ROYAL COMMISSION ON

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

CULTURE AND INTERCULTURAL DYNAMICS

THE LIFE STORIES OF THREE MEN

FROM SAGUENAY--LAC-SAINT-JEAN

(Volume I)

Camil Girard

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The study region

Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean

Historic overview

Introduction: major trends in development of the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region

In this first part of our study, we outline the components in the region's socio-economic structure, which gives us a broader view of the development problems of a region such as Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean and the relationships that develop between the government, capital and society, be it the Montagnais/Ilnu, Saguenay residents, Lac-Saint-Jean residents or immigrants. Development of the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region appears to be characteristic of peripheral regions in Quebec's Middle North which lie at the edge of major producing and consuming centres, and ultimately depends on a multitude of factors, whether geographic, economic, social, political or cultural.[1] In the second part, we will trace the major stages in the region's history. We believe this is the best way to define the place of Aboriginal people in our history over the long term. It should be noted that until 1842, the Montagnais were the only people able to develop their hunting grounds for the trade controlled by the merchants who held a monopoly on that trade.

Various external or exogenous factors mark the type of development which structures the region in question and may have an impact on the cultural relationships that develop among the groups. The

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[1] For a detailed analysis, see Camil Girard and Normand Perron, *Histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean*, Quebec City, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), 1989, 667 pp.

external factors include, in particular, the dependence on foreign capital and markets. There is also the technology used in the processing industry, which most often consists of borrowed expertise. And what is to be said of the government's actions to promote development marked by extraversion, even if this is not exclusively the case. The internal or endogenous factors, which constitute other foundations of the development of Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, include a Laurentian-type geography and a northern climate. The major natural resource are based on hunting and fishing, forestry, waterpower, mining and farming sectors.

At present, of the 280,000 or so inhabitants of the region, about 3,000 are Montagnais/Ilnu from Mashteuiatsh. More than 7,000 other Ilnu live along the North Shore. Aboriginal people in the region form part of the Ilnu nation, which totals more than 10,000 people, and it is estimated that 80 percent of these still speak Montagnais.[2] Within this group, the Montagnais language is spoken more in the communities located on the North Shore. The region is also characterized by the fact that 98 percent of the population is French-speaking and Catholic, and not as a result of foreign immigration, as is often the case in other regions of Canada; settlement of the region originated primarily from the old rural areas of the Charlevoix or South Shore regions.

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[2] Jacques Maurais (Ed.), *Les Langues autochtones du Québec*, Quebec City, Les Publications du Québec, 1992, pp. 88 ff.

The capitalist system, as applied to the region, remains the basic cause of certain persistent imbalances, and this is evident in both economic and social terms. In outlying areas, development appears to be based on extremes. Highly developed sectors, such as forestry and aluminum smelting, appear to develop in parallel while others linked primarily to processing fail to achieve structure. In this situation, the Ilnu find themselves in communities with very limited opportunities while the traditional activities of hunting and fishing, as culturally important as they may be, are hardly able to provide families with sufficient income. In turn, the newcomers were first linked to English-speaking investors who took over the fur trade following the Conquest of 1760, the lumber trade in the 19th century, and the large-scale pulp and paper and aluminum industries in the 20th century. Other immigrants, although few in number, began coming to the region in the 20th century and helped establish the large-scale industries. Finally, still others work in the various private businesses. A final wave that began in the 1960s was linked with the development of service institutions created following the Quiet Revolution: the CÉGEP, the university, hospitals, etc.

Between 1941 and 1971 in the Chicoutimi-Jonquière metropolitan area, the population of native speakers of English rose from 1,676 to 4,795, from 2.1 to 2.9 percent of the population figures

provided by Statistics Canada.[3] This number declined to 2,120 in 1986, or 1.4 percent of the population. In 1986 as well, only 410 people reported speaking languages other than the official languages and 1,190 had been born outside Canada, including 255 in the Americas (United States and other Western Hemisphere countries), 585 in Europe and the United Kingdom, 105 in Africa and 235 in Asia.[4] In this same metropolitan area, 885 people in 1986 reported being of Aboriginal origin. In the neighbouring county of Lac-Saint-Jean-Ouest, which includes Mashteuiatsh, 1,840 people claimed Aboriginal origin.

In a region such as Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, development centred on a few primary resources generates harmful effects on development of the regional economy which fails to achieve diversification, and this has consequences on the local ability to retain population. While the economic system defends its prerogatives in the name of profit, the political system in turn justifies its action with national objectives which themselves are based on a liberal development philosophy. Yet national projects form part of a perspective that is not always interested in regional self-affirmation. The issues are complex. The structuring of the provincial economy around urban poles also reinforces the marginal

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[3] Pierre Laroche, "Anglais à l'horizon. Les anglophones sont omniprésents dans le quotidien et le vécu des gens du Lac Saint-Jean", *Le Devoir*, 10 July 1993.

[4] See *Census of Canada 1986* (table in Appendix).

position of regions as suppliers of resources in the overall system. Federal policies to redistribute collective wealth, planning and modernization policies for regional economies defended by the provinces and even the efforts made to provide equal services in education or health all have contributed to improving the region's status, but some disparities persist. In this respect, the status of Aboriginal people in the region, as elsewhere in Quebec and Canada, illustrates the difficulties of ensuring equitable distribution of collective wealth while promoting the affirmation of certain cultures in a context favourable to some degree of integration. The philosophies of catching up and modernization that underlie government intervention appear to fail to diversify the industrial structure and do not reach the most marginal groups in society, especially Aboriginal people.

The history of a region such as Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean shows the establishment of a political system that competes to build a capitalism with a highly monopolistic trend in northern areas that have low population density. It is as if the management of marginal areas of this type in Canada ultimately required all players to take into account the interactions between the Aboriginal and Western civilizations, between nomadic and sedentary cultures, in the development of such areas. Beginning with the first alliance with the Montagnais at Tadoussac in 1603, France subsequently created the Traite de Tadoussac [trading company] in 1652. Through its action, the government effectively gave private capital an

exclusive rights in the entire territory reserved for the fur trade and fishing. In another important aspect of this monopoly, the Montagnais alone were permitted to engage in hunting for trading purposes in this territory of the *Domaine du Roi* [King's Realm]. This situation continued until 1842, when the government opened the region to settlement by whites. Opening of the Saguenay to colonization in the 19th century led capitalists to tighten their hold on resources although the territory could now be settled. Capital nonetheless managed to maintain a marked influence on all community life. As sole suppliers, the Aboriginal people were under the control of the fur merchants. Beginning in the 1850s, forestry workers were governed by the rules imposed by William Price or his representatives, who operated in each village. The establishment of several pulp and paper mills weakened Price's monopoly in the region. Assembled in large numbers in the mills, workers began to organize under the initiative of Catholic unions and managed to considerably improve their working conditions and wages. In 1926, Alcan began to establish itself as the largest industrial employer in the region, as it developed a vast industrial complex in Arvida to produce raw aluminum.

Due to their small numbers and their dispersal over a vast area, the Montagnais/Ilnu found it difficult to establish themselves in a region such as Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean. The band councils are the main forum for self-affirmation and organization of social and economic activities, but the action of band councils often results

in movements of political (land claims) and cultural (return to traditional hunting grounds) affirmation. Locally, Aboriginal people have very little opportunity for self-affirmation. We therefore believe it is important to place the Ilnu culture back into a long-term historical context to better understand the issues of claims that remain complex and difficult.

Major stages in regional development

First stage: The Saguenay, Aboriginal territory, 1500-1652

The Saguenay originally was an area inhabited solely by Aboriginal people. It extended along the St. Lawrence from Sept-Îles to Île-aux-Coudres. Inland, the boundary is less clearly defined, but includes the Saguenay River and Lac Saint-Jean watershed, extending on the northwest to the edge of James Bay.

The European fishermen, who themselves came from the major regions along the Atlantic coast, hunted whale and fished for cod in the 16th century along the shores of the St. Lawrence. Tadoussac quickly became an important port with the first fur trade with the Amerindians. Beginning in the 17th century, the Montagnais appear to have controlled their own market within the Saguenay territory. In this initial phase, from the earliest contacts, France left the field open to promoters interested in developing the resources. By drawing maps of the shores and trying to organize the trade,

however, the French government laid the foundation for legal appropriation of the territory, that would be used to justify the type of colonization that would prevail in New France.

In the initial development, which was already dependent on natural resources, the Europeans held a monopoly over the sailing ships that allowed them to cross the seas and gain access to markets. In turn, during this period, the Amerindians maintained a certain influence over their ancestral territory, which they criss-crossed in their birchbark canoes and on snowshoes. The entire life and culture of Aboriginal people take on meaning solely through this intimate if not inseparable relationship of the individual with nature. By viewing themselves and acting as an integral part of their environment, Aboriginal people displayed a fundamental difference from the European newcomers. Living on lands they had inhabited for more than 3,500 years before Christ, the Aboriginal people saw themselves, in the first contacts with Europeans, as genuine host communities. The first alliances between Montagnais and Champlain (Tadoussac, 1603) were forged in this climate, in which the Europeans felt an obligation to respect the habits and customs of the Aboriginal nations that welcomed them.

From the first contacts, the region itself placed serious constraints on European action. Fishing and trading were carried on during the summer season. When winter came, most Europeans returned to their respective countries and the Amerindians returned to the

hunting grounds where their families lived. In this initial period, Aboriginal people and Europeans influenced each other. Europeans adapted to an inhospitable nature, while Amerindians assimilated new tools that facilitated their survival in the forest: rifles, knives, clothing, etc. In the dynamics of the fur trade, the two civilizations met and established the foundations for their relations, which forcibly would become unequal. The two cultures, one aboriginal and nomadic, the other western and sedentary, could not live in symbiosis.

Second stage: The Montagnais/Ilnu, partners in the fur trade, 1652-1842

In 1652, France created the Traite de Tadoussac to organize trade around a monopoly and limit competition while drawing some profit from this operation. This fur trade zone encompassed all the land the Montagnais identified as the "Saguenay" (see map on page XX).

The government came to play a prime role in the economic and social organization of the *Domaine* it created within its new North American colony. Through private or public auctions the French mother country managed to contract out all activities related to the fur trade. The concession holder, through annual rent as well as duties paid on goods traded, agreed to organize the *Domaine* around a major commercial activity. White settlement was prohibited, so the government could protect the *Domaine* from all

agricultural activity, which would push back the forest and threaten to decimate fur stocks. It structured the trading system on trading posts established along the fur route. From the initial *Domaine*, the designation would change with time to the *Domaine du Roi*, *Postes du Roi* or the King's Posts.

In this region, the Montagnais became indispensable partners in the trade operation. The presence of *coureurs de bois* was not wanted, since France established a system of posts in this *Domaine*. Thus, the trading system that grew up around the Saguenay after 1650, even under the French régime, would be copied by the Hudson Bay Company, founded in 1670. The establishment of posts along fur routes increased the viability of remote areas that were difficult to tap. Only a few employees were needed in this trading system, which focused on drawing suppliers to the posts rather than reaching out to them in the vast territories where they were almost always on the move.

The Domaine du Roi circa 1650

[map]

Eastmain River

Rupert River

Lac Némiscau

Lac Mistassini Mistassini River

Lac Waconichi Lac Péribonka

Lac Chibougamau Lac Pipmuacan Manicouagan River

Lac Nicabau Mistassibi River Betsiamites River

Ashuapmushuan River Péribonka River ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

Gouin Reservoir Tadoussac

(circa 1569)

Métabétchouane River Chicoutimi River

kilometres

Source: Jean-Paul Simard, "Les Amérindiens du Saguenay avant la colonisation blanche", in Christian Pouyez, Yolande Lavoie *et al.*, *Les Saguenayens*, Quebec City, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983, pp. 67-94; *Relations des Jésuites*, Vol. 3, 1643.

COAST MONTAGNAIS

1. Tadoussac Montagnais
2. Betsiamites
3. Papinachois

PIÉKOUAGAMI MONTAGNAIS

(Lac Saint-Jean)

4. Porcs-Épics [Porcupines] (Kakouchak)
5. Outakouamèques (Lac Nicabau)
6. Mouchaouauastiirinouek

NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES

7. Attikamekw
8. Mistassins (Cree)
9. Montagnais-Naskapi (nomads)

TRADING POST

TRADITIONAL FAIR SITE

WATERSHED

APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY OF THE *DOMAINE DU ROI*

At the start of the 18th century, the Aboriginal population was decimated by disease, and fur stocks collapsed. In 1720, the concession holders of *la Traite* and their agents in the posts began rationalizing hunting in this marginal territory, which still remained subject to fierce competition. The Saguenay's proximity to La Mauricie and Hudson Bay, as well as the difficulty of effectively supervising such a vast territory, forced the *Domaine*'s concession holders to focus almost exclusively on satisfying their suppliers to maintain fur supplies.

Water transportation remained predominant in this second phase. Each lake and river provided access to the interior for the fur trade. Human activity followed a seasonal pattern. Winter was reserved for hunting while in summer, transitory communities gathered next to the trading posts.

In the early 19th century, justification for the Saguenay's existence as a territory reserved exclusively for the fur trade ceased to exist. Only the Hudson's Bay Company could have an interest in integrating this area into its vast American empire. The small Aboriginal population still present no longer provided economic or political justification for keeping this area closed to settlement by French Canadians. In a word, the fur economy had been overtaken by the lumber economy. The surplus population in Quebec's seigneuries forced governments to develop solutions to calm social problems and prevent emigration to the South. Universal support

quickly arose for opening the new territories to settlement since capitalists, politicians, local elites and even the masses saw benefits in this solution.

Third stage: Settlement based on farming and forestry, 1842-1896

Opening the region to settlement after 1842 therefore met several imperatives. The British Empire had a pressing need for lumber, which its colonies could supply. The governments of United Canada became increasingly concerned with the departure of Catholic French Canadians from the old parishes to the United States. Since it could not count on massive immigration as in the other Canadian provinces, Quebec developed a strategy to retain its surplus population living in the old settled parishes. An urgent need arose to open eastern Quebec to settlement. The Charlevoix and South Shore regions thus provided the main contingents that invaded the Saguenay and Lac-Saint-Jean areas in the 19th century. This migration consisted of closely related rural populations with a strong cultural unity. This homogeneous population found a release from its social problems in the settlement of new lands.[5] The newcomers also had a good knowledge of the climate and type of land to be developed. They would recreate the lifestyles typical of

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[5] Camil Girard (Ed.), *Le Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean en 1850. Rapport spécial de Jacques Crémazie*, Jonquière, Éditions Sagamie/Québec, 1988.

their ancestors' lands while adapting to the contingencies of a new environment.

Seasonal agriculture dominated the entire 19th century. The subsistence and cyclical nature of this life extended well beyond the land-clearing phase. Farming is a lifestyle and the newcomers created copies of their home areas. Farm produce first supplied the needs of residents and work camps, the only outlets. The region's isolation and remoteness made it difficult to penetrate farm markets outside the region. On the other hand, the lumber camps were a captive, if small, market.

The shift in the late 1880s to the dairy industry and especially the production of cheese, an easily shipped product that was therefore attractive for outlying areas marked the entry of the region's farm sector into the international trade circuit. English demand for cheese brought farming out of its isolation, but failed to revolutionize the farming class. The social structure remained intact and the family remained the basic unit of farm production. Thus, farmers processed their milk into cheese in factories near their farms, along concession roads or in villages. The participation of regional agriculture in international trade primarily involved hundreds of small producers. This participation earned them cash that previously had been virtually inaccessible.

In this development stage, the government expanded its concessions policy to forest resources, and still relied on private capital to develop the forest. This also made farm land available to private owners. The farming-forestry economy became an extension of complementary activities conducted in a seasonal pattern.

Rivers and lakes continued to be the preferred mode for shipping raw materials. Snow and ice greatly facilitated forest operations. Floating logs down the rivers was the easiest way to move them to the sawmills. Steamboats replaced sailing ships for shipments out of the region. This virtual monopoly of water transportation collapsed however with appearance of the railway in 1888, which broke the traditional cycle that restricted activities to winter or summer. The simple fact that trains could carry heavy freight throughout the year radically changed the rules of the market. The railway also opened export markets for the farming sector and provided outlets for cheese production.

In parallel with development of the regional economy, settlement patterns formed part of a social structure. The objective of permanent settlement required the establishment of various institutions. In this area, two major players dominated or willingly shared responsibility for institutions. Religious administration was the purview of the Catholic Church, which set up parishes and a diocese. The government oversaw civilian administration: townships, municipalities, counties as well as

judicial administration. The education and health sectors were more complex. Education and health essentially remained under Church control. On the whole, civilian and religious institutions enjoyed relative autonomy within a framework that at times could be rigid, and at other times, flexible.

In particular, the study of institutions reveals the importance of parish and municipal structures, not only in social and religious life, but also in educational matters. The parish, and on a smaller scale, the rural concession, became the focus of social and economic organization. Each wanted its institutions and small industries, from schools to cheese factories. In this context, village, parish and school municipalities proliferated, as did dairies, sawmills and other small industries.

The majority of residents belonged to the Catholic faith. The few protestant religions resulted primarily from the arrival of foreign industrialists and made few inroads into the region's religious homogeneity. The parish and its various associations also helped maintain the homogeneity of the Catholic group. Education remained under government and Church control, although the functioning of school boards involved public participation.

The Church also influenced the organization of health and welfare services. The institutions concerned with health usually were managed by religious communities. As in most regions in the 19th

century, the major health institution in the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean area remained the hospital. The diocese of Chicoutimi, like many others, soon had its own Hôtel-Dieu. During this period, hospital institutions provided housing as much as care. Hospital also served as homes for the elderly, orphans and the chronically ill. The establishment of health care essentially was limited to the presence of hospitals and the individual work of physicians. For the remainder, the people relied on the care provided by some advocates of folk medicine.

Although each community tried to obtain the main services, two stand out in administrative terms at the end of the 19th century. Chicoutimi dominated the Saguenay and its entire region, while Roberval reigned over the Lac-Saint-Jean region. Chicoutimi's historic location played in its favour: the seat of justice, and of the bishop, and thus an attraction for educational communities, commerce and industry at the turn of the century. On the other hand, Roberval had the first railway connection and to some extent became the gateway to Lac Saint-Jean.

With a population of 37,367 in 1901, the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region began to stand out among Quebec's outlying regions. In addition to its resources, the region then had a population and institutions that made it even more attractive for foreign investors.

Fourth stage: The conflicting forces of an outlying region, 1896-1960

The introduction of the large-scale pulp and paper industry was encouraged by the government, which intensified the trend toward leasing concessions in regional forest lands early in the 20th century. However, governments increased their intervention in forest development. To promote industrialization, Quebec's politicians leased out rights to develop waterfalls to produce electricity. The private network of hydroelectric dams built in the area fostered the establishment of a genuine industrial complex to process the region's bauxite into aluminum. To meet the demands of industrial development, the rights of private land owners were usually subordinated to the welfare of community. Over the years, when it held jurisdiction in the matter, the Quebec government managed to achieve greater specialization within the region. This led to urban and rural settled areas, farm lands, a public forest, a private forest, hunting and fishing territories, or areas reserved for conservation or mining.

As the 20th century dawned, the production of pulp, paper and aluminum marked a turning point. The United States bolstered its industrial structure by relying on Canadian resources. Two rapidly growing sectors, the large-circulation press and metallurgy, took advantage of favourable conditions. While granting more natural resource concessions, governments placed new requirements on

capitalists wishing to develop these resources. Industrialists were encouraged to build primary processing plants near the supply sites, to promote the establishment of industries in the resource regions.

The arrival of large-scale industry significantly changed regional society. The improvement in working conditions formed part of a process of demands by the working classes, which were usually led by the local or clerical elites. The publication of newspapers, in both the Saguenay and Lac-Saint-Jean regions, provided greater consistency in dialogue across the region. With virtual unanimity, the local elites advocated the need to develop the region which, was becoming industrialized and urbanized in the first half of the 20th century. The elites also actively contributed to providing the local population with the infrastructures essential to modern societies: running water, sewers, electricity. The construction of an adequate highway network beginning in the 1950s ended the region's isolation.

Industrialization and urbanization as well as the development of transportation did not have very positive effects on agriculture. Between 1900 and 1950, the fate of farming clearly followed economic depressions and wars, deflation and inflation. Increased demand for farm products, especially cheese, ensured the prosperity of farmers in times of war.

The early decades of the 20th century confirmed latent fears about the strength of farming among the farming elites at the end of the 19th century. The cheese crisis fully revealed the vulnerability of an export industry dependent on a single product and a single market. An event such as the First World War helped restore the cheese industry, but this cyclical prosperity had no future. Toward the end of the 1930s, however, cooperatives gave farming a processing sector better suited to coping with the pitfalls of the market. The war years and a growing regional market soon promoted cooperatives. The sudden passion for cooperatives definitely benefitted farmers, but also stimulated the recovery of *caisses populaires* and quickly extended to consumers and housing. During the same period, the farm production sector also underwent change, as farms began to specialize after 1940. Mechanization increased and the use of fertilizer became more common. The gap between progressive businesses and small subsistence farms widened. Part of the income of small farm operators came from off-farm work. In fact, the many small grants from government guaranteed the survival of these farms from an earlier age and fostered rural poverty over urban unemployment.

Municipal and parish institutions continued to develop. The expansion of farm land and settlement promoted the creation of parishes and municipalities until the end of the 1930s, but industrial development from 1900 to the 1930s would determine the urban poles and demographic and economic weight of subregions in

the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region for decades to come. Most of the infrastructure of water line, sewers, bridges and highways remained under municipal jurisdiction. The problems related to urbanization were new, however, for the young municipalities in Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean. Only company towns could truly provide for smooth development.

In the field of education, the model introduced in the 19th century continued to develop by integrating certain reforms and adding normal, trade and vocational schools. The region did manage, however, to develop various specialized schools especially after 1930: a school of nursing, an agricultural school, a school of engineering, a business school and others were sponsored by individuals, associations and institutions such as hospitals and school boards. These schools were born of the regional determination that ultimately obtained assistance from various government ministries.

Finally, most hospitals and health units in the region were founded during this period. Contrary to the 19th century, through public assistance legislation, the government regularly intervened in the development of hospitals. The progress of science overcame the idea that health was a gift of nature and made it possible to conquer disease and establish good health as a universal right.

The region soon merited a second hospital with the founding of an institution in Roberval in 1918. The hospital in Saint-Vallier began changing at the start of the 20th century. This was the start of a long process for this hospital, which would experience spectacular growth in the late 1920s and especially between 1940 and 1960. Dynamic management as well as the region's determination to obtain a full-service institution, given the isolation from Quebec City, marked the history of this hospital. Like other regions of Quebec, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean would also benefit from extensive hospital construction in the 1940s and 1950s. In contrast to older hospitals such as those in Roberval and Chicoutimi, these new institutions were founded by committees chaired by lay people and funded by government. The administration of these institutions was still entrusted to religious communities, since they usually were the only organizations with the required expertise, although in the 1940s, in both the hospital and education sectors, lay people began to play a growing role in co-operation with the religious communities.

In the 1930s, the range of institutions dealing with welfare began to expand in the region: an orphanage in 1931, a sanatorium in the 1940s, a psychiatric hospital and hospital for the elderly in the 1950s, youth homes in the 1960s, not to mention agencies working with children, alcoholics, etc.

With industrialization and urban development, recreation also took on a new dimension. The diocesan church became more active around 1930 and entered this field through parish institutions and various associations. Libraries, amateur theatres and sports fields were encouraged to counter the cinema, radio and soon television which were opening the region to the world and different cultural values.

At the end of this period of urban and industrial development, the region's population passed 262,426 in 1961, of which 180,102 or 68 percent lived in urban centres. The expanded cities of Chicoutimi, Jonquière and La Baie formed the true urban core of the region with almost 120,000 people or 46 percent of the total population. In 1961, the region formed almost five percent of the population of Quebec (see chart on page XX).

TABLE

Percentage urban population

Canada, Quebec and Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean

1851 - 1981

Year	Canada		Quebec		Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean	
	Population		Population		Population	
	Total	Urban	Total	Urban	Total	Urban

1 Including Newfoundland.

Sources: *Census of Canada;* Maurice Saint-Yves, *Atlas de géographie historique du Canada*, Boucherville, les Éditions françaises, 1982, p. 68; Christian Pouyez, Yolande Lavoie *et al.*, *Les Saguenayens*, Sillery, PUQ, 1983, p. 236; Marc Saint-Hilaire, *Initiation à l'histoire régionale*, Jonquière, CÉGEP de Jonquière, 1983, Appendix 3, p. 25.

