tangente ou comment se dessine un réseau intellectuel franco-québécois? ». *Globe : revue internationale d'études québécoises*, vol. 7, no 1, 2004, p. 47–48.

Fournier, Marcel. *Les Français au Québec, 1765–1865 : Un mouvement migratoire méconnu*. Québec, Septentrion, 1995.

Galarneau, Claude et Elzéar Lavoie (dir.). *France et Canada français du XVI^e^ au XX^e^ siècle*. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966.

Gallichan, Gilles. *Honoré Mercier : la politique et la culture*. Québec, Septentrion, 1994.

Gury, Jacques. « Une Excentricité à l'Anglaise ». Michèle Plaisant (dir.). *L'excentricité en Grande Bretagne au XVIII^e^ siècle*, Lille, éditions universitaires de Lille III, 1975, p. 191–209.

Grieder, Josephine. *Anglomania in France, 1740–1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse*. Genève, Droz, 1985.

Halden, Charles ab der. *Études de littérature canadienne française*. Paris, F.R. de Rudeval, 1904.

Harvey, Fernand. « Les relations culturelles entre la France et le Canada (1760–1960) » dans Serge Joyal et Paul-André Linteau (dir.). *France-Canada-Québec : 400 ans de relations d'exception*. Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2008, p. 96–106.

Lacroix, Michel. « Coopération intellectuelle, internationalisme et cosmopolitisme. Philippe Roy et l'émergence du Canada sur la scène mondiale ». *Bulletin d'histoire politique,* vol. 20, no 1, 2011, p. 13–30.

Lamonde, Yvan. *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec*. Tome I : *1760–1896*. Saint-Laurent, Fides, 2000.

Lamonde, Yvan et Didier Poton (dir.). *La Capricieuse (1855) : poupe et proue : Les relations France-Québec (1760–1914)*. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006.

Lamonde, Yvan. « La France puis l'Angleterre, les États-Unis et le Vatican devant l'opinion québécoise » dans Yvan Lamonde et Gilles Gallichan (dir.). *L'histoire de la culture et de l'imprimé : Hommages à Claude Galarneau*. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996, p. 45–59.

Laperrière, Guy. *Les congrégations religieuses : De la France au Québec, 1880–1914*. Tome I : *Première bourrasques, 1880–1900*. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996.

Lefebvre, Jean-Jacques. *Félix-Gabriel Marchand (1832–1900), notaire, 1855, premier ministre du Québec, 1897*. Montréal, 1978.

Lewis, Charlene Boyer. « Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte: A Woman befween Two Worlds » dans Léonard Sadosky (dir.). *Old World, New World: America and Europe in the Age of Jefferson*. Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2010, p. 247–275.

Mesli, Samy. « Historique du consulat général de France ». *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no 99, 2009, p. 65–72.

Perrot, Philippe. *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie. Une histoire du vêtement au XIX^e siècle*. Paris, Fayard, 1981.

Plante, Hermann. *L'Église catholique au Canada (1604–1886)*. Trois-Rivières, Éditions du Bien public, 1970.

Savard, Pierre. *Le consulat général de France à Québec et à Montréal de 1859 à 1914*. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1970.

Simard, Sylvain. « Hector Fabre, point d'intersection d'un axe Montréal-Paris » dans Ivan Carel et Samy Mesli (dir.). *Hector Fabre*. Montréal, VLB éditeur, 2011, p. 138–151.

Smith, Frédéric. *Cataraqui : histoire d'une villa anglaise à Sillery*. Sainte-Foy, Publications du Québec, 2001.

Vallières, Marc. « OBALSKI, Joseph ». *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*. http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-f.php?&id_nbr=7623, consulté le 14 juillet 2013.

NOTES

1 Je remercie Gordon Baker et Donald Fyson pour leur lecture rigoureuse des premières versions de cet article et pour leurs nombreux commentaires qui m'ont permis de l'améliorer. Merci également au Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture (FQRSC) et au Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines (CRSH) pour le support qu'ils ont apporté à ces recherches via l'octroi de bourses de maîtrise.

2 Joséphine Marchand, *Journal intime (1879–1900)*, Lachine, Éditions de la Pleine Lune, 2000, p. 177 (15 décembre 1897).

3 Claude Galarneau et Elzéar Lavoie (dir.), *France et Canada français du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966.

4 Citons entre autres à l'École polytechnique de Montréal (1872) et à l'École des hautes études commerciales de Montréal (1907).

5 Pensons au milieu d'affaires anglophone de Montréal ou à des peintres comme Percyval Tudor-Hart (Pierre Savard, *Le consulat général de France à Québec et à Montréal de 1859 à 1914*. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1970, p. 27; Frédéric Smith, *Cataraqui : histoire d'une villa anglaise à Sillery*, Sainte-Foy, Publications du Québec, 2001.).

6 Signalons notamment la biographie de Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau et celle d'Honoré Mercier (Andrée Désilets, « CHAPLEAU, sir Joseph-Adolphe », *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-f.php?&id_nbr=6024, consulté le 14 juillet 2013; Gilles Gallichan *Honoré Mercier : la politique et la culture*, Québec, Septentrion, 1994, 212 p.).

7 Les recherches menées à l'occasion du 150e anniversaire du passage de *La Capricieuse* au Québec constituent un bon exemple de cette production scientifique (Yvan Lamonde et Didier Poton (dir.), *La Capricieuse (1855) : poupe et proue : Les relations France-Québec (1760–1914)*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006.).

8 Fernand Harvey, « Les relations culturelles entre la France et le Canada (1760–1960) », Serge Joyal et Paul-André Linteau (dir.), *France-Canada-Québec : 400 ans de relations d'exception*, Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2008, p. 96–106.

9 Gérard Fabre, « Un arc transatlantique et sa tangente ou comment se dessine un réseau intellectuel franco-québécois? », *Globe : revue internationale d'études québécoises*, vol. 7, no 1, 2004, p. 47–48.

10 Yvan Lamonde, « La France puis l'Angleterre, les États-Unis et le Vatican devant l'opinion québécoise » dans Yvan Lamonde et Gilles Gallichan (dir.), *L'histoire de la culture et de l'imprimé : Hommages à Claude Galarneau*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996, p. 45–59.

11 Raoul Dandurand, *Raoul Dandurand, le sénateur-diplomate : mémoires, 1861–1942,* 2e édition, Sainte-Foy, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000 (1967).

12 Marchand, 2000.

13 Pour ne citer que deux exemples, Joséphine Marchand se montre particulièrement critique envers les monarchies européennes et souhaite des réformes dans le milieu de l'éducation pour que les filles aient accès à une meilleure formation et que le clergé ait une emprise moins grande sur celle-ci (Sophie Doucet, « Joséphine Marchand-Dandurand ou 'Le Laurier féminin' : Une journaliste féministe, moderne, libérale et nationaliste (1861–1925) », Mémoire de maîtrise, Montréal, Université de Montréal, 2003).

14 Marchand, 2000, p. 23 (8 août 1882).

15 Dandurand, 2000, p. 72.

16 Savard, 1970, p. 21–22 et 27.

17 *La Patrie*, 25 octobre 1890, p. 1.

18 Dandurand, 2000, p. 23.

19 *Débats du Sénat*, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1898, p. 8 (7 février 1898).

20 Félix-Gabriel Marchand, *Mélanges poétiques et littéraires*, Montréal, C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1899, p. 327.

21 Marchand, 2000, p. 150 (7 août 1889).

22 Dandurand, 2000, p. 203.

23 Marchand, 1899, p. 332.

24 Christophe Charle, « Paris métropole culturelle: essai de comparaison avec Berlin (1880–1920) », *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, vol. 111, no 1, 1999, p. 462 et 471.

25 Philippe Perrot, *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie. Une histoire du vêtement au XIX^e siècle,* Paris, Fayard, 1981, p. 9.

26 Charles ab der Halden, *Études de littérature canadienne française,* Paris, F.R. de Rudeval, 1904, p. 314.

27 Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, *Félix-Gabriel Marchand (1832–1900), notaire, 1855, premier ministre du Québec, 1897*, Montréal, 1978, p. 9.

28 Marchand, 2000, p. 16 (18 juillet 1879).

29 Lettre de Joséphine Marchand à Félix-Gabriel Marchand, 28 novembre 1878, BAnQ-Q, fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S2, P209.

