

Public Policy and Private Interest in the Lumber Industry of the Eastern Townships: the Case of C.S. Clark and Company, 1854-1881

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During the early 1850s the American C.S. Clark joined forces with Compton County politician-cum-entrepreneur, John Henry Pope to acquire nearly all the crown timber berths in the Upper St. Francis drainage basin. The result was years of conflict with the local French Canadians whose livelihood depended upon ready access to the forest resources. While government on the one hand actively promoted the colonization movement, on the other it failed to restrain the C.S. Clark Company even though it provided only minimal revenues to the public treasury. The explanation lies in the 19th century perception of the forest as a temporary obstacle to agricultural expansion, and in the political influence of Pope and his fellow timber monopolists.

Au début des années 1850, l'Américain C.S. Clark unit ses forces avec celles de John Henry Pope, politicien-entrepreneur du comté de Compton, pour acquérir la plupart du bois de la couronne du bassin de drainage supérieur du St-François. Il en résulta des années de conflits avec les Canadiens français des environs dont le gagne-pain dépendait de l'accès aux ressources de la forêt. Tandis que le gouvernement d'une main, encourageait le mouvement de colonisation, de l'autre, il négligeait de restreindre la compagnie C.S. Clark bien que celle-ci fournît de faibles revenus au trésor public. Les explications : la perception de la forêt au XIX^e siècle comme étant temporairement un obstacle à l'expansion de l'agriculture, et l'influence politique de Pope et de ses collaborateurs monopolisateurs du bois.

INTRODUCTION

The development of forest policy in Lower Canada and Quebec is well known in its essential outline. Perhaps the most striking feature is that in contrast to the United States, most timber lands in British North America were not alienated into private hands.¹ The result was that the state played an active role in the administration of the forest resources, if only because it became so reliant on the revenues generated. The official aim was to ensure a high annual level of timber exploitation by encouraging large, well-capitalized enterprises while resisting the inevitable tendency towards monopoly control. As of 1842 government

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1. For a discussion of the reasons see H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development. Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941*. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada [1973]), chapter 1.

regulation stipulated a minimum annual harvest on a maximum lease area, but the state rescinded much of its control seven years later when it sanctioned the principle of lease renewals and transferrals to third parties.²

Observers have long suspected that the regulatory balance was tipped so radically towards monopolistic control that the public treasury suffered. The stronger the timber barons' position became, the more pressure they could bring to bear on politicians, not only as legislators, but as interpreters and enforcers of that legislation. But historians have not produced the case studies which would allow them to examine in detail the ongoing relationship between State and Capital within the context of the lumber industry. Only at the level of the individual enterprise can one observe in concrete terms the conflicting forces to which governments were subject, and begin to analyze their responses in terms of benefits and costs to the public interest.

Hints of the pressures brought to bear on government can be found in the printed reports of the commissioners of crown lands,³ but one must turn to the unpublished correspondence of the Crown Lands Office in order to follow the intricacies of the long-term relationship between particular companies and successive administrations. These records are not the place to find direct references to behind-the-scenes political deals, but they do help to explain how C.S. Clark and Company could hold a monopoly position for so many years in such a heavily settled, marginal timber-producing region as the Eastern Townships.

I — THE RISE AND FALL OF A LUMBER MONOPOLY

Famous for its forests of sugar maples, the Eastern Townships was never an important centre for the square timber trade to Liverpool. The region did hold enough white pine⁴ and black spruce, however, to make it a pioneering centre for the sawn lumber trade to the United States. American demand was only beginning to develop in the early 1830s, but by 1838 timber operators were petitioning for licenses to cut spruce and pine saw logs near the source of the Becancour River, in Ireland and Coleraine Townships.⁵ The neighbouring headwaters of the St. Francis were controlled by the British American Land Company but its large Sherbrooke sawmill was located on the Magog River and it exploited the timber lands to the south, drained by Lake Memphremagog.⁶ By the time the govern-

2. René Hardy and Normand Séguin, *Forêt et société en Mauricie. La formation de la région de Trois-Rivières. 1830-1930*. (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984), pp. 18-20.

3. See, for example, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* [hereafter JLAC], 1857, Appendix no. 25, Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands [hereafter CCL]; 1863, Appendix no. 8.

4. In the early nineteenth century pine in Barford Township supposedly girthed fifteen feet. A.R.M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest. A History of the Lumber Trade Between Canada and the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1938), p. 16. For a history of the early timber industry in the Eastern Townships see John Derek Booth, "Changing Forest Utilization Patterns in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, 1800 to 1850" (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1972).

5. Archives nationales du Québec à Québec [hereafter ANQ-Q], Terres et Forêts, E21, Coupe du Bois, 1838-94, D. McLean to John Davidson, Esq., Commissioner, New Ireland, 16 Nov. 1838. See also *ibid.*, G.L. Marler to Sir, Nicolet, 17 April 1841.

6. Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC], MG24 I54, British American Land Company papers, vol. 5, Letterbook 1834-36, p. 956, Samuel Brooks to Moffat and McGill, 11 Dec. 1834; *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier*, 7 June 1860. During the mid-sixties the land company was exporting about one million feet of spruce and pine lumber per year. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, G.J. Nagle to R.W. Heneker, St. Hyacinthe, 15 Dec. 1866.

ment reclaimed much of the St. Francis Tract. But this time the American market had begun to decline, actually closing temporarily after a tariff was levied in 1846.⁷

In 1853, however, the completion of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad (future Grand Trunk) from Montreal through Sherbrooke to Portland, Maine, opened up vast new market opportunities for lumber, a market stimulated by the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854. A year earlier, entrepreneurs from Montreal, Quebec, New York, and Maine had suddenly begun to compete for berths on Lake Aylmer, which drains into the St. Francis River.⁸ Portland offered a ready outlet, for in the early fifties it was the chief port for the forty million board feet per year being shipped in the form of sugar boxes from Maine to Cuba, and it was also an important supplier of building materials to the coastal states.⁹ With local supplies beginning to dwindle, it is not surprising that Maine merchants dominated the upper St. Francis timber lands from the start. In the fall of 1853 Cyrus S. Clark of Bangor was reported to have contracted with others to deliver from Sherbrooke to Portland six million feet of lumber in 1854, and seventeen million feet in 1855.¹⁰ In fact, his crews cut over twelve million feet the first year, all within five of the uppermost St. Francis Valley townships.¹¹ By 1860, the St. Francis Agency, which incorporated nearly all of the Eastern Townships (see Figure 1), was the second most important source of timber in Canada East, though this status would not last long.¹²

C.S. Clark, categorized by R.G. Dun's credit investigator as "shrewd" and "enterprising,"¹³ quickly became the largest licence holder in the Eastern Townships. Regulations might limit the size of each berth to twenty-five square miles in a surveyed township, but by 1856 Clark held 410 of the St. Francis Agency's 825 square miles in timber limits.¹⁴ In addition to acquiring licences directly from the Crown, Clark had purchased

7. Lower, *North American Assault*, pp. 96-97, 105-08. Timber entrepreneurs had been anxious to purchase company holdings, including the township of Garthby, in 1835. British American Land Company Papers, vol. 5, p. 1,043, Samuel Brooks to Moffat and McGill, 9 July 1835; p. 1,062, 24 Aug. 1835.

8. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Bazile Lupien, Esq., Agent, to Hon. John Rolph, Lake Aylmer, 11 June 1853; B. Lupien to Honourable Sir, Lake Aylmer, 11 June 1853; Adolphus Aylmer to B. Lupien, Melbourne, 24 June 1853; Pierce and Flowers to B. Lupien, Lake Aylmer, 1 July 1853; W. Brough to B. Lupien, Montreal, 18 June 1853; John McCormick, Quebec, 28 June 1853.

9. Richard G. Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine 1820-1861* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1961), pp. 200, 212, 219-20.

10. *Maine Farmer*, 27. Oct. 1853. Benjamin Dyer, also of Bangor, applied for cutting rights in Wotton, Ham South, Garthby, Stratford, Winslow, and Whitton, but his name does not appear again. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, B. Lupien to CCL, Lake Aylmer, 3 Sept. 1853. Unfortunately, I have been unable to uncover any information in local histories concerning Clark's background.

11. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, J.H. Pope to Clark, Brown & Co., Lake St. Francis, 30 April 1854; JLAC, 1857, Appendix no. 25, sub-appendix 0; *Sherbrooke Gazette*, 1854. Cited in *The Sherbrooke Daily Record*, 16 March 1957 (Supplement), p. 122.

12. Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec 1851-1896* (Montréal: Fides, 1971), p. 218. In spite of their own statistics Hamelin and Roby (p. 219) write: "En 1860, la Mauricie est le deuxième grand centre forestier du Québec". Not only was a much higher percentage of Eastern Townships timber land in private hands, thus escaping the crown timber reports, but, as we shall see, the consistent undervaluation of timber cut by C.S. Clark and Company throws the value of such statistics into serious doubt. The best that can be said for the annual reports is that they provide a rough indication of trends over time, provided we assume that the ratio of logs not reported remained somewhat constant each year.

13. Harvard University, Baker Library, R.G. Dun Collection, Canada, vol. 3, p. 229, 1 Aug. 1857.

14. Clark paid £108 in ground rents and £505 in duties on lumber cut, of a total of £1812 collected in the agency. JLAC, 1857, Appendix no. 25, sub-appendix 0. Clark and Company's Eastern Township licences were distributed as follows (in square miles): Coleraine — 25,10,19; Winslow — 12,13,25,25; Stratford — 20,20,15,16; Garthby — 10; Lambton — 25; Adstock — 25,15; Price — 25; Ditton — 25,25; Hampden —

Figure 1. Counties and Townships of the Middle and Upper St. Francis Drainage Basin and Lake Megantic Area