(See chart on following page)

CHART

Urban population, Canada, Quebec, SLSJ

1851 - 1981

Canada Quebec SLSJ

LOCATION

Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean

Ashuapmushuan River Mistassini River Péribonka River

Shipsaw River

Lac Saint-Jean

Saguenay River

Ouiatchouan River

Métabetchouane River Lac Kénogami

Laurentides

Wildlife Reserve

Places of origin of life history subjects

Saguenay River

Laurentides

Wildlife Reserve

Places of origin of life history subjects

Even in this period before the Quiet Revolution, education and health were sectors where the government played an increasingly active role in development and funding. Government interventions appeared to be closely linked to regional initiatives. For example, the specialized schools from the 1930s to 1960s arose from a local determination and assistance exacted from various ministries. The same applies to the hospital system, where several hospitals were built by the government and turned over to religious communities. In all these developments, government planning was virtually absent. Finally, especially in the 1940s, lay people began to play a greater role with religious communities in the fields of education and hospitalization. In general, these sectors still remained the only ones controlled by regional authorities.

Fifth stage: Government, business and regional forces (1960 to present)

The 1960s marked a certain consolidation of the region's economic development. Since the early 1970s, large-scale industry appears to have been incapable of providing a sustained level of investment and job creation. For a time, government appeared to take the place of private enterprise. Nationalization of electricity formed part of this desire by the Quebec government to take control of collective resources, to give the province the tools for its own development. It must be remembered, however, that the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region was overlooked by René Lévesque when he

nationalized Quebec's electrical grid. As a private company, Alcan managed to retain full ownership of its electrical grid in the region. It is as if government representatives resigned themselves, when developing a region such as Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, to giving large companies a free hand in developing natural resources.

In the 1960s, large-scale industry in the region had to begin rationalizing its output, modernizing old plants and building new processing centres. The presence of Francophones became increasingly perceptible, especially in the pulp and paper sector where Price had to learn how to share its regional monopoly. In fact, the 1970s marked the arrival of French-speaking magnates. The Demarais, Péladeaus and Lemaires bought up the region's paper mills. From this industrial base, they prepared to enter the world market. French-speaking Quebecers could enter international markets with solid expertise in these sectors. Starting from their regional base, the major industrialists could venture onto the foreign stage.

For Alcan, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean became the nerve centre for organization of the production of raw metal. The company deliberately restricted production of initial-fusion metal in the region, which then limited the region's visibility in the overall structure of this company, which was nonetheless active on the world scene. The situation became a special concern for regional authorities since modernization of local facilities involved a

major decline in employment. In this renovation process, the major industries significantly increased their profits without having to redefine their responsibilities toward the areas they developed with support of the existing governments.

In the early 1960s, the new officials entering the public administrations in both Ottawa and Quebec City became aware of the regional disparities that affected Quebec.[6] By establishing a system of fiscal equalization, Ottawa hoped to narrow the gap between rich and poor provinces. More direct action was then attempted on local economic structures by passing a variety of legislation, such as the *Agricultural and Regional Development Act* (ARDA, 1961). Creation of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in 1969 completed the strategy launched by the federal government. At the provincial level, planning and development were a growing government concern. The Conseil d'orientation économique (1961), which in 1968 became the Office de Planification et de Développement du Québec (OPDQ), divided the province into nine administrative regions and launched a systematic inventory of each region.[7] Admittedly these government interventions failed to change the structure of regional economies, which still remain highly

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[6] Fernand Harvey, "La question régionale au Québec", *Revue d'études canadiennes*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Summer 1980, pp. 74-87.

[7] Office de Planification et de Développement du Québec, *Dossiers d'inventaire et d'analyse sur les régions du Québec*, Quebec City, OPDQ and Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1976 ff.

influenced by the initiative of private capital and a lack of economic diversification.

In the area of farming, government intervention was discrete until the 1960s, despite initiatives to promote a better structure for the dairy industry and the development of farm cooperatives. The 1960s and the Quiet Revolution marked a time of planned regional reorganization and development not only in education, health, the cultural industries and municipal administration, but also in farming. The ARDA agreements, assistance to large regional farm cooperatives, crop insurance, and livestock improvement programs marked decisive stages in the process of modernizing farming and restructuring the rural environment.

A more active farm union movement took root with the creation of large farm cooperatives and the development of joint plans. All government policies, even though not always unanimous, generated new prosperity in the farming sector. Dairy policies in particular helped stabilize the incomes of dairy farms which still constituted the majority of farm operations in the region. Some farm sectors such as stock raising and potato farming, however, remained vulnerable to the whims of the market.

In the field of education, the government also based its policies on a regional approach. The new government policies in education also benefitted the region. In the 1960s, the region acquired

institutions providing higher public education, which improved access to education. The educational institutions opened by the Church and the regional environment in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s were now used as the basis for most new public institutions. The establishment of four CÉGEPs and the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi between 1967 and 1971 met a large share of the region's needs. In the case of the CÉGEPs, the advocates of regionalization wanted to push the process as far as the creation of a regional CÉGEPs branch, but this was doomed to fail.

While the main role of these institutions was to dispense education, they were also required to integrate into the regional environment and stimulate its development, whether social, economic or cultural. The expectations in this area rose steadily and once again, the regional population did not always appreciate the insufficient budgets allocated to the education system. In this area, UQAC and the CÉGEPs in Chicoutimi and Jonquière have always welcomed the many Montagnais and Atikamekw who continued their education, either in regular programs or special training programs (community health, band management).[8]

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[8] In projects for transfer of control to several Aboriginal communities in Quebec, UQAC has met the demand for education in Montagnais, Atikamekw and other reserves. Through its centre for Amerindian studies, this university also publishes a collection of works on Aboriginal cultures and languages (Tékouarimat Collection, Presses de l'Université du Québec). In cooperation primarily with the band councils but also occasionally with the support of other organizations representing Aboriginal people (Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais/ICEM), the centre provides coordination and services both on the main campus and in the communities, based on

The government has generally replaced the Catholic Church in several spheres of activity. The change in the Church's role constitutes a major shift in the history of the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region since the 1960s. It no longer enjoys the same power base as in the past, especially in fields such as education, health and recreation. Even the associations that ensured its dissemination crumbled and became marginalized. Despite diminished church influence, declining church attendance and the introduction of other churches, the region still retains its religious homogeneity.

Health also came under regional development policy. The issues of health and safety would now form part of a comprehensive approach to social services. After the phase of democratization of health care that occurred both through access to care and in management of institutions, the government implemented the regional health and social services boards (RRSSS), with regional directors, which operate within the legislative framework defined by the government and the limits of the budget allocated by the Ministère des Affaires sociales. Despite its representative role, an RRSSS still has limited power in the regional health organization. Nonetheless,

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the needs expressed. The Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire (GRH and UQAC) and the UQAC archaeology laboratory conduct various studies on the region's Aboriginal cultural heritage. Finally, 1992 saw the establishment of an interethnic and intercultural teaching and research chair (CERII) that will allow UQAC to increase its involvement in the region's intercultural dynamics while promoting a pooling of researchers interested in a wide variety of issues of Aboriginal culture and intercultural characteristics in the region.

in a sector where costs are steadily rising, the RRSSS permits better allocation of resources within the region.

Culture and recreation have become a full-fledged industry since the 1960s. With government support, municipalities have acquired infrastructures: libraries, arenas, etc. The government also intervenes at the regional level with regional boards for recreation, culture, the central lending library and the regional cultural affairs branch. Cultural events and recreational facilities are economic drawing cards. Celebrations and carnivals form part of popular culture, and often support businesses that compensate for the poor economic framework in various municipalities.

Nor has municipal administration escaped the regionalization process. Mergers of municipalities and creation of regional county municipalities has stirred up old rivalries and the scars have been slow to heal. Through this approach, the government is pursuing the objective of planned land development.

Settlement of the region by the white people has had disastrous effects on the Montagnais people, who have been confined to reserves. With more than 3,200 residents, Mashteuiatsh (Pointe-Bleue), a few kilometres from Roberval, remains the focus of Montagnais survival in the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region. The

other communities on the North Shore are associated with the creation of new administrative regions or subregions.

The Montagnais/Ilnu began to live on reserves in the second half of the 20th century. Since the 1960s, the Ilnu have joined in a movement of self-affirmation and noticeable reclaiming of control throughout the Americas. This movement is due to strong demographic growth and to the assertiveness of a more educated Amerindian elite seeking to regain control of the economic, social and cultural development of the First nations who are now pooling their efforts. Aboriginal people in the two Americas defend their ancestral rights in: land claims, hunting and fishing rights, and improvement and expansion of Amerindian status. The new leaders are determined to lead Aboriginal people out of the destructive guardianship in which they are trapped.

Aboriginal Nations

Quebec - Labrador

Labrador

(Newfoundland)

INUIT

CREE

NASKAPI...

Administrative boundary, Quebec, Region 02.

In several Ilnu communities, two schools of thought prevail. The more traditional members want to rediscover the deep sources of Aboriginal identity by returning to ancestral cultural values. Some are learning the Montagnais language, crafts and arts. The return and reappropriation of hunting and fishing grounds are among the most significant demands of these groups. In this way, the Ilnu are seeking to regain a closer relationship with nature, with which they are intimately linked. Other Ilnu are trying to redefine the foundations of Aboriginal culture around economic activities that will allow the communities to break free of the poverty in which they are caught. Unemployment, alcoholism and violence on the reserves require rapid intervention. Some want to rely on the original culture, while others believe economic development will permit this reappropriation of a positive identity while solving the most pressing problems. In all these debates which result in power struggles within the reserves, the basis of a new Montagnais identity is emerging. In this process, all Aboriginal people in the region are participating in a broader project that forms part of a movement in the two Americas, redefining their own repatriation of control. While it maintains a certain prejudice, the white population, both in the region and elsewhere, is beginning to discover, the importance of the First Nations having lived on this land for more than 5,500 years.

The Ilnu currently living in the former territory of the *Domaine du Roi*, including the North Shore, represent 10,000 people in the

following reserves or communities: Mashteuiatsh (reserve created in 1856), Betsiamites (1861), Les Escoumins (1892) are the oldest reserves. Sept-Îles/Malioténam (1949), Natashquan (1953-1954), La Romaine (1956), Matimekosh (Schefferville) (1960), Mingan (1963) and Pakuashipi (Saint-Augustin) (squatter settlement), all reserves located on the Lower North Shore, were created in the 1950s and 1960s. The Atikamekw number 4,000 in the Weymontachie (1851), Manouane (1906) and Obedjiwan (1950) reserves.[9] In addition to the band councils, the Conseil Atikamekw-Montagnais (CAM), since its creation in 1978, has been the political authority negotiating with the federal and provincial governments on new comprehensive arrangements on land and the type of governments to be established.[10]

TABLE ON CURRENT ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Communities	Population	Area of reserve (hectares)
Atikamekw		

[9] Larry Villeneuve and Daniel Francis, *Historical Background of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the Province of Quebec* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Development, Research Branch, Canada, 1984).

[10] Renée Dupuis, "Historique de la négociation sur les revendications territoriales du Conseil des Atikamekw et des Montagnais", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, 1993, pp. 35 ff.

Manouane

Obedjiwan

Weymontachie

Subtotal

Montagnais

(Central group)

Mashteuiatsh

Les Escoumins

Betsiamites

Sept-Îles (Uashat-Maliotènam)

Schefferville (Matimekosh)

Subtotal

(Lower North Shore)

Mingan

Natashquan

La Romaine

Saint-August (Pakuashipi)

Subtotal

TOTAL

* Date reserve was created

** The Saint-Augustin (Pakuashipi) band is living on Crown land in an "Indian establishment" that does not have Indian reserve status.

Sources: Renée Dupuis, "Historique de la négociation sur les revendications territoriales du Conseil des Atikamekw et des Montagnais (CAM), 1978-1992", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Spring 1993, pp. 35-48.

ENGL Larry Villeneuve and Daniel Francis, *Historical Background of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the Province of Quebec* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Development, Research Branch, Canada, 1984), 69 pp.

Since the early 1980s, however, new groups have been created to better represent the interests of some communities. At the request of the Atikamekw, CAM promoted the establishment of Atikamekw-Sipi in 1982, an administrative body that rapidly changed into a political council of the Atikamekw nation.

In 1982 as well, the four Montagnais bands on the Lower North Shore created Mamit Innuat. Through this administrative structure, the Mingan, Natashquan, La Romaine and Saint-Augustin communities wanted to lay the foundations for Montagnais political power in this region, including the Labrador Montagnais.

We see here that the situation of the Ilnu in the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean and North Shore regions is much more complex than it might first appear. In each community, there are advocates of traditional or modern values. Moreover, there are regional variants among the communities and each does not suffer the same disruptions to the same extent. Thus, the Montagnais in Mashteuiatsh live next to the town of Roberval, which they have always visited frequently. The other bands live along the St. Lawrence River. This constant relationship with the sea, not to mention travel inland to hunting grounds, certainly has an effect on lifestyles and ways of thinking. Finally, the communities on the Lower North Shore, especially in Natashquan, La Romaine and Saint-Augustin, are more self-contained because they lack road connections, which are only a recent phenomenon.

Finally, with regard to immigrants, Statistics Canada data, for 1986 on the urban conglomerate of Chicoutimi, Jonquière and La Baie, including their suburbs show there were 1,190 "New Quebecers" out of a total population of 158,468. For the entire region, these newcomers represent less than one percent of the population.[11]

With a population of 283,178 in 1986, the region represents slightly more than four percent of the Quebec total, down from almost five percent in the early 1960s. The region is barely holding its own. To work, young people must move to greener pastures. Attempts are underway to create jobs, but given the scope of the problems, the interventions still appear to be too modest. The constant efforts made by the Chambers of Commerce, the Conseils de concertation et de développement (CRCD) and the many government agencies involved in development still appear to fall short of the desired results. New expertise must be developed, and capital and markets must be found to ensure the expansion of businesses. In this context, regional entrepreneurs, too accustomed to depending on subcontracts from large-scale industry, do not appear to be as dynamic as was believed.

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[11] Juan-Luis Klein and Léonie Boisclair, "La régionalisation de l'immigration: notes sur une enquête au Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean", in Micheline Bonneau and Pierre-André Tremblay, *Immigration et région: nouveaux enjeux et nouvelles perspectives*, Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, interethnic and intercultural teaching and research chair, 1993, p. 142.

The history of Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean ultimately forms part of an overall development of regional economies that fit into broader systems that constituted colonial and then national societies and economies (federal and provincial). The economy relies on the development of products drawn from nature: fish, fur, lumber, water, minerals, farm produce. Capital imposes its own rules of profitability on the periphery. Communications, education and even culture do not escape these rules. In this process, the regions must also produce a profit both for the government and capitalists. This approach poses the difficult problem of managing regions for governments that seek through incentive measures to harmonize the use of resources with a dynamic development that leaves a creative role for the entire regional population.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

10 main ethnic groups with a single origin, Canada/Quebec, 1986 (sample data-20 percent)

CANADA	Number	QUEBEC	Number
Total		Total	
Total for single origins		Total for single origins	
10 main groups with single origins		10 main groups with single origins	
1 British		1 French	
2 French		2 British	
3 German		3 Italian	
		4 Jewish	
4 Italian			
5 Ukranian		5 Aboriginal	
6 Aboriginal			
7 Chinese		6 Greek	
8 Dutch		7 Black	
9 South Asian		8 Portuguese	

10 Jewish	9 German
	10 Chinese
Total for multiple origins	Total for multiple origins
British only	British only
French only	French only
British and French	British and French
British and/or French and others	British and/or French and others
Other multiple origins	Other multiple origins

n.i.e.=not included elsewhere.

Note: In this table, the figures for 1986 do not include residents of partially counted Indian reserves and establishments. In all of Canada, there were 136 reserves and establishments of this type, for which the total population was estimated at 45,000 in 1986.

1 Includes the following origins: English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, British, n.i.e. and other British.

2 Includes the following single origins: French, Acadian, French Canadian and Quebecer.

3 Includes the following single origins: Inuit, Metis and North American Indian.

4 Includes the following single origins: Bengali, Gujarati.

5 Includes the following single answers: Black and African Black.

6 Includes persons claiming more than one ethnic origin.

7 The "British only" category includes people declaring more than one of the following origins: English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, British, n.i.e. and other British.

8 The "French only" category includes people declaring more than one of the following origins: French, Acadian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Ontarian, French Canadian and Quebecer.

9 The "Total British, French and others" category includes the multiple British and others, French and others, and British, French and others origins.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986.

APPENDIX 2

Certain characteristics of census sectors, 1986 census-sample date (20 percent)

Characteristics	Chicoutimi-Jonquière (combined)	Characteristics	Lac-Saint-Jean-Ouest
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS		POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS	
1 Total population (including institutional residents) total data		1 Total population (including institutional residents) total data	
2 Total population (excluding institutional residents)		2 Total population (excluding institutional residents)	
by language spoken in the home		**by language spoken in the home**	
3 Single answers		3 Single answers	
4 English		4 English	
5 French		5 French	
6 Unofficial languages		6 Unofficial languages	
7 Vietnamese		7 Italian	
8 Spanish		8 Greek	
9 Polish		9 Spanish	
10 Khmer (Cambodian)		10 Portuguese	

11 Thai
12 Other languages
13 Multiple answers

by official language

14 English only
15 French only
16 English and French
17 Neither English nor French

by ethnic origin

18 Single origins
19 British
20 French
21 Aboriginal
22 German
23 Italian
24 Vietnamese
25 Scandinavian
26 Other single origins
27 Multiple origins

11 Chinese
12 Other languages
13 Multiple answers

by official language

14 English only
15 French only
16 English and French
17 Neither English nor French

by ethnic origin

18 Single origins
19 British
20 French
21 Italian
22 Jewish
23 Aboriginal
24 Greek
25 Black
26 Other single origins
27 Multiple origins

Characteristics	Chicoutimi-Jonquière (combined)	Characteristics	Lac-Saint-Jean-Ouest
by citizenship		**by citizenship**	
28	Canadian citizenship	28	Canadian citizenship
29	Other than Canadian citizenship	29	Other than Canadian citizenship
by place of birth		**by place of birth**	
30	Non-immigrant population	30	Non-immigrant population
31	Born in province of residence	31	Born in province of residence
32	Immigrant population	32	Immigrant population
33	United States of America	33	United States of America
34	Other Americas	34	Other Americas
35	United Kingdom	35	United Kingdom
36	Other European	36	Other European
37	African	37	African
38	Asian	38	Asian
39	Other	39	Other

1 Except in line 1, all characteristics do not include institutional residents and are based on sample data (20 percent). In some cases, due to weighting factors, in small regions, the "estimate of population not including

institutional residents" (line 2) may be higher than the "population including institutional residents" (line 1).

2 Includes the following single origins: English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, British, n.i.e. and other British.

3 Includes the following single origins: French, Acadian, French Canadian and Quebecer.

4 Includes the following single origins: Inuit, Metis and North American Indian.

5 Includes the following single origins: Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Scandinavian, n.i.e.

6 Includes persons declaring more than one origin.

7 Includes Canadian citizens by birth and by naturalization.

8 Includes citizenship of country of birth and citizenship of a country other than country of birth.

9 Includes persons born outside province of residence as well as persons born outside Canada who are Canadian citizens by birth and who therefore do not have to immigrate to Canada.

10 Includes countries of North America, Central America, South America, the Caribbean and Bermuda, excluding the United States.

11 Does not include United Kingdom.

12 Includes persons born in Canada who are not Canadian citizens by birth, but for whom the year of immigration is valid.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1986.

2

Basis for research

Life story and cultural reconstruction

Life story and history

Traditionally, historians have shown little interest in marginal groups. Under the influence of auxiliary sciences, history is now tending to broaden its field of research *to the greater diversity of traces left by humans.* Using new communication technologies such as radio, television, audio tape and video cassettes, researchers are discovering new documents that favour a reinterpretation of contemporary history. This does not rule out the study of major socio-economic trends, but parallel to this, it becomes possible to study groups that previously were unable to voice their concerns in the development of societies in which they were nonetheless significant players, even though they were not on the front lines of the debates.[12]

These groups have one point in common, since they produce few written documents. If we consider Aboriginal people, women, factory workers or residents of small marginal communities, we find that Aboriginal people live on a reserve or in their hunting grounds, women split their time between obligations at home and at work, factory workers repeat the same movements throughout their career at a machine that sets the pace, rural or village residents must constantly react to changes in their environment, while immigrants seek to adapt to the new society in which they live. The traces

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[12] Jacques Le Gof (Ed.), *La Nouvelle Histoire*, Retz-CEPL, Paris, 1978.

left by these players, who have often been overlooked by history, are frequently in the area of material culture: the tools and miscellaneous objects of daily life provide evidence of these manifestations of culture. Portable audio and video recorders make it possible to enter the complex and unfamiliar world of popular culture. Oral culture thus can further our understanding of the role of marginal players in our history.[13]

In *Les Enfants de Sanchez, autobiographie d'une famille mexicaine*, Oscar Lewis shows that oral research can lead to a comprehensive knowledge of certain cultures. By presenting direct accounts, his work gives us an inside understanding from the people, how a poor family in Mexico lived in the 1950s.[14] Lewis states that the tape recorder now allows individuals who otherwise would have no voice to relate their experiences without inhibition. The cumulative, multiple and panoramic construction that emerges from each individual telling his version of the facts presented helps avoid

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[13] For an analysis of cultures that rely on oral tradition, see Geneviève Calame-Griaule, "La parole et le discours", in Jean Poirier (Ed.), *Histoire des moeurs*, Vol. II, Paris, Gallimard, 1991 (Encyclopédie de la Pléiade), pp. 7-74; Ruth Finnegan, "A Note on Oral Tradition and Historical Evidence", in David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Eds.), *Oral History, an Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee, American Association for State and Local History and The Oral History Association, 1984, pp. 107-115; Jacques Le Goff (Ed.), *La Nouvelle Histoire*, Retz-CEPL, Paris, 1978.

[14] Oscar Lewis, *Les enfants de Sanchez. Autobiographie d'une famille mexicaine*, Paris, Gallimard, 1963. See also, *Pedro Martinez. Un paysan mexicain et sa famille*, Paris, Gallimard, 1966. See also Pierre Jakez Hélias, *Le Cheval d'orgueil, Mémoires d'un Breton du pays bigouden*, Paris, Plon, 1975.

the oversimplifications or generalizations imposed by national histories. Through this oral testimony, we can enter the world of Mexican poverty in a way that few essays allow. And Lewis shows the full wealth of this testimony, which permits the full cultural reconstruction of the life of an urban family:

> [translation]
>
> *The life of poor people certainly is not monotonous. The histories in this volume reveal a world of violence and death, suffering and privation, infidelity and broken homes, delinquency, corruption, police brutality and the cruelty of the poor to each other. These stories also reveal an intensity of emotion and human warmth, a deep feeling of the value of the individual, a capacity for joy, hope for a better life, a desire for understanding and love, a willingness to share the few possessions one has, and the courage to continue living despite the many problems left unresolved.*[15]

Oral History / Canada-Quebec

In Canada and Quebec, the appearance of the tape recorder also generated an explosion of research conducted initially by

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[15] Oscar Lewis, *Les enfants de Snachez. Autobiographie d'une famille mexicaine*, Paris, Gallimard, 1963, p. 15.

folklorists, anthropologists[16] and sociologists.[17] In the past few years, several research initiatives in oral history have been conducted in Quebec.[18] These cover the broadest possible range of subjects: industrial workers,[19] women,[20] the elderly,[21]

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[16] Marius Barbeau, through the diversity of subjects he studied, attempted to capture local cultures in their entirety. See the collections of notes compiled on various Quebec villages, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man. Marcel Rioux, *Description de la culture de l'Île-Verte*. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, Newsletter no. 133, 1954 (Anthropological series).

[17] Léon Gérin, "La famille canadienne-française, sa force, ses faiblesses: le payson de Saint-Irénée, hier et aujourd'hui", in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, *La Société...*, pp. 45-67. Horace Miner, *Saint-Denis, A French Canadian Parish*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1963.

[18] Bruno Jean, "L'histoire orale : phénomène social et institutionnalisation d'un savoir", in N. Gagnon and J. Hamelin, *L'histoire orale*, Saint-Hyacinthe, Édisem, 1978, pp. 9-33. Danielle Desmarais and Paul Grell (Eds.), *Les récits de vie. Théorie, méthode et trajectoire type*, Montreal, Saint-Martin, 1986.

[19] Collective, *Collection Sakini*, 1981-1982, Archives nationales du Québec, centre régional du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, research paper no. 46, covers Alcan and Abitibi-Price workers. Centre d'interprétation de la Pulperie de Chicoutimi, *Entrevue des anciens de la Compagnie de Pulp de Chicoutimi*, Chicoutimi, 1981-1984. Thirty interviews, limited access.