30 Marchand, 2000, p. 80 (27 juillet 1882).

31 Charlene Boyer Lewis, « Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte: A Woman befween Two Worlds », dans Léonard Sadosky (dir.), *Old World, New World : America and Europe in the Age of Jefferson*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2010, p. 247–275.

32 Jacques Gury, « Une Excentricité à l'Anglaise », Michèle Plaisant (dir.), *L'excentricité en Grande Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle*, Lille, éditions universitaires de Lille III, 1975, p. 191–209.; Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740–1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse*, Genève, Droz, 1985, xii-176 p.

33 Joséphine Marchand, « Chronique », *Le Canada français*, 23 septembre 1898, p. 1, col. 4.

34 Dandurand, 2000, p. 72.

35 Marchand, 2000, p. 34 (18 janvier 1883).

36 Marchand, 2000, p. 121 (16 octobre 1885).

37 Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec*, Tome I : *1760–1896*, Saint-Laurent, Fides, 2000, p. 490.

38 Dandurand rapporte notamment les propos de Lord Harding, ancien vice-roi des Indes et ancien ambassadeur à Paris, ainsi que ceux du romancier Rudyard Kipling.

39 *Débats du Sénat*, Ottawa, Imprimeur du Roi, 1923, p. 339 (26 avril 1923).

40 Savard, 1970, p. 15.

41 Savard, 1970, p. 18.

42 Pensons notamment à Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau (alors secrétaire d'État dans le gouvernement Macdonald), Jonathan Wurtele (alors orateur de l'Assemblée législative) et à Honoré Beaugrand, maire de Montréal à l'époque (Samy Mesli, « Historique du consulat général de France », *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no 99, 2009, p. 66.).

43 Anonyme, « À l'Université Laval de Québec », *La Patrie*, 19 juin 1900, p. 5.

44 Marcel Fournier, *Les Français au Québec, 1765–1865 : Un mouvement migratoire méconnu*, Québec, Septentrion, 1995, p. 279.

45 Lettre de Félix-Gabriel Marchand à Joséphine Marchand, 30 mai 1881, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, centre d'archives de Québec (ci-après appelé BAnQ-Q), fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S2, P260.

46 Lettre de Georges Dubail à Félix-Gabriel Marchand, 7 mai 1887, BAnQ-Q, fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S1, P79.

47 Lettre d'Alfred Kleckowski à Félix-Gabriel Marchand, 5 mars 1900, BAnQ-Q, fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S1, P139.

48 Lettre d'Edme Rameau de Saint-Père à Félix-Gabriel Marchand, 1er septembre 1888, BAnQ-Q, fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S1, P222.

49 Originaire de Bretagne, Joseph Obalski immigre au Québec en 1881 à l'invitation de Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau qui lui propose un emploi comme ingénieur des mines dans la province. Lui et sa femme – Joséphine Gosselin qu'il épouse à Québec en juillet 1882 – sont de bons amis de Joséphine Marchand (Marc Vallières, « OBALSKI, Joseph », *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-f.php?&id_nbr=7623, consulté le 14 juillet 2013).

50 Marchand, 2000, p. 99–101 (19 février 1885).

51 Marchand, 2000, p. 163 (15 novembre 1897).

52 *Lovell's Montreal Directory, for 1898–99*, Montréal, John Lovell & Son, 1898, p. 396.

53 Marchand, 2000, p. 21 (27 juillet 1882).

54 Dandurand, 2000, p. 41.

55 Lettre de Raoul Dandurand à une destinataire inconnue, 19 septembre 1917, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa, Collection Marchand-Dandurand, MG27 III B3 1, dossier « 1. Raoul Dandurand, Correspondance anonyme – Aylesworth ».

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid.*

58 Dandurand, 2000, p. 21.

59 Lettre de Raoul Dandurand à une destinataire inconnue, *op. cit.*

60 Dandurand, 2000, p. 338.

61 Procès-verbaux de la ville de Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, 1er mars 1858.

62 Lettre de Félix-Gabriel Marchand au Révérend Chatillon, 25 octobre 1898, BAnQ-Q, fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S1, P44.

63 *Ibid.*

64 Hermann Plante, *L'Église catholique au Canada (1604–1886)*, Trois-Rivières, Éditions du Bien public, 1970, p. 492–493.

65 *Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec : 9e législature – 1ere Session, 1897–1898*, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982, p. 14–15.

66 *Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec : 9e législature – 1ere Session, 1897–1898*, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982, p. 196.

67 Les réformes dans le domaine de l'éducation au Québec ne s'inspirent pas que de la France. Bien au contraire, elles s'inscrivent dans un mouvement beaucoup plus vaste ayant cours dans le monde occidental au XIXe siècle dont l'objectif est de rendre l'éducation plus accessible et d'améliorer la formation des maîtres. Le cabinet Marchand s'inspire donc aussi des États-Unis et de l'Ontario (*Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec : 9e législature – 1ere Session, 1897–1898*, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982, p. 195).

68 Cité d'après Guy Laperrière, *Les congrégations religieuses : De la France au Québec, 1880–1914*, Tome I : *Première bourrasques, 1880–1900*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996, p. 192.

69 *Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec : 9e législature – 1ere Session, 1897–1898*, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982, p. 235.

70 Lettre de Joséphine Marchand à Félix-Gabriel Marchand, 7 mars 1883, BAnQ-Q, fonds Félix-Gabriel Marchand, P174, S2, P235.

71 Jacques Baguenard, *Le Sénat*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1990, p. 81–83.

72 Marchand, 2000, p. 178 (15 décembre 1897).

73 *Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec : 9e législature – 2eme Session, 1899*, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982, p. 150–151.

74 *Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec : 9e législature – 2eme Session, 1899*, Québec, Assemblée nationale, 1982, p. 152.

75 Raoul Dandurand est leader du gouvernement au Sénat (1921-1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1942) et l'un des plus proches collaborateurs de Laurier puis de Mackenzie King. Gabriel Hanotaux est ministre des Affaires étrangères (1894–1895, 1896–1898) et délégué de la France à la Société des Nations. Aristide Briand est l'un des principaux artisans des relations diplomatiques internationales au lendemain de la Première Guerre mondiale.

76 Pensons entre autres au premier ministre de l'époque, Lomer Gouin, à l'ancien lieutenant-gouverneur Louis-Amable Jetté, aux magnats des chemins de fer William Van Horne et Thomas Shaughnessy ainsi qu'à l'éminent juriste et ancien sénateur Alexandre Lacoste.

77 Dandurand, 2000, p. 165.

78 Dandurand, 2000, p. 286.

79 Dandurand, 2000, p. 287–288.

80 Sylvain Simard, « Hector Fabre, point d'intersection d'un axe Montréal-Paris ». Ivan Carel et Samy Mesli (dir.). *Hector Fabre*, Montréal, VLB éditeur, 2011, p. 145 et 147.

81 Michel Lacroix, « Coopération intellectuelle, internationalisme et cosmopolitisme. Philippe Roy et l'émergence du Canada sur la scène mondiale ». *Bulletin d'histoire politique,* vol. 20, no 1, 2011, p. 17.

82 Dandurand, 2000, p. 340–341.

EXTRA BORDER SECURITY AND ITS IMPACT ON CANADA-UNITED STATES TRADE AND INVESTMENT: A FOCUS ON THE QUEBEC-NORTHERN NEW YORK CORRIDOR

Prem Gandhi, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Economics,
Center for the Study of Canada,
State University of New York at Plattsburgh

Neal Duffy, Professor of Economics,
Department of Economics and Finance,
State University of New York at Plattsburgh

Abstract

The economic effects of supply disruption is studied from the perspective of trade between the U.S. and Canada. After 9/11, border security was significantly increased, resulting in both temporary and permanent (internalized) supply chain disruptions. Using the gravity model of McCallum (1995) we measure changes in the "border effect." The deterrent effect of the border is shown to have increased, decreased, and then increased, and trade is likely to have decreased by at least $20 billion. We also profile the northeastern U.S.-Canada region, examining in detail the economic and trade structure existing between Quebec, Ontario, and northern New York.