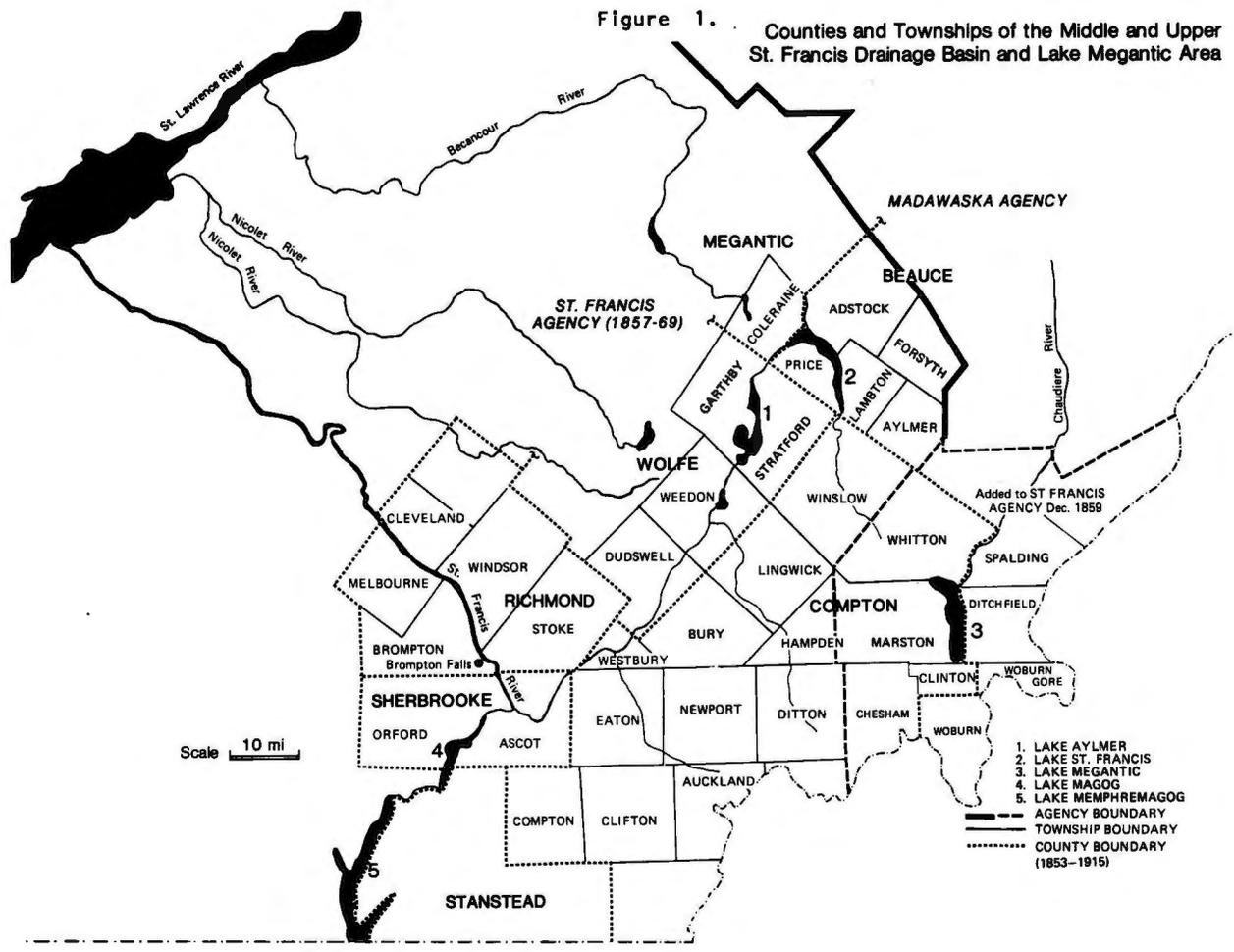
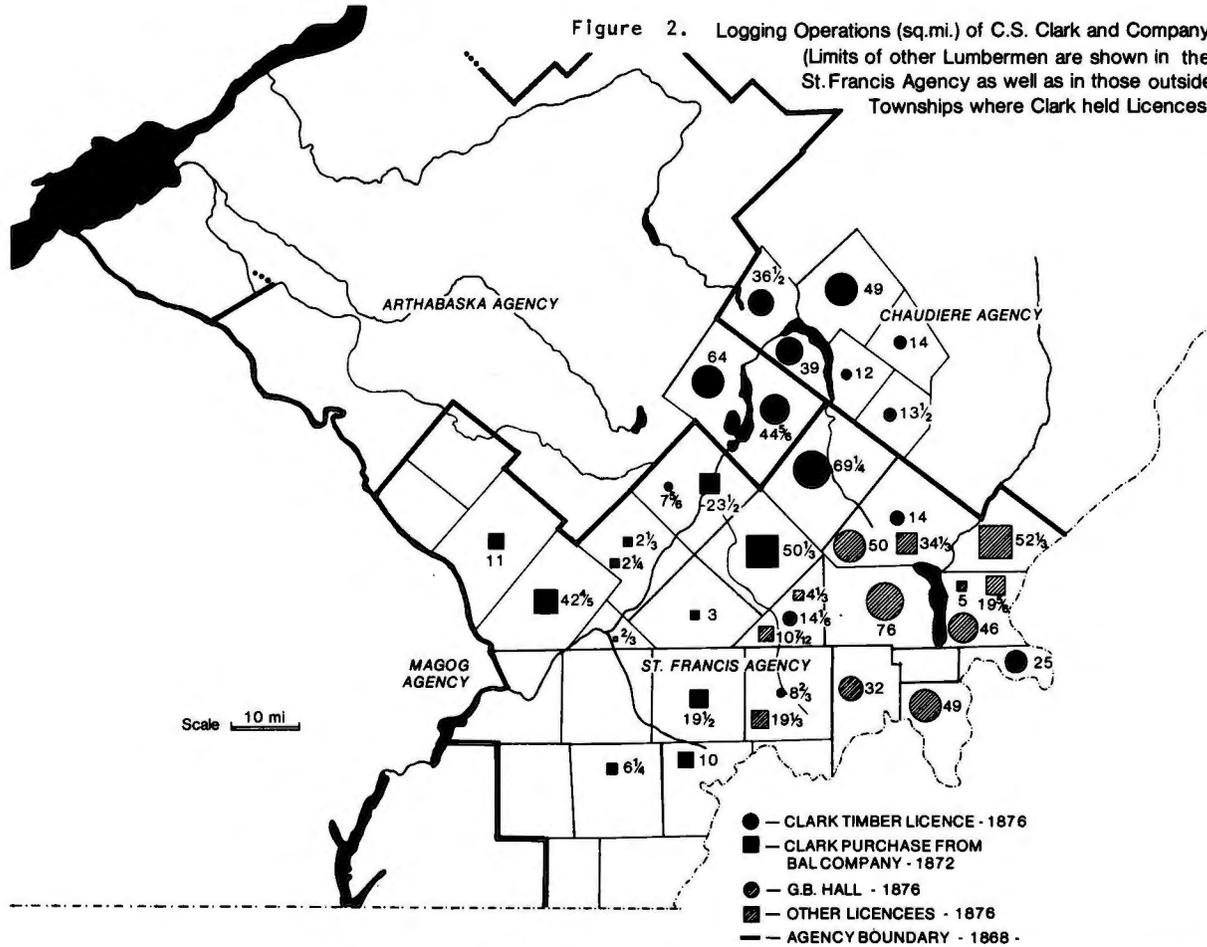


Figure 2. Logging Operations (sq.mi.) of C.S. Clark and Company
 (Limits of other Lumbermen are shown in the
 St. Francis Agency as well as in those outside
 Townships where Clark held Licences)



Sources: Quebec, Sessional Papers, 1876, no. 18, Etat des Limites à Bois; Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 2, p. 132, no. 818; pp. 556-60.

the sizeable limits of Pierce and Flowers¹⁵ as well as the smaller berths of G.B. Hall, the Pemberton Brothers, Adolphus Aylmer, and other private parties. Clark and Company also owned 145,500 *arpents* of land adjoining Lake Temiscouata and the Madawaska River, nineteen licences on the St. Maurice, and a town lot fronting the river and railroad in Sherbrooke.¹⁶

Facing a double duty since 1851 on the export of unfinished logs into the United States¹⁷ Clark and Company built a large sawmill in 1854 at Brompton Falls, several miles below Sherbrooke on the St. Francis River. The mill, "renowned, as well in Europe as in America, for the superior adaptation of the machinery," was 333 feet long by 70 feet wide, and it contained ten single saws and two gangs, plus "the usual circulars to edge with." The saws were driven by a six hundred force water power, and the expected production capacity was 50,000 feet in twelve hours. The operation, lighted by locally produced gas, was to run day and night for eight to nine months a year, employing 80 to 100 men and producing twenty million feet of lumber. With booms, piers, and other improvements, including a large boarding house, the cost for what was claimed to be the largest sawmill in North America was about \$70,000. As a fitting symbol of the company's achievement and status in the region, the middle roof ventilator was topped with a weather vane: "composed of six pairs of golden oxen, drawing a 'logging sled', upon which is an immense golden log. A brilliant teamster is standing by. The oxen make evident exertions to move their precious load, but do not succeed in meeting the approval of the teamster, who raises high above them a golden whip."¹⁸ Timber would be supplied by ten shanties, employing about 225 men.¹⁹ By 1855 the company's property included fifty yoke of oxen, one pair of horses and five million feet of logs in the St. Francis and adjoining waters.²⁰ When the decennial census was taken in 1861, C.S. Clark and Company reported that their mills consumed nine million feet of pine logs, worth \$90,000, and five million feet of spruce, worth \$25,000. The following list of wood products was manufactured:

25,25; Weedon — 10. By 1859 it had berths in sixteen townships as well as licences for clergy reserves in five others. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Lettres Envoyées, Article 857, p.88. Andrew Russell, Assistant CCL, to G.J. Nagle, Toronto, 26 Aug. 1858. Article 858, p. 8, P.M. Vankoughnet. CCL, To G.J. Nagle, Toronto, 19 Aug. 1859. Clark's early partners were Warren Brown and William H. McCrillis of Portland and Bangor, respectively. Richmond Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 1, p. 161, no. 172.

15. The company was reported by a timber inspector to have paid Pierce and Flowers either £15,000 or £30,000. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Report of Inspection of Lumbering Operations in Eastern Townships, V. Larue, St. Charles, 23 June 1854. See also *ibid.*, C.S. Clark to S.V. Larue, Sherbrooke, 4 May 1855, and Report of Cyprien Blanchet, CLA, 22 May 1854.

16. *Ibid.*, Sale and Transfer from Messrs. C.S. Clark and Co. and Thomas Howe, Esq. to David Davidson and Ferdinand McCulloch, Esqs. in trust, 23 Nov. 1855. I.I. Gibb, n.p.

17. James Elliott Defebaugh, *History of the Lumber Industry of America I* (Chicago: The American Lumberman, 1906), p. 108.

18. *Canadian Times* (Sherbrooke), 18 Jan. 1855. Cited in *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, 16 March 1957: 147.

19. The 1861-census states that there were 150 employees. The best descriptions of the mill are in *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, 16 March 1957: 147; *The Canada Directory* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1857), p. 71; ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Memo [no date, etc.]; *Eastern Townships Gazetteer* (St. Jean: Smith and Company, 1867), p. 57. The mill's production compared favourably with that of the "huge, steam powered mills" of St. John, N.B. by 1860. R.W. Judd, "Lumbering and the Farming Frontier in Aroostock County, Maine, 1840-1880," *Journal of Forest History*, XXVIII (April 1984): p. 58.

20. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Sale and Transfer from Clark and Howe to Davidson and McCulloch.

Table 1 **Production of C.S. Clark and Company, 1861²¹**

Boards — 9 million feet	90,000
Sugar Boxes — 675,000	42,000
Spruce deals — 2 million	14,000
Clapboards — 800,000 feet	9,000
Doors — 1,500	1,200
Shingles — 400,000	600
Blind slats — 100,000	400
Pine laths — 300,000	400
Curtain rods — 25,000	100
	<hr/>
	\$157,700

Without the company's financial statements, profits are very difficult to estimate, but the province's timber production was in rapid decline in 1861 (see Table 2 and Figure 3) because of a restricted market in the war-torn United States. The company, in fact had been in financial difficulty almost from the start. As early as the fall of 1855 it had been unable to meet payments to the Bank of Montreal on a debt of \$81,250, or to the City Bank for \$55,420. As a result, Clark and McCrillis, then in partnership with Thomas Howe of Dorchester, Massachusetts,²² transferred all their Canadian property and licences to the two banks in trust. But the banks would be entitled to sell the property or take over operations only if, after sixty days' notice, the company failed to meet the agreed-upon payments of one pound for each thousand feet of lumber manufactured and sold.²³

Clark survived the 1857 crisis, which resulted from overproduction in the American market²⁴ but the banks decided to cut their losses in the spring of 1859. The result was simply to write off a large proportion of the company's debt, for the highest bidder at the Montreal auction was John Henry Pope at \$30,000. A Cookshire farmer and politician who would soon become one of the dominant capitalists in the region, Pope probably had been an associate of Clark's almost from the beginning of his Eastern Townships operations.²⁵ Certainly Clark would remain an unofficial partner of Pope's during the next twelve years. Although supposedly only a company agent, paid to sell lumber in Portland, Clark continued to sign all transactions. Even while in receivership, the company had little difficulty

21. Canada, Manuscript Census, Brompton Township, 1861. Two million feet of the boards were spruce, worth \$13,000.

22. Howe had technically purchased all the company's property for £40,000 in October, 1854. Richmond Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 1, p. 161, no. 172; p. 163, no. 173. Dun's records note that the company was "short of money" as early as January, 1855. Baker Library, R.G. Dun, Maine, Vol. 22, 117, W.H. McCrillis. See also entries for July 1855, Feb. 1856, Aug. 1856, and Jan. 1857.

23. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Sale and Transfer from Clark and Howe to Davidson and McCulloch.

24. *First Annual Statement of Trade and Commerce of Chicago*, 1858, p. 38. Cited in Lynda Price, *Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec (1780-1840)* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981), p. 65.

25. Dun did not note the transfer until 1861. (Baker Library, R.G. Dun Collection, Canada, Vol. 3, 229, 20 March 1861.) Pope was to pay \$17,073.75 to the Bank of Montreal and \$11,926.25 to the City Bank. Richmond Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 3, p. 54, no. 830. No satisfactory biography of Pope exists, and his personal papers have apparently been destroyed, but we do know that he was involved in the Eastern Townships Bank, the Paton Manufacturing Company of Sherbrooke, the Sherbrooke Water Power Company and Sherbrooke Gas and Water Company, as well as in local railroads and copper and gold mines. L.S. Channell, *History of Compton County* (Cookshire, Que: L.S. Channell, 1896), pp. 156-57.

Table 2 Timber Production on the Crown Limits of the Eastern Townships (St. Francis Agency, 1855-69; St. Francis and Arthabaska Agencies, 1868-81)¹ Including ratio to Province of Canada (1855-66) / Quebec (1866-81)

Winter	Licence Area (sq. mi.)		Saw Logs				Revenue Accrued (all timber)	
			White Pine		Spruce			
1855-56	825	2.6%	52,372	7.0%	7,806	7.2%	9,060	3.2%
1856-57	—		88,689	9.1%	36,500	27.4%	12,326	4.3%
1857-58	—		53,738	8.0%	73,228	44.7%	9,475	4.7%
1858-59	—		57,501	5.5%	78,364	25.9%	10,079	3.6%
1859-60	1,614	5.9%	47,603	3.7%	128,721	38.8%	17,059	5.0%
1860-61	1,270	4.8%	34,652	2.9%	79,373	20.0%	9,256	2.7%
1861-62	1,165	4.4%	25,201	2.7%	45,169	16.2%	8,283	2.9%
1862-63	1,319	4.4%	48,029	4.4%	62,194	20.4%	12,042	3.6%
1863-64	1,283	4.0%	42,910	3.3%	61,810	20.3%	11,441	3.2%
1864-65	—		—		—		—	
1865-66	1,209	3.5%	34,258	2.0%	66,425	22.3%	7,989	2.2%
1866-67 ²	1,110	6.2%	24,786	2.2%	66,166	17.8%	6,983	3.6%
1867-68	992	—	37,878	2.6%	37,488	9.2%	8,262	2.5%
1868-69	220	0.7%	16,573	1.1%	23,428	6.1%	9,285	2.6%
1869-70	602	1.9%	28,349	1.9%	64,360	14.4%	9,638	2.4%
1870-71	608	2.8%	9,296	0.6%	54,577	14.8%	5,600	1.3%
1971-72	1,248	2.8%	16,003	1.7%	27,547	6.3%	9,239	1.8%
1872-73	1,002	2.1%	21,568	1.0%	122,864	13.8%	12,229	2.3%
1873-74	871	1.9%	32,855	1.4%	213,831	19.4%	18,654	3.5%
1874-75 ³	784	1.7%	61,159	4.2%	25,880	4.3%	10,653	2.8%
1875-76	506	1.1%	8,097	0.7%	69,130	8.8%	8,430	2.2%
1876-77	—		—		—		—	
1877-78	835	2.0%	14,546	1.4%	52,785	6.6%	7,916	2.5%
1878-79	770	1.6%	2,594	0.2%	67,939	10.4%	7,643	2.2%
1879-80	889	1.9%	10,566	0.6%	101,447	8.4%	12,588	2.3%
1880-81	703	1.4%	5,308	0.2%	101,349	7.9%	11,766	1.8%

¹ After Confederation a large portion of the C.S. Clark and Company limits was located in the Chaudière Agency, but this agency is not included here because much of it lay outside the Eastern Townships region, oriented towards Quebec City, not Sherbrooke and the Grand Trunk Railway. Furthermore, the company's activities would leave a greater mark on the smaller St. Francis and Arthabaska Agencies.