[20] Denise Girard, Étiennette Tremblay *et al.*, *Les Filles de Maria Chapdelaine*, June 1982, ANQ Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, research paper no. 216; for an excellent contribution to the history of women, see Denise Lemieux and Lucie Mercier, *Les femmes au tournant du siècle. 1880-1940*, Quebec City, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), 1989; Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Woman, 1890-1940*, England, Bail Blackwell, 1984; Julie Cruikshank (Ed.), *Life lived like a story. Life stories of Three Yukon Elders*, Nebraska, The University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

[21] Jos-Phydime Michaud, *Kamouraska de mémoire*, Montreal, Boréal Express, 1981, *Fonds Mgr Victor Tremblay*, "Mémoires de vieillards 1934-1978", Société historique du Saguenay/ANQ Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, research paper no. 101; on Aboriginal culture in

representatives of rural communities,[22] urban communities,[23] in short, an entire people.[24] Through these initiatives, the researchers attempted to lay the theoretical and empirical groundwork to integrate the oral archives document and specifically the qualitative source into a renewed history.[25] Some works reveal

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Quebec, see Camil Girard and David Cooter, Ouiatchouan/Pointe-Bleue, Chicoutimi, GRH, 1985-1990; Richard Dominique, *Le langage de la chasse*, Quebec City, Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1989; Serge Jauvin and Daniel Clément, *Aitnanu, La vie quotidienne d'Hélène et de William-Mathieu Mark*, Montreal, Libre Expression and Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.

[22] Camil Girard and Gervais Tremblay, *Mémoires d'un village. Laterrière, Saguenay. 1900-1960*, Chicoutimi, GRH and UQAC, 1992, 167 pp.; Sister Marie-Ursule, *Civilisation traditionnelle des Lavallois*, Quebec City, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1951; Nora Dawson, *La vie traditionnelle à Saint-Pierre (Île d'Orléans)*, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1960; Camil Girard and Normand Perron (EDs.), "Gens de parole... Récits de la vie de Laterrière", special issue of *Saguenayensia*, Vol. 28, No. 4, October-December 1986, pp. 127-200.

[23] Robert-Lionel Séguin, *Récits de forestiers*, Montreal, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1976. Daniel Francis, *Je me rappelle bien..., Histoire orale de la voie fluviale Trent-Severn (Ontario)*, Peterborough, Friends of the Trent-Severn Waterway, Ontario, 1984.

[24] "Mémoire d'une époque" contest, directed by Gabrielle Lachance, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. This collection contains about a thousand interviews that have not yet been developed; Nicole Gagnon and Bruno Jean, "Les histoires de vie et la transformation du Québec contemporain", *Sound Heritage*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1975; see also Camil Girard and David Cooter, *Ouiatchouan / Pointe-Bleue, Récits de vie*, Chicoutimi, Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire (GRH), Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, 1990 (10 internal documents).

[25] Nicole Gagnon and Jean Hamelin (Eds.), *L'histoire orale*, Saint-Hyacinthe, Édisem, 1979; Danielle Desmarais and Paul Grell (Eds.), *Les récits de vie*, Montreal, Saint-Martin, 1986, 180 pp; Bogumil Jewsiewicki (Ed.), *Les récits de vie en histoire, anthropologie, sociologie*, Quebec City, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1985; Daniel Bertaux, *Histoire de vie ou récits pratiques?* Paris, Rapport CORDES, 1976; collection of articles on oral history

the wealth of these documents to reconsider ways of thinking and perceiving history depending on the cultures in question, especially in the case of groups that have produced few written resources.[26] Many of these studies allow the reader to enter the socio-cultural world of the common people or small communities. They promote greater knowledge of the various cultural realities in the face of economic and social change and encourage us to reinterpret traditional history.[27]

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in France, *Annales ESC*, 35th year, No. 1, January-February 1980, pp. 124-199; Société canadienne d'histoire orale, *Journal*, published since 1975; *Sound Heritage*, Victoria, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, published since 1971. For a practical guide on collection, preservation and classification, see Martine Roberge and Bernard Genest (Eds.), *Guide d'enquête orale*, Quebec City, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1991; Derek Reimer (Ed.), *Voices, A Guide to Oral History*, British Columbia, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1984. On the oral history of the United States, see David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Eds.), *Oral History, an Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee, American Association for State and Local History and The Oral History Association, 1984.

[26] Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, *Transformations et permanence de l'artisanat boulanger en France*, Vol. I, *Une enquête sur la boulangerie artisanale par l'approche biographique*, Paris, CORDES No. 43/76, 1980; Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place...*; in Quebec, Louise Proulx, *Les chantiers forestiers de la Rimouski (1930-1940)*, Rimouski, Université du Québec à Rimouski, 1985, Cahier du Grideq no 16; Jos-Phydime Michaud, *Kamouraska de mémoire...*, Montreal, Boréal-Express, 1981.

[27] See the works of Sylvie Vincent, "La tradition orale montagnaise, comment l'interroger", *Cahiers de Clio*, No. 70, 1982, pp. 5-26; "La présence des gens du large dans la version montagnaise de l'histoire", *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1991, pp. 125-143. Fernand Dumont (Ed.), *Cette culture que l'on appelle savante*, Quebec City, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), 1981; Benoît Lacroix and Jean Simard, *Religion populaire, religion de clercs*, Quebec City, IQRC.

Oral history can be defined as a form of historical production based on oral accounts.[28] For the historian, the oral history document remains primarily a raw material. This primary source is created by a subject (story-teller) and a researcher, the latter working on the basis of his objectives.[29] In research based primarily on life stories, the subjects manage to give meaning to their lives which reflect the modes of perception, attitudes and ways of living, believing or thinking. The story thus represents a physical and social environment, a psychological and symbolic world, forms of capturing the real world and the world beyond. This format displays an entire culture.

Life story and history

Since long-term memory usually functions by large groupings, forgotten or vague details force the researcher to expand his field

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[28] See the definitions provided in the collective work published by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Eds.), *Oral History, an Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee, American Association for State and Local History and The Oral History Association, 1984, p. 179, 254-255, 368-369, 389-390; Jacques Mathieu (Ed.), *Étude de la construction de la mémoire collective des Québécois*, Cahiers du CELAT No. 5, Quebec City, Université Laval, 1986, pp. 65-97 (articles by Lucille Guilbert and Bogumil Koss Jewsiewicki).

[29] Claude Beauchesne distinguishes two types of life stories: the *oral autobiography*, in which the researcher's presence is very discrete, which allows the subject to tell his story, and the *biographical interview* in which the researcher guides the subject's narrative. See Claude Beauchesne, *Les récits de vie de "Mémoire d'une époque", faits sociaux et... données empiriques*, Quebec City, Institut québécois de la recherche sur la culture, 27 April 1984, typewritten text, pp. 2-6.

of research of the real world through other sources, where these exist. The life story conveys the picture of reality formed by an individual based on his ability to communicate through speech, memory, personal stability or choices he makes to adjust to his surrounding environment. Based on his hypothesis, the historian or researcher seeks to determine how individuals are connected to a society or culture and reflect this through the construction of their life story. Beyond singular statements and the social and cultural system represented, we must determine how changes are integrated or not, whether consciously or unconsciously, so we can incorporate them into a vision that allows us to capture the cultural dynamics specific to an individual or a group.

A life story is based on the subject's memory, on what he says and does not say, and on the researcher's ability to develop a certain rapport with the subject. Memory is fallible, however, especially among the elderly. Some subjects invent or exaggerate; others make mistakes. Memory remains selective and if the subject errs, he may have wanted to forget or may be providing different interpretations of a phenomenon based on his social or cultural status. Thus, an Aboriginal hunter cannot interpret his existence in the same manner as the owner of a mill who manages the family business, or a company manager. Similarly, a Montagnais woman who is a hunter cannot view her world as a woman farmer, who will idealize her large family, or an immigrant who, after marrying a local merchant, must face pressure from her new in-laws.

As a rule, women will give a very different account of birth than their husbands. The woman will present the family as a group of all the children she has borne, occasionally adding adopted children. Men are more likely to view the family as the group of living members in a household. Some research has found that couples cited different numbers of children for the same family. A check found that each was building his or her reality based on personal situation. Women will tend to count miscarriages and children who died very young, while men will not always include these.

We now see that analysis of life stories is not simple since it raises the whole complexity of culturally related phenomena. To capture a variable such as birth, a multitude of factors must be linked together. What happens when there is a death during pregnancy, at birth or shortly after? These deaths do not have the same cultural significance. The death of very young children raises the whole issue of infectious diseases. Finally, the entire subject of community adoption is often linked to the death of women in childbirth. The case of birth and its links with death and a certain community dynamic is just one of many examples of this. Beyond the statements made by the subjects lies a complex reality linked to a narrative built around a meaning that can only be understood in terms of the culture in question.

Research guide

The research guide that has been developed, in addition to the technical information on name, address and a few details about the family or type of job held by each person during his or her life, focuses on a dozen major themes: work, family, religion, education, dress, housing, diet, recreation, political life, health, birth, illness and death. The preferred approach is to urge the subject to build his own story from his own experience, in his own words. In the field, each meeting takes a different form. The researcher also has his own culture. His mannerisms of speech, eye contact and questioning influence the subject. Similarly, a subject's degree of comfort with a researcher can vary by topic. Thus, each story is a creation that constitutes a unique cultural production, based on the characters and circumstances, which can provide a source for studying the life of a group throughout its history.[30]

From the individual to the social and cultural

Each subject is a player in a community of which he or she usually forms an integral part. For historians concerned with capturing the evolution of a group's social structure and discovering the foundations of cultures, it is important to distinguish between what is or is not seen as a factor of integration into or dissociation from the community. Beyond the facts and their

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[30] A contract stipulating the conditions for use of the story has been signed with each subject. On the topic of research techniques, see Philippe Lejeune, *Moi aussi*, Paris, Seuil, 1986, pp. 203-244.

interpretation, we must seek to understand the meaning of the story based on the other person's point of view. This meaning is vital to return some consistency to these singular existences, which are vehicles of both individuality and sociability.

At various moments in history, changes occur in society which alter cultures. It is these changes, these adjustments that must be reconstructed in their original context.

> *Such manoeuvrings are "social". They are the reflections of both the composition and structure of the social group at that point in time, and the manifestations of individual variation within the group. It is in this sense that the elusive phenomenon we dub "personality" reveals itself at the boundary between social and cultural perspectives on behaviour. (...) Perhaps it is sufficient to say that we make our decisions, as individuals, under conditions laid down by forces over which we have unspecified control, and that our perceptions of such conditions clearly influence our sense of autonomy.*[31]

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[31] Sidney Mintz, "The Anthropological Interview and the Life History", in David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Nashville, American Association for State and Local History and The Oral History Association, 1984, p. 311.

In his research on cottage bakery in France, Daniel Bertaux also develops certain concepts to facilitate the analysis of autobiographical historical documents.[32] Relying primarily on this source, Bertaux attempts to construct a mental representation of the processes on which he focuses his attention, in an effort to identify the "social relationships" of the group studied.[33] Thus, the analysis may be organized around a group of witnesses who repeat observations and descriptions of a given phenomenon, behaviour or attitude, with the underlying assumption that *practices are the best indicators of their underlying social relationships*.[34] He argues against the "ideology" contained in a psychology that fails to lead to the social aspect by seeking only a necessary and singular consistency in each story.[35] "Practices" must be interpreted as "structural" factors that reveal the social relationships in their historical movement.[36] In brief:

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[32] Daniel Bertaux, *Histoire de vie - ou récits de pratique? méthodologie de l'approche biographique en sociologie*, Paris, CORDES, No. 23, March 1976, pp. 199-213; Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, *Transformations et permanence de l'artisanat boulanger en France*, Vol. I, *Une enquête sur la boulangerie artisanale par l'approche biographique*, Paris, CORDES No. 43/76, 1980; Daniel Bertaux, "Fonctions diverses des récits de vie dans le processus de recherche", in Danielle Desmarais and Paul Grell (Eds.), *Les récits de vie. Théorie, méthode et trajectoire type*, Montreal, Saint-Martin, 1986, pp. 21-34.

[33] Bertaux uses the term "biographical approach", which suggests an analysis that is not limited solely to the life story, but includes other complementary sources as well.

[34] *Ibid.*, *Une enquête sur la boulangerie...*, p. 369.

[35] Bertaux, *Histoire de vie...*, pp. 206, 219 ff.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 205 ff; *Une enquête...*, pp. 369 ff.

[translation]

...as soon as the level of structural relationships is perceived, as soon as the attention focuses on it, and the accounts of players are collected and examined to seek the silenced song of socio-cultural relationships, the famous problem of analysis dissolves. Of course, and this is very useful, the life stories can be reviewed and analysed by theme (for example, assembling everything available on the description of working relationships). The key, however, lies elsewhere, in the representation that the team gradually constructs of this level of relationships.[37]

Bertaux avoids seeking the "singular" or the "ideal story" in life stories and focuses instead on the factors that explain changes or blocks in the societies or social groups studied.

[translation]

And if, once the character of what is found in many cases is clearly identified, we find that this is indeed a "sociological object"--a standard, a social constraint,

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[37] *Ibid.*, *Une enquête...*, p. 371. For a test of this, see Camil Girard, "La naissance à Laterrière, 1900-1960, changement d'une pratique, essai d'histoire orale", *Saguenayensia*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July-September 1984, pp. 96-100.

> *a role, a process, the introduction of a structural relationship, etc.--that is, something based on the social rather than the psychological, on the collective rather than the individual, we can then state that we have reached the first saturation level. (...) This is the social aspect emerging through individual voices.*[38]

This approach consists of analysing how relationships unite or divide individuals, the group itself or groups as a whole. In the reconstruction that constitutes their story, the subjects act and think, about an economic, social and cultural life in the process of changing. In our view, however, the concept of practice remains too vague in Bertaux to provide a framework for analysis that allows us to move from the social to the cultural.

Industrialization and urbanization in Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean

In our research, which ultimately focuses on the impact of industrialization and urbanization in a reserve such as Mashteuiatsh, a village such as Laterrière or industrial towns such as Kénogami or Arvida, our objective is to identify the changes and consistencies experienced by three men and three women, primarily through their life stories, which recount the rites of passage and

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[38] Daniel Bertaux, "Fonctions diverse des récits de vie dans le processus de recherche", in Danielle Desmarais and Paul Grell (Eds.), *Les récits de vie. Théorie, méthode et trajectoire type*, Montreal, Saint-Martin, 1986, p. 28.

the cycles of life, work, religion, institutions, recreation, etc. Each story remains a construction of reality based on the subject's culture. In this respect, we must point out the limitations of our research, which covers only a few individuals. However, by adopting an analytical approach that first seeks to capture the specific anchor points of each culture portrayed, we believe we can more easily attain a level of analysis that takes into account the intra- and inter-cultural dynamics, all viewed in complex relationships of acculturation/affirmation/integration.

At the same time, the Aboriginal people experience a certain acculturation while displaying a determination for cultural affirmation. In the Ilnu Aboriginal subject, the intercultural aspect is first experienced in contact with other Aboriginal nations in Quebec or elsewhere, as some nations appear to have varying degrees of affinity with the Ilnu. Other nations and languages are culturally related and provide an incentive for forming groups. Simultaneously, the Aboriginal people also experience complex relationships with the dominant Francophone and Anglophone groups. In the Aboriginal mentality, this relationship to the white man is complex and leads to a certain ambivalence in which the white man is viewed as enemy/friend.

The regional society of Francophone origin sees itself as the general society and tends to want to integrate everything into its majority culture in the region. In this regard, the residents of

Latérrière, through their totally introspective view of themselves, reflect the wealth of their culture but also their limits in considering others. For the village resident, an outsider is often viewed simply as someone who does not belong to the community. The "English" person is considered both the enemy and the partner of French Canadians. Immigrants appear to want to define themselves through a model that reflects both the intercultural and multicultural aspects, the latter permitting the host societies, whether Aboriginal or other, to enrich themselves through contacts with each culture.

Innovations and changes

Beyond these perceptions that emerge from life experience, mass communications create the image of a multitude of cultures that refer to our own, either to give it value or marginalize it. We therefore believe this deep break between the construction based on experience and that based on an image raises the most serious problems in our modern societies. The conflict between generations has resulted from industrialization and urbanization, and the appearance of multiple technological innovations that have changed the way we produce and view the world. Do these inter-generational conflicts not disrupt the social and cultural functions of the family, which have developed over centuries? Do relations between men and women not show that the system that assigned management of public matters to men and private life generally to women no longer

applies? Women demand the right to play a full role in all aspects of public and private life. Men share the places and spaces their culture reserved for them, while they are urged to become more involved in private life: housekeeping, child-rearing. Do these not constitute profound changes now experienced by most cultures, whether Aboriginal, Western or other? Does this not dictate a restructuring of cultures around new poles of identity, which requires new reflection on the dynamics of cultural structuring?[39]

Innovations, changes and continuity

In this context, everything proceeds as if the modern world were no longer capable of carrying with it enough traditions to ensure change within continuity. Uncertainty is now the only certainty; the models of contemporary science appear to be withdrawing into their own scholarly culture to such an extent that popular culture and the culture of marginal groups no longer find a place in large modern administrative, political and economic structures. Is the challenge not to rediscover the place of individuals and cultures in these signs of the oversights of history? This banalization of

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[39] Jean Poirier (Ed.), *Histoire de moeurs*, (3 volumes), Paris, Gallimard, 1990-1991. In particular, see Vol. III, pp. 1587-1588 in which the author explains the concepts of dysculturation, by which he means "the process--or state--born of postmodern change, which is the consequence of perverse effects of the technological advances and progress of all types that have been poorly assimilated and at too fast a pace. As a result of the explosion of host structures for the person and of the drastic change in cultural models, the individual has become the orphan of the group and society's sick man."

marginality and particularly this systematic refusal to study its functions over the long term demonstrate the difficulties modern societies experience considering marginal groups in projects in which they would be full-fledged partners. In this sense, projects for Aboriginal people to take charge of their destiny, and women's rights movements provide examples of groups seeking to build new power structures that challenge all existing power structures. It should remembered that the Aboriginal culture of the Saguenay residents was based on more than 5,500 years of living on the land. The Western civilizing machine cannot destroy everything in a few centuries, in the name of civilization. To believe this is to ignore history over the long period in which cultures contribute to the development of human beings. In these attempts at interaction of the cultures in question, the Aboriginal and Western cultures represent two great solitudes, two major systems of thought and values that remain fundamentally opposed. This study challenges us on both the complexity and wealth of these cultures, as well as their fragility and the important role they play in the construction of identity, which explains the need to preserve them.

Culture and cultural interaction

Cultures are in fact fragile but indispensable to the development of individuals or groups. To experience cultural interaction forms part of a cultural continuity that requires the use of multiple and varied concepts. Finally, all the research we have conducted in the

past 10 years shows the importance of the family and inter-generational relations in the affirmation of identity and cultural reproduction. Aside from the social and economic values that make cultural affirmation possible, we find that value systems that form through relationships in the real world and the world beyond reveal the sharpest distinctions between cultures. This explains the importance of understanding belief systems, the relationships to nature that define relationships with oneself and with others, as well as the importance of understanding the languages that have developed over the centuries and convey a complex synthesis of cultures. Aboriginal languages are based on animate and inanimate objects, while French divides everything into masculine and feminine. Are these not interactions between oral cultures that have developed around nomadic peoples and the written cultures from Europe which have adapted to conditions in America? The latter cultures, which are sedentary, bring their language, religion and system of values, which differ profoundly from the Aboriginal cultures. All the subjects we interviewed built their story around the same concept of history, which consists of finding in their own existence the foundations of a past, present and future that must reflect changes but also deep respect for cultural continuities that are required to ensure individual as well as community integrity.

In this approach, which attempts to discover cultures, beyond the social aspect, in a marginal northern region where sedentary and

semi-sedentary cultures live in proximity, we believe the life story can prove useful in challenging traditional analytical models. For example, speech itself, the concepts of space and time are recaptured differently, depending on whether we are dealing with Ilnu hunters, farmers or factory workers: construction of speech, reflection of one's culture; relationships to space defined on the basis of nature, the reserve, rural concessions, the village or the town; belief systems that borrow either from Aboriginal tradition or the Catholic or Protestant religion; the cyclical time of Aboriginal hunters, the forced relationship of farmers to the seasons, the industrial time of factory workers, all blend together here to reveal the complex relationships to time, which are linked to certain specific activities, perhaps even to certain cultures.

Three men

Oral history and life stories in particular are based on individual accounts that constitute nothing more nor less than a creation around a reconstruction of meaning that favours a reinterpretation of an existential path. Clearly, the small number of accounts presented here limits the opportunity for generalization. However, each subject reflects the image of a player in his or her cultural system. The three men chosen were born between 1918 and 1923. All are leaders in their community. To some extent, throughout their life, they have reproduced the image of father, provider and family head, while exerting a certain influence over their community.

In this regard, the Aboriginal subject successfully carried on the leadership of the Kurtness family in the community. One of the subject's sons is the current chief of Mashteuiatsh, another holds a director's position on the Conseil Atikamekw-Montagnais (CAM). The individual leadership of the Laterrière resident was based primarily on the place his family held in the community, with prestige based on real property and ownership of the mill. Within the family, a matriarchal structure appears to be developing, granting women the management of private life, and men the management of public (economic and political) life. However, this subject shows in his story that the family's history ends with him, because he has been unable to continue the family's influence over its traditional foundations. With neither mill nor farms, the land has been sold for residential or industrial development. Thus, there is an observed break with the long history of one of the most important families in this community. The story actually provides an explanation of this break, by attempting to recapture the continuities of a family history that seeks to reposition itself within the social structure, which attempts to find new foundations, a new meaning for its new existence.

In the immigrant's case, the image of father and provider also receives strong emphasis. The pride of this immigrant arises from the fact that he has succeeded in his lifetime in building a new identity. First, this man chose the same trade as his father, a man he deeply admired. This American of German origin would marry a

Catholic French Canadian, as his father did before him. He managed to forge links with the managerial staff of Alcan after the Second World War, thereby entering the ranks of the local elite. Many of his coworkers left the region when they retired, but this Saguenayan chose to remain in the region where his relatives, children and grandchildren live. He adores and is deeply attached to the natural environment. His individual development therefore reflects a willing and successful integration.

Three women

Of the three female subjects, born between 1904 and 1912, the Aboriginal representative managed to engage in traditional hunting over her lifetime. Her involvement in this ancestral activity was not limited to the small game usually hunted by women. She broke the bounds of her own female status by becoming a full-fledged hunter. During her life, she became semi-sedentary to give her children an education. However, the construction of her world is based on the traditional territory which becomes an ideal place where the entire narrative is marked by liveliness and pace. The many links to meaning convey to us a certain sense of ecstasy experienced when she is alone in the forest, at total peace with what she truly is. In contrast, the reserve emerges as a place where her narrative becomes prescriptive, compulsory. In the forest, everything seems alive; on the reserve, everything is dismal, sterile. The water in the forest is synonymous with life

and the mutual integration of all elements. This almost sacred function of water loses all meaning on the reserve. In fact, in her life story collected in French, the subject displays a totally Aboriginal thought structure that views some objects as animate and possessing a soul of sorts, while others are totally lifeless.[40] The game warden appears to be the main enemy in these ancestral hunting grounds, the only place where this Aboriginal woman experiences genuine customary identity construction. In this regard, the reserve is viewed more as a place of assimilation into the white man's values.

In Laterrière, the village representative conveys the typical French Canadian ideology that idealizes farming. As a reflection of Francophone culture and emphasis on family and Christian values, this narrative tends to portray the urban world as the enemy. The "other" in this community is first and foremost restricted to all members of the family and the community. Work on the farm, however, even if done by a son, no longer bears any relationship to traditional production. The machinery and rules of the market dictate an industrial form of production that ultimately leaves little room for improvisation. Fortunately, the cycle of the seasons remains, as does the hard reality of climate which can occasionally disrupt this productionist ideal.

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40 Clifford Moar and Camil Girard, *Entretiens*, Mashteuiatsh, 7 October 1993. Video cassette (camera: Gervais Tremblay).

The immigrant, a convert to Catholicism, married late to have her own family. Her reconstruction of identity is discontinuous with her family, which rejected her after her conversion. By marrying a merchant in the region who stressed the traditional values of his society, this immigrant woman adopted an integrative mould that occasionally weighs heavily on her shoulders. Thus, she has integrated but remains in the forefront of the feminist movements, thereby challenging her host society. She believes she must have some financial autonomy, drive her own car, send her children to English or French school, provided these schools are Catholic. Finally, she believes the parish priest should not be called in to make decisions that ultimately belong to private life. At the end of her life, this new Saguenayen has remained in the region, surrounded by her family.