Résumé

L'effet économique de la rupture de l'approvisionnement est étudié du point de vue des échanges commerciaux entre les États-Unis et le Canada. Après les évènements du 11 Septembre (9/11), la sécurité des frontières a été considérablement renforcée, entraînant des perturbations temporaires et permanentes (internalisées) de la chaîne d'approvisionnement. En utilisant le modèle de gravité de McCallum (1995), nous mesurons les changements dans « l'effet frontière ». L'étude montre que l›effet dissuasif de la frontière a augmenté, diminué, puis augmenté, et les échanges commerciaux ont probablement diminué d'au moins 20 milliards de dollars. Nous présentons également le profil de la région du nord-est É.-U.-Canada, en examinant en détail la structure économique et commerciale existant entre le Québec, l'Ontario et le nord de l'état de New York.

Extra border security measures put into effect since September 2001 have been a major challenge to the free flow of goods and investment between the United States and its major trading partners. While the challenge to meet new security concerns is present to the U.S. from all four directions, the impact is most crucial to its northern neighbor and most important trade partner, Canada. The two countries have historically shared a long and undefended border, resulting in nearly a free flow of goods, services, people, and investments. The two economies are intertwined not only at the macro level of trade, but also at the micro level of production. Any amount of "thickening" at the border can thus be extremely detrimental to the economic integration of Canada and the United States.

International borders are not just a dividing line between two politically autonomous entities; they are economic barriers that have a cost over and above the cost of managing and manning the customs and immigration services necessary to smoothly move commercial traffic. Any interruption or slowdown to clear customs and immigration thus carries an economic cost beyond any tariffs or taxes imposed on such flows. That cost arises from the increased time required to deliver merchandise to a final destination, as well as from the time required for transporters to clear immigration. Measures imposed to further secure the borders add to that cost and are particularly worrisome for transnational companies that have developed networked supply chains and integrated production systems. Increased impediments to trade can also adversely affect those companies' investment decisions.

This paper is an attempt to measure these so-called "border effects" and to quantify the potential effects of additional security measures in the context of Canada-U.S. trade. We begin with an introduction to the northern New York region and an examination of the current state of Canada-U.S trade and investment. We then review the literature on the border effect and estimate its change in value since 9/11. After showing that there has been a significant increase in the border effect, we then introduce a model that enables us to quantify the potential loss of trade. Finally, we then reexamine in greater detail the nature and scope of investment and trade between Canada and the United States, focusing on the impact of the increased border effect and its relevance to the northern New York-Quebec region.

1. Northern New York

Northern New York can be described as a combination of micropolitan statistical areas and surrounding non-core areas[1]. It includes the seven counties of Clinton, Franklin, Jefferson, and St. Lawrence (micropolitan), and Essex, Hamilton, and Lewis (non-core), stretching

from the shores of Lake Champlain in the east to the St. Lawrence Seaway in the north and west. It is isolated from the rest of New York State due to the presence of the Adirondack mountain range in the central and southern areas, which partly cuts into the smooth flow of commerce between its eastern and western parts. Proximity to Canada is seen by the fact that Clinton and Franklin counties border Quebec, while St. Lawrence and Jefferson counties border Ontario.

Historically, the region has had an economic base of mining, forestry, agriculture and dairy, as well as a heavy reliance on tourism. Except for a few firms in the paper and pulp industry and one in aluminum production, the region historically attracted little investment from the rest of the U.S. because of its rather remote location. One large exception, the Alcoa aluminum plant in St. Lawrence County, was based here due to the proximity of mining resources, cheap hydro-electric power (1950s), and the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The region has also attracted a number of small- and medium-size companies, mostly from Quebec, that have provided a significant number of jobs in manufacturing. Quebec trade and investment are both integral to the economy of the region, so that prospective changes in trade relationships have the potential of causing significant economic dislocation on both sides of the border.

Prior to the establishment of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) and later with the launch of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), the region was anxious about its fate under a free-trade regime. The concern was that if Canada had established their operations in the region due to the existence of tariffs and restricted trade, CUSFTA might then make it unnecessary for Canadian firms to remain in northern New York. It was thought that in the absence of trade barriers, the firms could just as easily serve the U.S. market from locations in Quebec or Ontario. That situation did not, however, materialize and the question remained – what was attracting Canadians to invest in northern New York in the first place? We will return to this topic later in the paper, but the possibility of a re-thickening of the border has brought these issues back to the surface and has also increased the importance of measuring the possible effects of changes in border security.

2. Trade and Investment

Canada and the United States are two of the most integrated economies in the world. Seventy percent of the value of products traded between the two countries are intra-firm exchanges (The Conference Board of Canada, 2007a). They are not only each other's largest customer, they are also among each other's largest investors. Table 1 provides a

snapshot of this relationship, showing compiled data for both trade (imports and exports) and FDI (foreign direct investment). The table shows that over the last decade the U.S. market for Canadian goods has declined somewhat, from about 85% in 2001 to about 74% in 2011, while the import percentage from the U.S. has also declined from about 63% in 2001 to nearly 49% by 2011. From the perspective of the U.S., Canada remains the largest export market (18.9% in 2012), and our second largest source of imports (14.3% in 2012) after China. For both countries the absolute amount of bilateral trade has increased since 2001, while the percentage share of both their imports and exports has declined. More recently, total trade between the two nations increased 43 percent between 2009 and 2012, from US$400.1 billion to US$572.8. This occurred despite the fact that the two economies were still experiencing relatively slow economic growth over the period and that the U.S had not fully recovered from the financial collapse of 2008–2009.

Table 1.
Canada–U.S. Trade and Investment 2001–2011 (US$ in billions)*

	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011
Exports to U.S.	222.8	228.8	296.4	324.7	232.1	330.3
% of total exports	85.4	84.1	82.3	77.5	73.7	73.0
Imports from U.S.	138.4	142.9	174.7	202.3	161.1	220.8
% of total imports	62.5	59.6	55.6	53.4	50.4	48.9
Quebec export	38.0	37.2	46.4	47.3	34.4	43.0
Quebec imports	13.0	11.6	18.6	14.5	15.6	20.7
Ontario exports	118.9	120.9	144.2	154.1	102.0	142.2
Ontario imports	100.2	106.0	124.8	139.6	105.6	141.3
Canada's Direct Investment in U.S.	92.4	95.7	165.7	201.9	188.9	210.9
% of Canada's FDI	64.6	63.7	63.2	56.3	52.2	51.9
% of FDI in U.S.	6.9	6.9	10.1	10.1	9.1	8.3
U.S. Direct Investment in Canada	152.6	188.0	231.8	250.6	265.3	319.0
% of U.S. FDI	10.4	10.6	10.3	8.4	7.5	7.7
% of FDI in Canada	47.2	41.1	44.8	43.9	40.5	40.6

** Data sources are shown in the Appendix.*

All 50 states in the U.S. trade with Canada, which is the biggest market for 39 of those states. While bilateral trade has provided over 8 million jobs in the United States, of course not all states share equally in that benefit[2]. In 2009 the top 10 states accounted for about 38 percent of those jobs, and with the exception of Texas and California most of those were located in the Northeast and Midwest regions[3]. In Canada, both the sources and destinations for trade are highly concentrated in Ontario and Quebec. On average, Ontario accounts for 45 percent of Canada's exports to the U.S and 66 percent of its imports; meanwhile, in its trade with the U.S. Quebec accounts for 15.2 percent of Canada's exports and 10 percent of its imports.

Because of these spatial patterns of trade there is heavy congestion at 5 of the 147 border crossings located in the North and Northeast regions of the U.S. These are located at Sarnia-Port Huron; Windsor-Detroit; Niagara-Buffalo-Ft. Erie; Lacolle-Champlain and Massena-Cornwall. Sixty-eight percent of Canadian exports to the U.S. and 67 percent of its imports pass through just these 5 border crossings, each of which straddles the border at Ontario or Quebec (Mingus, 2002, 2003). This is a very important statistic since over 85 percent of all trade between Canada and the U.S. travels either by highways or railways. In recognition of existing bottlenecks, even before 9/11 the two countries established the Nexus and FAST programs in order to increase the efficiency of clearing customs and immigration.