² Starts fiscal year system (July 1 to June 30) e.g., report for fiscal year ending 30 June 1868 is for winter of 1866-67. See René Hardy *et al.*, *L'exploitation forestière en Mauricie. Dossier statistique : 1820-1930* (Trois-Rivières : Groupe de Recherche sur la Mauricie, 1980), p. 20.

³ From this date on, only recording revenue actually collected.

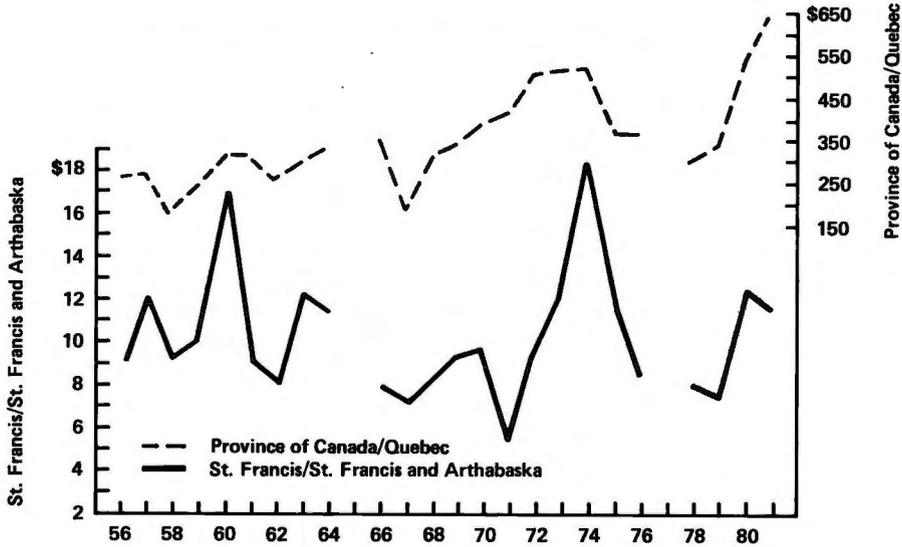
Sources: 1855-58 JLAC, 1857-59, Appendices, Report of CCL.
 1858-64 Province of Canada, SP, 1861-65, Reports of CCL.
 1865-66 Dominion of Canada, SP, 1867-68, No. 6, Report of CCL
 1866-76, 1877-81 Province of Quebec, SP, 1868-83, Report of CCL.

in raising capital for its annual operations,²⁶ but larger sums would be needed for expansion. An obvious source was the Eastern Townships Bank, of which Pope was a director, and it may have been to avoid the \$10,000 maximum per client that the company's ownership was officially switched again in 1869, with Clark becoming the sole legal proprietor for

26. Dun's investigators consistently reported that Clark and Company was a good credit risk because it always paid local debts. Baker Library, R.G. Dun, Canada, Vol. 3, 229, 15 March 1858, 2 July 1858, 25 March 1859, 6 Aug. 1859, and 6 Aug. 1860.

FIGURE 3

Dollars (thousands) Accrued* in St. Francis (1855-69)/
St. Francis and Arthabaska (1868-81) and Province of Canada/Quebec



* From 1874-75 government recorded only dollars collected.

the same \$30,000 the company still owed the banks.²⁷ As we shall see, Pope remained the chief spokesman for the company during the seventies. This repeated manoeuvre must have been adopted to frustrate creditors, and to improve credit rating.²⁸

The Clark Company's bank loans were undoubtedly a response to depletion within its timber reserves. American demand was only temporarily cut by the onset of the Civil War, and the company's lumber could be exported via Portland in bond after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, yet the St. Francis Agency never again produced as much timber as it had in the later fifties.²⁹ By the time of the 1871 census, the Brompton mill was processing logs valued at only \$29,600, as compared to \$115,000 ten years earlier. As Table 2 illustrates, however, regional production was about to follow the provincial trend sharply upward for the next two or three years. The company's main concern was to keep up

27. Richmond Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 6, p. 247, no. 171; p. 268, no. 188. R. Rudin, "Naissance et déclin d'une élite locale : la Banque des Cantons de l'Est, 1859-1912," *RHAF*, XXXVIII (1984): 170-71. The avoidance of an official partnership also reduced legal liability, as demonstrated by the failure of George Cragin to prove in courts that Clark had effectively been part owner of the company during the sixties.

28. See ANQ-Sherbrooke [hereafter ANQ-S], Queen's Bench, St. Francis, 1868, no. 212. George Cragin vs. J.H. Pope et al., testimony of J.H. Pope, 24 Nov. 1869; testimony of Thomas Bennett, 26 Feb. 1872. *Plumitif*, vol. 8, 1872-74, p. 33, Judgement — 11 June 1872. No partnership with Pope was ever filed in the registry office. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton notary file, 31 March 1879, no. 362. D. Thomas, Registrar, to C. P. Cleveland, Richmond, 12 March 1879; C.P. Cleveland to D. Thomas (telegram), Sherbrooke, 13 March 1887.

29. Lower, *North American Assault*, pp. 130, 134, 150; *Canada Sessional Papers* [hereafter SP], XXIII (1864), no. 25; *Eastern Townships Gazetteer*, p. 57. Portland shippers would also fail to recoup their pre-war business. David C. Smith, *A History of Lumbering in Maine 1861-1960* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1972), p. 145.

supply of timber, particularly when colonization societies and colonization companies were reserving large quantities of land in eastern Compton County. Clark began to purchase scattered wood lots throughout the region (totalling close to \$30,000 in price by 1875),³⁰ and he also made a major acquisition from the British American Land Company in the spring of 1872. The latter purchase comprised 99,833 acres in eight townships, five of which lay in the upper St. Francis Valley, and three not far to the south. The price was \$102,748, of which \$23,555 was paid down in the form of 110 shares in the land company. The balance was to be distributed over the next four years, at six percent interest per annum, with the option to pay in British American Land Company stock either at par or at \$214.33 per share.³¹ The following fall, in two separate transactions, the land company sold another 7,901 acres to Clark, again in the section of the St. Francis Valley to the immediate north of Sherbrooke. The total price was \$17,321 with only \$2,374 paid down.³² All the private purchases together brought over two hundred square miles into the hands of C.S. Clark and Company, about half the area of their crown timber limits.

The company's expansionary phase was to be short-lived, for the general depression in wood commerce which began in 1874³³ saw the quantity of timber reported by all operators in the region plummet throughout the remainder of the decade. As early as January 1874, Clark and Company transferred 87 $\frac{2}{3}$ square miles of Spalding and Whitton N.E. to a Quebec City merchant.³⁴ Clark's growing financial difficulties are reflected in the notary records from the Sherbrooke-Richmond area. In December 1874, the company mortgaged 12,533 acres, plus a Sherbrooke lot and mill property, to the Eastern Townships Bank for \$58,000.³⁵ The fall of 1875 brought the sale of 5,560 acres in Ditton Township,³⁶ while, at the same time, employees and others began to register a long series of protests against Clark's failure to fulfill the terms of his promissory notes.³⁷ In fact, the workers had ap-

30. The notary files (G.H. Napier, D.M. Thomas, J.A. Archambault, William Richie, J.I. Mackie, E.P. Felton) and Richmond Registry Office record forty purchases between 26 Feb. 1866 and 23 Oct. 1875, all but two occurring in the seventies. Most of the lots were located in Windsor and Stoke and the majority were sold by businessmen and other town dwellers rather than by local farmers.

31. The land purchased was distributed as follows: Bury — 1,949a., Lingwick — 27,859a. (with 182a. added later), Newport — 12,500a., Stoke — 24,975a., Windsor — 7,000a., Weedon — 15,050a., Auckland — 6,500a., Clifton — 4,000a. ANQ-S, D.M. Thomas file, 1 March 1872, no. 4509A; Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 2, p. 132, no. 818. Sherbrooke's *Le Pionnier* (1 March 1872), a strong advocate of French-Canadian colonization in the Eastern Townships, declared that this transaction would not hurt the cause because the land involved was not fertile.

32. The deed for the \$7,120.60 sale specifies 4,790 acres, but the lots listed for Dudwell, Westbury, and Lingwick add up to 6,101 acres. Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 2, pp. 556-60, no. 1095; ANQ-S, D.M. Thomas file, 4 Nov. 1872, no. 4795; ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 3 Sept. 1872, no. 215; Richmond Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 8, p.219.

33. Quebec, SP, 1875, Report of CCL, no. 2, p. x; Lower, *North American Assault*, p. 150.

34. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, 1874, no. 168. William Farwell to CCL, Robinson, 10 Jan. 1874. These townships were part of the Chaudière watershed, and appear to have been difficult to protect. During the winter of 1869-70, Breakey & Co. of Quebec had cut 4,500 pine logs in trespass. *Ibid.*, 1870, no. 1583, William Farwell to CCL, Robinson, 18 April 1870.

35. The term was for one year at the interest rate of nine percent. Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B, vol. 4, pp. 661-64, no. 2423. A marginal note indicates that the mortgage was still outstanding on 18 March 1884.

36. The purchasers, in two separate transactions, were Pope and Horace Sawyer, Eaton Township lumber merchant, sawmill operator, and a sometime business associate of Pope's. ANQ-S, J.I. Mackie file, 29 April 1875, no. 1208; 25 Nov. 1875, no. 1382A; 25 Nov. 1875, no. 1382B.

37. The conclusion that many of the protestors were employees, and perhaps also colonist-suppliers of timber, is based on the amounts involved, as well as names and places of residence. One of the more frequent protestors was Thomas Bennett, the company scaler — a total of \$1,801.75 in nine separate actions. Another

parently begun to be paid in store scrip as business languished in 1876.³⁸ As early as the fall of 1875 Brompton Falls inhabitants had assembled in order to consider taking advantage of the government's colonization projects in Compton County. Sherbrooke's *Le Pionnier* (October 29) pointed out the moral lesson:

La crise commerciale que nous traversons actuellement, tout déplorable qu'elle soit, a eu cependant pour les habitants de ce beau et coquet petit village de bons résultats.

Ils ont compris que s'appuyer purement et simplement sur l'industrie qui leur fournit tous les jours de si beaux salaires, n'est pas toujours le plus sûr moyen d'existence. Ils sentent le besoin de se faire un avenir plus solide tant pour eux que pour leurs enfants.

In the autumn of 1876 Clark was forced to mortgage the mill property itself to the Eastern Townships Bank for only \$2,000.³⁹ The company managed to hang on for another two years without further major commitments, but in December 1878 all of the British American Land Company purchases were forfeited in order to avoid seizure for back taxes.⁴⁰ It appears that very little of the principal had been paid after the initial instalment. In March, 1878, \$84,953 had still been owing, though this sum did include an additional \$5,000 purchase made in January, 1875.⁴¹

Meanwhile the company struggled on, raising capital by making short-term business deals with entrepreneurs involved in the timber trade. In the spring of 1877 Clark sold Pope all the logs cut that winter for \$5,000, delivered to the Brompton mill. The agreement openly stated that the purpose of the sale was to allow Clark to pay off arrears in wages and to meet expenses in preparing the lumber. In fact, Pope was to advance more money if necessary, then reimburse himself after the lumber had been sold.⁴² In February, 1879, in order to raise enough money to pay back wages and process the winter's cut, Clark mortgaged all six million feet of timber for \$9,000 cash to Weston F. Milliken, a prominent Portland merchant.⁴³ Milliken demanded reimbursement only for the sum he had advanced, his condition being that the market "insofar as the same can be made advantageous and profitable shall be at the said City of Portland."⁴⁴ In other words, Milliken would act as the middleman between the company and the ultimate purchasers of its wood products. In 1891 he was still "handling the productions of the C.S. Clark Mills," having become at least part owner of the operation.⁴⁵

International conditions finally began to improve during the 1879-80 season,⁴⁶ a development reflected by increased production in the Eastern Townships' crown timber

was Pope himself — \$11,400.00 in three actions starting in 1878. Aside from these protests, the file of E.P. Felton, n.p. includes a total of forty-two by the end of the decade, amounting to \$8,035.82.

38. Albert Gravel, *Sainte Praxède de Brompton (Bromptonville) Cinquante ans de vie paroissiale dans les Cantons de l'Est* (Sherbrooke: Le Progrès de l'Est, 1921), p. 33.

39. Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B. vol. 5, pp. 683-88, no. 3077.

40. *Ibid.* vol. 7, pp. 725-38.

41. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 11 March 1878, no. 354.

42. *Ibid.*, 1 April 1878, no. 464.

43. *Portland Board of Trade Journal*, Feb. 1898, p. 295; Geo. F. Bacon, *Portland: its Representative Business Men and its Points of Interest* (Newark, N.J.: Glenwood Publishing Co., 1891), p. 74; Smith, *A History of Lumbering in Maine*, p. 146. At the same time Clark had to mortgage 1,306 acres in Weedon to Lennoxville flour merchants who were owed \$1,592.79. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 7 Feb. 1879, no. 141.

44. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 20 June 1879, no. 667. The transaction was technically a sale, but its conditions made it in fact a mortgage.

45. Bacon, *Portland*, p. 74. The mortgage of the company to the E.T. Bank was transferred to Seth W. Milliken in 1884. Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B. vol. 5, pp. 683-88, no. 3077.

46. Lower, *North American Assault*, p. 150.

limits. Clark was actually able to purchase back part of the land given up to the British American Land Company — 42,745 acres in Lingwick and Weedon Townships for \$40,000 in cash.⁴⁷ But he was still in debt to the Eastern Townships Bank. In fact, he mortgaged the new purchase for only \$9,258 because he owed the bank \$60,000 from loans advanced in 1874 and 1876. The mortgage is not recorded as having been discharged.⁴⁸ Clark died in 1880,⁴⁹ leaving his son to take over direction of the mill. Within a few years it was sold to Royal Paper Mills (directed by Pope's son, Rufus), which closed it in 1893. Fire ended the mill's existence in 1900.⁵⁰

II — LOCAL REACTION AGAINST MONOPOLY CONTROL

The Clark Company's financial record may not have been a brilliant one, but its very survival in a marginal timber-producing region says much about the link between government and capitalists in the nineteenth century. We have seen how state regulations set the stage for a considerable degree of monopoly control, but the manner in which those regulations were interpreted and enforced was equally crucial to the fortunes of C.S. Clark and Company. Ruthless management techniques, made possible in part by either the government's ineffectiveness or its passive complicity, go a long way to explain the domination of the upper St. Francis by the Brompton-based company.

Clark not only trespassed on rivals' timber limits,⁵¹ but insisted on dominating the river itself. As early as the spring of 1855 another American company, the Holyokes of Portland, complained that Clark's drive had swept their logs past their mill on the St. Francis.⁵² The fall of the same year saw Clark and Company notifying the Holyokes that they were to remove logs which had become lodged in the booms at Brompton Falls.⁵³ Further conflict was prevented by Clark's takeover of the Holyokes' Garthby limits,⁵⁴ but the Brompton company was also aggravating lumber producers downstream from its mill. In 1858 three entrepreneurs from Grantham Township, and two from Wendover, served a notice of protest against Clark's "constant and invariable practise habit [sic] of throwing into the said River Saint Francis all the Edgings of boards and other refuse lumber cut in the said Mills." The result was not only that booms downstream "have been many times heretofore broken and carried away and the logs and lumber therein lost," but farms on the river banks were flooded, and edgings penetrated the flooms and interfered with the wheels of the protestors' mills. To the warning that in future he would be held liable for all damages incurred, Clark simply replied: "I conceive that the parties suffer no damage

47. The purchase also included the ten acres in Stoke Township which lay directly across from the Brompton mill, thereby freeing Clark's dam from any restrictions by the land company (see footnote 58). Cookshire Registry Office, Reg. B. vol. 9, pp. 301-05, no. 5119.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-12, no. 5123.

49. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, 1880, no. 5799, W.F. Milliken, 30 Sept. 1880, meeting at the office of Brook, Camirand, and Hurd in Sherbrooke on 20 Oct. re estate of late C.S. Clark. [Cover of document only.] Gravel claims the death was in 1882.

50. Gravel, *Sainte Praxède de Brompton*, pp. 11-12.

51. See for example ANQ-S, Queen's Bench, Cragin vs. Pope et al.: 1868, no. 282, Charles King vs. J.H. Pope et al.

52. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 855, pp. 479-80, W. McD. Dawson to C.S. Clark & Co., Sherbrooke, 16 June 1855.

53. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 17 Oct. 1855, no. 49-50.

54. ANQ-S, Queen's Bench, Cragin vs. Pope et al., testimony of J.H. Pope, 24 Nov. 1869.

and I believe that their object in protesting against me is to make a speculative [sic] out of me."⁵⁵

Even public corporations, such as the municipal councils of Orford and Brompton Townships and the Town of Sherbrooke, would prove to be powerless against Clark and Company. In 1858 they expressed their opposition to the company's projected dam across the St. Francis "unless provision is made to secure the rights of the inhabitants."⁵⁶ Clark, in asking for the right to use of the river for a distance of three miles above the site of his mill, found support in the Legislative Assembly from J.H. Pope, the future purchaser of his company.⁵⁷ A.T. Galt, also a local MLA, proposed an amendment to Pope's bill which would have required Clark to deposit a security of £1,500 to £2,000 with the Town of Sherbrooke in order to ensure against damage to local bridges. The amendment was defeated, however, leaving Clark with an unencumbered guarantee that his dam and booms were inviolable.⁵⁸

Aside from periodic flooding, an indication of the problems the dam would cause is to be found in the protests submitted by Sherbrooke manufacturers. In 1879, for example, Sherbrooke millwright Robert N. Arkley complained that the St. Francis was choked with logs in many places within the Townships of Ascot, Orford, Brompton, and Stoke. He demanded that the Clark Company open "a clear and unobstructed Channel of at least 100 feet in width" throughout the entire length of the river. Clark's only reply was "I am not ready to reply." In 1880, when the brewer James W. Wiggett registered essentially the same protest, the answer was, "I have no answer to make."⁵⁹

The municipal councils of the Sherbrooke area had been joined in their protests against the construction of the company's Brompton dam in 1858 by recently-settled inhabitants of the upper St. Francis townships. They pointed out that those living in the Lake Aylmer area already faced spring floods from company dams at the headwaters of the St. Francis.⁶⁰ Roads had been washed out, making it impossible for some families to reach town for weeks at a time.⁶¹ The settlers had a strong legal case,⁶² if they could have afforded the court costs, but the problem persisted. In 1877 Garthby's council was forced

55. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 13 Nov. 1858, no. 150. Interests suffering from the dumping of mill refuse in the Ottawa Valley obtained actions for injunctions, a practice upon which the Mowat government placed severe constraints with the Ottawa River Act in 1885. J. Benidickson, "Private Rights and Public Purposes in the Lakes, Rivers and Streams of Ontario 1870-1930," in *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, II, ed. David H. Flaherty (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 381.

56. JLAC, 1858, 10 March, p. 58; 22 April, p. 301; 28 April, p. 360. A similar petition from Edward Hale and others of Orford (16 April, p. 250) added a second proviso: "the protection of the different descriptions of fish which pass by the said dam."

57. *Ibid.*, 28 April, p. 361; 3 May, p. 397.

58. *Ibid.*, 3 July, p. 790; 12 July, p. 832; 24 July, p. 908. The only major limitation to Clark's domination of the river was imposed by the British American Land Company which allowed Clark's dam to adjoin its Stoke lot on condition that all of the Brompton lot not required for mill operations be relinquished, and that Clark's use of the water power be restricted to the sawmill, leaving the remainder for the land company. ANQ-S, D. Thomas file, acte de dépôt, 9 Dec. 1874, no. 5510.

59. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 31 March 1879, no. 362; 10 May 1880, no. 364.

60. The main purpose of these dams was to impound water for the sluicing and driving of logs during the spring. J. Derek Booth, *Les Cantons de la Saint-François/Townships of the St. Francis* (Montreal: McCord Museum, McGill University, 1984), p. 41.

61. PAC, RG4C1, Civil Secretary's Correspondence (Incoming), no. 1947 (vol. 442), Pétition des Habitants de Weedon, Garthby, Stratford, Winslow, etc., Stratford, 7 June 1858; JLAC, 1858, 21 June, p. 722.

62. The government failed in its 1859 attempt to pass legislation permitting mill owners to flood neighbouring lands and pay damages or compensation. Benidickson, "Private Rights," p. 369.

to replace a mile and a half section of road permanently flooded by Clark Company dams, and in 1879 the government was still refusing to intervene against the company's ongoing dam construction projects along the upper St. Francis.

Successive administrations were placed in a rather embarrassing position by ongoing friction between the lumber company and settlers in its licence area because of the important ideological role played by French-Canadian colonization. That friction had been made inevitable after 1852 when the state decided that lots could be granted to settlers within the licensed timber berths.⁶³ The Lake St. Francis—Lake Aylmer area was one of the first to be targeted by the nationalist elite in its attempt to ease population pressure in the seigneuries while discouraging emigration to the United States. In 1848 the government offered free fifty-acre grants alongside several new roads designed to open the entire eastern section of the Townships region to colonization. The Catholic Church and the young radicals of the Institut Canadien took advantage of the government's activity by joining forces to establish "l'Association pour l'établissement des Canadiens-Français dans les Townships du Bas-Canada." In his speech to the mass meeting which founded the Quebec branch, Father Bernard O'Reilly of Sherbrooke proclaimed that the movement he had inspired:

Fermera une des plus profondes plaies faites à votre pays par une politique aveugle et jalouse. Elle réparera, autant du moins que cette réparation est maintenant possible, la longue injustice de plus d'un demi-siècle. Elle prouvera, par l'établissement des colonies qui se doivent former sous ses auspices, que les hommes qui ont morcelé, aliéné, vendu les terres incultes de la province pour qu'elles ne tombassent point entre les mains des Canadiens-Français, étaient non seulement les ennemis du sang français, mais les plus grands ennemis de tout le Canada.⁶⁴

The Quebec association went on to sponsor two colonies at Lake Aylmer in 1848, but public enthusiasm and financial support waned too quickly to be of much assistance to the settlers. They were soon reported to be facing starvation,⁶⁵ but, despite the onerous conditions met with in this remote and only marginally arable area, the population expanded steadily. French-Canadian numbers in eight of the townships where the Clark Company's licences were concentrated (Adstock, Aylmer, Forsyth, Garthby, Lambton, Price, Stratford, Winslow) grew from 123 in 1844 to 1,771 in 1852 and 3,905 in 1861.⁶⁶ Taught that they were fulfilling a national and religious mission, and faced with competition from a foreign-dominated company in a resource-scarce environment, the French-Canadian colonists waged a persistent battle against Clark's timber monopoly.⁶⁷

The geographer Raoul Blanchard was clearly wrong when he suggested that colonization followed the timber industry up the St. Francis Valley in a progressive and symbiotic fashion.⁶⁸ In fact, lumbermen and settlers encountered each other at the river's

63. ANQ-Q, E25, Agriculture et Travaux Publics, Correspondance Reçue, no. 962, J. Picard to Hon. C.B. de Boucherville, P.M., Wootton, 23 April 1877; ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 870, p. 10, E.E. Taché to Louis N. Labrecque, Ecr., Sec. Treas. of St. Vital de Lambton, Quebec, 3 May 1879. See also Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et société*, p. 152.

64. *Le Journal de Québec*, 1 April 1848.

65. For more details see J.I. Little, "The Catholic Church and French-Canadian Colonization of the Eastern Townships 1821-51," *University of Ottawa Quarterly*, LIII (Jan.-March 1982): pp. 142-65.

66. Coleraine Township has been omitted because the census reports link it with the more populous Ireland Township. There were still no French Canadians in Whitton by 1861.

67. For a general history of the French-Canadian expansion into the Eastern Townships and local English-Canadian response, see J.I. Little, "Watching the Frontier Disappear: English-Speaking Reaction to French-Canadian Colonization in the Eastern Townships, 1844-90," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XV (Winter 1980-81): pp. 93-111.

68. Raoul Blanchard, *Le Centre du Canada Français* (Montréal: Beauchemin Limitée, 1948), p. 293. Christian Pouyez and Yolande Lavoie challenge Blanchard's similar hypothesis for the Saguenay—Lac St. Jean region. *Les Saguenayens* (Sillery: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983), pp. 159, 164.

headwaters during the very initial stages of two mutually independent movements. Only during the fifties could the Clark Company have employed a significant proportion of the still small local population. During the winter of 1857-58 a government inspector found that Clark operated thirty-three camps, with 272 hands working in the twenty camps which reported manpower numbers.⁶⁹ But some of these men had homes at Brompton Falls where they worked in the mill during the off-season. Furthermore, the size of the workforce must have declined soon afterwards with the drop in production. In 1861 and 1871 the company reported only 150 and 140 employees, respectively. There were just two logging crews of significant size enumerated within Clark's licence area in 1861. The first consisted of a group of thirty men in Garthby Township, only ten of whom were French-Canadians from the local area. A second crew in neighbouring Stratford included twenty-two Francophones, but their domiciles were not recorded.⁷⁰

Of course the company did not rely entirely upon its own workforce to supply timber. During the season of 1857-58, for example, Clark reportedly purchased 6,945 logs (mostly spruce) from twelve contractors while his crews chopped 27,200 pine.⁷¹ The 1871 census reported that Whitton colonists had cut 13,008 spruce and pine logs, "under the orders of Dominick Morin of Lambton for Clark & Co.," and Morin claimed another 3,500 logs in neighboring Winslow. In fact, over 85,000 logs were cut in 1871 by inhabitants of ten townships within company limits (about twenty percent of these logs were processed by small local sawmills).⁷² Perhaps the colonists were providing much of the company's timber by this time, for it reported sawing only 80,000 logs. But even if this were so, we shall see that settlers considered themselves to be in competition with the company's work crews.