Identity and family

Our examples show that in any construction of identity and any cultural reproduction, the family is the first place where the individual learns to develop an identity for himself and others. It appears that in each culture, the cultural functions of the family are built over a very long period of time. At the family level, everything is fragile. If one link breaks, the family appears to become lost in the impersonal world of the contemporary urban masses which seek to rebuild their identity on the nuclear family consisting of a couple with one or two children. However, the

Aboriginal people and immigrants show here that in the most extreme marginality, identities can be rebuilt in a process of integration, while simultaneously perpetuating an Aboriginal culture that borrows from modern and traditional values, although everything remains very fragile. The immigrant subjects choose integration while the Aboriginal subjects show both approaches, modernity and tradition, in the construction of a contemporary Aboriginal identity. Finally, the subjects from Laterrière, who represent one of the two host societies for Aboriginal people, engage in self-examination that leaves very little room for the "other", which in this case is everything not from Laterrière. This is why the resident of this village has no doubt about who he is as long as he remains within his community. In this perspective, the way in which each culture represented by our subjects functions illustrates a limited capacity for cultural interaction and integration.

Life stories - cultural narrative

These accounts form a limited basis for drawing general conclusions. Any informed reader must therefore place this analysis within the limits imposed by empirical research. Each subject does not represent the entirety of his or her culture, but does remain a representative of his or her community, which knowingly or unknowingly conveys a way of seeing and speaking specific to that culture. By analogy, it can be said that each story, like a song or music, carries a totally cultural way of constructing a story. A

traditional Aboriginal song has no link to traditional Quebec music, which borrows from French music for its songs and English instruments for its rhythms. Furthermore, the new Montagnais music of Kashtin, aside from the fact it is sung in the Innu language, integrates a host of modern musical genres with mass appeal. The same is true of new Quebec music which borrows very little from traditional music but integrates the most diverse influences (rhythms, instrumentation) provided the lyrics are in French/"Québécois" (Robert Charlebois illustrates this phenomenon). The same is true of life stories, although we must point out that the story constructed here is the result of interaction between a researcher and a subject. This constitutes a production of stories in a context of intercultural exchange with all the openings as well as the limitations this involves. For this reason, we do not refer to autobiographical stories, but instead to life stories constructed in interaction and with the parties involved. The reader therefore will also see that we are more comfortable analysing the general culture of French/Quebec than the other cultures. Our objective, however, is to construct, on the basis of our own culture, an interactive narrative that involves all cultures, that of the first occupants as well as those of the Francophones and immigrants. The authors of this report thus make less claim of presenting final findings on the many issues raised (many others remain unaddressed) than of launching an examination of cultures in their specific dynamics, which has a profound impact on the type of cultural interaction experienced by each.

Culture and memory

The participants in our research have shared experience of many events. Evidence of this is provided by their remarks on the First World War, the Great Depression, the Second World War, the postwar boom and their entry into the consumer society. The Depression marked every subject. With the war and the growth of the regional economy, most young men went to work for Alcan which was recruiting for its mills in the region.[41] These sections of memory and the understanding each group builds around these phenomena provide the foundation for a *generational memory;* by focusing on the same work and the same overall atmosphere, everyone within a given group comes to act and think in a similar way.[42]

It must be noted that the female Aboriginal subject does not recall her story in linear fashion. In this hunter's mind, time is built around the great hunting seasons experienced during her lifetime.

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[41] Camil Girard and Normand Perron, *Histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean*, Quebec City, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC) 1989, pp. 473-476; Duncan C. Campbell, *Mission mondiale. Histoire d'Alcan*, Vol. I, *Jusqu'à 1950*, Toronto, Ontario Publishing, 1985, pp. 279 ff.

[42] Consider the expressions that refer specifically to the prewar and postwar generations, the Great Depression generation of the 1930s or the Baby Boomers. Television and computers also have a definite impact on specific age groups, which find in these media increasing displays of and adjustment to mass culture. See Tamara Hareven, "The Search for Generational Memory", in David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Nashville, American Association for State and Local History and The Oral History Association, 1984, pp. 248-264.

She does not organize her thought around a specific chronology, except perhaps that linked to certain rites of passage or the time after she built a permanent house on the reserve. The sensory relationship surrounding food takes on considerable importance in the construction of the Aboriginal woman's memory. However, she more clearly organizes the time after she settled semi-permanently on the reserve, when the white man appears to have invaded her existence. Similarly, in the traditional hunting grounds, the game warden and intensive logging intruded upon and trampled nature, the profound nature in which everything was consistent. Even in her speech mannerisms, she views the destroyed forest as a "land" (inanimate), no longer as "the ancestral territory" (animate) where the Aboriginal identity can truly develop.

The Aboriginal chief displays a great capacity for ambivalence which translates into an ability to establish close contacts with the white man while strengthening his links with the ancestral culture through political action or life in the hunting grounds.[43] In brief, the identity of Aboriginal people differs from that of Quebecers, Canadians or Americans since it is based on a different system of values and thought.[44]

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[43] See the article by Sylvie Vincent, "La tradition orale montagnaise, comment l'interroger", *Cahiers de Clio*, No. 70, 1982, pp. 5-26.

[44] Camil Girard and David Cooter, *Fonds d'histoire orale, Mashteuiatsh / Pointe-Bleue*, Chicoutimi, Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, 1991 (9 research papers).

It is also possible to discover that identity and memory construction are gender-based. Women are almost alone in referring to their pregnancy and delivery. In the construction of their stories, women apparently place more emphasis on building a narrative that moves from private life to daily life. Men appear to focus more on building their story around the "heros" they want to become. However, although the private and public spheres have an effect on construction of the narrative and the speech of women or men, it must be noted that our Aboriginal woman did not limit her action to her private life since she engaged in big-game hunting and became a band council member, while serving as interpreter in her community. Similarly, the immigrant woman displays a determination to take charge of her life, which contrasts with the role of the woman in the home. The woman from Laterrière also displayed a certain desire for autonomy when she worked in a shop in town as a sales clerk.

The extensive research conducted by the Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire (GRH and UQAC) in the past dozen years shows that we can talk about trends rather than absolute rules when we note that women continue to manage private life, while seeking a greater role in public life. Men essentially limit their stories to their traditional roles and show little interest in becoming involved in areas traditionally held by women. In this regard, we might develop the hypothesis that as a group, women are more inclined to incorporate changes into a certain cultural continuity, no doubt

because they maintain a certain relationship with past experience that emerges in their speech. In turn, if men focus their narrative more on ideology than description of reality, they experience greater difficulty adapting to changes in the continuity.

The limitations of this research and the processing of information

The type of research we have adopted is primarily intended to urge subjects to reconstruct their own life story. The research guide is based primarily on general questions. This initial information provided by the subject (name, spouse(s), birthdate, children, work experience and education) help create the proper climate and stimulate the subject's memory as he or she prepares to elaborate on the major themes of his or her life.

We first transcribed all these stories in full. In transferring the account from audio recording to written testimony, some words and expressions have been standardized.[45] At the start of a sentence,

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[45] See Vivian Labrie, *Précis de transcription de documents d'archives orales*, Quebec City, IQRC, 1982, pp. 104 ff. Labrie establishes six main principles for transcription of oral documents. We believe it is important for each oral collection to be transcribed by a single person, where possible. This approach adds to the unity of the level of transcription if we abide by the principle that the same solutions are applied to the same difficulties. For a more thorough discussion of research methods in oral history, see Camil Girard, *Société et culture villageoise au Québec. Enquête d'histoire orale, Laterrière, Saguenay (1900-1960)*, Kingston, Ontario, annual meeting of the Canadian History Society, June 1991, 23 pp.; see also N. Perron and C. Girard, "Histoire orale: aspects théoriques et pratiques", *Archives*, Vol. 16, No. 2, September 1984, pp. 57-63; C. Girard and N. Perron, "Mémoire d'un

when certain hesitations or repetitions considerably weigh down the written account, some adjustments have been made. While we have standardized the spelling of certain words or expressions at this stage, we have left the syntax, improper participle, verb and even noun forms untouched. When the same transcriber works on an entire collection, however, he will generally tend to stay closer to oral version of the account at the start of the work and will introduce more standardization once the parameters of his level of transcription have been established. Several types of transcription are therefore possible among the various language registers. In the unabridged version, the intended goal is for the transcription to reflect a certain uniformity within limits that place the narrative between oral and written language. A sound or audiovisual document already carries its own meaning while the unabridged transcription of necessity places the oral aspect at another level, that of written cultural production.

Transcription required extensive supplementary research, especially on toponymics or to standardize the spelling of proper names or numerous "nicknames". To understand certain typical expressions, we had to go back to some subjects or consult specialized French and

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village", in Gabrielle Lachance (Ed.), *Mémoire d'une époque, Un fonds d'archives orales au Québec*, Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), 1987, pp. 201-224. A research tool has been published: C. Girard and N. Perron, *Enquêtes d'histoire orale: Laterrière, instrument de recherche*, Chicoutimi, GRH, 1985, 168 pp. (inventories and index). C. Girard and N. Perron, "Gens de parole... Récits de vie de Laterrière", *Saguenayensia*, special edition, Vol. 28, No. 4, October-December 1986, 75 pp.

English dictionaries. The transfer to written medium was carried out for purposes of our research on culture. As shown by Vivian Labrie, several levels of transcription are possible. There are many variants between international phonetics and international French.[46] Our goal has never been to replace the oral or audiovisual medium to which every specialist should refer.

In this rewritten version which is intended for a broader audience, we attempt to recreate the story in a sort of internal narrative that speaks directly to the reader. The final draft of the rewritten text was submitted to each subject or his or her representative, as applicable. In some cases, we checked with third parties (children or relatives) on the relevance of discussing certain subjects.

To facilitate research using this document, we have also prepared a glossary. Many specialists will therefore be interested in returning to the unabridged transcription or the sound or audiovisual document. For all subjects presented in this document, the same research guide was used and the same procedures were applied for transcription and the rewrite.

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[46] Vivian Labrie, *Précis de transcription de documents d'archives orales*, Quebec City, IQRC, 1982, pp. 104 ff. We have used the six major principles provided by Labrie. We believe it is important that each collection be transcribed by a single person where possible. This adds to the unity of the level of transcription if we abide by the principle that the same solutions are applied to similar difficulties.

Creation of the story of Anne-Marie Siméon forms part of broader research conducted in *Mashteuiatsh/Pointe-Bleue* when we were preparing a work in conjunction with the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture on the history of Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean (Quebec City, IQRC, 1989 and 1994).[47] This research in oral history conducted in an Aboriginal community located near the town of Roberval on Lac-Saint-Jean was intended to shed light on our research of the region's Montagnais or Ilnu culture (see Appendix 1 - Population of Mashteuiatsh: 1891-1961). A research guide was developed and we linked up with David Cooter, a former Hudson's Bay Company employee who had worked with the Montagnais since 1930. He met with most of the subjects in their homes. Where necessary, in interviews conducted in Montagnais, Anne-Marie Siméon accompanied him and served as interpreter.[48]

These accounts initially helped to better define the written production of the history of the Montagnais in the Domaine du Roi (Saguenay fur trade region). Through these life stories, we could

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[47] Camil Girard and Normand Perron, *Histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean*, Quebec City, IQRC, 1989; Camil Girard and David Cooter, Ouiatchouan / Pointe-Bleue, Chicoutimi, Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire (GRH and UQAC, 1985-1990, collection consisting of 10 accounts on cassettes). When compiling this collection, the subjects called their reserve Ouiatchouan; since then, the term Mashteuiatsh has become common.

[48] Camil Girard and David Cooter, *Fonds Mashteuiatsh / Pointe-Bleue*, Chicoutimi, GRH and UQAC, 1992. Eight stories transcribed unabridged and published with the support of the Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec (Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean section).

rediscover the Saguenay, not only through travel accounts, the *Relations des Jésuites* or the archives of various companies or institutions, but also by taking into account the perceptions and attitudes of the area's initial occupants. Other research was conducted at Mashteuiatsh in 1989 and 1993 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples).

The Pointe-Bleue reserve was officially created on 6 September 1856.[49] Eleven years later, in 1867, the Hudson's Bay Company opened a post on the reserve. In 1875, the government set up its Indian Agency and in 1878, the first schools were opened. The religious presence consisted of the Oblates of Mary Immaculata, who established themselves on the reserve at the end of the 19th century. Due to the scarcity of game, activities related to hunting declined in the early 20th century. Hunters had to travel further and further from the reserve, which triggered a decline in traditional activities.

Two factors have had long-term repercussions on the Ilnu culture in this community. First, the remoteness of and difficult access to hunting and fishing grounds had a negative impact on the traditional life style. Furthermore, the proximity of the town of Roberval to some extent facilitated contact with urban life but it became increasingly difficult to maintain certain factors of

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[49] Édith Gagné, *Survol de Mashteuiatsh. Grandes périods de 1856 à nos jours*. Research paper, GRH, December 1993, 3 pp.

identity, such as the Montagnais language. However, transfer of the education system and renewed emphasis on the Ilnu culture through organizations such as the Musée de Pointe-Bleue have fostered a new interest in the language and culture in general in the entire community.

In Laterrière, the first oral history research dates back to 1982.[50] This collection contains 20 accounts transcribed in full and is preserved at the Archives nationales du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean in Chicoutimi. The second set of research was conducted in 1988-1989 and consists of 14 accounts on VHS videocassettes. This collection has also been transcribed in full.[51]A third collection was conducted in the winter of 1992 and the last in 1993 for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. In all, some 125 hours of testimony have been collected and processed.

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[50] Camil Girard and Normand Perron (Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean), *Laterrière, un village en Saguenay*, collection created in 1982, preserved at the Archives nationales du Québec, Chicoutimi. Issues of methodology are discussed in two articles: Normand Perron and Camil Girard, "Histoire orale: aspects théoriques et pratiques", *Archives*, Vol. 16, No. 2, September 1984, pp. 57-63; Camil Girard and Normand Perron, "Mémoire d'un village", in Gabrielle Lachance (Ed.), *Mémoire d'une époque, Un fonds d'archives orales au Québec*, Quebec City, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), 1987, pp. 201-224.

[51] Camil Girard, *Laterrière un village au Saguenay, 1988-1989*, Chicoutimi, Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean (GRH), 1988-1989 (13 accounts on VHS/cameraman Claude Bérubé; 1 account on cassette).

Laterrière, also called Grand Brûlé, was founded in 1846 by Father Jean-Baptiste Honorat, Oblates of Mary Immaculata. In the desire to liberate new arrivals from the economic dictatorship exerted by William Price in the Saguenay region,[52] Honorat founded a free farming colony based on models developed in France.[53] The pressures exerted by Price, however, quickly eliminated the bothersome Honorat who ran a competing sawmill on the Rivière du Moulin.[54]

The mission was succeeded by the township of Laterrière in 1850. The church parish was established in 1858 and the civil parish the following year. The municipality was created in 1882 by resolution of the county council. In 1921, the divergent interests of villagers, influenced by industry and urban life, and parishioners living on the farm concessions, led to incorporation of the village. Despite the presence of two municipalities, the rural residents still outnumbered the village residents in a ratio of about four to one. The prosperity of the rural parish far exceeded

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[52] Normand Séguin, "Jean-Baptiste Honorat", *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, Vol. IX, 1861-1870, Les Presses de l'Université Laval (PUL), 1977, pp. 438-439.

[53] According to Jean-Paul Simard, Honorat's project was modelled on the *Traité d'Économie politique chrétienne* published in 1834 by Viscount Alban Villeneuve-Bergeron. See Jean-Paul Simard, "Une fondation pas comme les autres", in Gilles Gauthier, Zoé Boivin-Fournier, Emma Maltais-Girard, Camil Girard and Normand Perron, consultants and editors, *Laterrière au Saguenay*, Éditions du Progrès, Chicoutimi, 1983, p. 36.

[54] Jean-Paul Simard, "Un procès au Saguenay", in Gilles Gauthier *et al.*, *Laterrière...*, p. 56.

that of a village populated by day labourers, a few civil servants and a large number of retired people.

From 1860 to 1950, the population of Laterrière varied from 800 to 1,600.[55] (See Appendix 2 - Population of Laterrière: 1856-1961). The population is French-speaking and Catholic, and until the Second World War, lived primarily on activities related to forestry and farming.[56] As the century advanced, however, the Laterrière residents began to engage in new activities. The day labourers sold their labour in the neighbouring cities where major industries were located. Farmers sold more products in local markets, especially in Chicoutimi.

During the research conducted at Laterrière, an inventory of printed documents proved useful.[57] The search of municipal archives[58] and religious archives[59] discovered important sources

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[55] On the population, see the work edited by Christian Pouyez and Yolande Lavoie, *Les Saguenayens*, Sillery, Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université du Québec (PUQ), 1983.

[56] Gérard Bouchard, "Family Structures and Geographical Mobility at Laterrière, 1851-1935", *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Winter 1977.

[57] Camil Girard, Normand Perron *et al.*, *Laterrière au Saguenay, Grand-Brûlé, Des origines à nos jours*, Laterrière, 1982, 277 pp.

[58] Normand Perron and Gilles Gauthier, *Sélection de procès-verbaux, paroisse et village, 1865-1935*, Chicoutimi, GRH, 1983. Typewritten document.

for analysing local life over the long term. To capture the history of the market economy involving issues such as trade, credit or commerce, the account ledgers of general merchants were examined at the regional archives.[60] Data on the population facilitate comparison of the behaviour of residents of this community with that of the region of the province.[61] Sources on real estate[62] and architectural inventories[63] allowed us to begin an analysis of land occupancy. The local people themselves have preserved many traces of their past. The creation of an inventory of private collections of photographs revealed the care with which some village residents had kept various traces of their past. In addition to helping illustrate certain works and preparing for exhibitions, this inventory managed to capture rural and village life from a new

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59 Camil Girard, *Sélection de documents sur la paroisse de Laterrière, 1849-1980*, Chicoutimi, microfilm produced by GRH and Archives nationales du Québec, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean regional centre, 1984.

60 *Fonds Onésime Côté*, general merchant, Bagot, "Cahier des comptes, 1869-1920", Archives nationales du Québec, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean regional centre; Camil Girard, "La dynamique de l'échange en milieu rural, Laterrière, 1879-1970", conference, Chicoutimi, ACFAS convention, seminar on regional history, 22 May 1985, 18 typewritten pages, published in *Saguenayensia/ACFAS*, Vol. 27, No. 4, October-December 1985, pp. 132-137.

61 Christian Pouyez, Yolande Lavoie, *Les Saguenayens*, Quebec City, Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983.

62 Pierre Houde, Normand Séguin *et al.*, "La propriété foncière au Saguenay, 1840-1975: orientation de recherche", Chicoutimi, *Protée, Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (UQAC), 1975, pp. 67-87;* an inventory of real estate in Laterrière was created on computer by the Séguin team.

63 Municipality of Laterrière, *Inventaires architecturaux*.

perspective, the photographed image, which reflects the values of a changing culture.[64] In all, the documents on village culture are extensive and by systematically analysing these, we can thoroughly examine the issues raised in an initial approach that complements the body of collected life stories.

The first collection of the life stories of immigrants was conducted in 1993 and includes some 15 hours of recordings. All subjects are linked with development of the Saguenay cities Kénogami (1909) and Arvida (1926), (see Appendix 3 - Population of cities in Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean: 1891-1986). The stories presented involve individuals who married people from the region.

Francophones represent the majority group in the region, but at some points in our history, government statistics indicated the arrival of waves of migrants, however small these may have been. In 1911, the total population of Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean was 63,341.[65] Of this number, 2.6 percent represented all other non-Francophone groups whether of British or immigrant origin. In 1941, the total population had reached 143,187, of which 3.1 percent

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[64] Camil Girard and Gervais Tremblay, *Mémoires d'un village. Laterrière, Saguenay 1900-1960*, Chicoutimi, GRH and UQAC, 1993, 168 pp. François Lepage and Camil Girard, *Laterrière en image. Index de photographies anciennes (Fonds privés)*, Chicoutimi, Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean (GRH), 1991 (computerized document).

[65] Miriam Alonso, *Les non-francophones au Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean*, research paper, GRH, November 1993, 21 pp.

represented these other groups. A small increase in 1971, when the population of non-Francophone origin reached 3.9 percent (total population: 265,635), disappeared gradually until 1986, when it had dropped to 2.4 percent of the total population, which then exceeded 275,000. All told, from 1911 to 1986, the population of non-Francophone origin, based on official data, never exceeded 10,330 people or 3.9 percent (1971) in the entire region.

The main reasons that led immigrants to settle in the region were the establishment of pulp and paper mills and the introduction of hydroelectric infrastructures that required a large labour force. Heavy industries such as aluminum smelting or forest processing offered job opportunities in the region during periods of economic difficulty. Similarly, the two world wars and the economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s may have encouraged some Europeans to settle in the region.

Conclusion

Provided the necessary precautions are taken for the collection, preservation and processing of information, life stories constitute an especially fertile source for promoting a renewal of the problems of contemporary history.

What do the Ilnu accounts teach us? First, this is a deeply divided community. How do the Ilnu integrate into a modern world while

reclaiming their own culture, which has been marginalized? These stories show the extreme material poverty of some and the success of a few others. This is the history of family networks and the land, especially the hunting grounds, which allowed the Aboriginal people to rebuild the bridges to their ancestral past and value system, in which nature, men and animals are inseparable from the environment as a whole. We also find a Montagnais language that is disappearing. Aside from a difficult life on the reserves, several images emerge, including that of the relationships between Aboriginal people and the white man which, of necessity, is based on the respective perceptions that Aboriginal people and Quebecers have of themselves and each other. Clearly, the models of industrialization, urbanization and Western culture do not correspond with the value system of the continent's first inhabitants. There is nothing new in this. In their stories, however, the Ilnu of Masteuiatsh can begin to break their silence. It is to be hoped that this articulation will prove beneficial, especially for the Ilnu, who are seeking to take their place in modern Quebec society. Ultimately, for Quebecers, who are seeking self-affirmation as a people or nation, with equally legitimate determination to take charge of their fate, better knowledge of the first inhabitants of Quebec becomes indispensable, as these are the people who welcomed us to this new world. At issue is an identity defined in terms of oneself and others.

While maintaining certain traditional values, the community of Laterrière has experienced many changes in the 20th century, especially in the early 1960s. For example, can we discuss a rite such as birth without mentioning the practices linked to changing perceptions of and attitudes toward illness or death among rural, village and city residents?[66] Women no longer wanted to die giving birth to their descendants. Doctors managed to impose their concept of "birth without suffering" when they began anaesthetizing women in their homes, where they continued to give birth until the 1940s. Changes on both sides formed part of a *restructuring* of the cultural foundations of rural societies influenced by urban and industrial values. Thus, we can argue that beyond the changes in life styles, the entire social and mental world of rural and village residents was changing, with villages emerging as the ideal transition between the rural and urban worlds. In this context, the relations of each member of the community with himself and the other members of his world were changing.

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[66] Camil Girard, "La naissance à Laterrière, 1900-1960, changement d'une pratique, essai d'histoire orale", *Saguenayensia*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July-September 1984, pp. 96-100. Early in the century, women gave birth at home, usually assisted by a midwife. By 1925, major changes were apparent. Young women then lost confidence in midwives and demanded the presence of a doctor, who came to the home. In the 1940s, hospital medicine began urging women to give birth in hospital. See Normand Perron, *Un siècle de vie hospitalière au Québec: Les Augustines et l'Hôtel-Dieu de Chicoutimi, 1884-1984*, Sillery, Quebec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1984.

Immigrants to the Saguenay show how they integrated into the local community. Working from their initial identity, they managed to build a new identity by integrating certain elements of their adopted culture: the Catholic religion, the French language, marriage to regional residents, discovery of nature, etc.

What each person shows in his ability for cultural representation constitutes a very solitary examination by each culture of itself and others. This is a story of non-integration and an identity that refuses, except in the case of the immigrants, to deny its predecessors. The Aboriginal people want to reclaim their own culture before opening themselves to others, and their first openings will be to other Aboriginal peoples. The regional society that represents 98 percent of the population tends to examine itself solely for its own sake and to impose an integrating agenda of the majority on the territory in question. The immigrants are subject to very strong pressure from the majority group to assimilate. Failing this, the immigrant will leave the region, or attempt to withdraw into a small group.

The life stories constitute direct sources in which the subjects tend to restore some consistency to their existence by recounting their life, and talking about their institutions and society. The use of such documents remains a difficult task, however. Consultation on video cassette or audio tape is slow. The written account is easy to use but this option requires considerable

resources and patience. With this valuable documentation, we can now begin an ethnographic inventory of culture in an outlying region.