Historically, investment and trade between Canada and the U.S. has been vast and deep in nature and in scope. Canada and the U.S. are among each other's largest investor. The United States is the largest foreign investor in Canada, with investment valued at US$319 billion in 2011, a share of 40.6 percent within Canada. In the same year Canada, with 1/10 the size of the U.S. economy, held US$210.9 billion of U.S. assets, a share of 8.3 percent, making it the 5th largest investor in the U.S. On a per capita basis, Canada, having about 1/10 the economic size of the U.S., invests in the U.S. about six times as much as the U.S. has in Canada[4].

U.S. direct investment in Canada has historically been in the range of 7–11% of America's total FDI. The bulk of that investment goes to Canada's manufacturing and non-bank holding companies, and to the finance and insurance sectors. On the other hand, Canadian direct investment in the U.S. was valued at US$211 billion in 2011, about 8.3% of all FDI in the U.S. Since 2001, Canadian investment in the U.S. has ranged between 51 to 65 percent of Canadian FDI, mostly in the areas of finance, insurance and manufacturing.

The U.S. has always viewed Canada as a neighbor that possesses almost unlimited natural resources, while Canada has looked upon

the U.S. as a huge potential market and a means to further increase production efficiencies. Despite the fact that Canadian policy makers from 1871 up to the recent past have attempted to keep U.S. imports and investment at bay, and have been suspicious of heavy U.S. capital inflows as contributing to a potential "hollowing of corporate Canada" (Arthurs, 2000), in an absolute (value) sense the two economies are more integrated today than at any time before.

Over time there have been, however, significant changes in bilateral investment patterns. In 1967 U.S. investment in Canada was 8 times larger than Canadian investment in the U.S. (Rugman, 1987). In 1990 that fell to 1.4 times, and by 2011 it stood at about 1.5. This has occurred despite the fact that merchandise trade between the two countries stood at an all time high of over US$550 billion in 2011. One can conclude that unlike in the past when trade and investment were considered alternatives, in a global economy they have today emerged as two sides of the same coin. Investment can replace trade in a tariff-ridden world, but they are increasingly being seen as complementary in an integrated world.

A majority of Canadian investment is held by its multinationals, which should not cloud the fact that northern New York has also benefitted enormously from a steady flow of small- and medium-size companies emanating from Quebec. It is this aspect of integration that became most at risk in the aftermath of 9/11 as many of those companies could not get the required components to feed into their production processes. This uncertainty and risk exposed the downside of a highly integrated North American market. The resulting delays and border confusion due to new security measures became an added economic barrier between the two trading partners.

3. The Border Effect and Congestion

International, as opposed to *intranational* borders, constitute an economic impediment. There is always a cost to move goods and people across international borders regardless of the degree of mutual integration. This has been referred to in the literature by a number of authors (cited below) as 'the border effect'. In general, it could be attributed to a combination of both natural and institutional factors. The natural factors are those that exist due to history, geography, culture, and language; institutional factors may include costs related to customs and immigration services, tariffs, and the cost of border congestion. In this study we assume that prior to 9/11 there already existed both natural and institutional factors and that each contributed to the existence of such a border effect between the U.S. and Canada.

We also hypothesize that additional security since then has created barriers that have added to the size of that border effect.

Immediately after the 9/11 attack, when all U.S. borders were closed to outside traffic, the problem of long delays at the border due to additional security came to the forefront. Such delays adversely affected the supply chain of cross-border businesses. Nowhere was the problem more acute than for auto companies having advanced, integrated production systems. The concern for adequate inventories of parts and other material resulted in their raising such supplies by as much as 5 percent to accomodate new levels of uncertainty (Ip, 2001; Kolber and Thachuk, 2002). Their cherished objective of "just in time" instead became "just in case" (Lockwood and Brinckerhoff 2004, The Conference Board of Canada 2007b).

One of the most obvious effects of additional security is an increased amount of border congestion. In the most definitive study of Canadian-U.S. border activity, Taylor and Jackson (2003, hereafter referred to as the Taylor Study) put the possible cost of extra congestion in the range of US$7.5–$13.2 billion. They further projected that cost to rise to $17.5–23.2 billion for transport services alone by 2030. Having observed that congestion was more serious at certain crossings (esp. Ambassador Bridge between Windsor and Detroit; between Sarnia and Port Huron; and between Niagara-Ft. Erie and Buffalo), various solutions were subsequently suggested (Wolfson, 2007). These ranged from a "Job Tunnel" (Belzer, 2003) to the reapportionment of trade flows to other less-congested crossings (Mingus, 2003). It was clear that heavily-trafficked crossings suffered from a lack of both physical and human infrastructure, a situation that demanded long-term solutions. In the meantime, companies engaging in cross-border commerce were (and are) faced with an array of additional costs.

Following 9/11, the Canadian-American Business Council (2004) summarized the various costs mentioned on next page (Table 2). Besides those cited, other estimates range from a low of $10.3 billion to a high of $151 billion per year (Bernasek, 2002; Taylor and Jackson, 2003). While the bulk of such increases were often due to logistical difficulties that arise throughout the supply chain, such estimates should not be considered comprehensive. Usually they do not include possible environmental damages due to idling of trucks at the border, related health costs, or the opportunity cost of the foregone cross-border investment and sourcing arising from the increased amount of border transit uncertainties.

What impact have the extra security measures since 2001 had on Canada-based companies in the northern New York region? Personal interviews were conducted in 2009 on a small cross-section of

Table 2. Quantifiable Costs of Border Delays (US$)*

Cost	Borne By	Because Of	Source
$3.17 to $4.23 per minute	Trucking Industry	Delays	Global Insight
$1.3 bil per year	Trucking Industry	Delays	Global Insight
$1.8 b to $3.9 bil per year	Trucking Industry	Delays and uncertainty	Taylor Study
$2.63 bil per year	Manufacturers	Delays and uncertainty	Taylor Study
$80,000 per hour	Auto Assembly Plants	Delays; parts shortages	Canada Department of International Trade
$450 mil per year (by 2020)	Tourist Industry	Delays and uncertainty	Border Transport Partnership

** Canadian-American Business Council (2004).*

companies located in the region (Gandhi and Glass, 2004). The sampled companies included a public-private development corporation, two customs brokers, one warehouse, and eight manufacturing firms. The interviews focused on two areas: the effect of the border on firm operations and decision-making, and the concern for the companies' future under conditions of uncertainty. The first area included the way companies have had to deal with tightened border security, and the strategies they have taken to overcome the various delays and costs. For the second area, the survey explored the firms' current operations and prospects for the future. Of special interest was whether companies had downsized, cut back, or expanded operations since 2001.

The most important factor identified was that increased border security had imparted additional costs, but it had not made a significant impact on cross-border operations because companies were prepared to do whatever was needed in order to continue operating. Firms essentially felt they had no choice. The border was "not going away" and therefore they each attempted to make the necessary adjustment to meet the regulations. One of those adjustments was a greater reliance on customs brokers; it became easier to rely on a professional broker's expertise than to do the same functions in-house. The net effect was that shipments and paperwork after 9/11 required more planning and better organization. For example, some information had to be sent electronically to the customs brokers 24 hours ahead of a carrier's arrival at the border. This had a subtle but not insubstantial

effect because unlike in the past, last minute orders could not as easily be filled.

It is worth noting also that the impact of border delays is felt more on the trucking industry than on competing transport such as railways, which undergo relatively minimal inspection (Gallagher, 2007). This has a significant effect on northern New York since most cross-border firms located in both regions prefer trucks over rail due to the relatively short distances involved. Any additional cost is typically shared between the company and the customers, a finding that has been well documented in earlier studies (the Conference Board of Canada, 2007a,b; Macpherson and McConnell, 2007). One silver cloud from the resulting border thickening has been an increase in the number of customs brokers located near the Lacolle-Champlain border crossing. In 2009 that number stood at 18, up from only 3 that were present 10-12 years before. Six of the new companies are from Canada, and all are new start-ups. Part of the increase in the number of brokers may be attributed to the expansion of trade, while some are likely to be a result of the complexity of newly-imposed security regulations and the uncertainty of future regulations.