One final possible link between Clark's company and the colonists' economy would be the shanty market for agricultural produce. But the relatively small size of Clark's work force would make it a rather insignificant client for local farmers, especially given the easy access to producers in the well-established lower St. Francis townships. As a matter of fact, the company operated its own thousand-acre farm in Ascot.⁷³ A comparison of the crops harvested by Winslow Township's French-Canadian colonists with those of the long-established English-speaking farmers in centrally located Compton Township demonstrates surprisingly similar profiles considering the marked contrast in levels of production. In all three censuses from 1851 to 1871 Compton's farmers actually produced a higher ratio of oats and far more hay than their counterparts in Winslow, even though these were two of

69. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Statement, no. 9/58, logs cut by C.S. Clark and Co., James R. McDonald, 7 April 1858.

70. 1861 Manuscript Census, Brompton, Garthby and Stratford Townships. Eight of the men listed in the company boarding house were Americans, and seven of the Garthby logging crew were from Portland.

71. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Return of Timber cut by C.S. Clark and Co. during the season of 1857-58. A search through notary records of the area failed to turn up a single contract between Clark and a sub-contractor. This is a sharp contrast to the St. Mauricie Valley. See Benoît Gauthier, "La sous-traitance et l'exploitation forestière en Mauricie (1850-1875)," *Material History Bulletin*, XIII (Autumn, 1981): 59-67.

72. The townships included are Aylmer, Forsyth, Lambton and Price, Garthby, Stratford, Winslow, Hampden, and Whitton and Marston. There are no statistics available for Adstock, Woburn was uninhabited, and Coleraine has been excluded because the census links it to Ireland, which held no Clark Company berths. The same was true for Marston, linked to Whitton, but most of the inhabitants lived in the latter township in 1871.

73. The farm was leased for \$400 a year, the terms including a stipulation that at least half the hay and grain harvested be fed to livestock on the property so that the manure could be applied to the land. No wood was to be cut, except for fuel for the house. ANQ-S, E.P. Felton file, 3 March 1859, no. 41; 26 Aug. 1859, no. 149; 18 Nov. 1865, no. 170.

the chief crops consumed by timber shanties.⁷⁴ Winslow's high concentration on potatoes and relatively large production of pork in 1861 suggest some sales to the shanty market, but they are also signs of an agriculture oriented towards self-sufficiency, as is the low production of butter and cheese. (See Table 3).

Table 3 Agricultural Production per French-Canadian Farm Family in Winslow Township and English-Canadian Farm Family in Compton Township, 1851, 1861 and 1871

	1851		1861		1871	
	Winslow	Compton	Winslow	Compton	Winslow	Compton
Oats	16.7%	41.0%	18.0%	42.0%	20.3%	22.6%
Buckwheat	1.0%	19.3%	3.9%	11.5%	10.3%	11.0%
Barley & Rye	27.9%	2.6%	28.5%	5.0%	12.3%	1.6%
Peas & Beans	—	2.2%	1.7%	0.5%	2.2%	1.1%
Wheat	5.8%	12.8%	1.0%	3.4%	2.5%	3.5%
Potatoes	48.0%	16.4%	44.8%	30.0%	45.1%	41.3%
Corn & Turnips	0.5%	5.6%	1.9%	7.7%	7.5%	18.8%
Total (bu.)	79.6	281.2	179.8	636.1	184.9	673.3
Hay (tons)	0.1?	23.7	2.7	16.4	6.5	32.5
Pork (lb.)	96.6	478.7	329.4	419.5	(not in census)	
Beef (lb.)	24.5	232.6	32.1	126.5	(not in census)	
Butter & Cheese (lb.)	8.2	229.7	40.6	288.8	61.7	339.0

Winslow's settlers grew a comparable quantity of potatoes to those in the two young St. Maurice parishes examined by Hardy and Séguin, but far less oats and hay. Conversely, in the lower St. Lawrence colonization district, west of Lake Temiscouata, production of all three crops in 1861 was comparable to (though lower than) that of Winslow's French Canadians. It would appear that the Temiscouata and upper St. Francis colonists benefited far less from the shanty market than did those of the Mauricie. (See Table 4).

Table 4 Agricultural Production per Farmer — Winslow, Lake Temiscouata W., la Mauricie, 1861⁷⁵

	Potatoes (bu.)	Oats (bu.)	Hay (tons)
Winslow (Fr. Cdn.)	80.6	32.4	2.7
Lake Temiscouata W.	64.8	20.7	1.6
Saint-Tite (la Mauricie)	99.7	69.8	3.8
Saint-Stanislas (la Mauricie)	80.7	180.8	6.5

74. In 1855 the Clark Company reported in its possession 7,000 bushels of oats, 200 barrels of beef, 150 barrels of flour, and 50 pounds of pork. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale. Sale and Transfer from Clark and Howe to Davidson and McCullough.

75. J.I. Little, "The Social and Economic Development of Settlers in Two Quebec Townships, 1851-1870," in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, I, ed. Donald Akenson (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1978), p. 111; Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et société*, p. 163; John Willis, "Urbanization, Colonization and Underdevelopment in the Bas-Saint-Laurent: Fraserville and the Temiscouata in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec*, XXVIII (avril-sept. 1984): p. 135.

The low production figures for Winslow and Lake Temiscouata West also suggest strongly that the goal of autarky was never achieved, forcing their colonists to rely on the woods for extra income. In all colonization regions, including the Mauricie settlers conflicted with logging operators⁷⁶ because, official regulations notwithstanding, individuals could in fact exploit commercial timber without possessing full title (letters patent) to their lots. At least as early as 1853 it became standard government practice to grant timber permits to residents, or their representatives, for lots held only by location ticket.⁷⁷ In fact, by 1858 even squatters were considered eligible to obtain cutting permits for crown lots they occupied.⁷⁸ But even though company licences were not normally renewed on lots for which location tickets had been issued,⁷⁹ there was little to prevent a timber entrepreneur who faced the threat of local competition from quickly stripping a township of its best trees. In 1856 J.T. Lebel, the government colonization agent for the Lake Aylmer–Lake St. Francis area, reported that timber reserves were:

une des principales raisons qui retarde le plus la colonisation, et décourage le colon, qui voit des spéculateurs étrangers enlever presque tous les bois de services, qui dans plusieurs cas, n'épargnent pas plus les terres habitées, que celles qui sont vacantes, et il est à craindre que plusieurs localités aient avant longtemps, à souffrir du manque de Bois de construction.⁸⁰

Settler opposition to the Clark Company was focussed in Lambton Township where the village of St. Vital acted as the local district's major service centre. In 1856 three *habitants* of Lambton complained that an American-owned chantier had been operating in the township for three years, taking "toutes les bois de construction même sur les terre [sic] consédé [sic]". The local municipal council petitioned the government "de bien vouloir discontinué les chantier [sic] des américain [sic] dans les townships de l'est."⁸¹ Two years later, in 1858, Louis Labrecque, a doctor, merchant, and large landholder from St. Vital, submitted a petition on behalf of the settlers of Lambton and four neighbouring townships: "On se plaint, avec raison, que beaucoup de nos compatriotes abandonnent le sol de la patrie pour émigrer aux États voisins. On en cherche les causes, ou plutôt on fait semblant de les chercher, car jamais on ne va plus loin." According to Labrecque, the real cause for retarded development of the area was that Clark and McCrillis were cutting timber on the settlers' colonization road grants, and on other occupied and non-occupied lands for which individuals held location tickets in their own names and in those of their children: "si quelque pauvre malheureux veulent les empêcher de piller leurs bois, ils se moquent d'eux, quand ils ne font pas plus." Furthermore, company employees "font des embarras terribles sur nos terres," and properties were threatened by carelessness with fire. The interests of French-Canadian settlers were being sacrificed for the sake of foreign capitalists who sent all of the wood out of the country: "Pour un écu que donnent au Gouvernement

76. The Temiscouata seigneurs tightly controlled colonization as a potential impediment to the lumber industry. Willis, "Urbanization, Colonization and Underdevelopment", pp. 138-39. See also Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et société*, pp. 152-56.

77. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 855, p. 165, Wm McD. Dawson to B. Lupien, 29 July 1853.

78. *Ibid.*, Art. 857, p. 67, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Toronto, 20 Aug. 1858. It was not until 1872 that the government actually introduced a bill to allow colonists who had paid two instalments and fulfilled settlement conditions to obtain a permit to sell wood from their lots. Marcel Hamelin, *Les premières années du parlementarisme québécois (1867-1878)* (Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974), p. 187.

79. JIAC, 1862, appendix no. 1, Report of John Hume.

80. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, J.T. Lebel to l'Hon. Joseph Cauchon, CCL, Malmaison, Garthby, 28 March 1856.

81. *Ibid.*, Antoine Roy, Sec.-trés. de Lambton, to Monsieur le Secrétaire Provincial, Lambton, 10 Nov. 1856. Enclosed is the petition of three "habitants de Lambton," St. Vital, 10 Nov. 1856.

tous ces étrangers, vous ruinez les townships, et vous feriez [sic] les enfants du sol à haïr et détester un Gouvernement qui doit les protéger.”⁸²

The county’s MLA, Dunbar Ross, supported the petition, and the Crown Lands Office promised to take “new measures” to prevent licensees from cutting on colonists’ lots.⁸³ Several months later, however, Labrecque was still complaining of “un vrai pillage” on non-patented lands.⁸⁴ The Crown Lands Office could only reply that particular care had been taken to remove from timber licences those lots for which location tickets had been issued, “et si les commercants de bois se permettent d’entrer sur ces lots et d’enlever le bois, ils le font sans autorité quelconque et se rendent passibles d’amende pour débit.”⁸⁵ With the spring of 1859 the system was tightened up further when the local crown timber agent was instructed to obtain monthly reports of all crown lots sold, and all purchases paid in full.⁸⁶

In spite of the precautions taken by the government, relations between company and settlers continued to deteriorate. In May, inhabitants of Lambton and Aylmer demanded that Clark’s permit be suspended pending the presentation of evidence “why said licence should be totally discontinued.” They claimed that *habitants* working for the company “have been many times outraged and robbed by them,” and charged that the company had “extensively defrauded the government by concealing the true quantity of timber cut.” The petitioners hoped to produce affidavits from some of the foremen stating that over one million pine logs had not been accounted for during the previous four years.⁸⁷

As we shall see in the next section, these charges were not without foundation. Nevertheless, the populist rhetoric of such appeals should not blind us to the fact that they were drafted by members of the petite bourgeoisie with their own class interests to defend. The conflict between Clark and the Lambton merchant, Romain Dallaire, illustrates how small local entrepreneurs operated in a region dominated by monopolists. In February, 1859 Dallaire obtained a county court order allowing him to seize about 2,500 logs reportedly cut by Clark Company men on five lots for which he held location tickets in Aylmer Township.⁸⁸ The following April, with the spring drive about to commence, Dallaire’s eighteen guardians prevented Clark’s men from “rolling in” not only the logs cut in trespass, but apparently others from the vicinity as well. The poorly defined boundary lines certainly aggravated the situation.⁸⁹

82. *Ibid.*, Dr Ls. Labrecque to L.V. Sicotte, CCL, Lambton, 2 March 1858.

83. *Ibid.* (attached), D.R. to Sicotte (private), Toronto, 22 [...] 1858; *Lettres Envoyées*, Art. 856, p. 512, L.V. Sicotte to Ls Labrecque, M.D., 31 March 1858. Ross’s support may have been made easier by the fact that Clark’s mill lay outside his Beauce constituency.

84. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Ls. Labrecque to L.V. Sicotte, Lambton, 7 Oct. 1858.

85. *Ibid.*, *Lettres Envoyées*, Art. 857, p. 179, Andrew Russel to Ls. Labrecque, M.D., Toronto, 19 Oct. 1858.

86. *Ibid.*, Art 858, p. 433, P.M. Vankoughnet, CCL, to G.J. Nagle, Toronto, 29 March 1859. The onus appears to have been on the agent not to renew licences for lots sold to individuals. Finally, in 1880, legislation gave timber companies until the following May to wind up operations on any lot claimed by a settler after the timber licence had been renewed. *Débats de la Législature Provinciale de la Province de Québec*, 1890, II, pp. 476-80.

87. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, John Bignell to Andrew Russell, Lambton, 26 May 1859.

88. Dallaire’s five lots, claimed between 1850 and 1857, had been specifically removed from Clark’s licence in December, 1858. *Ibid.*, Clark’s licence for Aylmer, 12 Dec. 1858. Dallaire claimed a sixth lot of which the Crown Land Office apparently had no record. *Ibid.*, G.J. Nagle to P.M. Vankoughnet, St. Hyacinthe, 28 May 1859.

89. *Ibid.*, Michel Godette to G.J. Nagle, Lambton, 13 May 1859.