Let us hope that this research based on life stories marked by culture will help expand our knowledge of the changes experienced in Aboriginal, rural and village societies in Quebec in the 20th century. However, we must acknowledge that to place the analysis in a global perspective, we must further refine the models of industrialization and urbanization while continuing our empirical research on the cultures in question, especially the Aboriginal cultures in contemporary Quebec.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Catholic population, Mashteuiatsh (Saint-Charles-Borromée parish) five-year average, 1891-1961

YEAR	POPULATION	YEAR	POPULATION

* Data for 1961 only.

Source: Pouyez, Lavoie, *Les Saguenayens*, Sillery, Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983, Appendix B-1, p. 542.

APPENDIX 2

Population of Laterrière in five-year intervals, 1856-1961

YEAR	POPULATION	YEAR	POPULATION

Source: Pouyez, Lavoie, *Les Saguenayens*, Sillery, Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983, Appendix B-1, p. 542.

APPENDIX 3

Population of major urban centres, Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean
1891-1986

SAGUENAY
Arvida
Jonquière
Kénogami
Subtotal

Bagotville
Port-Alfred
St-Alexis-de-G.-B.
Subtotal

Chicoutimi
Chicoutimi-Nord
Riv.-du-Moulin
Subtotal

Total

LAC-SAINT-JEAN
Alma
Dolbeau
Mistassini
Roberval
Saint-Félicien
Total

1 Merger of Arvida, Jonquière and Kénogami (City of Jonquière, 1 January 1976)
2 Merger of Port-Alfred and Bagotville (City of La Baie, 1 January 1976)
3 Merger of Port-Alfred and Grande Baie (30 June 1953)
4 Merger of Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi-Nord and Rivière-du-Moulin (City of Chicoutimi, 1 January 1976)

Source: *Census of Canada;* Camil Girard and Jean-Michel Tremblay, *Histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, Dossier statistique*, Chicoutimi, IQRC-GRH, 1987, p. 15; Marc Saint-Hilaire, *Initiation à l'histoire régionale, L'urbanisation*, Paper no. 3, Jonquière, CÉGEP de Jonquière, 1983, p. 26

3

Cultures at the crossroads

Three men in Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Problem/culture and cultural interaction

In the first half of the 20th century, the residents of small communities (Aboriginal people, rural and village residents, immigrants) have been faced with sweeping changes under the combined influence of industrialization and urbanization. In their life styles and ways of thinking, as demonstrated in daily life or at the time of a birth, marriage, illness or death, whether defining the parameters of an economic or social life focused on family life, the community, the work place or places of worship or educational institutions, the entire physical and mental world, the relationship to the real world and the world beyond, the relationship with oneself and with others has changed more in a few decades than in past centuries. For societies in which tradition is inseparable from culture, identity is built in continuity with one's past. In this regard, these societies are faced with so many changes so poorly adapted to their culture that they become marginalized from the major currents of western society.

In their perceptions and attitudes, the people of small communities, like urban dwellers, assimilated a series of changes in the first half of the century. These changes effectively transformed their relationships with space and time. Space, which from one generation to the next was limited to the immediate

community in which everyone was a full-fledged member of the group, was no longer limited to a few streets but expanded to the surrounding cities, especially with the arrival of the railway and the automobile. The appearance and introduction of new products had significant effects on the organization and management of time. The pace of time accelerated to the point where it imposed a rhythm to which everyone had to adjust, either to produce or consume.

We posit that this *cultural symbiosis* led to articulation of the changes linked to development, especially industrial development. This symbiosis translates into a sort of ambivalence in which each change is assimilated once it forms part of a certain psycho-social and cultural continuity. In fact, any change must be internalized to form part of one's culture. Thus, societies tolerate, adapt, question or reject changes that do not fully address their interests or leave little initiative.

And while cultural identity appears to be a necessity because it is a factor in intragroup consistency indispensable to the survival of societies, it follows that the diversity of cultures is also an incontrovertible fact. [translation] "And depending on their nature and the quality of their customs groups react to this diversity in accordance with their own genius."[67]

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[67] Simone Clapier-Valladon and Pierre Mannoni, "Psychologie des relations interculturelles", in Jean Poirier (Ed.), *Histoire des moeurs, Vol. III, Thèmes et systèmes culturels*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991, p. 576.

In a community such as Mashteuiatsh, the population is divided into two groups, traditionalists and modernists. The first believe they can rediscover their true identity by returning to the foundations of traditional culture. The others believe it is essential to build an Aboriginal identity that draws as much on modernity as on tradition. In a village such as Laterrière, the cultural foundations provide the community with a strong identity, and these foundations provide a better ability to adapt to change when traditional and new values collide. Through their life stories, the village residents develop a cultural reconstruction of how they manage to maintain the traditional values and practices they deem indispensable. They also assimilate certain changes. Finally, in other cases, they demonstrate their ambivalence toward elements in the process of being assimilated, which may involve certain temporary choices.[68] To a certain extent, immigrants are forced to assimilate into an environment such as Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean, an almost totally Francophone, Catholic region.

The analytical approach, in which culture to some extent becomes inseparable from construction of identity, allows us to understand how these communities, or individuals originating from these communities, manage to accept some changes while expressing their

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[68] On the concept of ambivalence, see Simone Clapier-Valladon and Pierre Mannoni, "Psychologie des relations interculturelles", in Jean Poirier (Ed.), *Histoire des moeurs, Vol. III, Thèmes et systèmes culturels*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991, pp. 577 to 579.

disapproval, whether consciously or not, of a certain development that disrupts the structure formed by any culture. It must be noted that a group that feels threatened will tend to fall back on its most traditional cultural values, which can maintain the group's survival as a comprehensive and dynamic culture. This withdrawal can have serious consequences for the general societies that must manage on behalf of majorities.

How do the people react in such a system? To date, general history has only rarely sought to determine the views of players existing on the fringes of so-called national history, which often imposes its concepts from major urban and industrial centres or large peoples who consider themselves "founding" peoples.

Yet in their daily actions, the village and rural residents show their abilities and limitations in dealing with change. The interest of this research lies specifically in the following question: "How do village communities or marginal groups (Aboriginal people, ethnic communities) achieve self-affirmation in relation to economic and social changes, and what impact do these changes have on ways of thinking and acting, on cultures?" Our research, which promotes a rediscovery of the importance of rural society, Aboriginal communities and ethnic groups in the development of modern Quebec and Canada, is based on witnesses who have experienced these changes.

In the Aboriginal communities, we encounter a problem that must be properly defined. The concept of communities marked by acculturation is more relevant here than that of societies in transition. First, the Aboriginal residents of reserves are confined to small territories. They must cope with very serious economic and social problems. How do they integrate into a modern world by reclaiming their own culture when that culture has been completely marginalized? The life stories of the Ilnu in Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean reveal the great material poverty of some and the success of a few others. This is the forgotten history of the land especially the hunting grounds, which allows Aboriginal people to rebuild the bridges with their ancestral past and their value system in which nature, humans and animals are inseparable from a general environment. Aside from the difficult life on the reserves, in the hunting grounds or elsewhere, the images portrayed include the relationships between Aboriginal people and the white man, which forcibly are based on the respective perceptions the Ilnu and Quebecers have of themselves and of each other. Clearly, the models of industrialization, urbanization and Western culture have difficulty adapting to the value system of the continent's first inhabitants. There is nothing new in this, as there are points where cultures do not meet. Through their stories, however, the Ilnu force us to rethink our approaches to development and culture, especially when developing new approaches to co-habitation that can breathe life into some ancestral cultures while promoting integration into the general society. It is to be hoped that this

self-expression will prove beneficial, especially for the Ilnu, who are seeking to take their place in modern Quebec society, and ultimately, for Canadians and Quebecers, who are seeking self-affirmation, with equally legitimate determination to take charge of their economic, social and cultural development while giving Aboriginal people an opportunity for self-affirmation with full dignity. We must realize that despite all the innovations of modernism, despite the pressures of acculturation that at times has been brutal, a very significant stability of cultural transfer has persisted from one generation to the next, even in the smallest groups: [translation] "In brief, I find that the ability for self-realization (Greek foundation) and sublimation, accession to genuine maturity and independence, and finally, effectiveness, depend in part at least on free access to the defences provided by culture."[69]

During their lifetime, especially in the 20th century, all the inhabitants of small communities (reserves, villages, rural concessions, urban neighbourhoods) have experienced more change than their ancestors did over the preceding centuries. Their stories reflect a great ability to adapt, but also certain limitations. In this context, we must reconsider the statements that these rural societies are deeply opposed to change and that in this respect, their culture served as a brake on change. We believe

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[69] Georges Devereux, *Essais d'ethnopsychiatrie générale*, Paris, Gallimard, 1970, pp. 11-12.

instead that the models that allow us to analyse this stage in our history must be much more subtle. No doubt we must make the assumption that through strong attachment to their values, rural people have succeeded in assimilating change in harmony with their deep-seated culture, which borrows by mixing change with experience as well as ideology, values and symbols. A superficial analysis might indicate that we are dealing with a systematic rejection of change when in fact we are faced with a complex situation of social adjustment in which change occurs very quickly. In this context of continuity and rupture, therefore, societies in transition "restructure" themselves. Our research strives to show how society in the Saguenay fits into this movement.

Finally, analysis of the life stories of immigrants in a region with such marked cultural traits poses the problem of mandatory assimilation. Despite the creation of neighbourhoods in company towns and access to institutions in their own language, immigrants are subjected to very strong pressures from the Francophone mass (98 percent).

One thing is certain, if we view the host society from the perspective of a general society with a strong assimilating trend, it becomes fascinating to consider a comparative study of the foundations of general culture (examination of self and others) in light of the problems of Aboriginal cultures (which in turn must be studied as the first host societies) and the cultures of immigrants

who seek or refuse to assimilate (the problems of ghettos, cultural diversity and assimilation). In brief, we are seeking to define cultures in their specific dynamics, which determine the capacities and limitations of cultural interaction. In this, it must be agreed that we believe that to experience cultural interaction, each culture must find the means for self-affirmation in a creative manner; this affirmation must achieve a critical mass that permits a certain fixing of identity. When positioned between two cultures, integration becomes difficult. This brings to mind the Aboriginal people torn between their first culture and the white man's culture, or the new arrival who always remains torn between two cultures, while his children integrate with much greater ease. Finally, it should be noted that the French-speaking Catholic society in the region studied, in its totally introspective view of itself, must create suitable space for integration of the other cultures.

We find a life story one interesting source (there are others) for understanding how individuals function within a given group. By establishing the relationship to time and space, in an effort to restore consistency and meaning to their own identity, the subjects reveal to us their membership in another culture. In creating their story, the tellers may reposition themselves as dynamic participants in history whereas popular belief often portrays them to us as marginal. We believe it is from these relationships to culture (individual roles, function in the family or village,

reserve and ancestral territory, immigrant neighbourhoods) that the psycho-social balance required for individuals or groups to function in specific socio-economic environments is defined or broken. This relationship of identity draws its true meaning from cultural factors displayed in the reconstruction of meaning constituted by any life story in explaining the continuities and discontinuities it provides with the past, present and future.

Taken in this context, the life stories may be considered as imperfect syntheses from which cultural wholes may be redefined and understood. In marginal cultures, oral culture remains alive and the acts of daily life become the most authentic manifestations of the culture. The life story helps create a descriptive, ideological and symbolic narrative from this reality.

In working with the Montagnais Aboriginal communities, our research strives to restore an active voice to the Ilnu/Innu. In terms of analysis, we find that many Aboriginal people remain incapable, in their current cultural system, of finding the necessary elements for dynamic affirmation of their identity. Some turn to a type of traditional ideal while others assimilate contemporary values as they attempt to draw support from social and economic values typical of Quebec.

In this search for identity, the national affirmation of Aboriginal people is based on a certain reappropriation of their ancestral

lands and on Aboriginal governments taking charge of the destinies of the nations in question. Land becomes the key factor from which the various Aboriginal nations seek to restore the foundations of economic (hunting and fishing rights, resource rights) and social (management of reserves and territories) development, around local governments that should permit a redefinition of the new bases for Aboriginal identity and culture.

For the Laterrière residents, the analysis seeks to establish the impact of industrialization and urbanization on this community. These transformations are perceived and experienced through the structures of daily life. Gradually, rural residents realize that they no longer give birth at home but in hospital, that they place increasing importance on education, that they no longer marry based on family decisions but out of love, that they take increasingly good care of their health, that women no longer want to have a child each year and to be assisted in labour by their mother or neighbour, that they no longer have unshakeable confidence in the word of the Church or its representative. In our view, the autobiographical stories provide an understanding that rural residents are not truly resistant to new technology (tractors, electricity, automobiles, milking machines, etc.). When given the opportunity, they have no objection to introducing innovations and even participating in their spread. It must be pointed out that in methodological terms, beyond the subjects' words, we always seek to relate the narrative to changes in practices, whether in life style

or production methods. This effort helps place the first-hand account of each subject in a perspective of social representation. This approach teaches us that many rural residents have no hesitancy in leaving their land to engage in new trades in the village or town. They will embark on a conquest of new markets for products. In this context, they must earn a living, of course, while steadily improving their standard of living. In brief, we are far from the traditional society engaging in routine, self-absorbed farming. On the other hand, some ideas and beliefs remain well-rooted in daily life as integration into the consumer society advances.

Aboriginal peoples are taking charge of their lives through a culture that must redefine its foundations in response to a threatened identity. In brief, in a community such as Laterrière, we discover the wealth of a village culture that forms part of the general development of Quebec in the 20th century. Finally, for immigrants who have actively participated in introducing large-scale industry to the region, only the Anglophones have maintained their culture until recently. Aside from the few English-language cultural institutions that continue in the region, there truly are no host structures for newcomers.

At this point in our research, we must note certain concepts underlying the comparative analysis of the stories studied. Three hold our attention: culture, cultural interaction and

acculturation. Any culture in contact with other cultures takes into account certain socio-cultural traits of the culture with which it maintains relations. Thus, in aspects that may often seem limited, some influences that pass virtually unnoticed are evident in all the cultures while others will knowingly be assimilated by the general society.

Culture, or all the facets of civilization specific to a social group, can only be defined in terms of traits specific to each human group. From a very young age, each individual begins learning the identity traits specific to his group. In fact, the person picks up certain signals or messages that will help him assimilate into the community, whether a sedentary or nomadic civilization, an oral or written culture, an Aboriginal or Western culture, etc. In this approach to life, humans learn characteristics specific to both their human condition and their cultural identity. When an individual learns a language, he passes through the complex stages of any person learning to speak, but becomes an American Aboriginal person (algic groups) by learning Montagnais or a North American Francophone when he learns Quebec French.

In brief, a human being assimilates into an environment, tries to establish himself in that environment and with the exception of major problems, lack of adjustment, psychic, intellectual or other problems, he will successfully function and transfer to his descendants a part of his cultural heritage. Culture can be defined

as the sum of identifications and parameters learned in a society. This is both an internal experience and a way of living. An individual who participates in his culture experiences that culture not only externally, but also as an internalized factor that becomes an integral part of his structure and psychic reality.[70] In fact, beyond physical objects and social structures, ways of thinking and believing may play a greater role in building the meaning of each culture. This may explain the difficulty of understanding cultures if we do not move beyond appearances to enter this inner world where the true meaning of culture is found. As Georges Devereux notes:

> [translation]
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> *...the uniformity of the human psyche also implies the uniformity of human Culture, with a capital C. As with individuals, cultures differ among themselves essentially in the way their basic components are juxtaposed and organized into models and structures.*[71]

In comparing the three subjects of our research, we are forced to note that the Aboriginal person must deal with two series of

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[70] Georges Devereux, *Essais d'ethnopsychiatrie générale*, Paris, Gallimard, 1970, pp. 365 ff.

[71] Georges Devereux, *Essais d'ethnopsychiatrie générale*, Paris, Gallimard, 1970, pp. 219 and 370-371.

cultural traits: first, his own culture, inherited from a traditional life style in constant contact with nature, and second, French-speaking Quebec society.

By acknowledging that the Aboriginal identity traits are different, the Ilnu will manage, through what Devereux calls "his socio-cultural environment", to function with no apparent problems, within the "structural complexities" imposed on him by other cultures. However, as soon as we move to the Aboriginal person's contact with general society, only those who have fully assimilated the identity traits inherent in their own culture will be able to capture some of the traits of general society.

Thus, the Aboriginal subject has close contact with the two cultures from earliest childhood. From the start of his life, he lives in families with a traditional life style. He learns how to hunt and trap, and perform all the activities necessary for survival in the ancestral territory until adolescence, and masters the major identity traits attached to the Ilnu culture. He learns and assimilates a series of methods suited to developing his physical, moral and intellectual faculties, based on the traditional activities of his clan.

From his first contacts with general society, a new form of learning begins. Through his father and grandfather, who were both band chiefs, and thus subject to frequent relations with government

authorities, the young Aboriginal subject was initiated into or faced with learning certain cultural traits that were new for him. In fact, in intergenerational dynamics where the grandfather, father and son live in the same community, the transfer of cultural experience has a greater chance of achieving harmony with the basic cultural continuities. While the spaces from which the Aboriginal subject builds his identity differ from those of the other two subjects, we must acknowledge that the functions the family plays are central to all subjects.

The Laterrière subject sees himself as a member of a general society. In this role, his main identity traits essentially involve the parameters dictated by his culture, in which everything is organized around his immediate family. The main cultural reference points are learned through contact with parents, grandparents and all those linked to the work of the mill. In a second stage, his social life is organized around the life of the village: school, church, municipal authorities, work at the mill, etc. While this subject is in contact with other cultures, they have very little influence on his own. He is placed in a situation of performance because he must meet the social and community objectives dictated by the way of acting or thinking handed down in his own family from one generation to the next.

In brief, the Laterrière subject is placed in a family context where social success, even when only apparent, is important. This

village resident is aware of a certain tradition to be preserved, by which his family is directly involved in his community, from which it draws its full recognition and reputation. During his life, however, the subject closed the ancestral mill his family had operated since the early days of the village. Beyond appearances is an observation of failure. But his culture allows him to manage this conflict to some extent. There is a certain moral pain caused by the awareness that he has not met the expectations placed on him by his family. Times changed and hard reality forced the subject to make a necessary adjustment. In this context, it is not surprising that this subject, a good speaker, sees himself in a sense as the bearer of an oral tradition that places his family's history at the centre of the history of his entire community. In a way, his story becomes a reconstruction of meaning within his culture.

The childhood of the Saguenay resident of German origin was influenced by two or three different cultures. Through his father, the German culture was present, although in a diffuse manner in his memory. This first culture apparently was abandoned by the family through contact with North American cultures. First, language remains one of the traits that identifies our subject much more with the Anglophones (in his public life) than the Francophones (in his private life). His mother, of Quebec origin, introduced him to French and raised him as a Catholic. The mother's role in this instance seems extremely important as the anchor of the child's

cultural traits and especially as a support for traditions, as noted by Sélim.[72]

[translation]

The mother appears as the ideal guardian of traditional standards, especially loyal since her identity is not constantly disrupted by contacts with outside society, as her husband's is.

Inside the home, where private identity is built, the French Canadian mother already determines certain identity traits based on the private/public relationship. At home, the entire world is built around identity poles typical of Quebec society at the start of the century, which is based on language and religion. Outside the home, however, North American reality gains more influence. We can describe the family home as a special place where a private identity is created, while a public identity is created in the outside world. If we more closely dissect the childhood of our subject, his learning of two languages from very early childhood and his permanent contact with two cultures make him an individual who manages to define his own identity, which facilitates his own integration into another culture.

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[72] Abou Sélim, *L'identité culturelle: relations interethniques et problèmes d'acculturation*, Paris, Anthropos, 1986, p. 88.

Aside from the fact that integration can be considered from the immigrant's point of view as an [translation] "insertion into the economic, social and political structures of his adopted society,"[73] it is just as important to point out, as does psychologist Jacques Kurtness, himself an Ilnu, that for any Aboriginal person, this concept of integration can only be conceived in [translation] "...the maintenance of a cultural identity and openness to the majority society."[74]

Cultural interaction

Cultural interaction could be characterized as the sum of the relationships that govern contacts between two or more cultures. The different versions formulated by the authors appear to demonstrate that cultural interaction lies at the centre of all the components of our contemporary societies. In fact, the globalization of international relations, communications and technology transfer place us in contact with the cultures that surround us. Through our readings, we have come to prefer the definition of cultural interaction as determined by Retschitzki.[75]

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[73] Abou Sélim, *L'identité culturelle: relations interethniques et problèmes d'acculturation*, Paris, Anthropos, 1986, p. 83.

[74] Jacques Kurtness, *Les facteurs psychologiques des parcours de l'acculturation chez les Montagnais du Québec*, Quebec City, Université Laval, École de psychologie, 1983, p. 55.

[75] J. Retschitzki *et al.*, *La recherche interculturelle*, V. I, Paris, Harmattan, 1989, p. 210.

[translation]

The entire process by which individuals or groups interact when they belong to two or more groupings claiming different cultures or which can be referred to as distinct cultures.

In the present case, the Aboriginal person is in permanent contact with the general society. The proximity of a medium-sized town definitely has a decisive influence on certain characteristic traits borrowed from the Euro-Canadian population. Our subject has managed to balance certain living conditions related to life in town or on the reserve, and traditional life on the land. Everything proceeds as if our subject has consciously or unconsciously filtered the information he has received in the form of identity traits and has stored them away, using what he believes to be the best of both cultures to the best of his knowledge.

Cultural interaction or the relations that exist between cultures can be captured peremptorily in that these relationships lay the groundwork that enables our subject to take a critical look at both cultures and develop a synthesis in which he hopes to survive by retaining his own identity. How can this identity be defined? According to Roger Bastide:[76]

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[76] Roger Bastide, *Le sacré sauvage*, Paris, Payot, 1975, p. 154.

[translation]

> *The identity of an individual is the consequence of the process of identification with a group, which may be simply social, but which can also be ethnic or cultural and which allows him to obtain a specific recognized status, thereby granting him a specific place both within the world and in society, ultimately assigning him a role learned through the mechanisms of socialization [...].*

Under the status he acquires, the individual can take his place in the community, but also in a culture different from his own. By specifying his identity, he accepts some measure of responsibility for his own development within his community or host society. This process of identification makes him an informed person who will ensure the reproduction of his community.

For the Aboriginal subject, intercultural relationships are first experienced through contact with the other Aboriginal communities. This identity strategy reflects a clear determination of reconstruction based on ancestral cultural heritage. Among Aboriginal young people, however, the marked influence of Euro-Canadian and North American culture appears to threaten the continued survival of Aboriginal culture. Within the communities, sharp differences are perceptible between the oldest and youngest members. In this regard, some Aboriginal communities are evolving

near urban areas, while others are more isolated. Cultural interaction therefore differs, depending on whether the individual is an Aboriginal person, immigrant or member of the general society. Similarly, the capacity for cultural interaction also depends on the varying frequency of contacts dictated by the geographic location of one community compared with another.

The Laterrière subject appears more as a player and fairly passive witness of cultural transfers, which in most cases appear to happen without his knowledge. His world evolves within the limits of his village, which remains fairly closed to the other cultures. In his mind, a stranger is someone not born in his village, whether an immediate neighbour or someone belonging to a neighbouring village community. This village resident to some extent illustrates a Quebec vision that views others in terms of a very strong identity based on "myself as a Quebecer". Any opening to other cultures occurs only to the extent these assimilate into the majority culture.

In sum, we must acknowledge that taking each in their cultural system, the Aboriginal person and the Quebecer keep their distance from each other. Only the newcomer has succeeded in his lifetime in truly approaching another culture, which he has assimilated. In fact, instead of promoting relations with the other person, the differences appear to favour a significant distancing of cultures. This reflects cultural insecurity that has a negative impact on the

ability of the two host societies (Aboriginal and Quebec) to experience creative cultural interaction.

The main goal of all cultural dynamics is to bring each culture back to its specific nature. Contacts between cultures do not necessarily destroy a culture, no matter how small. Everyone can live together, everyone can live in a fairly closed world, with boundaries that appear to be established by each culture. This constitutes the full complexity of cultures. On the one hand, to experience cultural interaction, a person must first be comfortable with himself and his own culture. On the other hand, if he is so comfortable in his own culture that the *me* takes up so much space as to exclude consideration of the *other*, this constitutes a ghetto created by culturocentrism.