4. Measurement of the Border Effect

In estimating the aforementioned border effect we follow McCallum (1995) who applied the original gravity model developed by Tinbergen (1962) to the case of interregional trade. The gravity model takes the following form:

$$(1)\ TRADE_{ij} = f(GDP_i, GDP_j, DISTANCE_{ij}, DUM)$$

in which trade shipments of goods from location i to j are a function of the GDPs of the two trading partners, and their intervening distance. It is expected that trade movements between any two entities are positively related to the economic strength of both places and inversely related to the distance between them. The (0,1) dummy variable (DUM) accounts for whether the shipment crosses an *international* or *intranational* border, with the value 1 assigned to cases of interprovincial trade. In the log form, the equation takes the following form:

$$(2)\ \log(TRADE_{ij}) = a + b_1 \log(GDP_i) + b_2 \log(GDP_j) + b_3 \log(DISTANCE_{ij}) + b_4 DUM$$

in which i and j cannot both be states.

In the case of Canada-U.S. trade, McCallum established the convention of using data on all 10 Canadian provinces but just 30 US states[5]. Because of data availability, measured trade is between

provinces, or provinces and states, but not between states. Our interest is in developing estimates of the value of the coefficient for the border dummy variable, b4. To find the value of the border effect the natural log base e = 2.791 is then raised to the b4 power. A greater positive value implies a stronger border effect, while a more seamless border would produce a lower value. Any economic impediment mentioned above – tariffs, congestion, custom or immigration regulations, or extra security measures – would be expected to contribute to a higher value of the border coefficient.

The initial model of McCallum used 1988 data, prior to the first free trade agreement. As seen in Table 3, his border effect attained a value of 23.6, meaning that after accounting for economic size and distance Canadian *interprovincial* trade could be expected to be approximately 23.6 times the level of *international* trade. Helliwell (2002) next found that McCallum's border effect declined to a value of 12.0 in 1996; he also measured the border effect for the service sector as increasing from 29 to a value of 42 between 1988 and 1996. This suggested that as trade legislation caused trade in goods to become less restricted, the border effect became less important, except possibly for the service sector. For the intervening year of 1993 Anderson and Wincoop (2003) found that the border effect (16.4) was midway between the values for 1988 and 1996.

Table 3. Estimates of the Border Effect, 1988–2009

Data	ß1	ß2	ß3	ß4	Border effect	Source
1988	1.24	1.09	-1.46	3.16	23.6	McCallum
1993	–	–	–	–	16.4	Anderson and van Wincoop
1996	–	–	–	–	12	Helliwell
2003	1.07	1.54	-1.41	3.72	41.3	Gandhi and Duffy
2005	1.05	1.48	-1.34	3.35	28.5	Gandhi and Duffy
2007	1.06	1.64	-1.49	3.54	37.3	Gandhi and Duffy
2009	0.97	1.61	-1.55	3.74	42.1	Gandhi and Duffy

Table 3 summarizes these earlier results and presents our gravity model estimates for the years 2003, 2005, 2007, and 2009[6]. We find that after 9/11 there was a substantial increase in the border effect. By 2005 the border effect declined somewhat, yet was still above its value prior to trade liberalization. For the most recent year for which data is available, 2009, we see a rather large increase compared to both 1996 and even the more recent 2005 values. One may speculate whether these fluctuation were due to short-term changes in the exchange rate (with the increasing value of the Canadian dollar versus the U.S.

dollar), or partially a result of the economic downturn of 2008–2009. Another possibility is that the massive growth of the energy sector in Alberta may have caused a variety of structural economic shifts favorable to domestic trade and development. Whatever the reasons, it appears that the border is just as much, if not more, of a deterrent to trade as it was before the trade agreements.

5. Estimation of the Effects of Extra Border Security Measures

Having determined that the international border does still in fact impede Canadian-American trade, and that recent additional security measures seem to have raised transportation and transaction costs, our next concern is to quantify those effects. One way of looking at extra border security is to consider that it has an effect similar to a tariff. Measures to secure the border further are tantamount to the reversal of free trade that the two countries have enjoyed since 1989. Delays at the border imply a loss of time for a shipper to deliver goods to a final destination. The wait time at the border is a dead period that any shipper must account for in their cost estimate, in essence a premium or tariff added on to cross-border freight. The longer the wait time, the higher would be that premium, making trade that much more expensive.

We will proceed in our estimation by considering the time lost at the border to be essentially equivalent to an additional distance a shipper must cover to reach a destination. For example, the distance between Montreal, QC and Plattsburgh, NY is 65 miles. In a borderless world, a trucker driving at 65 miles an hour would reach the destination in one hour. If it normally takes the trucker a half hour to clear customs and immigration, that translates into at least an additional 32.5 miles that would have to be factored into any cost estimate. Any additional wait of a half hour due to extra security would bring the total to the equivalent of 65 miles for the trucker to make up in cost estimates. Thus an actual transportation time of one hour could easily become equivalent to about a two-hour drive, significantly raising the cost to ship across the border.

Such costs can include, for example, the wait time at secondary inspection yards while completing customs paperwork and undergoing random inspections. The Taylor study notes that 10.4 percent of all trucks entering the U.S. must enter secondary inspection yards to visit brokers or to clear paperwork with customs staff. One percent of vehicles are actually physically inspected with some contents removed, and such inspections can take anywhere from 45 to 105 minutes. For the period May 1 to August 30, 2002 the Taylor study found that the average wait time for truckers entering the U.S. ranged from a low of

11.7 minutes to a high of 28.3 minutes. On the other hand, archival data from Canada Customs for entry to Canada showed the delay at 9 p.m. ranged from a low of 21.4 minutes to a high of 40.6 minutes; at various other times the delay was 60 to 120 minutes.

Our concern is not in explaining long-run changes in trade values, but in merely determining the "potential" impacts of extra border security measures. The formulation of our model is based on the general assumption that trade is directly related to the economic size of two regions, and negatively related to distance. Since there was no clear evidence for a specific increase in time associated with border delays, we integrate a wide range of values for additional distance – from a low of 35 miles to a high of 500 miles, along with two intermediate values of 100 and 250 miles.

The model itself incorporates potential demand (GDP of importing region), potential supply (GDP of exporting region), and distance. However, it differs from the McCallum formulation in two ways: (1) Since all trade is international (no interprovincial or interstate trade) we do not require a border dummy, and (2) we directly include distance in each of the market potential variables. There are two dependent variables: Canada-to-state imports and Canada-state total trade (exports plus imports), explained by the same set of independent variables. Each of the 5 independent variables takes the general form P = GDP / $(D)^{exp}$, in which distance, D, is raised to the 'exp' power:

$P_{i1} = GDP_i/(D_{i1})^{.5}$; where D_{i1} = Distance of state capital to state's major city

P_{i2} = Ontario GDP/$(D_{i2})^{.5}$; where D_{i2} = Distance of state capital to Toronto

P_{i3} = Quebec GDP/$(D_{i3})^{.5}$; where D_{i3} = Distance of state capital to Quebec City

P_{i4} = (Canadian GDP - [Ontario + Quebec GDP])/$(D_{i4})^{.5}$; where D_{i4} = Distance of state capital to Regina, SK

$P_{i5} = (U.S.\ GDP - GDP_i)/(D_{i5})^{.5}$; where D_{i5} = Distance of state capital to St. Louis

These variables account for both demand and supply conditions. In particular, we posit that trade and imports are each dependent upon P_1, which accounts for the state's own GDP; P_2, P_3, P_4 account for the potential effect of the state's proximity to both Canada and its two most important economic regions; and P_5 accounts for the effect the rest of the U.S. may have on state trade. Note that the distance exponent of .5 reflects the notion that the deterrent effect of greater distance is likely to be non-linear. This has the effect of mitigating the impact of longer distance since loading and unloading are the major fixed costs for any trip, while the actual travel imparts a variable cost dependent only on distance. The final model is then:

(3) $TRADE_i$ (or $IMPORTS_i$) = $\beta_0 + \Sigma \beta_j P_{ij}$, where j = 1 to 5 and i = 1 to 49.