Clark asked the Crown timber agent, G.J. Nagle, to intervene because the company was "unwilling to lose driving time by arrest of men in case of forcibly putting out timber."⁹⁰ Nagle's solution was to appoint a representative, Michel Godette, to seize and sell the logs cut on Dallaire's lots, directing the proceeds towards the payment of the remaining four instalments on those lots.⁹¹ This was a clever way of foiling Dallaire who presumably had intended to obtain cutting permits without acquiring full title to the land. Godette, who lived near Dallaire, felt that the latter had "purchased these lands more with a view to speculation on Clark & Co. than to settlement."⁹² Dallaire himself had been involved in a trespass in Lambton the previous spring. Nagle agreed with his agent:

Dallaire if he wished to protect only his property, should have stopped Clark & Co.'s people from cutting on or drawing Timber from the lands he claimed; but if on the contrary his object was speculation and that he wished to take the utmost advantage of his man, his course would be to delay action until driving time when from the importance of time and the danger of delay he would be most likely to coerce Clark & Co. into his terms.⁹³

Weak though his legal position was, Dallaire did not accept Nagle's decision without resistance. His lawyers petitioned that the logs not be removed until the courts had time to resolve the issue: "sans cela, il en résultera infailliblement un conflit dont les suites pourraient être très lamentables."⁹⁴ The threat was not an idle one, for in May Pope telegraphed Nagle "Dalieu [Dallaire] threatened to forcibly remove logs your deputy guarded, and kill any one (1) that removes the logs or arrest him."⁹⁵ Three of Dallaire's sons and an employee were subsequently arrested by the Sherbrooke constable and condemned to prison by the local justice of the peace.⁹⁶ Their case was still before the courts nine years later.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, in 1860, the mayor of Aylmer Township charged that Dominique Morin, the justice of the peace who had seized Dallaire's logs and sentenced the four men, was a paid agent of Clark and Company. Morin was said to have used intimidation and violence to drive away Dallaire's guards, and to have convened the court behind the closed doors of a tavern without giving the defendants a chance to speak.⁹⁸ Aylmer's councilors and fifty-eight other inhabitants petitioned for Morin's dismissal on the additional grounds that he was an illiterate alcoholic. The government demanded stronger evidence, but Morin ultimately did resign two years later.⁹⁹

90. *Ibid.*, C.S. Clark and Co., Brompton Falls, 26 April 1859.

91. *Ibid.*, G.J. Nagle to Michel Godette, St. Hyacinthe, 4 May 1859.

92. *Ibid.*, G.J. Nagle to P.M. Vankoughnet, 28 May 1859.

93. *Ibid.*

94. *Ibid.*, Duval and Taschereau, Avocats, to Hon. P. Vankoughnet, Québec, 12 May 1859.

95. *Ibid.*, Telegraph, J.H. Pope to G.J. Nagle, Sherbrooke, 9 May 1859. Dallaire's lawyers claimed that the company's men were the aggressors. Seventy-five had succeeded "avec des armes et des haches et des barres de fer à chasser les gardiens et prendre possession du bois." Nagle felt the story was apocryphal. *Ibid.*, Duval and Taschereau to Vankoughnet, 12 May 1859; Nagle to Vankoughnet, St. Hyacinthe, 28 May 1859; G.J. Nagle to J.H. Pope, St. Hyacinthe, 9 May 1859.

96. PAC, RG4C1, Civil Secretary's Correspondence (Incoming), vol. 478, no. 1067, Affidavit of Mayor of Aylmer Township.

97. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, 1869, no. 366, Affidavit, Romain Dallaire, Aylmer J.P., St. Vital, 30 August 1868. The commissioner of crown lands was inclined to blame Blanchet, the lately dismissed Beauce agent, for "stirring up this trouble as he is known to have been himself a speculator in crown lands." *Ibid.*, Note on cover of Nagle to Vankoughnet, St. Hyacinthe, 28 May 1859.

98. PAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence (Incoming), vol. 478, no. 1067, Affidavit of mayor of Aylmer, 5 May 1860.

99. *Ibid.*, Petition of Inhabitants of Aylmer and Lambton to Governor General Head, 25 April 1860; Draft reply to Mayor Michel Tanguay, Que., 3 July 1860; D. Morin to Chas. Alleyn, Provincial Secretary, 28 July 1860, 10 April 1862.

Perhaps the defiance shown by Dallaire strengthened local resolve, for petitions against Clark and Company grew in numbers of signatures and charges laid. In the spring of 1860, 102 names were appended to those of Dr Labrecque and Aylmer Township's priest, notary, mayor and four councillors. In addition to the old allegations of company trespass on private lots and fraud against the government, the petition labelled Nagle's assistant, Michel Godette, a co-conspirator, and claimed that the "compagnie d'Étrangers Américaines" was building roads which were destroying survey lines, and erecting dams which caused irreparable damage to colonists located by lakes and rivers. Once the company had finished with a lot, even the firewood was gone, making it useless for colonization.¹⁰⁰

By the summer of 1862 the government had actually begun to waver on the issue of renewing timber licences for settled areas. In response to cries such as that of the Beauce County mayors that "nos forêts se ruinent entièrement,"¹⁰¹ the Crown Lands Office asked Nagle to identify townships where licences might not be reissued in the interest of present and future settlers. Nagle presumably resisted this threat to his income, for all permits were renewed as usual the following season.¹⁰²

The settlers did have an ally in William Farwell, crown land agent for the St. Francis district, as well as forest ranger under Nagle's authority.¹⁰³ Farwell suggested in the fall of 1863 that licences not be reissued for Ditton, Chesham, and Emberton Townships. They had already been cut over by the British American Land Company, while briefly in its possession as part of the original St. Francis Tract, and again by Clark and Company, "which has left no more than is wanted for local purposes to be used by the Inhabitants for building on their farms." Sawmills were about to be built in Ditton and Hampden to supply the needs of settlers.¹⁰⁴ But Nagle, himself a former timber entrepreneur,¹⁰⁵ failed to support Farwell's position. He argued that "lumbering in place of deterring the sale and settlement of Bush Land very frequently [...] stimulates them," provided that sugaries and cedar timber were preserved. According to Nagle, the only option to the operations of large logging companies in isolated areas was usually fire because settlers simply were unable to market the timber, an argument which is belied by the timber schedules of the 1871 manuscript census. Nagle even argued that "however closely a Forest Country may be lumbered there will still remain Lumber Woods which will have to be burned off before a local demand for them arises." He was not willing to consider that the townships listed by Farwell presented a special case because he felt that conditions were similar enough throughout the region as a whole that any cancellation of licences would be considered a precedent. Nagle's clincher was that \$65,000 in timber had been shipped from the Eastern Townships to Portland during the current year: "It would be well for Mr. Farwell to consider the effect the stoppage of this trade alone would produce in the Townships."¹⁰⁶

Despite Nagle's arguments, the government did declare in 1864 that licences would not be renewed for townships which were two-thirds settled. In fact, this was not much

100. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Pétition des Colons des Townships de Lambton, Price, Aylmer, and Gayhurst, 7 May 1860.

101. *Ibid.*, Petition of Mayors of Municipalities of Beauce, 1 May 1862. Repeated in 1863.

102. *Ibid.*, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 860, pp. 307-8, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 31 July 1862; p.446, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 7 Nov. 1862.

103. *Ibid.*, Art. 859, p. 491, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 9 Nov. 1861.

104. *Ibid.* Correspondance Générale, W. Farwell to A. Russell, Robinson, 10 Sept. 1863.

105. *Ibid.*, G.J. Nagle to W. McD. Dawson, St. Hyacinthe, 13 March 1857.

106. *Ibid.*, G.J. Nagle to A. Russell, St. Hyacinthe, 26 Sept. 1863.

of a concession because timber monopolists would hardly have been very active in such thickly populated areas. The list for 1864-65 did not include one township in the Lake St. Francis-Lake Megantic region.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the government even reneged on this minor reform the following year, "owing to the state of money matters just now."¹⁰⁸

Although the provincial authorities were willing to turn a blind eye to the trespasses of needy colonists who could not afford to pay for timber permits,¹⁰⁹ very little was done to control the activities of Clark and Company. Consequently, the inhabitants of the upper St. Francis continued their attacks throughout the sixties. In 1864 J.F. Bérubé, curé of Forsyth and Shenley, went so far as to hire a lawyer in order to force Nagle to provide him with the names and residences of all parties constituting C.S. Clark and Company.¹¹⁰ However it is unlikely that local residents could have afforded to take effective legal action. In 1868 a potentially more effective tactic was again resorted to. No doubt because the government could be expected to react most decisively when its own interests were at stake, the mayor of Lambton submitted an affidavit proclaiming that the Clark Company was instructing loggers to declare that the trees they chopped were from private land, and to report only half the wood actually cut.¹¹¹ A Lambton farmer swore that during the twelve years he had worked for the company, employees had been ordered not to declare the correct amount of wood cut.¹¹²

Such testimony was grist for the Crown Land Office's mill, for, as we shall see, Confederation was bringing to a head a protracted struggle with Clark and Company concerning unpaid fees. The new provincial regime was not only less tolerant than the old towards the company, but the upper St. Francis Valley had been carved into three timber agencies (see Figure 2), thereby providing more effective supervision, especially for the vociferous Lake St. Francis townships (placed in the Chaudière agency). The whole district had been very distant from Nagle's headquarters in St. Hyacinthe, and Lambton and surrounding area had also been quite removed from the Bury home of his wood ranger, William Farwell. Under the new regime colonization took on a greater urgency, and the stream of protest petitions dried to a trickle.

The Quebec government promoted colonization in eastern Compton County during the boom years of the early seventies by reserving large chunks of crown lands for parish-sponsored colonization societies and European-financed colonization companies.¹¹³ Most of this activity took place in the unsettled townships of the Lake Megantic drainage basin, but where it impinged on Clark's territory in Hampden and Ditton Townships, Horace

107. *Ibid.*, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 860, Circular by A. Campbell, CCL, Quebec, 17 June 1864.

108. *Ibid.*, Art. 862, p. 419, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 8 June 1865.

109. *Ibid.*, Art. 859, pp. 226-27, P.M. Partridge, Superintendent of Woods and Forests, to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 9 April 1861; Art. 860, pp. 165-66, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 26 April 1862; Art. 866, p. 242, E.E. Taché to W. Farwell, Quebec, 4 June 1872.

110. *Ibid.*, Art. 860, p. 224, A. Russell to le Rev'd J.F. Bérubé of Forsyth, Quebec, 29 Jan. 1864; p. 482, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 29 July 1864; Art. 862, p. 37, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 9 Sept. 1864.

111. *Ibid.* Correspondance Générale, 1869, no. 366, Affidavit of Charles Gagnion, Price farmer [mayor of Lambton], 25 Aug. 1868.

112. *Ibid.*, St. Vital, 30 Aug. 1868.

113. See J.I. Little, "The Peaceable Conquest. French-Canadian Colonization in the Eastern Townships during the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1976), chapters 8 and 10.

Sawyer, a barely disguised surrogate for the company, was able to lease all the unreserved lots.¹¹⁴

A greater threat to the lumber company than the short-lived colonization ventures came from local entrepreneurs as the railroad network extended northeastward during the seventies. In 1873, for example, the Compton County registrar inquired about buying for cash, without settlement duties, all the crown lots in Chesham and Woburn.¹¹⁵ The same year, F. Paquette, sawmill operator and founder of a French-Canadian colony in Hereford Township, applied to purchase all the crown land in seven of eastern Compton County's townships. He was informed that the land would have to be sold at auction.¹¹⁶

The more usual practice was simply to trespass on licensed timber lots. This grew so prevalent during the seventies that the government became concerned about its revenues. If the companies could not protect their berths, how were the timber agents to collect fees from logs cut thereon?¹¹⁷ One solution was to appoint bush rangers on a permanent basis in settled townships, for "it requires more care to watch the inhabitants than the limit holders."¹¹⁸ And, in cases where the competence of the bush rangers fell into doubt, crown timber agents were authorized to appoint secret inspectors to investigate suspected depredations. These rangers could in effect act as spies for the companies, reporting trespasses on their berths.¹¹⁹

Such defensive measures could not reverse the economic transformation introduced by the Quebec Central Railroad and Pope's own International line. Even if Clark and Company was in fact able to protect its timber limits in the face of growing demand and shrinking supply, its mill could not survive the competition from smaller, more efficient steam sawmills springing up along the rail lines close to the supplies of timber.¹²⁰ In 1873 a Scottish colonization company founded the sawmill centre of Scotstown on the Salmon River, after purchasing \$30,000 in shares to attract the International Railroad to the site.¹²¹ Only a few miles away another sawmill community known as Bown's Mills was born soon after.¹²² On the Quebec Central line a new steam mill was reported at Lake Weedon in 1880, and the construction of two more soon followed at Black Creek (Disraeli) on Lake Aylmer.¹²³ In Compton County between 1871 and 1881 the number of mills increased only from fifty-six to sixty-three, but hands employed almost doubled (120 to 218), logs pro-

114. Perhaps the provincial government did not feel so obliged to protect Ditton and Hampden because their reserves were held by largely inactive English-speaking colonization societies. ANQ-Q, *Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale*, 1872, no. 2854-85, 26 Aug. 1872; no. 2891, L. Pope to CCL, Robinson, 17 Aug. 1872, no. 3274, W. Farwell to CCL, Robinson, 28 Sept. 1872; Cover, 7 Oct. 1872.

115. *Ibid.*, 1873, no. 193, J.I. Mackie to CCL, Cookshire, 13 Jan. 1873.

116. *Ibid.*, no. 264, F. Paquette to CCL, Paquetteville, 18 Jan. 1873.