Acculturation

The concept of acculturation implies the rejection of air-tight compartmentalization of cultures, and the dynamics of exchange. In this context, when the extent of borrowing and the pace of innovations increase, and appear to begin to disrupt the original societies, acculturation can be defined as "all the phenomena resulting from direct and continuous contact between groups of

individuals from different cultures with subsequent changes in the cultural types of both groups."[77]

Acculturation thus more often appears as a superimposition of cultural factors than a dispossession; it forms a factor of assimilation of elements outside one's culture as much as a genuine rupture. Finally, while it transforms the cultures and exerts very strong pressures on them, this does not necessarily imply their disappearance, at least in theory.

Since the middle of the 20th century, however, postindustrialization has generated a series of upheavals that have led to a deterioration in behavioural models and value systems. This phenomenon, which we will call "dysculturation", to use specialist Jean Poirier's term, deeply affects all societies, but not in equal ways. In brief, given the innovations and progress that are multiplying at a growing rate, cultures are losing their foundations and reference systems, and becoming incapable of assimilating change. In this perspective, dysculturation is:

[translation]

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[77] See Simone Clapier-Valladon and Pierre Mannoni, "Psychologie des relations interculturelles", in Jean Poirier (Ed.), *Histoire des moeurs. Vol. III - Thèmes et systèmes culturels*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991, pp. 541-597. Idem, Sélim, p. 99.

> *...this process--this state--born of postmodern mutation, which is the consequence of perverse effects of technological advances and progress of all types that have been poorly assimilated and at too fast a pace. Beginning with the break up of personal support structures and moving on to the drastic change in cultural models, the individual has become the orphan of the group and society's sick man. This dysculturation, the repercussion of progress, raises a situation unprecedented in history, the unique coincidence of extreme progression and profound regression: heteroculture (which bases societies on two opposing models) derives this from the concepts and confusion of values.*[78]

In this perspective, individuals and groups are forced to significantly alter their relationships with the family and social groups with which they identify. Their system of beliefs and values is changed so much as to jeopardize the preservation of humans in their selves and their deepest development.

The Aboriginal person is the bearer of certain traits that are influenced by Quebec culture. This results in a certain form of

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[78] Jean Poirier, "De la tradition à la postmodernité: la machine à civiliser", in Jean Poirier (Ed.), *Histoire des moeurs. Vol. III - Thèmes et systèmes culturels*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991, p. 1587.

acculturation. If we accept as evidence the way in which this individual assimilates a second culture, he uses this borrowed culture to try to protect his own culture. In fact, through thorough knowledge of the white man's culture, the Aboriginal gives himself a certain measure of power. He is familiar with the other person's culture; ultimately, he uses it as a counterweight to strengthen his genuine Aboriginal identity. At no time does he wish to divest himself of his own culture nor allow it to be extinguished. He remains the curator of his own cultural identity. Through his position within his community and his ability to assimilate the Quebec culture, he perpetually rebuilds his own Aboriginal identity in an effort to assimilate as many changes as possible while respecting the Aboriginal culture, which must continue to thrive.

The Laterrière resident identifies with his culture. In this respect, the phenomenon of acculturation appears to be less present. Anglo-Saxon culture appears in the form of certain English words he uses in his work and daily life. The introduction of a North American lifestyle is perceptible throughout the lifetime of this village resident and it triggers changes that appear to be related to a certain form of acculturation. However, there is a powerful cultural protectionism within this community, based on religion and language. For these reasons, a certain continuity linked to tradition and respect for ancestors can now be interpreted as the guardian of French Canadian culture.

The Saguenay resident of German origin, by contrast, appears to be sensitive to acculturation. We can see that the various attempts to adapt to changes make him a subject who immerses himself in a new culture. While he maintains certain connections, his adaptation is facilitated since he agrees to have his family and live in the region. Since childhood, he clearly had a certain knowledge of French and Catholic culture, since his mother was French-Canadian, yet he remains critical of the Anglophones. He is aware of the injustices he sees. In practice, he remains very close to the French-speaking culture.

MAJOR SPECIFIC THEMES ANALYSED

In this part of the study, we attempt to understand the articulation of cultures based on various foundations developed by each culture, all examined in a comparative approach. It should first be noted that each culture has a variety of foundations. Some similar factors may act on a diversity of functions, or even be opposed, depending on the cultures.

Under the postulate that each culture has identity poles, we will attempt to define the differences inherent in each culture studied in this analysis. What do we mean by identity poles? As noted earlier, each individual and each society assimilate certain traits that define a certain community to which he or it belongs, and a certain identity. The traits we analyse include language, religion,

social relationships, the family, generational links and rites of passage. There obviously are others as well, but we will restrict our analysis to those traits that seem best suited to discovering the cultures in question through the life stories presented.

Language

Language is unquestionably one of the main reference points closely linked to each culture. In fact, [translation] "...while language is one component of culture, at the same time it also encompasses all the others since at various levels it conveys and symbolizes them."[79] Its role is important due to the variations that make certain distinctions possible. Despite certain fluctuations with regard to the individual, the group to which he belongs or the region, some common traits can be distinguished through our oral research.

The Aboriginal person essentially communicates in French, which is the common language in his community. He faces an integrating principle that forces him to use French to the detriment of his historic language, Montagnais. The obligation of communicating in French prejudices his mother tongue, which gradually loses its usefulness. It is rarely used, which makes it a language not

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[79] Abou Sélim, *L'identité culturelle: relations interethniques et problèmes d'acculturation*, Paris, Anthropos, 1986, p. 99.

commonly spoken. Our subject openly admits that the Ilnu language is dying out. Young people do not use it because it is not taught. This Aboriginal person believes the Ilnu identity is redefining itself around learning the ancestral language. While there is a need for this, the is no absolute obligation.

At the individual level, the three subjects have different levels of language. They often use English terms drawn from their respective experience, generally based on their work. A person's activity, the trade he practises, provides a common denominator essential in terms of vocabulary. They share a means of self-expression drawn directly from the jobs they have held in their lives.

The Aboriginal person uses French as a language of communication. In his story, he uses certain Montagnais words. The Laterrière resident readily speaks with terms used in the saw mill, a trade he has practised his entire life. The engineer also acquires a vocabulary marked by his work environment in a multinational corporation. We can point out in passing that anglicisms are common currency in the diction of our three subjects. Language remains a vehicle of communication marked by each subject's personal experience.

Religion

Religion holds an important place in the life of our three subjects. Their youth was permeated by religious worship. All three are Catholic and belong to a generation entirely devoted to God. Thus, religious activities play a key role in their lives.

The Aboriginal person easily cites the religious activities in which he took part, especially on the reserve. He notes, however, that Aboriginal spirituality remains present on ancestral lands, although it is experienced in a different manner. In fact, all activities in the forest are marked by a certain mysticism linked to the close relationship between man, nature and animals. There is a rupture between spiritual life on the reserve, under the care of the Catholic clergy, and the spirituality experienced in the ancestral hunting and fishing grounds. This form of spirituality is characterized by the use of certain practices of traditional trades, the use of medicinal remedies based on plants or animal remains. These are manifestations of a conception of the world that incorporates nature and culture in a sort of concentric circularity.

The *Québécois* subject's entire life is integrated with the Catholic religion. However, a challenge of clerical authority emerges on different occasions in his life. He readily admits that some priests were less tolerant than others. Through this observation, the social weight of his family is asserted and he shows that his ancestors displayed character by objecting to religious

interference into the lay life of the community. However, an undeniable loyalty exists between our subject and his religion. He comes from a generation fully imbued with the duties of Catholicism and respect for the inherent religious rites and customs of his community. This perception shows a certain vision in which the religious elite must limit its role to religion. Religious practice, as important as it is, infuses the experience, but appears to have a superficial impact on mental structure. This believer separates his faith from his reason, whereas the Aboriginal person integrates his relationship to the other world into the way he thinks. The religiosity of this village resident appears to constitute a counterweight as well, perhaps as a challenge by the lay elites toward the clerical elites which took on an exclusive role in small communities. In this challenge of the power of elites, religion appears to be superficial. In the Aboriginal subject, however, even in a traditional religion deeply marked by acculturation, we find the difficulty if not the inability of the Catholic religion to adapt to other cultures, especially those based on a different value system.

The subject of German origin was also imbued with the Catholic religion from earliest childhood. Once again, the identity traits instilled during his childhood by his French Canadian mother remain deeply rooted. The relationships between the clergy and the immigrant's family lie at a different level, however, from those of the other subjects. These relationships involved the clerical

authorities, in this instance, the local bishop. Thus, a certain relationship that we might describe as elitist lies at the heart of his religious relationships. In fact, our subject's occupation as well as that of his father highlights certain friendly links which are simply the outcome of a relationship based initially on friendship and second on the satisfaction of finding that a new Quebecer was assimilating at the professional as well as social and religious levels.

Social relationships

The study of social relationships reveals notable differences among the three representatives of the cultures in question. Working life remains a key factor in the eventuality of exchanges which lie at the heart of these relationships. Visibly, the analogy is clear, especially in the socio-occupational environment which dictates frequent interpersonal contacts.

The Aboriginal subject's adult life was spent in various trades. From logger to labourer to his terms as band chief, everything combines to establish contacts, whether superficial or otherwise. He had an opportunity to interact with a white person's environment through his work off the reserve.

In conjunction with this, during his activities off the reserve, he complies with certain traits of sociability that form part of his

trade as a hunter, such as sharing physical and material resources to travel to the land. On the reserve, his political career forces him to reconcile his needs with those of the people. He must be attentive to his protegés, and must also establish contact with authorities at various levels of government. His social environment therefore is quite extensive.

The social relationships of the Laterrière resident are limited by the village structure. Since they represent an important family in the village, his relationships are determined by the projection of what he believes he represents. This family's occupations actually lie at two levels: community and economic. Through these, personal contacts often appear as interpersonal relations ensuing from relations based on these options.

These social relationships are actually based on the image put forth by our subject. The activities historically conducted by his family, rather than by him, appear to be direct relationships. The relations he maintains with those like him are marked by a certain kindness, a reminiscence of what his family has been rather than what it intrinsically is.

The third subject in turn carries a certain prestige and is distinguished by a privileged social standing. As a result of his education, he practises a profession that requires him to manage other men. During his active career, he held a few prestige

positions on boards of directors or as churchwarden. He maintains amiable relations with friends who have links to the field of recreation. As a rule, his Francophone friends belong to the region's bourgeoisie, a social class with few links to the actual working world.

The family

The family lies at the centre of learning related to identity traits. Thus, we can immediately define the importance it holds first for our subjects and also for our analysis. The family cell is central for these three people. We include in the family cell the preceding generations, parents and grandparents, where applicable. In what way is the family a touchstone for each individual? In fact, the role of the family lies both in learning and cultural transfer.

The Aboriginal subject's contacts with various cultures, Aboriginal and white, generate very strong pressure for assimilation. In fact, to the extent that adaptation to the white world is considered positive, he will integrate these traits into his own identity culture. In his own Aboriginal environment, however, very strong pressure will be exerted for him never to forget his ancestral culture.

Family plays a very important role for our subjects. The largest family belongs to the Aboriginal person, who has 12 children (9 living). The Laterrière resident has six children (including one adoption) and the new Quebecer has three sons. All these fathers do not appear to give the impression of transferring all their cultural traits to their children. The Aboriginal person's children, for example, all work in a white world.

For the Laterrière subject, closing the mill prevented him from transferring the old family asset. Only one son still lives in the village with the family. Our three subjects speak at length of what they learned from their parents, but what they have transferred to their children appears to form something of a break with their own existence.

Within the family itself, the basic unit for transferring cultural or identity traits, this capacity for intergenerational transfer, so culturally important, appears to have been broken. We may be dealing with a certain form of deculturation or dysculturation related at least to the cultures from which our subjects originate. In all respects, village life hardly appears to have been a securing factor for the children of our subjects. Since these are small communities, the children appear to be willing to try their luck in another community, even if it is nearby.

Intergenerational links

The links between generations are generally quite close except for the new Quebecer. He has few memories of his grandparents. During our interview, in fact, only one or two lines deal with his grandparents. This phenomenon is noteworthy when compared with the two other subjects, who keep many precious memories of their grandparents. Threading through their stories is great respect mixed with a point of pride in the achievements of parents and grandparents. Generational conflicts seem fairly rare, at least in appearance, as no subject openly spoke of these.

Rites of passage

Some rites of passage are linked to religion. As noted previously, our three subjects are Catholic. Thus, the religious rites are the same for all. Some occasions do appear to differ, however. Marriage proposals were made is exactly the same manner by the Aboriginal and village subjects. They had to ask the father of their future bride for her hand. The new Quebecer bypassed this custom, but pointed out that his future father-in-law had to suspect they would get married.

Another point that differs greatly from the other subjects is the relationship to death. The new Quebecer was not certain that his grandfather was buried in the region. This rupture between the new Quebecer and his ancestors is unthinkable for the other two subjects. The cult of death remains important for them because it

allows an extension of the family in the world beyond. The lands purchased by the family enter into the habits and customs and are common for these generations. It should be noted that the cult of death is strongly supported by the Catholic religion. For the Aboriginal subject, it seems that the protective soul of his dead parents surrounds all activities conducted on ancestral lands.

CONCLUSION

In this stage of our analysis, we have developed a few definitions related to culture, cultural interaction and acculturation. At the same time, we have laid some of the groundwork by attempting to provide a different interpretation for each of our three subjects. We therefore have tried to establish a succinct comparative study founded on basic identity traits.

Ultimately, after reading the individual analyses of each story as well as the life stories of the subjects, the reader may find that the cultural disparities at the heart of this comparison indicate that these three cultures carry within themselves their ability and limitations for building relations with the other cultures. Thus, the distances that separate the cultures prohibit the development of intercultural exchanges from the outset. Each culture, however, inevitably seems confronted with allowing itself to be imbued with other cultures that may appear to be threats or contributions to its own culture.

4

A Montagnais chief from Mashteuiatsh

HARRY KURTNESS

(Analysis of Life Story)

Ana ys s: Harry urtness

Introduction

Harry Kurtness' life story requires a review of the narrative on values originating directly from the tradition of an Aboriginal community--hunting and trapping--and a resolutely modern observation conveyed by the responsibilities of a band chief. The apparent contradiction that arises from such an analysis should not restrict the researcher to simple observation of a culture that is attempting to adjust to changes imposed on it by the numerically larger culture. It is important here to grasp the Aboriginal cultural dynamics that seek to redefine themselves by reclaiming their ancestral values in a modern world subject to multiple influences.

Through his involvement in the community, Harry Kurtness serves as a symbol. He is the bridge between two worlds, the traditional and the modern. He is spectator and actor in a transitional era, which will force changes in attitudes, in habits, in lifestyles rooted in generations of customs. In a situation where one culture is challenged by another, Harry Kurtness never abandons his drive to reconcile his past and his determination to improve the lot of his fellow citizens.

We first note that Harry Kurtness' life has been centred since childhood on learning to work in the forest. His father taught him

the rudiments of hunting and trapping. His childhood was spent on the reserve and in the hunting grounds. During his adolescence, he furthered his knowledge by working with his father. He began to offer his services to businesses off the reserve. Seasonal work took him away for long periods but he always came back to his community.

Second, we will discuss Harry Kurtness' family life. He married Gabrielle Robertson of Pointe-Bleue, and they had 12 children. The subject is a strong advocate of school to educate the young and not-so-young, and he believes development of the reserve is unquestionably linked to the skills that individuals can acquire by obtaining an adequate education. Harry Kurtness became involved in politics, following the example of his father and grandfather. All three were band chiefs.

The third aspect focuses on Harry Kurtness' public life. We will examine the accomplishments of this band chief. The reserve's economic strength depends on the establishment of economic and administrative structures. The time is gone when chiefs held no power. New band chiefs must be knowledgeable on issues and learn to surround themselves with qualified staff.

This work therefore strives to analyse, through an individual course, the social and political background that motivates this

Montagnais, the leader of his community and the representative of the wise men. Through his experience, his achievements and his political decisions, we will attempt to define the issues in this community.

Childhood and early education

Childhood

Harry Kurtness was born in Pointe-Bleue in 1923. His childhood was centred on hunting expeditions with his parents, and the upbringing he received on the reserve between these outings. His father, Gabriel Kurtness, was a "man of the woods". He worked with the inspectors, went hunting and especially trapping. He passed his knowledge on to his children. In this respect, Harry sees himself as the repository of ancestral knowledge he acquired by hunting and trapping. This knowledge was passed down from father to son in the Kurtness family.

Harry's mother was Christine Jourdain, an Aboriginal woman raised in Péribonka. She was his father's second wife. The couple had five children: Lionel, who died at age 27, Harry, Maude, who is also dead, Marthe and Raymond. The Kurtness family were nomads who spent much of the year in the hunting grounds. In those days, children

followed their parents onto the land. Each family member played an active role in expeditions and community work.

The first trips into the forest

Their main hunting destination was in the Ashuapmushuan area. The trip was usually made with other families. Grandfather Kurtness made the trip with them many times. Large families appeared to hold an advantage in this regard, as the members could help each other. His grandfather, who had only two children, took advantage of the gathering of these families to make the trip. Once they reached the destination, the group split up and everyone hunted and trapped independently on their own land.

The first trips into the forest were made in conjunction with the families that travelled the same area. Throughout the hunting season, the parents introduced their children to work in the forest, passing on knowledge by teaching them the different stages in the fur trade and the search for sustenance. From a very young age, a child learned how to orient himself in the forest. His education was based in large part on observing his environment. The way of setting traps forced the trapper to detect the traces of game. Another important stage involved making everyday items essential for survival in the forest: snowshoes, axe handles, etc. It should be noted that these skills were taught in winter.

Some of the advice shows the father's concern for avoiding potentially dangerous situations, or at the very least, adjusting to problems that might arise. Thus, when fog cut visibility to zero, Gabriel Kurtness gave the following advice:

> *You're better to stay put and wait for the fog to lift so you can find your directions. Otherwise, you get lost and stray from your starting point.* (#)

This advice was memorized by apprentice hunters. The family's father taught methods for preserving meat and preparing skins. Traditional care as well as rites to be observed in the forest also formed part of the education of young hunters. In a word, everything focused on developing independence and self-confidence, which are based on knowledge instilled by one's father, who acted as teacher and role model throughout the year.

Education on the reserve

Education provided on the reserve was quite another matter. In

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* Quotations are identified by line numbers in the margin of the life story narrative.

elementary school, Harry studied under the guidance of nuns who lived on the reserve. During his childhood, a religious community farmed the land and sold the farm produce to the residents of Pointe-Bleue.

At the age of seven, the Montagnais boy apparently had to attend elementary school. Harry remembers that the classes were held primarily in Montagnais by a nun who was fluent in this language. Part of the class might also be held in French for students who did not understand Montagnais. The nuns taught year round, because the children of hunters and trappers usually did not return to the reserve until spring. When summer came, other children were given instruction deemed indispensable, since some returned to the land in early autumn. The main subjects taught were catechism, arithmetic, and a little writing and reading. The history of Canada and Biblical history were not taught, at least in the school years Harry completed.

Life went on as if compulsory education were a secondary concern. The long hunting seasons were partly responsible for the limited time spent in the classroom. More priority was placed on the family business, which required that the young boys and girls become involved in the group's daily work on the land.

The instruction provided by the nuns therefore was limited. The children who lived on the reserve all year apparently received a

more complete basic education. The remainder received an education focused on life skills in the forest. Thus, there was a very sharp difference between families permanently settled on the reserve and those that regularly visited the ancestral lands.

Work in the forest

Hunting seasons are determined by the family's departure for the land in early September. In late May or early June, the hunter-trappers returned to the reserve. This was a hard life that demanded work, considerable discipline and extensive knowledge of the forest. Harry Kurtness gave the following description of the life of a hunter-trapper.

> *When he lies down at night, the hunter-trapper drops right off to sleep. These are damn tough days. You're never finished. You come back in the evening, you make your supper. After that, if you're not too tired, you have to skin. The next day, you have to place the skin on a form to dry, you scrape it, you take it off the form, you tighten it then you're ready to go out again.* (#)

From a very young age, a hunter must to expand his knowledge of the land and its potential. This was true of Harry Kurtness. Part of

his life would depend directly on this knowledge and his life experience in the forest.

During the summer, Harry Kurtness divided his time between play, school and manual work with his father. His father had an acute sense of mutual assistance within the community. The children, including Harry, were taught from a very young age to help the needy on the reserve, usually the elderly.

> *I remember old man McDonald, I think he had reached 96 years old. He had to put up his wood. (...) Our father sent us to help the old man on Saturday, to put up his wood and bring in his water. The water was brought in in buckets and we filled his barrel.* (#)

Through these remarks, Harry shows how his father instilled a conscience in his children so mutual assistance, respect for elders and a certain form of collective responsibility would be carried on by the new generations. This charity was based on a religious feeling present on both the reserve and hunting grounds. "The church played a major role" and prayer was a daily presence on hunting expeditions.

> *When they left for the forest, they always had the book the missionaries gave them, the Oblate fathers. These*

> *were prayers, hymns and every evening, they sang, prayed and read. Not so long ago, they still could be heard praying and singing hymns, especially in May or the month of Mary. (...) There was even a crucifix that the Oblates gave them before they left. They hung it on the tent, in the back. In the evening, we prayed to Our Father before going to bed, and even at meals. When they rose in the morning, they sang.* (#)

This world of belief, this relationship to the world beyond is deeply rooted in the customs of the hunter-trappers. We will see later that some ancestral customs appear during gatherings off the reserve, in the hunting grounds. Nevertheless, religious worship appears to play an important role in the Kurtness family circle. In this area, this family is representative of the attitude of many other households in the community.

Early lessons

Around 1936, at the age of 13, Harry Kurtness began work for the Price Brothers company as a lumberjack. In October, he left for the camp. He would return only for 15 days at Christmas. The camps closed in late February or early March, depending on the amount of snowfall. Most of the time, Harry worked for sub-jobbers with the Price company. Their work was demanding, but once again, mutual

assistance among the camp employees showed how the men could forge solidarity in their ranks.

> *There was no racism. It didn't exist. Everyone showed respect. Sometimes, when you had trouble, you let out a little whistle, and right away somebody came to lend a hand.* (#)

Even then, Harry Kurtness seemed to have few problems with the White Men. He quickly adjusted to life in the camps, where the working conditions were physically demanding. When he talks about his work, he explains that everyone was housed under the same roof. The camps were set up to house all the workers and the food was the same for everyone.

In his second job, Harry guided tourists through the Laurentides National Park. He was 15 years old. The experience he had gained in the forest with his father was indispensable in this work. The wages were small and everything depended on the weather. On rainy days, he received no pay. Once again, this was seasonal work with piecework pay. The uncertain nature of the work didn't prevent Harry from keeping busy all year, however.

During slow times, between the camps and working as a guide in the forest, he worked for Gagnon et Frères of Roberval. He started in

the quarry and later moved to the sawmill. Through these many jobs, Harry ended up abandoning traditional hunting. All his jobs were off the reserve. He gained a knowledge of life outside the reserve in the white world, and a broader view of the various forms of development available to any community.

Conclusion

Harry Kurtness' childhood, adolescence and first jobs were directly related to the forest, which played a major role in his life. Through his first trips with his parents, through the jobs he worked as a teen, the forest held a key place. He was actually on the reserve only for fairly short periods, as he waited for the next trip. The young Montagnais was quickly assigned to work performed on the land. He talks about these expeditions which gave community and social life a major role based on the integrating concepts so dear to Mr. Kurtness: mutual assistance and cooperation.

The family

Family life

At the start of the war, young Harry had to perform military service. Following the usual examinations, he obtained an exemption

because he was deemed to be supporting his family. He was his father's hunting assistant, which spared him from conscription.

At the time, the reserve school taught students of all ages. Sooner or later, the children came to know each other, regardless of age differences. Harry met his future wife on the school benches, but did not date her until after he began working. He began to spend evenings at the home of Gabrielle Robertson's parents as often as possible. Seasonal work and distance resulted in sporadic dates. Thus, although the period of courting seemed long, in fact, the periods when the young couple could see each other were concentrated in brief periods of two or three days every three months. In practice, dates were limited by working conditions off the reserve.

After dating for five or six years, during which time Harry worked in the camps and served as guide, he married Gabrielle Robertson. She was the daughter of a farmer who owned land on the reserve. The wedding took place in the Catholic church at Pointe-Bleue on 11 October 1945. Harry was 21 years old at the time. Following the wedding, the couple lived with the Kurtness grandparents for two years. They then moved into their own apartment, which was very unusual since such accommodation was very scarce on the reserve. Apparently only elderly people owned a home. Young couples usually lived with their parents for several years after their wedding.