For each dependent variable there are 49 state observations (Hawaii is excluded) and five independent variables. Our expectation is that each of the β's will be both significant and positive since larger values of the P_{ij} are reflective of either greater GDP or shorter distance, each of which is favorable to trade, whether it is acting as a supply or demand factor. This therefore requires a one-tail hypothesis test for each slope coefficient in which the alternative hypothesis is H_A: $B_j>0$. After obtaining the estimates for each of the β's we then factor in additional border security costs by adding distances of k to the denominators of variables P_2, P_3, and P_4, replacing D in each case with (D + k) in the estimated model. Each of the 49 states will then have a new predicted value for trade or imports that incorporates the effect of greater distance. The sum of those predicted values is then compared to the actual value of trade or imports to determine the impact of extra border security.

The results for both dependent variables for each of the five years are as follows:

Table 4. Potential Model Estimates, 2003–2011*

Trade	
2003: -23.6 + .31^A P1 + 1.7^A P2 - .88 P3 + .55^C P4 + .008 P5	R^2 = .55
2005: -23.9 + .38^A P1 + 1.3^A P2 - 1.1 P3 + .77^C P4 + .007 P5	R^2 = .57
2007: -27.2 + .39^A P1 + 1.1^A P2 - .94 P3 + .66^C P4 + .008 P5	R^2 = .59
2009: -18.9 + .29^A P1 + .54^B P2 - .36 P3 + .52^B P4 + .009^B P5	R^2 = .65
2011: -29.7 + .37^A P1 + .72^B P2 - .49 P3 + .60^B P4 + .013^B P5	R^2 = .60
Imports	
2003: -16.7 + .20^A P1 + 1.1^A P2 - .48 P3 + .44^C P4 + .003 P5	R^2 = .51
2005: -16.9 + .25^A P1 + .82^B P2 - .55 P3 + .62^C P4 + .003 P5	R^2 = .51
2007: -18.9 + .25^A P1 + .66^B P2 - .46 P3 + .50^B P4 + .004 P5	R^2 = .54
2009: -12.7 + .19^A P1 + .27^C P2 - .09 P3 + .37^B P4 + .006^B P5	R^2 = .59
2011: -21.0 + .23^A P1 + .42^B P2 - .17 P3 + .45^B P4 + .008^B P5	R^2 = .53

* p-values shown for one-tail test of alternative hypothesis H_1: $B_j>0$, where A=.01, B=.05, C=.10

Following the procedure outlined above, Tables 5 and 6 show the effect of adding distance values of 35, 100, 250, and 500 miles. For example, in 2011 just an additional 35 mile delay reduces the values of imports and total trade by $9.4 billion (2.8%) and $20.4 billion (3.7%), respectively. A 100-mile delay reduces imports by $36.0 billion (10.9%) and total trade by $57.6 billion (10.5%).

Table 5.
The Predicted Effect of Border Delay on Imports (US$ in billions)

Additional Distance Assumed					
Year	**Actual Imports**	**35 mi**	**100mi**	**250mi**	**500mi**
2003	$228.8	217.9	193.2	145.9	86.5
2005	296.4	290.4	264.1	213.7	150.6
2007	324.7	302.4	275.0	222.3	156.1
2009	232.1	230.2	215.2	186.2	149.4
2011	330.3	320.9	294.3	243.2	178.8

Table 6.
The Predicted Effect of Border Delay on Total Trade (US$ in billions)

Additional Distance Assumed					
Year	**Actual Trade**	**35 mi**	**100mi**	**250mi**	**500mi**
2003	$371.7	$344.0	$310.3	$245.6	$164.6
2005	471.1	458.3	422.0	352.3	265.2
2007	527.0	496.5	457.2	381.8	287.2
2009	393.2	376.3	353.3	309.1	253.3
2011	551.1	530.7	493.5	421.9	331.7

To conclude, we find that extra security measures appear to have the potential of imposing very substantial additional costs over and above the "natural" border effect and the regular costs associated with it. For even a relatively modest extra delay of 35 minutes, the potential impact on total trade appears to be quite substantial. Policymakers should consider the marginal benefits of preventing terrorism, and weigh those against the marginal economic cost of lost trade value before implementing further security measures.

6. Trade and Investment in Northern New York and Quebec

Why do companies (countries) invest abroad, and more importantly why do they locate in a particular region such as northern New York? As previously mentioned, tariffs and resource availability had traditionally been considered important reasons for firms to invest abroad when they wished to service a given market. Why should General Motors produce in Detroit and ship automobiles to Ontario and pay extra freight and tariff duties, when it can cross over the border at Windsor and produce in Ontario (Canada) to service the Canadian market? In addition, the rising prevalence of multinational companies in the second half of the last century expanded the number of factors

that led to greater investment abroad. These ranged from following the industry leader, gaining a foothold in a growing potential market, securing the growth of the company and protecting shareholder value, to overcoming hurdles from labor unions, environmental regulations, and prohibitive tax rates (The Development Corporation, 2009).

U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis data shows that most of Canada's investment in the U.S. goes into finance, insurance, and manufacturing, particularly in primary and fabricated metals, chemicals, transportation equipment industries, and more recently in electric power generation and distribution. Bilateral trade in goods between Canada and New York State stood at US$34.6 billion in 2012, with Quebec's share nearly $8 billion (see Appendix for trade and investment sources). The state of New York is in fact Quebec's largest export market. A significant number of Canadian small- and medium-size companies are concentrated mainly in northern New York and the Buffalo-Niagara Falls region. Both of these regions are well integrated with the adjoining Canadian provinces: northern New York mostly with Quebec (the Quebec City-Montreal-Ottawa corridor) and western New York with Southern Ontario (the Toronto-Hamilton corridor). The proximity of New York State to the economic and industrial heartland of Canada stretching from Quebec City to Toronto is a locational advantage enjoyed by no other state in the U.S.

Why are Canadian companies attracted to this region, and what do we know about such investment? Periodic surveys on the nature and scope of Canadian investments in the region have been conducted at SUNY-Plattsburgh since the early 1970s and they reveal a number of interesting facts[7]. In Clinton county alone there were 100 companies in 2008 that owed their origin to Canada (Quebec alone accounted for 60 percent, followed by Ontario at 30 percent); this was an increase from only 28 in the mid-70s and 56 in 1989. Two-thirds of these Canada-based companies manufacture and assemble products such as transportation vehicles, chemicals, paper products, plastics, pharmaceuticals, crystals and chandeliers, and toiletries. In general, their presence in the U.S. is attributed to two main considerations: access to a huge market in the U.S., and ability to more easily service their customers in the U.S. Other factors include: (1) proximity to their Canadian operations, (2) an excellent transportation network (the interstate highways), and (3) the availability of a trainable labor force. Interestingly, neither the exchange rate nor tariffs and duties emerged as important considerations; nor was the border a factor.

Comparing the latest list of companies in the northern New York region in 2008 with the list from 2005, it was determined that at least 17 companies listed in 2005 had left the area while at least nine new

companies had entered the region (The Development Corporation, 2009). A few of the firms from 2005 were under new management and had changed names. Most of the companies that had left the area were small, involved in storage and warehousing, and employed fewer than 10 employees. There were also a number of companies that were present in 2009 which were also present in the 1970s. Many of the firms, though starting small, have grown into medium-size companies employing between 125–350 people. Their reasons for entering the U.S. market via northern New York continue to be those listed above. Most have maintained operations both in northern New York and in Quebec. In many instances back office activities such as accounting, invoicing, payments to suppliers, payroll, R & D, MIS, purchasing, and hiring of top executives are performed at headquarters in Quebec. Offshoot locations maintain offices to hire local workers, including both staff and supervisory personnel.

Surveys have been conducted in northern New York at the time of CUSFTA, the launching of NAFTA, and since border security became an issue (Gandhi, 1990; Gandhi and Glass, 2004). There was obviously a great deal of panic created in 2001 when the border between Canada and the U.S. was briefly closed. This most acutely affected the Lacolle-Champlain customs station, which is the third most important trade crossing between Canada and the U.S. (6 percent of trade). One third of Canada's exports contain imported components from the U.S that require further processing, and which are then transported back and forth (sometimes 3 or 4 times) before ending in a finished export product, either to one of the partner countries or exported to a third country (Goldfarb, 2007). As a result, uncertainty about border delay may have a correspondingly greater effect on corporate decisions concerning investment or disinvestment.