117. *Ibid.*, 1874, no. 358, John Hume, Inspector of Agencies, to CCL, Quebec, 27 Jan. 1874.

118. *Ibid.*, no. 5208, John Hume to CCL, Quebec, 24 Nov. 1874.

119. *Ibid.*, *Lettres Envoyées*, Art. 867, p. 133, P. Fortin, CCL, to Crown Timber Agents (Confidential Instructions), Quebec, 28 Feb. 1874. See, for example, the cases mentioned in *ibid.*, Art. 868, p. 303, E.E. Taché to W. Farwell, Quebec, 22 March 1876.

120. After 1875 water-driven sawmills were seldom built. Lower, *North American Assault*, p. 48. Saw mills were also appearing closer to the sources of timber in Maine during the 1870s. See Smith, *A History of Lumbering in Maine*, p. 108.

121. Little, "Peaceable Conquest," pp. 405-06.

122. *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, 21 March 1959; H. Carl Mayhew, *A History of Canterbury Quebec* (n.p., 1970), pp. 36-38.

123. *Sherbrooke Gazette*, 19 Nov. 1880. The QCR reached Weedon in 1875, Thetford Mines in 1878, and a line running to Quebec City in 1880. Booth, "Changing Forest Utilization Patterns," p. 112.

cessed multiplied about two and a half times (182,381 to 417,849) and the value of production jumped from \$79,080 to \$185,496.¹²⁴

Pope's son and son-in-law would maintain a very strong position in the region's timber industry,¹²⁵ but the upper St. Francis Valley apparently enjoyed at least a mild measure of relief from monopoly control during the eighties. With economic benefits somewhat more widely distributed, it is presumably no coincidence that local protests declined in the seventies. However, any improvement in the residents' economic situation was short-lived, because the best supplies of lumber had been exhausted. Such were the grounds for a petition in 1877 by some 400 inhabitants of six upper Beauce townships who faced judicial proceedings for arrears in crown lands payments:

Que la coupe des bois qui s'est faite depuis vingt cinq ans en nos Townships au profit du gouvernement mais par des étrangers, ayant complètement dévasté nos forêts, nous ayant enlevé les derniers moyens sur lesquels les colons pouvaient compter pour faire leurs paiements sur le prix de leur terre.¹²⁶

These colonists were not disinterested observers, but an 1885 report to the government on the nature of the timber on each unpatented lot in sparsely settled Winslow Township was filled with comments such as "culled," "dark stunted balsam, spruce, cedar," and "soft, scrubby timber, partly burnt."¹²⁷

The inquiry was obviously commissioned because of the emergence of the pulp and paper industry in the region. The sudden demand for young, low quality softwood would give a shot in the arm to the local economy, but once again monopoly would dominate. Clark's Brompton sawmill was replaced by a pulp mill, consuming 40,000 cords of spruce and fir a year from the same upper St. Francis townships.¹²⁸ The only way the local inhabitants could resist was to continue their tradition of trespassing, as the commissioner of the British American Land Company lamented in 1897:

The expense of watching has been increased, and in cases of trespass the costs of survey to prove trespass, together with the legal proceedings, almost invariably exceed the value of the timber stolen. We do not let any matter pass; it would be a premium for the poacher. In most cases the trespasser is himself without means, and can always dispose of the stolen property to the lumber dealers or the country storekeeper who has advanced money and provender for the work, and as in the case of smuggling, no dishonor seems to attach to this class of stealing.¹²⁹

124. Canada, *Census Reports*, 1871, 1881. Note that in 1880-01 four times as many logs were sawed in Compton County as were reported cut on crown lands throughout the St. Francis and Arthabaska Agencies.

125. During the eighties Rufus Pope and W.B. Ives, M.P. for Richmond-Wolfe, established the Cookshire Mill Company (with exports to South America of fifty million feet worth \$650,000 by the mid-nineties), the Scotstown Lumber Company, the Salmon River Pulp Company also of Scotstown, and the Royal Paper Mills of East Angus. Channell, *History of Compton County*, pp. 46, 131-32.

126. ANQ-Q, E4, Secrétariat Provincial, Correspondance Générale, Municipalités. Art 884, no. 481. Petition dated Dec. 1877.

127. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Art 940, Inspectors' Reports, Winslow- 1885.

128. Gravel, *Sainte Praxède de Brompton*, p. 56. The first chemical pulp mill in Canada had been put into operation a short distance downriver at Windsor Mills in 1866. Booth, *Townships of the St. Francis*, p. 65. The Brompton Pulp and Paper Company held reserves of 287,000 acres in the Eastern Townships and Maine, and held the exclusive right to float wood on the upper St. Francis. B. Brouillette, "L'industrie des Pâtes et du Papier," in *La Forêt* (Montréal: Editions Fides, 1944), pp. 179-80; Frank MacKenzie, "The History of Man's Utilization of the St. Francis River, Quebec" (B.A. Thesis, Bishop's University, 1977), pp. 62-65.

129. PAC, British American Land Company Papers, vol. 12, Reports and Accounts, 1861-1910, p. 2409, Commissioner's Report to Henry Paull, Esq., Governor, Sherbrooke, 25 Jan. 1897.

III — RELATIONS WITH THE CROWN LANDS OFFICE

While French-Canadian colonization remained an official priority throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, successive governments were clearly unwilling to heed colonists' complaints that the monopoly was adding to their impoverishment. As a general rule, cash-starved administrations could not afford to diminish their chief source of income, but, in the case of C.S. Clark and Company, the timber revenue collected was far from impressive.

Problems with Clark developed as early as the spring of 1854 when V. Larue, crown timber agent for the Chaudière district, inspected the logs chopped in the Eastern Townships. When he reached the operations of Clark and Brown at the end of April, they asked for a nine- or ten-day delay on the grounds that they had not measured their cut. Larue was skeptical:

Il n'y a pas d'hommes plus attentifs à suivre leurs affaires. D'ailleurs ayant Contracté pour des bourgeois Américains, il va sans dire qu'ils avaient Compté le bois qu'ils faisaient couper. Les Foremen de Clark Brown et Cie ont dit qu'ils avaient Coupé au moins 50 Millions de pieds de bois, pendant que ces Messieurs ont déclaré n'en avoir coupé que 17 Millions.¹³⁰

Clark and Brown at first reported that they had cut 38,289 logs, but Larue protested that this was too few as they had employed 300 to 350 men. He felt the figure was closer to 100,000. Five days later the company altered its claim to 44,368 seventeen-foot pine logs, equivalent to 62,854 of standard twelve-foot length. But after J.H. Pope returned from an inspection, the tally of twelve-foot logs was dropped again to 48,380, amounting to a mere 12,095,000 feet "among which are many old dry trees and top logs which never were worth drawing from the woods." Pope actually deducted ten percent for useless logs, leaving a total of 43,542.¹³¹ The deduction of sub-standard trees became a standard ploy of the company, even though its mill was designed to process generally non-marketable wood by manufacturing boxes and laths, etc.¹³²

At the end of May Larue sent a merchant from St. Vital de Lambton to inspect the Clark and Brown cut, but he was not able to obtain a "résultat définitif." Consequently, Larue himself interviewed "plusieurs Personnes qui me paraissaient bien informées," but with no success. He concluded that it would always be impossible for the government to determine how much wood was cut "par la règle actuellement existante de Compter et faire payer Chaque billot." The charge should instead be for each tree, as it would be easier to count fresh stumps at Lakes St. Francis and Aylmer, than logs in "les Beaumes [booms] de MM Clark Brown et Cie." Larue had been forced to hurry in the enumeration of logs because they would soon be passing to the American side of the border.¹³³ The problem of tallying each year's cut would not be completely solved by the Crown Lands Office even after Confederation when it appointed special bush rangers. During the winter of 1873-74, for example, snow and river ice covered a large portion of the logs making accurate

130. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Report of Inspection of Lumbering Operations in Eastern Townships. V. Larue, St. Charles, 23 June 1854.

131. *Ibid.*, J.H. Pope to Clark, Brown and Co., Lake St. Francis, 30 April 1854.

132. ANQ-S, Queen's Bench, Cragin vs. Pope et al., testimony of Richard Charles Porter, 15 Sept. 1871.

133. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, S.V. Larue to W. McD. Dawson, St. Charles, 12 June 1854. Perhaps Larue was not aware that the Brompton mill was already in operation. Clark had obtained permission to delay payment of dues on the grounds that the timber would be sawed in the province. *Ibid.*, W. McD. Dawson to C.S. Clark, Quebec, 9 May 1854.

counting impossible. The province's timber agents were almost unanimous in declaring that the system was of very limited use in checking limit holders.¹³⁴

For the 1856-57 season, Nagle appointed a crown surveyor, George Austin, to undertake the inspection of the upper St. Francis area. Austin was informed that because "the lumbermen of the Saint Francis are in the habit of Keeping no accounting of what they consider cull wood," he was to regard the company scalers' bills as only an approximate indicator of the quantity of timber cut at each camp. The surveyor was to report the force of teams and men in each camp, the date of commencement, when they intended to close operations, weekly progress, quantity of wood, locations where wood cut, and the general character of the land.¹³⁵ He apparently reported that Clark and Company was indeed underestimating its cut, for on April 9 Nagle informed them that Austin was being instructed to re-examine the operations "of certain accessible camps," using his findings there as "a rule of charge" for all the company's operations.¹³⁶

Unfortunately no account for 1856-57 could be found in the departmental documents, but a report for the following winter listed 36,338 pine, 3,053 spruce, and 400 cedar ties, with an estimated 2,491 additional trees to be cut by thirty-three company camps before the season ended.¹³⁷ The company, on the other hand, claimed that only 27,220 pine logs had been cut by its crews, and another 484 pine and 6,011 spruce by contractors.¹³⁸ Nagle's explanation for the discrepancy between the two reports was that Clark's return had been made from scalers' books, and "their rule is not to include culls or what they term *scoots*." The agent's duty was to count all logs cut, therefore ten percent should be added to the Clark estimate.¹³⁹

By the winter of 1860 Clark and Company owed the government \$9,833.95, but the new owner, Pope, asked for a credit of \$11,238.34. His grounds were that part of the logs had been rotten and worthless, half had been swept past the mill to be lost in the spring of 1854 (resulting in the expense of \$20,000 to improve the stream), and dues levied for some seasons were for more logs than had actually been taken out.¹⁴⁰ Nagle's reply was that the charges for the seasons 1854 to 1856 and 1857 to 1860 were based on the company's own returns, the only adjustments being in the number of twelve-foot logs computed from the number of full-length logs reported.¹⁴¹

134. *Ibid.*, 1874, no. 5208, John Hume to CCL, Quebec, 24 Nov. 1874. Graeme Wynn claims that New Brunswick's early "deputy surveyors," working under considerably greater handicaps, did act as an effective check against those attempting to cheat the government. G. Wynn, "Administration in Adversity: the Deputy Surveyors and Control of the New Brunswick Crown Forest Before 1844," *Acadiensis*, VII (Autumn 1977): pp. 49-65.

135. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, G.J. Nagle to Geo. F. Austin, Esq., Crown Surveyor, St. Hyacinthe, 9 March 1857. Attached to 3167/61 — Nagle to Austin, 9 April 1861.

136. *Ibid.* G.J. Nagle to C.S. Clark and Co., St. Hyacinthe, 9 April 1857.

137. *Ibid.* Statement no. 9/58, Logs cut by C.S. Clark and Co., James R. McDonald, 7 April 1858.

138. *Ibid.*, Return of timber cut by C.S. Clark Co. during the season of 1857-58.

139. *Ibid.* Statement of logs cut in Nagle Agency, 1857-58, 4 Sept. 1858.

140. *Ibid.*, Memorandum, P.M. Vankoughnet, CCL, Quebec, 26 Sept. 1861; J.H. Pope to P.M. Vankoughnet, Quebec, 23 March 1861 (private). Pope would later claim that two million feet reported by government agents in Black Creek in 1856-57, when rescaled by himself and an experienced assistant, produced not more than 300,000 feet of sawing logs. *Ibid.*, Affidavit of Washington Lunt of Sherbrooke, 19 June 1865. Even a government wood ranger would swear that thousands of Clark's logs were small and worthless from dry rot, and that he had seen hundreds floated over the dam at Brompton Falls. *Ibid.*, Affidavit of Michel Gaudette of Weedon, 8 June 1865.

141. *Ibid.*, G.J. Nagle to A. Russell, St. Hyacinthe, 5 March 1861.

However, Nagle ultimately softened his stand, reporting to the superintendent of woods and forests that, for six of the seven seasons, one-third of the logs charged against the company, "were bad, cull and worthless." This was a rather surprising reversal considering that the government's estimates were based on the company's own deflated reports, but Superintendent Partridge concluded that "there are strong grounds for making the allowance to the extent recommended by Mr. Nagle."¹⁴² His superior, the commissioner of crown lands, observed that the regulations stated clearly that no distinctions could be made as to the quality of logs, but he admitted that "the claim is somewhat new to the Department." Consideration had been taken in one previous case of the small diameter of the logs, but a similar case in 1858 had been rejected:

If Messrs Clark & Co. had not cut the trees which they now claim a deduction for as having produced worthless logs, those Trees would no doubt, have been of some use at a later date to parties taking up the Lands for settlement. On the other hand if Clark & Co. manufactured their logs as the greater number of Saw Mill Owners do, cutting them up in the Woods into regular lengths, and not hauling and driving the trees nearly whole — much of what they claim deduction for, as worthless, would have been left in the Woods, as is done to a wasteful extent in many instances, by other Saw Mill owners [...] However Clark & Co. were under no necessity to cut these trees down. They appear to have cut indiscriminately and wastefully.