Harry and Gabrielle Kurtness had a child every year. The father's repeated absences for varying periods were the main reason for this large family, according to Harry, who notes with humour:

> *I came down every three or four months, I was still a newlywed. I had no radio or television. We couldn't see each other, we stayed up by the glow of the stove, so what were we to do? That's basically the reason why there were large families.* (#)

The Kurtness family was Catholic and their religion urged them to have children. Contraceptives were not widely tolerated in Catholic families, at least during the period covered by Harry's story. Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people valued large numbers of children, as a sign of wealth, because they provided essential labour for activities related to hunting and trapping. In this context, the ideology advocating large families was also justified in an economy based on gathering furs and game.

His children

Harry and his wife had 12 children: six girls and six boys (see family tree in Appendix). In Harry's view, heritage was passed down in the way he raised his children. He personally had taken many adult training courses. He instilled his thirst for knowledge in

his children, who all pursued an education. A few would end up working in positions on the reserve or elsewhere.

Harry believes that the future of the reserve depends on the ability of young people to educate themselves and gain an awareness of the problems they face. This education is provided both on the reserve and in the hunting grounds or elsewhere, among the Whites.

All Harry's activities within his community, whether as band chief or community agent, were centred on the need to improve the education of the Montagnais. As soon as a chief had to make decisions, his responsibilities to the group forced him to seek relevant information and a careful analysis of the consequences of his decisions. In Harry Kurtness' view, the education of all members of a team fostered a collective process designed to lay the groundwork for the future of the entire community and the young people of Mashteuiatsh.

> *When I replaced my father as chief, I went looking for resource people. They came to help me. After we began talking about taking control, I told myself we would certainly have to prepare for our young people's future. People began listening to us.* (#)

Everything was put in place for young people to become involved in the future of the reserve. The opening of new types of jobs was a necessary part of this firm determination to plan for the community's development. Yet this development had to be accomplished in harmony with the hunter-trappers. It is this difficult relationship between modernity and tradition that any leader working on a reserve such as Mashteuiatsh must deal with. Harry Kurtness remembers:

> *To create a world requires many people with different trades. Obviously, there are still hunter-trappers, they're necessary because this is a tradition we must preserve. But to work in today's offices, that takes somebody with an education.* (#)

In the past, some positions had been held by non-Indians. According to Harry Kurtness, education changed many things.

> *There was not a lot of work at Pointe-Bleue in those days. There were positions the Indians were able to hold, especially when they had the necessary education and the skills to perform that type of work. Today, these young people, especially those with a good education, they have a job. Some have held key positions in the regional office.* (#)

The key positions, as noted by Harry Kurtness, require a university education. In his view, development of the reserve depends on the skills of the local people. These skills are essential for them to truly take charge. We will return to this last point.

Conclusion

From a very young age, Harry Kurtness was aware of the importance of education in everyone's development. This education began in the family and was completed and enriched in school. He personally had no aversion to studying throughout his life, and he claims this greatly helped him. His children would share this ideal. He found that an educated person was better able to help his people. This education appeared to be indispensable for achieving a general improvement in living standards on the reserve. By holding jobs on the reserve, the Montagnais were preparing to take genuine control. This is the essence of Harry's narrative.

The chief

Public life - passing down the mantle of power

The political life of the Kurtness family extends over several generations. Grandfather Jos Kurtness was band chief for three terms of three years each. His son Gabriel was band chief for 23

years. Father and son also had an opportunity to sit together at the same council table: the father as chief and the son as council member. This is a form of political legacy passed down from father to son.

However, the function of band chief changed over the years. In the time of Gabriel Kurtness, the chief's decision-making power was very limited.

> *Decisions were made primarily by the Department of Indian Affairs, and they were numerous. Even the band councils of the day were not listened to by the Department. These were very difficult times for the chiefs and council members. This was a protection mechanism used by the Department.* (#)

The shortage of qualified staff was felt on the council. The Department's employees, often from outside the community, could enforce the laws and regulations without actually consulting the band council. Often, decisions made by the council were not forwarded to the Department's authorities, which added to the problems.

When Harry was chief, the approaches to development taken by his community focused on two factors. The first was the traditional

culture of the Aboriginal people: the hunting grounds, the opportunity for hunter-trappers to continue their activities on their ancestral lands. Specifically, there was an undeniable determination to preserve the language of their ancestors and teach the young people the trapping and hunting techniques Harry himself had learned from his father. The second factor was the need to provide work to the people, especially the young people, in the very clear knowledge that this was the only way to stop their exodus to the city.

Achievements

During the time Harry Kurtness was chief, some important projects were carried out. First, a caisse populaire was created on the reserve as an essential tool for developing a food cooperative or the sawmill. These businesses created jobs for the Montagnais.

> *When I went to take courses on forming a cooperative, they talked to us about a credit union. This was the key goal in getting us started. Like the sawmill, it's still running. At one point, we were worried because there had been a drop in the price of lumber. But we could operate to provide jobs, not to make money. We focused more on creating jobs than making money. In the last year, we made a profit.* (#)

In brief, Harry was placed in a difficult situation that was hard to reconcile. He had to consider the traditional values of his people while advocating an economy modelled on the world of the white man. In this regard, he believed that to create jobs, the cooperative movement would provide a catalyst for energy in the community. This was a form of development that was suited to the people on the reserve, because it allowed a pooling of resources while promoting mutual assistance in the community, on which the Montagnais place a very high value.

Economic development of the reserve

Young people have greater needs than the generations that preceded them. There is a chronic shortage of work for Aboriginal people. Development strategies are designed to improve living conditions on the reserve and reduce the number of social assistance recipients.

> *But we still wonder about the future of young people today. We really don't know which way we're going to go with them. There is a shortage of work. Our young people are as worried as we are. (...) Young people are worried because they are more demanding than we are. Yet today, there still is help. Of course, there are some mornings when breakfast comes late on welfare.* (#)

Analysis: Harry Kurtness

As chief of his community, Harry Kurtness could not accept having young people sitting with their arms crossed, waiting for a monthly cheque. He proposed social measures that would urge unemployed people to work, and thus play an important role in the community. This also was an issue of taking control. He wanted to administer the programs advocated by the Department. Harry Kurtness was a progressive who put an end to the passive philosophy that had prevailed before him. Without casting stones at his predecessors, he admitted that the authority of the chiefs was limited and subordinated to the staff assigned to the reserve.

> *When I came in as a council member with my father, I began seeking information. I found it odd to make decisions and never see any follow-up. We never got any answers. I sent letters to Ottawa and they answered me. They told me they had never received the requests we had made. Since we had copies of the resolutions we had passed, I sent them copies. It took some time, but they gave me an answer.* (#)

As leader in his community, Harry Kurtness had a unique opportunity to witness the changes that affected Pointe-Bleue. Although he was a witness, he was primarily an actor, both through the position he held and the decisions he made. He also remains a chronicler of his community. He experienced the hunting seasons and trapping

expeditions. Driven by a certain nostalgia for an era that has passed, he has a traditional side that is linked to the values passed down by his ancestors, as well as a ready acceptance of the idea that improving the standard of living on the reserve requires private business and a market economy. Although he has made choices, he has succeeded in reconciling the two. He has managed to keep the respect of all members of his community and can truly be described as a "wise man".

The future of the reserve

The reserve at Pointe-Bleue is facing changes that will affect the lives of its residents. Harry Kurtness strives to be an attentive observer. In the political arena, he believes it is important that decisions be made by a large number of people. He rejects the argument that major debates should be conducted by the minority. He is a democrat.

> *Today, big changes are coming for the Indians, things will be disrupted (...) Because if we make a mistake, they'll say it was us, it's the Indians who wanted that, after all. Everything in its time, everyone must take his place and contribute his ideas, otherwise if there are only three or four, they can never make a decision for the whole.* (#)

The future of Aboriginal peoples depends on creation of a local government. This reflects the community's desire to take control of its future. This is a form of independence that does not cut the ties with the central government. Here again, the former chief repeats that young people, on whom the future of the reserve rests, must be educated if they want to play an active role on the committees responsible for negotiating with the government.

This reclamation of the community also depends on a rediscovery of the ancestral language. The proximity of towns such as Roberval or Saint-Félicien facilitates the learning of French. The mother tongue should not be forgotten, however, Kurtness points out.

> *Even on the remote reserves in La Mauricie, one day, there will have to be a blending somewhere and they will have to learn French. I don't want them to lose their Indian language, but French, I think, is pretty well the language of work. For Quebec, this is essential.* (#)

In brief, the world of Harry Kurtness is not limited to his immediate surroundings. He displays a thorough knowledge of the difficulties faced by the other Aboriginal communities. In this regard, the politician stays informed and offers carefully considered solutions and ideas that take all aspects of the problem into account. The future of Aboriginal people is turned toward

self-determination. Aboriginal people will have to govern themselves by reconciling a traditional culture turned toward rational development of hunting territories with a form of development that takes into account the potential and interests of individuals.

Conclusion

Harry Kurtness truly forms part of this determination of an Aboriginal community to take charge. He possesses the political instinct that enables him to weigh and adjust his decisions to all the factors that may affect the lot of his fellow citizens.

This focus on the future reveals a certain discovery of the community's potential. This does not rule out consideration of the traditional values as assurances of a distant past not forgotten. Traditional and modern values are the dynamic factors in affirmation of this Montagnais community. There are still hunter-trappers who look after the land and live off the fur trade. Many members of the community, however, have settled permanently on the reserve. Development strategies must include parameters that respect both groups and allow young people to become integrated into the active life of their community.

Analysis: Harry Kurtness

This is how the objectives revealed by Harry Kurtness' story are defined. He installs people capable of achieving an independent administration of the reserve. He opens new opportunities while keeping very alive the values to which he remains firmly attached. Harry Kurtness lives at the turning point between tradition and modernity. In brief, the life story of this chief reflects an attempt to synthesize and analyse his world in the quest to build a consensus on the affirmation and genuine assertion of control by the Montagnais of Mashteuiatsh.

APPENDIX

Kurtness family tree based on life story

Woman

Man

Marriage

Relationship

[Insert family tree from French version]

Graphics: Jean-François Moreau,

Archaeology Laboratory, UQAC

4.1

Harry Kurtness

(Life Story)

Life Story: Harry Kurtness

INFORMATION ON THE SUBJECT

FAMILY NAME:	Kurtness
GIVEN NAME:	Harry
DATE OF BIRTH:	4 August 1923
PLACE OF BIRTH:	Pointe-Bleue
MARITAL STATUS:	Married
DATE OF MARRIAGE:	11 October 1945
NAME OF SPOUSE:	Gabrielle Robertson
CHILDREN:	12 (9 still living)
OCCUPATION:	Lumberjack, guide, Department of Indian Affairs
EDUCATION:	Grade 7, adult courses

Interviewers: David Cooter
Clifford Moar

SUMMARY

Harry Kurtness was born and has always lived in Pointe-Bleue. He is the father of 12 children, of whom nine are living. He began working at an early age. At age 13, he worked as a lumberjack. He then served as a guide in the Laurentides park. Finally, he worked for the Department of Indian Affairs and the band council.

Mr. Kurtness was chief at Pointe-Bleue for four terms, or eight years. He completed a grade seven education. He later took adult training courses to further his knowledge. His father was also active in politics, as chief of the reserve for 23 years.

During his youth, Harry went hunting and trapping with his father. There was never any shortage of work. After a job as lumberjack, he worked as a big game hunting guide. He has no regrets over the hardships experienced during that period. He does wonder, however, about the future prospects for young people on the reserve.

The subject speaks about his grandfather, who fought in both world wars and seems to have made a strong impression on his grandson.

He talks about the life of Indians in the woods, and points out the religious feelings they experienced when they were on the hunting grounds. He laments that healing methods based on medicinal herbs

have disappeared or are being forgotten. Mr. Kurtness also tells us about each of his children and their work. He places great importance on education. He personally has taken various courses, for family budgeting and for community development. He mentions achievements on the reserve: the sawmill, the food cooperative. These businesses are likely to promote economic development of the community. He stresses the main approaches his community must adopt.

The first thing Harry Kurtness did when he became chief was to surround himself with resource people qualified to assist him in his work. He is aware of most of the needs of his community and mentions these in his story.

Relations with government authorities are also analysed through a brief reference to the legislation passed by government. Major changes are expected for the Indians, according to Mr. Kurtness. It is important that Aboriginal peoples have their say.

He concludes with a comparison between young people today and those of his time. The influence of the consumer society is leaving traces in his community.

LIST OF PERSONS MENTIONED

His wife	Gabrielle Robertson
His father	Gabriel Kurtness
His mother	Christine Jourdain
His brother	Lionel
His sisters	Maude
	Marthe
His brother	Raymond
The office manager	Tessier
An agent	Achille Laboissière
A secretary	Adrienne Bilodeau
A constable	Benoît Boivin
The general manager	Aurélien Gill
Employees on the reserve	Georges Bacon
	Marc Gill
	Denis Gill
	Claude Philippe
	Ti-Guy Courtois
A hunter	Napoléon Bégin
His father-in-law	Émile Robertson
His mother-in-law	Elmire Robertson
Relatives	Adrienne Robertson
	Tommy Robertson
	Louis Paul
	Joseph Paul

Hunters	Koutshi
	Prospère Cleary
Uncles	Michel
	François Savard
A neighbour	McDonald
An uncle	Tommy
A sub-jobber	Trofflé Laforest
The sub-jobber's son	Arthur
Residents of Pointe-Bleue	Bégin
	Germain
One of his children	Jacques
A daughter-in-law	Suzanne Déry
Her children	Gemma
	Chantale
	Jocelyn
	Rémi
Rémi's wife	Monique
Her child	Laval
Laval's wife	Connolly
Her children	Francis
	Sébastien
	Natacha
	Suzette
A son-in-law	Jacques Cleary
A doctor	Turgeon

Life Story: Harry Kurtness

A butcher	Réal Philippe
His grandfather	Jos Kurtness
Engineers	Fleury
	Gilman
Soldiers	Ti-Will Cleary
	Joseph Gill
	Hubert Jourdain
A hunter-trapper	Germain
Linguists	Speck
	Lips
Uncles	Benny Édouard
	Thomas
His father's stepmother	Mary Robertson
His father's first wife	Christine Verreault
His maternal grandfather	George Jourdain
A neighbour	William Connolly
A teacher	Sister Marie du Mont-Carmel
A brother-in-law	René Paul
A hunter	François Germain
Neighbours	Mrs. Thomas Siméon
	Marie Siméon
	Christine Siméon
Mistassini Indians	Coomshish
	Métabé
	Sydney Trapper

An Indian from Pointe-Bleue	Isaac Robertson
A neighbour	Philomène Robertson
In Indian from Pointe-Bleue	Charlot Pekutelegan
A cook	Georges Robertson

LIST OF PLACES MENTIONED

Alma

Ashuapmushuan

Bersimis

Caughnawaga

Chibougamau

Chicoutimi

Dolbeau

Jonquière

La Tuque

la Friche (the clearing)

Lac Mistassini

Lac Tsékatchi

Manouane

La Mauricie

Mistassini

Montagnes Blanches

Montreal

Nichicun

Obedjiwan

Ottawa

National park

Passes Dangereuses

Péribonka

Pikauba

Life Story: Harry Kurtness

Pointe-Bleue

Portes de l'Enfer

Quebec City

Concession C

Mistassini Reserve

Péribonka River

Roberval

Saint-Méthode

Triton Club

Trois-Rivières

Life Story: Harry Kurtness

PART I

Jobs

I was born in Pointe-Bleue on 4 August 1923. I have always lived in Pointe-Bleue. I married once and my wife's name is Gabrielle Robertson. We were married on 11 October 1945. We had 12 children, and nine are still living. I had six girls and six boys, I made it even. Of those now living, we have five sons and four daughters. We lost two babies at a young age and one boy at age 19.

In my life, I have held many different jobs. I began as a lumberjack with Price Brothers. I was 13 years old. I'm now 63, so that was about 50 years ago. That would be around 1936. My second job was a tour guide in the national park. I did that for 14 years. I began this around 1938. I never stopped working. Then I worked for Gagnon Frères, the Gagnon Frères company in Roberval. I worked on the jack drill but it was not a permanent job, just a summer job. But I did work about 10 years for Gagnon Frères. The rest of the time, I worked for the Department of Indian Affairs and the band council, up to the present. I began working for the Department of Indian Affairs around 1963. When I started working there, I hadn't touched a pencil for 33 years. I had a hard time.

I was chief at Pointe-Bleue the year I began working for the Department. That may have been in June 1963. I served four terms as band chief. These were two-year terms, so that makes eight years as chief. It was eight years in a row, so to speak. I have sat on the council for 31 years in all. Since I started with the Department of Indian Affairs, transferred to the band council to handle the transfer of power, I have always done the same work. They call that community work, as community agent.

Education

In school, I went until about grade seven. At that time, that was the highest grade in Pointe-Bleue. Then I took training courses. Today these are called adult training courses. I took the course on economic development: "Training in the Cooperative Movement". I also took community development courses. This covers all aspects of developing a community. These were sessions lasting three or four days and this ran about three or four years. It helped me a lot.

Band chief

My father's name was Gabriel Kurtness and my mother's was Christine Jourdain. There were five children in our family. There was Lionel, then me, Maude, Marthe and Raymond. My father was a trapper. He also had a fairly long career in politics, since he was chief for

23 years. My ancestors grew up in Mistassini. We were considered Cree. When my father was chief, I served two terms with him as council member. As chief, he didn't have serious power back then. It was primarily the Department of Indian Affairs that called the shots. In those days, the chief did not have much power to make decisions.

I experienced something with my father when he was chief. At the time, it was the Agence des Sauvages [Savages Agency] that was in place. A certain Tessier took care of the office. Achille Laboissière was agent and Adrienne Bilodeau was his secretary. Once, my father went to the office on a Friday. He had business there, he was the chief. He knocked on the door and it was opened by the secretary. She told him:

"You can come back Monday, as you see, the floor has been washed!"

My father said:

"Well, yes! I didn't know that."

The chiefs back then were not shrewd. When I came in as a council member with my father, I began seeking information. I found it odd to make decisions and never see any follow-up. We never got any answers. I sent letters to Ottawa and they answered me. They told me they had never received the requests we had made. Since we had copies of the resolutions we had passed, I sent them copies. It took some time, but they gave me an answer. After that, I ran for chief. My father had told me:

"Run for chief, you've got more votes than I do."

In those days, it was by majority vote. I was alone, I had no organization. Benoît Boivin was constable and he wanted a car. I told him:

"We don't have any money, we just have enough to pay you."

Decisions were made primarily by the Department of Indian Affairs, and they were numerous. Even the band councils of the day were not listed to by the Department. These were very difficult times for the chiefs and council members. This was a protection mechanism used by the Department. When something was going wrong, they said: "Go see your chief and council members." That's how it was organized, it was pretty tough back then. Today, things have changed a bit. During the time my father was chief, we were short a lot of resource people. Today we have young people who have attended university.

When I replaced my father as chief, I went looking for resource people. They came to help me. After we began talking about taking

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* Additional information gathered in 1993. See (*) on following pages. It should be noted that when life stories are gathered, some topics may be initially omitted, and will be covered in detail in subsequent meetings between the subject and the interviewer(s).

control, I told myself we would certainly have to prepare for our young people's future. People began listening to us. We went to Ottawa two or three times and one year later, there was a transfer of control. We took care of the welfare program. They didn't want to give it to us. I told them: "We won't mess up your rates, but we're going to administer it in our own way."We made people work. Those who were sick and could get a certificate from a doctor were entitled to the allowances. Those who were capable of working were given jobs in maintenance, sweeping streets, etc. That lasted two or three years then the programs came in. There were those who didn't believe in that, the transfer of power, but it happened.(*)

There was not a lot of work at Pointe-Bleue in those days. There were positions the Indians were able to hold, especially when they had the necessary education and the skills to perform that type of work. Today, these young people, especially those with a good education, they have a job. Some have held key positions in the regional office. They replaced the regional manager, like Aurélien Gill, there's no point denying it. This was an honour for us. My son worked in Quebec City, at Université Laval. Right now, he's in Chicoutimi. There is Georges Bacon who has completed a serious education. Today he has a good job, earns a good salary. There are several, the Gill children, Marc and Denis, who went to university. There's Claude Philippe and Ti-Guy Courtois, both have good positions today. In Pointe-Bleue, I think they have already

received an invitation. There are still positions for these people. There are still positions to be created because we still have a lot of things to set up. Take the chief of police, I don't see why he shouldn't be an Indian.

There are many things like that which we are missing, a lawyer, notaries. It will come with the young people growing up now, who are in school. I'm quite confident that one day, Pointe-Bleue will be organized to provide full service to its people. I think the young people understand that today, to get a key job position and a good job, you need an education.

To create a world requires many people with different trades. Obviously, there are still hunter-trappers, they're necessary because this is a tradition we must preserve. But to work in today's offices, that takes somebody with an education. You don't necessarily need degrees hung on the walls but at least the ability to write and count. Then, try to develop sound judgment to make a decision.

Marriage

When I was young, I followed my father, who was a hunter-trapper. Our territory was Ashuapmushuan. We made many trips with my grandfather, we often went up together. We went up with Napoléon-

Bégin who had a large family. My grandfather followed us. He only had two children. Everyone followed the other, there were seven or eight canoes when we went up to the woods. We tented together then we split up. We went up by the Ashuapmushuan River as far as Pikauba. Our father taught us how to set traps, how to orient ourselves in the forest. At one point, he taught us how to make snowshoes, just in case. We made them in summer before leaving. He also showed us how to make axe handles. We learned how to smoke the meat and to get by without catching cold if we were lost and had to sleep outside. My father always told us never to walk when there was a lot of fog. You're better to stay put and wait for the fog to lift so you can find your directions. Otherwise, you get lost and stray from your starting point. He also showed us how to skin, to stretch the skins, dry them and prepare them. It was my father who gathered the furs. When he came back down, he basically gave us our share. When necessary, we went to see him. He didn't give a lot, but he gave often.(*)

We hunted ducks with shotguns. Our father counted our cartridges when we left. When you came back, if you had killed five ducks, you had better be missing only five cartridges, no more. You had to fire only when you were sure. Packages of 25 cartridges sold for $1.25. Today, it costs you 15 or 16 bucks. In winter, almost no one was on the reserve, but in summer, virtually everyone came down. It was really nice to see them coming in spring. They came in groups

of seven or eight canoes, complete families. They held hands, they were so happy to see each other. They hadn't seen each other for a year. When they tented, it didn't take long. Twenty minutes, and everything was ready, you saw the smoke coming out of the tents. Everyone pitched in.

When my father and mother began to get old, I worked as a guide and lumberjack. The wages were a sure thing then, because initially, fur was not that expensive. It took a lot to try and make a living.

I knew my wife at the age of 18 or 19. I had known her at school. I went to school with her but we were young. I saw my wife from time to time. We didn't see each other every evening, but we did see each other, met with each other and talked together. When I began guiding, we came down *every* two or three months. We had two days off. I began seeing her officially. I went out with her five or six years before marrying her. I was 21 years old.(*) She lived in back, on Concession C. They lived mainly from farming. Her father was a farmer and he had animals. That was Émile Robertson. He was a very good man, nice, a hard worker. He also had a great love for the forest, but liked farming a little less. It was his wife who liked the land. Her name was Elmire Robertson. These were the Robertsons from Pointe-Bleue, a large family.

Adrienne, the wife of Tommy Robertson, is related to Louis Paul and Joseph Paul. They were a large family. At that time, I was guiding in the park. I came down every three or four months. That's when we began dating each other. At one point, on 11 October, it was the big question. We were married at the church here. Our family was Catholic. In those days, people prayed more than today. Things were more Catholic. Sunday mass is still compulsory, but there are fewer churchgoers. Today, young people hardly ever go to church any more. In those days, the church was always full. The whole family went to church. On the land, we had to pray and say our rosary. At the back of the tent, a crucifix was hung up and *every* evening before going to bed, we prayed. We said the rosary. At each meal, before and after, we had to pray. On Sundays we didn't do a whit of work, we had to cut our wood the day before, or the day before that. We just heated up our food. Sunday was cherished, it was hallowed.(*)

The mysteries

The church played a large role. Baptisms sometimes caused problems. When a child was born in the forest, the family might not come down for four or five years, so they had the child baptised only when they came here. The child was already five years old. In the register, the child was not entered at birth but after four or five years. When they came to retire, this caused a problem. Some lost five or six years of pension because of this.

Many things happened on the land. Once, three or four families had gathered. There was old man "Koutshi" who came from big Lac Mistassini. He had set up the shaking tent, "Wabanow" it was called. The elders had set up the tent with all sorts of different woods. The old man spoke several languages. He spoke a long time all alone in the tent, he was meditating. We didn't understand everything he was saying. At one point, there was a question period and Prospère Cleary asked him:

"Ask how things are going down south."