What impact have the extra security measures since 2001 had on Canada-based companies in the northern New York region? Personal interviews were conducted in 2009 on a small cross-section of companies that included a development corporation responsible for attracting business to the region, two customs brokers, one warehouse, and eight manufacturing firms (Gandhi, Glass, and Corporon, 2009). The focus was on (1) the general effect of the border on firm operations and decision-making, and (2) the companies' future under conditions of uncertainty. The most important factor identified in these interviews was that border security had not made a significant impact on the firms' cross-border operations. The border was an 'irritant' but they had each taken the thickening of the border in stride since they felt they had no choice. Necessary adjustments were made to meet the regulations, including the wider usage of customs brokers.

What about the companies' expectations about the future? The primary factors that will continue to commit the Canada-based companies to the region were found to be: (1) access to excellent highways and an efficient border crossing facility; (2) availability of physical facilities, e.g., industrial parks, warehouses, real estate, etc.; (3) availability of a skilled, trainable, and dedicated labor force; (4) communities' welcoming attitude towards businesses; and (5) the recent increased certainty and stability of the exchange rate. Of these factors, the two most mentioned were the excellent highways between Quebec and Northern New York and the recent modernization of the border facility at Champlain. For Canadian companies in particular, highways are important not only for making cross-border shipping smooth and less costly, but also for facilitating the commuting of key personnel between headquarter operations in Quebec and their offshoots in this region.

The concern for the stability of exchange rates has frequently been noted in the literature. Earlier studies had revealed that although the impact of any given exchange rate on real investment may be relatively small, the more important factor was the uncertainty that arises from its variability. Any given rate can affect parent company deliberations over the relative concentration of labor and capital, for example. And even after an initial investment is begun, further fluctuations can tangibly affect the preference to shift activities between locations.

7. Conclusion

The worst of the 2001–2002 era of border insecurity and its impact on cross-border business appears now to be over. Businesses have made the appropriate adjustment to additional security measures to secure their supply chain. Any additional cost of meeting new regulations has been partially internalized and the balance has presumably been passed on to transport companies and consumers. But the threat of border insecurity has not abated. Perhaps this is why it was reported in 2008 that "the [border customs] offices complained that crossing fees, long security inspections and wait times are steadily rising." (Pacific Shipper, 2008)

The uncertainty of future regulations is always present in international business. Correspondingly, for policy makers it is imperative to undertake measures to ensure a less intrusive border, since any further thickening would hurt international trade and investment. Moreover, as the economies in Canada and the U.S. come out of the current recession, increased economic activity will only serve to make border crossings even more congested. Any cuts in public funds to modernize the crossings at this time would be detrimental

to cross-border businesses, especially to small and medium-sized firms which have a larger role to play within border communities such as Quebec-northern New York.

APPENDIX

Data sources

GDP: (1) Statistics Canada/ CANSIM, Table 384-0037; (2) U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, "GDP by State," June 6, 2013, Table 4; (3) 2012 U.S. Statistical Abstract, Table 672.

Trade: (1) Industry Canada/Trade Data Online, Search by Product (HS Code); (2) U.S. Bureau of the Census, Table 1307, U.S. Exports, Imports, and Trade Balance by Country; (3) Statistics Canada/ CANSIM, Table 386-0002, Annual.

Distance: (1) Geobytes.com/citydistance.htm; (2) Canada Road Map by MapArt.

Investment: (1) U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Direct Investment Position Abroad on a Historical-Cost Basis: Country Detail by Industry; (2) Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada *www.international.gc.ca* Foreign Direct Investment Statistics.

Exchange Rates: (1) Bank of Canada: *www.bankofcanada.ca/stats/exchange-avg_pdf*.

ENDNOTES

1 Micropolitan and non-core counties are designated as such by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget. Micropolitan counties have a population of at least 50,000 with one population center of 10,000. Non-core counties lack a population center of at least 10,000.

2 Employment estimate is found at Connect2Canada.com: Trade & Security Partnership Map, Embassy of Canada (April, 2010).

3 The top ten states are California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Vermont.

4 Both the population and the GDP of Canada have historically been about 10–11 percent of the U.S.'s. The statistic was calculated by finding A/B, where A = (Canada FDI in U.S./ Canada population) and B = (U.S. FDI in Canada / U.S. population). Since 2001 this ratio has ranged from 4.7 to 7.3 and for 2011 the value stood at 6.2.

5 The thirty states are Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North

Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin.

6 Note that 2009 is the most recent date of availability for interprovincial trade data.

7 Unpublished surveys conducted by Prem Gandhi of the Center for the Study of Canada, State University of New York College at Plattsburgh, Plattsburgh, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, J.E., and E.V. Wincoop (2003). Gravity with Gravitas: A Solution to the Border Puzzle. American Economic Review 93, no.1: 170–192.

Armstrong, T. (2008) Canadian Companies Slipping Through Our Fingers. *http://www.reportonbusiness.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20080721.wagendaarmstrong0721/BNStory/Bu*

Arthurs, H.W. (2000) The Hollowing Out of Corporate Canada? Canadian Institute for Advanced Research.

Belzer, M.H. (2003). The Job Tunnel: The Economic Impact of Adequate Border-Crossing Infrastructure. Report produced for: The Jobs Tunnel: Detroit River Tunnel Partnership. 02 November 2003.

Bernasek, A. (2002). The Friction Economy: American Business Just Got the Bill for the Terrorist Attacks: $151 Billion – a Year. New York: Fortune 145, no.4: 104.

Blakely-Armitage, Robin, S. Sanders, J. Francis, and J. Vink. (2011). Upstate New York in Profile: Trends, Projections, and Community & Economic Development Issues. CARDI, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Burt, M. (2007). Tighter Border Security and Its Effects on Canadian Exports. The Conference Board of Canada.

Canadian-American Business Council (2004). The Shared Border: Needed Infrastructure Investment Requires Guiding Bilateral Authority (unpublished).

Downs A. (2004). Commentry, Globalization and Well-Being: The Border Effect, the Role of the Nation-State, and Canada-US Economic Relations, by John Helliwell. (UBC Press, 2002). Policy Research Institute. Horizons 7, no.1, June.

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (2012). Canada's State of Trade: Trade and Investment Update 2012. *http://www.international.gc.ca/economist-economiste/performance/state-point/state_2012_point/ST_2012_ToC_aspx?lan+eng&view=d.*

Gallagher, J. (2007). Border Blues: Security Regulations Pose Challenges for Truckers Serving U.S. Canada Trade. Shipping Digest, 12 March.

Gandhi, P. (1990). The FreeTrade Agreement and Canadian Investment in Northern New York. Canadian Journal of Regional Science XIII, no.2/3, Summer-Autumn.

_____, and W.R. Glass (2004). Canadian Investments in the United States: A Regional Perspective. North American Economic and Financial Integration. Editor, Alan M. Rugman. Research in Global Strategic Management 10.

_____, W. Glass, and M. Corporon (2009). Canadian Manufacturing Plant Closing Study. Unpublished Final Report Prepared for the Canadian Embassy, Contract No. 7182433, 29 March.

Goldfarb, D. (2007). Reaching a Tipping Point: Effects of Post 9/11Border Security on Canada's Trade and Investment. Report, International trade and Investment Centre, Conference Board of Canada, June 2007.

_____, and D. Chu (2008). Stuck in Neutral: Canada's Engagement in Regional and Global Supply Chains. The Conference Board of Canada, May 2008.

Helliwell, J. (2002). Globalization and Well-Being. UBC Press.

Ip, G. (2001). Companies are Seeing Efficiencies Erode as Security Worries Drag on Productivity. The Wall Street Journal, 24 October.

Kolber, L. and D. Thachuk (2002). Our Shared Border: Facilitating the Movement of Goods and People in a Security Environment. The Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce.

Lockwood, S., and P. Brinckerhoff (2002). From 'Just in Time' to 'Just in Case': Long-term Impacts of Increased Transportation Security. James L. Oberstar Forum on Transportation Policy and Technology, University of Minnesota, Center for Transportation Studies.

MacPherson, A.D.,and J.E. McConnell (2007). A Survey of Cross-border Trade at a Time of Heightened Security: the Case of the Niagara Bi-national Region. American Review of Canadian Studies 37, no.3, 22 September 2007.

McCallum, J. (1995). National Borders Matter: Canada-U.S. Regional Trade Patterns. American Economic Review 85, no.3: 615–623.