After this vacillating preamble, Commissioner Vankoughnet suggested that dues on the wood found to be useless be reduced by half, on the understanding that no such consideration would be shown the company in future.¹⁴³ Nagle's concession that one-third of the wood was defective should have meant a one-sixth reduction in fees, but, typically enough, a full \$5,286.45 was written off by order-in-council, leaving only \$5,189.90 owing.¹⁴⁴

Still Pope was not satisfied. He claimed that when he had purchased the company from the banks in 1859, Nagle had informed him that only \$3,555 was owed to the government. This he had paid, understanding it to be the final settlement.¹⁴⁵ Pope almost won by default in the end, for in 1867 Partridge submitted a report crediting the company with \$10,283.15, supposedly based on the 1861 order-in-council. Thus, in effect, the total debt for 1854 to 1860 had been eliminated. In 1871, however, the issue was reopened by Nagle whose agency was being closed, forcing him to collect back accounts. He had apparently received no instructions authorizing the more generous interpretation of the 1861 decision.¹⁴⁶ Counting the \$5,189.80 owing as of 1860, the total debt amounted to \$13,325.56 in 1871. Pope, who had become Federal Minister of Agriculture in 1869, had officially sold the company back to Clark that same year, but it was he who protested that the earlier debt had been written off. In an attempt to flex his political muscle, he asked that his cabinet colleagues, G.E. Cartier and A.T. Galt, be chosen as arbitrators on the grounds that they had been part of the administration which had made the original decision. Pope also claimed a \$4,500 deduction (6,000 pine logs at 75 cents) for the "authorized" trespass of timber

142. *Ibid.*, Memorandum respecting claim of Messrs C.S. Clark and Co. ... by P.M. Partridge, Superintendent Woods and Forests [n.d.].

143. *Ibid.*, Memorandum, P.M. Vankoughnet, CCL, Quebec, 26 Sept. 1861. See also Lettres Envoyées, Art. 859, p. 484, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 6 Nov. 1861.

144. ANQ-Q, *Ibid.*, Correspondance Générale, P.M. Vankoughnet, Quebec, 18 March 1862.

145. *Ibid.*, J.H. Pope, Brompton Falls, 17 March 1862. A.T. Galt upheld Pope's claim. *Ibid.*, A.T. Galt to A. Russell, 25 Feb. 1862.

146. *Ibid.* Lettres Envoyées, Art. 865, p. 338, E.E. Taché to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 24 Nov. 1869; p. 263, G.A. Bourgeois to G.J. Nagle and 5 others, Quebec, 17 June 1869; Correspondance Générale, 1869, no. 3104, G.J. Nagle to E.E. Taché, St. Hyacinthe, 12 Oct. 1869.

entrepreneur Charles King on the Clark Company's Coleraine berth. After Clark had been paying ground rent for years to conserve "some of our best Pine," the lands had been declared fit for settlement. This had given King the opportunity to take the timber upon payment of a trespass fee to the government.¹⁴⁷ Finally, Pope claimed a \$3,000 deduction for the loss of limits in Garthby. On the latter two points he offered to accept the decision of two arbitrators, one to be chosen by the Crown Lands Office and one by the company, the arbitrators to pick an umpire in case of disagreement. In sum, Pope was asking for a \$12,689.80 deduction, leaving a total debt of only \$635.76.¹⁴⁸

The crown land commissioner declared his rejection of Pope's claim within the week. He not only stuck to the initial interpretation of the 1861 order-in-council, he also refused to accept responsibility for King's trespass in Coleraine, stating that certain lots were removed from Pope's licence "parce qu'ils étaient demandées par des colons supposé de bonne foi." Pope's suggestion of arbitration was also vetoed, signifying that his move to the House of Commons after Confederation had considerably diminished his political influence over the Crown Lands Office.¹⁴⁹

The new provincial administration soon began to take a closer look at the company's operations. In August, 1870 Pope was reminded that because his company had, for many years past, been in the habit of reporting only a small portion of its annual cut, the department had made a careful inspection in the woods the previous winter. The result had confirmed that less than half the quantity of logs had been declared. The new timber agent for the Chaudière division had refrained from seizing lumber at Brompton Falls in lieu of unpaid fees only because the foreman had been absent. Pope was again informed that his claim to exemption for rotten logs would not be accepted, and that he could not refuse to pay the travelling expenses of the agent who had discovered his trespass in Coleraine. Finally, the Crown Lands Office was even taking a new and tougher stand on the 1861 order-in-council, which had granted a fifty percent remission. Pope was told that he could not reasonably demand this when his petition had asked for only one-third off. The assistant commissioner intimated that if Clark and Company did not promptly close all back accounts, its request for a permit to export three and a half million feet of lumber would not be forthcoming.¹⁵⁰

Upon Pope's protest, Taché assured him that he had not suggested that intentional fraud had been perpetrated. Nonetheless, several serious charges had been made by influential persons, "which, through a sense a moderation, were not acted upon at the time, but on your late refusal to come to an agreement to the just requirements of our agent, the Commissioner could no more remain silent." Enclosed was a letter from a member of the Legislative Assembly, with five affidavits, which "will give you sufficient proofs, that there

147. These lots were restored to the Clark licence in the fall of 1869. *Ibid.* Lettres Envoyées, Art. 865, p. 299, E.E. Taché to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 25 Sept. 1869.

148. Pope's case also mentioned the repayment of unspecified fees for logs cut in Weedon which had proven to be, on British American Land Company land. *Ibid.*, Correspondance Générale, 1869, No. 3796, J.H. Pope to G.J. Nagle, Cookshire, 3 Dec. 1869. After Pope had been forced to pay the land company \$2000 for this trespass in 1865, he had the audacity to claim compensation for the full amount from the government. *Ibid.*, J.H. Pope to Campbell, CCL, Brompton Falls, 20 April 1865; 22 May 1865.

149. *Ibid.*, 1869, No. 3796, E.E.T. pour le Commissaire, 9 Dec. 1869; *Ibid.*, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 865, p. 361, E.E. Taché to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 10 Jan. 1870.

150. *Ibid.*, Lettres Envoyées, Art. 866, p.4, E.E. Taché to J.H. Pope, Clark and Co., Quebec, 17 August 1870. In 1871 Taché reiterated to the timber agent that dues would have to be paid on all logs, irrespective of quality. *Ibid.*, p. 123, E.E. Taché to W. Farwell, Quebec, 7 July 1871.

existed ample reason for adopting the course which has been pursued." Taché concluded that the form of the letter addressed to Clark's firm "could not in any way render justifiable the impropriety of the language used in your reply."¹⁵¹

After years of vacillation and remarkable lethargy, the Crown Lands Office was finally willing to back its words with action.¹⁵² When Clark paid \$433.66 in October for the season's ground rent in eight townships, he and Pope were informed that the licences had been forfeited, and the payment deposited in account for arrears due. The St. Francis agent, Farwell, was also warned to ensure that the company made no trespass on its former limits.¹⁵³ The color of the language in Pope's response will have to be left to the imagination, but he was probably forced to co-operate at last, for within a month all licences were renewed and a permit issued to export the season's lumber.¹⁵⁴

There would be few clashes in the ensuing decade. The historian Marcel Hamelin condemns the Crown Lands Office of the seventies for corruption and incompetency,¹⁵⁵ but the provincial government's growing dependence upon the public domain as a source of revenue seems to have made it less tolerant of lumbermen's abuses. For example bush rangers (appointed in 1874) were instructed to ascertain the quantity of logs left in the woods by limit owners so that stumpage dues could be collected.¹⁵⁶ The government's hardened attitude may be one reason why C.S. Clark and Company purchased so much land during the early seventies. But it would be discouraged from making false claims that any logs cut on its crown leases had been acquired from privately owned land because bush rangers were to keep an eye on such activities. In fact, affidavits would have to be produced identifying the lot locations of all timber so obtained.¹⁵⁷ As far as the Eastern Townships were concerned, however, the government's awakened vigilance came too late to benefit from the best years of lumbering. Revenues soared briefly in the early seventies, but even when the market again re-established itself after the 1875-79 recession, the region's response would be a faltering one (see Figure 3).

CONCLUSION

Clark and Company contributed little to either the colonists of the upper St. Francis or the provincial treasury. Government revenue from all crown timber taken from the Eastern Townships prior to 1881 rarely exceeded fifteen thousand dollars a year, from which

151. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16, E.E. Taché to J.H. Pope, MP, Quebec, 5 Sept. 1870.

152. There are only a few earlier instances in which the Crown Lands Office came close to using coercion. The Clark and Company licences were supposedly not renewed for the 1857-58 season because Nagle was not satisfied with the accuracy of the returns for the preceding season. *Ibid.*, Art. 857, pp. 115-17, P.M. Vankoughnet to C.S. Clark and Co., Toronto, 8 Sept. 1858. However they cut on all the limits that winter in any case. For the 1859-60 and 1860-61 seasons, the licences for Winslow, Adstock, and Price were forfeited for non-payment of outstanding dues, but once again the company ignored the government's action. In 1862 all was forgiven and the \$438.73 in trespass fees (for 21,526 logs) was removed. *Ibid.*, Art. 860, p. 395, A. Russell to G.J. Nagle, Quebec, 27 Sept. 1862.

153. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65, E.E. Taché to W. Farwell, Quebec, 11 Jan. 1871; E.E. Taché to J.H. Pope and C.S. Clark and Co., Quebec, 11 Jan. 1871.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 76, E.E. Taché to W. Farwell, Quebec, 4 Feb. 1871.

155. Hamelin, *Les Premières années du parlementarisme*, pp. 189-90.

156. ANQ-Q, Terres et Forêts, Correspondance Générale, Art. 869, p. 1, E.E. Taché, Circular to CTAs, Quebec, 7 Feb. 1877.

157. *Ibid.*, Art. 867, p. 98, E.E. Taché to W. Farwell, Quebec, 10 Feb. 1874; p. 133, P. Fortin to CTAs (Confidential Instructions), Quebec, 28 Feb. 1874.

the costs of maintaining timber agents, woods rangers, and a portion of the Crown Lands Office bureaucracy had to be subtracted. J.E. Hodgetts' theory that the reason governments were lenient was to avoid killing the goose that laid the golden egg¹⁵⁸ simply does not apply in this case. A careful economic analysis would be necessary to test Michael Cross's claim that small firms were "doomed in a necessarily large-scale industry."¹⁵⁹ Even without direct evidence in the form of company records or personal papers, however, one can conclude with some certainty that the history of C.S. Clark and Company had as much to do with political power as it did with market-place imperatives. J.H. Pope's influence over the Crown Lands Office may have declined after Confederation, but the links between the federal and provincial Conservatives remained strong enough to ensure that the Clark Company's timber berths would not be disturbed, provided it conformed to the existing regulations. Nor did the Liberals' accession to power in both Ottawa and Quebec pose any danger because a provincial regulation passed in 1868 had guaranteed that all timber limits would be renewed automatically each year until 1889.

Thus a system which may have been essential for the conditions of the remote northern operations was imposed upon the relatively accessible Eastern Townships. Here it would only discourage the expansion of small-scale capital and make life more difficult for local farmers who relied upon the woods for economic survival. Because of the nineteenth-century North-American attitude that the forest was basically a temporary obstacle to agricultural expansion, government would not recognize the ongoing necessity for settlers in marginal areas to supplement farm production with income from the woods. The proclivity towards a strictly agriculturally based society was so strong that even the colonists' petitions failed to mention their dependence on a mixed economy, focussing instead on Clark and Company's illegal cutting of trees required for construction purposes.

Ironically, then, the lumber barons had little reason to challenge the so-called agrarian bias of government, for prior to the 1880s they themselves generally perceived the pine and spruce forests to be a non-renewable resource.¹⁶⁰ The consequence, presumably, was that settlers would be seen as little more than a nuisance provided that trespass could be forestalled and licence holders could continue to enjoy cutting privileges on colonists' non-patented lots. Thus Pope could promote settlement in Eastern Compton County despite the fact that his company did not require a greater local source of labour or provisions.¹⁶¹ Settlers would become serious competitors only after railroads finally penetrated the upper St. Francis district in the 1870s, but by that time the heyday of the Upper St. Francis lumber industry had already passed.

158. J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service. An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 141.

159. M.S. Cross "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-1867," in *Canadian History Before Confederation. Essays and Interpretations*, ed. J.M. Bumsted (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey Limited, 1972), p. 312.

160. See R.P. Gillis, "The Ottawa lumber barons and the conservation movement 1880-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, IX (Feb. 1974): 14; and G. Wall, "Nineteenth-century Land Use and Settlement on the Canadian Shield Frontier," in *The Frontier: Comparative Studies*, ed. D.H. Miller and J.O. Steffen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), pp. 235-39.

161. Little, "The Peaceable Conquest," pp. 349-52. While he avoids making a direct statement to that effect, N. Séguin's analysis strongly suggests that timber companies actually favoured colonization as an economic benefit to themselves. See, for example, Normand Séguin, *La Conquête du sol au 19^e siècle* (Québec: Boréal Express, 1977), p. 115.