Mingus, M.S. (2003). U.S.-Canada Trade Concentration: Bridges at Risk = Factories at Risk. Canadian American Research Symposium (CARS), Niagara Falls, Ontario, 26 April.

_____ (2002). Trade Concentration and Homeland Security on the Canada-United States Border. Journal of Borderlands Studies 17, no.2: 21–34.

Pacific Shipper (2008). Report Hits Delays on U.S.-Canada Border, 03 March 2008.

Rugman, A.M. (1987). Outward Bound: Canadian Direct Investment in the United States. Canadian-American Committee. C. D. Howe Institute (Canada), National Planning Association (U.S.A.), June 1987.

Taylor, J.C., and G.C. Jackson (2003). The U.S.-Canada Border: Cost Impacts, Causes, and Short to Long Term Management Options. Taylor Study – U.S./Canada Border Transportation Planning. U.S. Department of Transportation, Michigan Department of Transportation, and New York State Department of Transportation.

The Conference Board of Canada. (2007a). Tighter Border Security and Its Effect on Canadian Exports. Report, June 2007.

_____ (2007b). Is Just-In-Case Replacing Just-In-Time? How Cross-Border Trading Behavior Has Changed Since 9/11. Briefing, June 2007.

The Development Corporation (2009). Clinton County Industrial Directory 2005 and 2008. Accessed January 2009. *www.thedevelopmentcorporation.com*.

Tinbergen, J. (1962). Shaping the World Economy-Suggestions for an International Economic Policy. New York: Twentieth Century Fund.

Wolfson, M. (2007). Border Delays Lamented: Windsor-Detroit Crossing Compared to Military Checkpoint. Windsor Star, 25 October.

Notes on contributors / Biobibliographies

Caroline Beaudoin is a doctoral student and part-time faculty member at Concordia University's Department of Art History. Her current research interests include landscape issues and theories, social history, and cultural studies. She is the recipient of a Canadian SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship and a Quebec Bourse de doctorat en recherche from the FRSCQ.

Anthony Di Mascio is assistant professor in the School of Education at Bishop's University. His current major project, funded by the Fonds de recherche du Québec – Société et culture, involves an examination of cross-border education in the Eastern Townships and Northern Vermont during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Neal Duffy is professor at SUNY Plattsburgh and a member of the Department of Economics and Finance since 1982. He earned his PhD at West Virginia University (1983) and his BA at Rutgers University (1977). His primary research interest is the regional growth of manufacturing.

Prem Gandhi, PhD (1973), is SUNY Distinguished Professor and the past dean of the School of Business and Economics at Plattsburgh. A founding member of the Canadian Studies Program, he has been a recipient of several faculty development programs and has made presentations on U.S. and Canada at several universities in North and South America and in India. His teaching, research and publications have focused on Canada-U.S. Trade and Investment. His current interest is on the impact of security measures on Canadian-U.S. economic interactions.

Christopher Kirkey is Director of the Center for the Study of Canada at State University of New York College at Plattsburgh where he holds a concurrent position as full professor of political science. He also holds an appointment as Adjunct Associate Professor at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, and formerly served as Associate Professor of Political Science and Canadian Studies at Bridgewater State College. He holds a B.A. Honours and Master of Arts (Queen's University), a Ph.D. in Politics from Brandeis University, serves on the editorial boards of Canadian Foreign Policy and the American Review of Canadian Studies, and served as Mine Action Scholar-in-Residence at the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Cheryl Gosselin, Ph.D., is associate professor in the Sociology Department at Bishop's University where she has been teaching for the past 22 years. She is very active in the English-speaking communities of Quebec, especially the Eastern Townships region, through her research and participation in community organizations. She has presented papers on English-speaking women and employment at conferences and she helped organize three conferences on the ESCQ at the annual Congrès de l'Association canadienne francophonie pour le savoir (Acfas) along with Lorraine O'Donnell from the Quebec English-speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN). She has been working with Amanda Pichette for the last three years on the Institutional Vitality Research Project (IVRP) and presented with her at the 2012 Congrès de l'Acfas. She is president of the Eastern Townships' Resource Centre and serves on the governing boards of Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) and Townshippers' Association.

Amanda Pichette received her MA in Educational Studies from Concordia University. She is currently teaching in the Sociology Department at Bishop's University. Her research focuses on identity and belonging within Quebec society among majority/minority populations. The Institutional Vitality Research Project (IVRP) is an on-going research initiative supported in part by the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) that examines the vitality of the English-speaking communities in Quebec. She has been working with Cheryl Gosselin for the last three years on the IVRP and presented with her at the 2012 Congrès de l'Acfas and the Bishop's colloquium in March 2013.

Jody Robinson, a native of the Eastern Townships, obtained her Bachelor of Arts in History from Bishop's University. She went on to pursue Master's studies in History at the Université de Sherbrooke and graduated in 2012 after completion of her thesis, titled "'The loveliest lake in the New Dominion': Montreal villégiateurs on Lake Memphremagog, 1860–1914." Jody has been the archivist at the Eastern Townships Resource Centre since 2006.

Alex Tremblay a obtenu sa maîtrise en histoire de l'Université Laval. Détenteur d'une bourse Vanier, il complète présentement un doctorat en histoire dans la même institution sous la direction de Donald Fyson. Ses recherches portent sur les relations entre les anglophones et les francophones au sein des élites québécoises au XIX^{e} siècle.

Journal of Eastern Townships Studies (JETS)
Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est (RECE)

Subscription rate / Abonnement

1 year/1 an	☐ Individuals/Individus	$30	_____
(2 issues/2 numéros)	☐ Institutions	$50	_____
	☐ Supporting/De soutien*	$60	_____
	☐ Individuals (USA & Int.)	$40	_____
	☐ Institutions (USA & Int.)	$60	_____
3 years/3 ans	☐ Individuals/Individus	$80	_____
(6 issues/6 numéros)	☐ Institutions	$140	_____
	☐ Supporting/De soutien*	$130	_____
	☐ Individuals (USA & Int.)	$100	_____
	☐ Institutions (USA & Int.)	$150	_____

Single issues/Exemplaires vendus à l'unité :

☐ JETS/RECE no._____	$17	_____
☐ USA/International	$20	_____
Total		_____

Date :_____

Name/Nom :_____

Address/Adresse :_____

_____

Province :_____

Postal Code/Code postal : _____

Telephone/Téléphone :_____

Please make cheques payable to **Bishop's University / ETRC** and mail to: ETRC, Bishop's University, 2600 College St., Sherbrooke, Quebec, J1M 1Z7.

Veuillez poster un chèque au nom de **Université Bishop's / CRCE** à l'adresse suivante : CRCE, Université Bishop's, 2600 rue College, Sherbrooke (Québec) J1M 1Z7.

* Including a donation of $30 (1 year) / $50 (3 years) to the ETRC for which a tax receipt will be issued.
* Comprenant un don de 30 $ (1 an) / 50 $ (3 ans) au CRCE pour lequel est émis un reçu pour fins d'impôts.

Those wishing to subscribe to JETS can obtain information from:

Eastern Townships Resource Centre
Bishop's University
2600 College St.
Sherbrooke, QC
J1M 1Z7

Tel: 819-822-9600, ext. 2647
Fax: 819-822-9661
E-mail: etrc@ubishops.ca
Website: www.etrc.ca/knowledge-transfer/jets.html

Ceux et celles qui désirent s'abonner à la RECE peuvent se renseigner en s'adressant au :

Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est
Université Bishop's
2600, rue College
Sherbrooke (QC)
J1M 1Z7

Téléphone : 819 822-9600, poste 2647
Télécopieur : 819 822-9661
Courriel : etrc@ubishops.ca
Site web : www.etrc.ca/fr/transfert-de-connaissances/rece.html

Publication of this journal is made possible by support to the Eastern Townships Resource Centre from the ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine du Québec, Bishop's University, and Bishop's University Foundation.

La publication de cette revue est rendue possible grâce à l'appui du ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine du Québec, de l'Université Bishop's et de la Fondation de l'Université Bishop's au Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est.

EASTERN TOWNSHIPS
resource centre
ETRC • CRCE
centre de ressources pour l'étude des
CANTONS-DE-L'EST

ISSN 1192-7062