Thirty, thirty-five seconds later, the old man came out of the tent and told Prospère:

"I have bad news for you, it's not going too well for your family, don't be surprised: your wife is dead!"

Prospère looked at the time and day, he went down. His wife had died at the time and on the day the old man had said. That surprised me. In those days, the Catholic religion prohibited us from practising the shaking tent, but the people were a little curious. They wanted to see if it was true, if this existed. Some called this evil spirits but the old man was not evil. He spoke to us and helped us. We saw him at the end of almost every month.

Three or four years later, my Uncle Michel came up to Lac Tsékatchi. He met with the old man and asked him for news from the South. He said:

"Yes, but you can't do it here. You have to come to my tent."

He drew a map on a piece of bark to show where he was camped. My Uncle Michel went there with my Uncle François Savard. They took a lunch for two or three days and left to find the old man. On the way up, my Uncle François said:

"We'll pitch our tent here and have lunch, we should make it there tomorrow."

My Uncle Michel went to get water. He cleared away the snow and made a hole in the water and when the water came up, he took a little butterfly out of the hole. My uncle found this odd. He told my Uncle François about this, but he didn't believe it. My Uncle Michel noted the time and day this happened. Two days later in the afternoon, they reached the old man, and the following day, he set up the shaking tent. He said the same thing he had told Prospère Cleary:

"Your wife died the day before yesterday, the day the little butterfly came out."

My Uncle Michel told François:

"I'm worried, I'm going to see my little wife."

When my Uncle Michel got home, his wife was dead. The old man knew everything. The year of the big fire, he had predicted that the Indians would endure suffering, would starve. These are things that were never spoken about here on the reserve, just on the land.(*)

Family life

After my wedding, we stayed for two years with my parents, then I took an apartment. There were a lot of people who lived in tents. The number of apartments could be counted on the fingers of your hand. We were lucky to have an apartment. Those with houses were mainly the old people. I remember old man McDonald, I think he had reached 96 years old. He had to put up his wood. There was no service in those days, no electricity, nothing. If you didn't get your coal oil, you had no lights. Our father sent us to help the old man on Saturday, to put up his wood and bring in his water. The water was brought in in buckets and we filled his barrel. In those days, the winters were long and cold, with heavy snowfalls, storms that lasted two or three days.

We had a dozen children. I had a boy or girl every year. I came down every three or four months, I was still a newlywed. I had no radio or television. We couldn't see each other, we stayed up by the glow of the stove, so what were we to do? That's basically the reason why there were large families. When you left, your wife was left alone, she had to get her own water and wood. I was lucky, my father-in-law had land. We bought wood from him. I was lucky in life because I always enjoyed good health, I always worked. I don't remember losing one day of work. I thank the good Lord because

those years were still hard enough. Maybe it wasn't actually the Depression, but work was still pretty scarce.(*)

PART II

A guide in the national park

My wages in those days were $49 a week. We worked 12 hours a day. We quit on Saturday at six in the evening. We had to start again at seven on Monday morning. There couldn't be any rain. It had to be good weather, because they sent us home and we weren't paid. When I guided in the national park, the wages were four dollars a day. The days were quite long. We went to work in the morning and we came back at dusk. In the national park, it was only for fishing. When we came back here in the fall, there was my Uncle Tommy and the Hudson's Bay Company. There was also the Triton Club. We landed a group for two or three weeks for the big game hunt. It paid a little more, because at that moment, tourists could afford to pay us. When we had a chance to land a big one in those times, we earned good wages. It cheered us up a bit. We were anxious for this time to come, because it was good money for us too. When October came, we went to the camps to log for the winter. Of course, we came down for a good two weeks during Christmas. After the holidays, we went back up. We finished by late February, early March. In those days, we only had horses, there were no machines.

Sometimes, when there was too much snow, the camps closed early, because the horses couldn't get through.

It was tough! We worked with hand saws, there were no mechanical saws or big shovels. The small saw often screamed in protest. In winter, when the wood was frozen, you heard your saw cry out. That meant it was freezing, and it was tough on your arms. In those days, you had to cut the trees into 12-foot logs, otherwise you were gone. You had to cut your hundred logs a day. We worked for sub-jobbers, it was Trofflé Laforest then. When the old man died, his son Arthur replaced him. We left in September or October, until spring. Back then, the jobbers chased after the men. There was always someone on the road to looking for men. We stayed in large camps. We each had a bed. Sometimes they were big beds, and we were stacked like cordwood. You ate beans, pork and beef. There was no racism. It didn't exist. Everyone showed respect. Sometimes, when you had trouble, you let out a little whistle, and right away somebody came to lend a hand.(*)

We always helped each other. When a house burnt down, before long, about two days, the guy had a new one. They held bees, everyone came to help out. The women handled lunch while the men worked. We started cutting logs in the morning. Some men took them to the mill. Those who already had wood brought it. Someone who fell on hard times, after one or two days, they started over as before.

There still some charity, but very little. In our days, there was no theft. If you found a shovel, you had to return it. Somebody else's possession was sacred.(*)

Today, I think machines have replaced a lot of people. That's the main reason why there are a lot of unemployed here. There are two many machines. Before that, everything was done with elbow grease. We called it "pork and beans" back then. Today, you need gas. It's unbelievable, when you think about it. To eat three square meals a day, back then, you had to get up early in the morning, go to bed late and work until after supper. But people managed. There were not as many things as we see today, like drugs. Things like that didn't exist. There was booze, but we couldn't afford to buy it. So people drank less than today, I think. And then, there was no television. Everyone went to bed early, so they could get up early. I'm not against that, because this was a development. It shows us things we didn't know before. But today, I think lifestyles have changed a lot.

After logging, I turned to guiding. This was a permanent job. I did a little log-driving, but not much. I mostly worked as a guide because it was a sure job. After guiding, we cut wood for the camps and the ice we prepared for the next year, for the tourists. I worked there a good 14 years in a row, so much that in those days, I almost left the reserve because it was a long trip from the

national park to come here. In those times, the roads were closed. When we wanted to move about, we put on snowshoes. It was the same thing to go to work in the spring, because there was a lot of snow. It took us a day and a half to reach the Portes de l'Enfer, longer with the pack sacks. We had to bring along supplies, until the time we reached camp. That was the lifestyle back then; if you wanted to eat, you had to work. It was hard, but I think the men and women could do more than today because our young people today, they're fit for work but they don't see it. You have to tell them.

When he lies down at night, the hunter-trapper drops right off to sleep. These are damn tough days. You're never finished. You come back in the evening, you make your supper. After that, if you're not too tired, you have to skin. The next day, you have to place the skin on a form to dry, you scrape it, you take it off the form, you tighten it then you're ready to go out again. You have to go check your other traps. You have to cut your wood, haul your water. If you don't do it yourself, no one will do it for you. The young people have never known that. It's nice to live like that. Your time wasn't watched, you had no boss, there was nothing to stop you. Everyone respected each other, there were never any quarrels, there was no theft, everyone was honest. Everyone lived the way he wanted.(*)

In our days, we understood. You had to work to get warm, put a roof over your head, and so forth. There were no services. I remember at the Hudson's Bay Company, when I was eight or nine, after school on Friday, they sold us coal oil and a gallon of syrup. We missed out if we got there too late. It was the same thing for picking up the milk from the Oblate Fathers. They served milk at five o'clock. If you got there after six, there was no milk left. They sold us milk for about five cents a quart. It was expensive then compared with now.

In school, we were taught by the nuns. There were about 10 nuns and some 15 brothers living on the land. They raised crops and animals, sold milk, vegetables, all types of things. In those days in Pointe-Bleue, there were about 10 families farming the land, as the remainder trapped and works as guides. Of course, they did the best they could. I think I had to repeat a couple of years in third grade. That was my hardest year. In the fall, even though school was in, my father needed us to go into the forest. So we left, and missed school until the Christmas holidays, almost three or four months. Nonetheless, there were still classes in summer for the Indians who wintered in the forest. In July and August, they taught us the strict basics: Catechism, how to count, a little writing and reading. We didn't learn anything about the history of Canada and Biblical history.

Games

In summer, people gathered here: the Bégins and Germains visited. They told each other their hunting stories. There were games for the young people. We played "batte-à-tuer" with a very hard large black ball and a small board. You shielded yourself with the board while your opponent threw the ball. When you were near, you tried to hit it away when it came at your forehead or face. No matter how much you claimed you had not been hit, when you had a goose egg on your head, it was hard to deny. We don't see this game played any more today. We played in teams of five or six. When someone was hit, we cried "yatinépine", you're dead! We woke up the next day with goose eggs. These were supposed to be sponge balls, but they were harder than baseballs. We also played with girls. We tried not to hit them on the forehead. We aimed more carefully. There were other activities: canoeing, portaging. There were "makushan", meals. Everyone contributed something.(*)

The new generation

Today, I have no regrets about my experiences. But we still wonder about the future of young people today. We really don't know which way we're going to go with them. There is a shortage of work. Our young people are as worried as we are. But I don't think the recession is as bad as in our fathers' day. Young people are

worried because they are more demanding than we are. Yet today, there still is help. Of course, there are some mornings when breakfast comes late on welfare. Welfare doesn't pay a lot, but if we talk about our time, it was worse. Our old people had only six or seven dollars a month. They called this a loan. At one point, they called this the "buttons". But it was paid only to the old folks. They couldn't buy just anything with the "buttons". They could buy pork, flour and tea, but no luxuries, like tobacco or other things. Today's young people will never see that because our lifestyle is so advanced, so developed. In my opinion, if they had to go back to that, a lot of young people would find it very hard.

The family

In my family today, three children are married. One lives alone. She has a place all her own, and a salary. I still have one boy in school in Alma and a girl in school in Roberval. She's at home right now. My second youngest son is in Alma but comes back here every weekend. He returns to Alma early Monday morning with one of his friends. I think he's supposed to finish his training course this year. He wants to go into police technology. I'm not really sure what that is, but apparently there are openings on the reserve. My daughter is into fashion.

If we take them in order, the first child, Jacques, is 40 years old. He attended school in Pointe-Bleue until seventh grade. In his day, the nuns still taught. After that, he went to Roberval and the CÉGEP in Jonquière. Then he attended university at Laval in Quebec City. He earned a doctorate. He spent 26 years in school. Today he has no regrets because he has a great job. He married Suzanne Déry, a girl from Quebec City. She has a degree to work primarily with psychiatric children, as they say. Jacques studied there as well.

Gemma only attended school in Roberval. I think she finished grade six and then began working for the Hudson's Bay Company. She worked there five or six years. Then she took a course in hairdressing. She suffered back problems, and went to work for the Department, for the band council. Since then, she hasn't changed positions. She started at the bottom, but today, she's head of personnel here. Chantale didn't stay in school for long, but completed grade seven or eight. She left at a very young age to work in Montreal. She met a policeman the other side of Caughnawaga. Anyway, she married him and had a child. Today she works at the Refuge drop-in centre, where she welcomes people. In any event, she wasn't in school for very long. She had problems learning. She managed despite this, because she's working today. Her husband is dead now, he suffered a heart attack. She works at the Refuge and really likes her job. She always wanted to work to help other people. She followed the A.A. movement a long time. Today she works with those things.

Somebody with problems comes to her for help. Anyway, she has a lot of clients. She deals with alcoholics, drug addicts, battered women. In Montreal, she worked in a place like that. She has learned a lot from those people. There were all types of problems. She knows how to approach these people, how to help them, and boost their spirits. In life today, there are ups and downs, but I think with her approach, she can do this type of work. Many people go to visit her and she is very well liked. She's cheerful as well.

I have another son, Jocelyn, who married a girl from Trois-Rivières. In the summer, he works as an engineer. I think he completed his degree, but he only works part-time in the summer because there's no work in winter. He's on unemployment or he takes little jobs here and there. His wife works in a Caisse populaire as a permanent employee. They have one child, a little boy. They come visiting mainly at Christmas because they can't leave their work.

There's Rémi, who married a girl from Roberval named Monique. He doesn't have any children yet, he has been married three years. He works now for the Aboriginal Police. He's not a policeman himself, he works mainly in administration, guidance, the future of police, something like that. Laval, my other son, got married last year. He still has no children. He works in construction. He is supposed to get his carpentry card soon. He has been working in construction for two or three years now. He has been lucky since he hasn't been

out of work much. I think he has been off two or three months in three years. He married a little Connolly girl, a daughter of Yvon Connolly.

Another of my children is Francis, whom we lost, it will be two years ago on 11 August. He had a bike accident near La Friche, between Saint-Méthode and Dolbeau. He wasn't married but he liked sports a lot. He played softball and especially volleyball. He was lucky because he was tall. He won a lot of tournaments. He died quite young. Poor Francis was only 19 years old. You have to expect these things, you have to prepare.

We also have Sébaste, we call him Sébastien. He is currently attending school in Alma, at the Alma CÉGEP in police technology. This is investigations or something like that. He is 19 years old, he'll be 20 in July, I think. After that is little Natacha. Right now, she's in school in Roberval. Next year, she's going to Montreal to take courses, for an education. I'm not sure in what field, it's in fashion design. I know it's something like that. Finally, there is Suzette who married Jacques Cleary. She lives on the reserve and works here in education. She does physical fitness for young people. She has three children, three boys. Two are in school, they're about seven or eight years old. Her youngest is about two and a half.

Job creation on the reserve

I'm quite pleased with my family because they were hard to raise. There was a lot of tuberculosis in those days. They called it "consumption". It was understandable, there was no heating. We lived in a tent. It was always in the same environment. Still, they got through it with their own remedies, herbal teas. The old people predicted the weather and all sorts of things. They predicted illness. They looked you in the face or the eyes and told you in Montagnais: "'Quoua! Beware!' Sometimes they didn't tell you, only your father: "Your son is going to be sick."(*)

Our ancestors made their own remedies. They made herbal teas with beaver kidneys. The doctor couldn't handle everything. He made the rounds of villages and couldn't handle everything. He wasn't enough. In my days, it was Dr. Turgeon. We couldn't spend lavishly. We took training courses on family budgeting. That helped us a lot. These courses were given in Pointe-Bleue and ran two or three days. They were organized by the Caisse populaire. They were open to everyone. We have our own Caisse populaire in Pointe-Bleue, which provides benefits. When I went to take courses on forming a cooperative, they talked to us about a credit union. This was the key goal in getting us started. Like the sawmill, it's still running. At one point, we were worried because there had been a drop in the price of lumber. But we could operate to provide jobs,

not to make money. We focused more on creating jobs than making money. In the last year, we made a profit.

The wood is sold off the reserve. We have been lucky because we have a buyer. He personally comes to pick up the wood and we don't have to handle it. He takes all our wood, we have a contract with him. For construction here on the reserve, a lot of the wood comes from our mill, since you need dry wood to build a house. So we make arrangements with the buyers. I think we're doing good business, I do say so.

We also have a food Coop on the reserve. It opened two years ago. To be honest, it's not doing badly. At first, when we opened the food cooperative, they said we wouldn't be able to pay the wages and our rent, that was over a five-year period. But we made a small profit last year. The worst problem we have is getting the refund on our taxes. We are currently owed $42,000. This is the tax on cigarettes. It's a provincial tax. They take a long time to repay us, up to three months. During that time, we have to dip into the line of credit. This runs at 13, 14 and 15 percent. That's what eats a little into our profits. I hope this will be settled, because we saw Mr. Gill negotiating with the "Side man". I hope he'll find a solution.

When the cooperative opened, there were 220 members. It has stayed pretty well at that level. Initially, there were some non-Indians

to get it started, because they were already in the food cooperative and they were familiar with the situation. I think there were about 10 who got involved to help us, but they are slowly withdrawing. The sales are pretty steady, except in summer, when there is a small increase due to the tourists. We're very happy. We're toying with expansion, but this hasn't been decided yet.

We are talking about a businessmen's group, a sort of association of businessmen. The three cooperatives, that's about it. By grouping all the businessmen in Pointe-Bleue into a type of association, I think we'll then have fewer problems, especially with income tax. Of course, not everyone will join at the same time, but there are about half who want to join. We're pretty well shooting for that target to get started. Right now it's a small, half shopping centre. They sell only food. There are also clothes.

PART III

Drinking

The fact we don't have alcoholic drinks harms us. Those who drink take advantage of the opportunity to go shopping in Roberval at the same time. At one point, I think the people will understand why we take our money off the reserve. If we could get a return, some type

of compensation. I think we'll have to come to that. With religion, the law, I'm confident it is changing a bit because they say that in a referendum, if there isn't a majority of 50 plus 1, it becomes discriminatory. The explanation is quite simple, if there are 600 voters, there are 249 against and 351 for, the referendum is supposed to pass. But we have 600 voters and there is a majority of 17 against, that's where it becomes discriminatory.

We hope that one day, this will come, because we have good regulations and because we can't control everything right now. It's a question of freedom. We are entitled to have and drink alcohol. Everyone gets drunk, maybe not everyone, but quite a few and there is no regulation preventing this. Someone who causes disorder, we have to try to arrest him, but he isn't penalized. I would prefer that my children drink a bottle of beer or two instead of using the garbage that is sold now. It's not as bad for the health. Because it seems that alcohol, when it's not abused, is considered a remedy. Oh! If there is abuse, O.K., he gets sick, but it's his own fault. I'd rather have them drink beer than take drugs or things like that. It certainly isn't as harmful. In any event, this bears consideration. I hope that one day this will come to pass as we talk about it... I don't know, it seems people are afraid because there are many who start rumours.

"If alcohol comes in, we lose our rights. We'll fill the role of Whites."

Since I was a little boy, I have heard that. We're still Indians and we're still in our homes. Nothing is changing, it's a question of determination... With the coming of section C 31, there will be people added here. Now, there are 500 with official recognition. They are recognized as Indians with the band number. There are a lot of things linked to this section. We don't know everything yet. A committee will be formed and there will be forums. I imagine that will be settled by a referendum too. I see no other way because it is up to all the people to state their will. Everyone, not just the band council. It's going to come.

Politics

It's a little like B-12-A. If that hadn't passed, we would lose almost half our population. I don't know if people understood that because some good explanations were provided before reaching a decision. That's what has to be done, and in two ways: language, in Montagnais and in French. They've now held three or four forums. We'll end up getting it by talking about it, everyone will know about it. When decisions are not made seriously, sometimes people are unhappy afterward because they didn't understand very clearly.

With Bill C-31, I say this won't bring so many people onto the reserve. Those who are already here will stay but those who are outside, who have built homes and have work, I don't think they'll come back. They're no longer interested, but they'll be considered Indians. In my opinion, they may not be entitled to the services that will be provided on the reserve. As the Indian Act now states: to have the right to vote, you have to have "place and fire". That means you have to live on the reserve. I imagine that's the saying. If we open the doors too wide, we'll run short of hay one fine day. It's all this we must determine, the right to belong: what services they'll be entitled to. Everyone is entitled to live with equality. They have to be respected but this is not my decision alone. It's a major undertaking, especially with the people. It's a decision that involves all the people. They're talking about a review of the Indian Act. I imagine there will be a committee started up to study this. With the review of the Indian act, they want to consult the Indians this time. I find that fitting.

Then they'll say we weren't the only people who made this decision, there were the Indians. This is especially the Five Nations group. They'll be closest to the negotiators with the CAM organization (Attikamekw-Montagnais council). I imagine they represent the Attikamekw, Montagnais and Five Nations. We have good men there. They're going to hold consultations before reaching a decision. Today, big changes are coming for the Indians, things will be

disrupted. I don't know if the departments wanted that but we have to take the time to do it. Because if we make a mistake, they'll say it was us, it's the Indians who wanted that, after all. Everything in its time, everyone must take his place and contribute his ideas, otherwise if there are only three or four, they can never make a decision for the whole.

This week, we were talking specifically about the transfer of power from the Ministry of Health. These things will be done in another year. There is a lot of work to be done for the transfer of power. We have a lot of people capable of assembling files, making good presentations and conducting negotiations. I think we're coming to local government. It may take another three or four years, but there is a large team working, it's the future of the Indian. At that point, the decisions will be made directly with the local government and Ottawa. There's no doubt that in these things, we will have to get a guarantee of continual services. If they transfer the power to us, then they'll tell us we're on our own. We must have guarantees, something like the transfer of control over education. That's what we did. We get the grants every year. It's normal for the Ministry to pay us for administration and education of our young people, because this is included in the act and the Ministry is responsible for this. That's basically how it will work: we'll get guarantees. It's not easy today, because there are a lot of budget cuts. If they want to eliminate the deficit,

they'll have to tighten their belt somewhere. Just about everyone will feel the pinch. Municipalities are starting to protest. Jonquière has had a good year, they've achieved a surplus. I heard that in this morning's news. They're lucky because everywhere else, they all have small deficits. They're supposed to raise municipal taxes.

We don't have taxes here. The only services we have, we never refer to tax, we talk about contributions. But this is a bit of a deformation of the word, it's actually a tax. It's a contribution for water service and garbage. This is normal, otherwise we'd have trouble getting grants. We have to participate. The whole upper village has services except the concession without sewers. But there's a lot of construction on the concession even though there aren't any farmers left who actually work the land. There is Réal Philippe who is a butcher. In two or three years, I imagine these services will pass, and it will be less expensive because back there, there's no exposed rock. Digging is easy. Here, it was expensive, it was straight into rock. That's the only thing in which we participate to get grants.

There's another program coming, there are certainly farmers who are going to keep their land, they're going to plant trees. They're going to transplant, maybe Christmas trees or lumber trees, but in 40 or 50 years. Rather than having land that is productive and

leaving it like that, maybe the family won't benefit directly, but the children certainly will. It's a good thing, there is a four-year commitment that they won't touch their land. They can touch it but not disrupt it, because it's a new plantation. It's a good project, it's going to create jobs. The farmer will be able to work his land, plant trees if he wants, to grow them. They're going to prepare the land, clear it, remove the branches and trees such as aspen and poplar. They can even have firewood. They're going to collect the good wood, the birch and ash for firewood. In La Tuque, it's just that they don't have contracts with the lumber companies. They're going to sell it in La Tuque, but there has to be a full load. They won't go with one cord, they'll travel for 20 or 25 cords.

Grandfather Kurtness

My grandfather, Jos Kurtness, was a fairly big and tall man. He also served as chief. In those days, the terms were for three years. I think he was chief for nine years. He worked a lot in the forest with the engineers and surveyors. They did research for mines in those days. I think it was for the Americans. I don't really remember the names. There was a Mr. Fleury, I think, who was French. There was a Mr. Gilman, he often talked to me about that. His name is well known in Chibougamau.

My grandfather, Joseph Kurtness, fought in both wars. He fought in 1914-1918. My grandfather only told us about this at Christmas time, especially on New Year's Day. Apparently, he suffered a lot back then. He was with a couple of Indians from here, one was called Ti-Will Cleary. I'm not sure that was his real name. He called him Ti-Will Cleary. He was a volunteer then. He fought for the whole war. He only returned after peace had been signed. I can't say how many years he was in the army, but it was a fairly long time. He was a simple soldier. He was injured by an exploding shell. He had a severed thumb. He also took a couple of bullets in his back pack. In those days, it was mostly hand-to-hand with bayonets. He said he spent long nights in the fields, hidden in the tall hay, while the bullets whizzed over his head. He was a scout. He was always in front. On New Year's morning, he talked to us about it. He told us that on New Year's morning, he was in the trenches. Seven Germans were approaching. That struck him. If I don't shoot at them, they'll shoot at me. When he told us this, he was always a little sad. I suppose that brought back unpleasant memories.

When the Second World War started, I was married. I was given an extension because it was mandatory. We had to train, do drills. This was done in Chicoutimi. It was the Mounted Police who handled it here: the RCMP. They gave me my papers to sign up. I passed my exams but they don't take you right away. They send you home and

they call you when they need you. I had passed, I was in my prime, 22 or 23 years old. One of the officials told me: "We'll try to get you an extension."

He wrote a letter and 15 days later, I was given an extension as a hunting assistant to my father. Since my brother was dead, I became the support of my family. Many people were taken into the army: Joseph Gill, Hubert Jourdain and others.(*)

My grandfather always worked after that. He was starting to get old. He worked here, slowly. He cut his firewood, he heated with wood. He ran a little store, a small tuck shop. He sold cigarettes, chocolate, etc. He was always a little busy on the reserve, even though he no longer sat on the band council. He attended the meetings, gave his opinion and wanted the reserve to become more developed. He also looked after the hunter-trappers, like Mr. Germain. He often went to see them in the forest. Even though he could no longer go hunting, he went to visit them, to encourage them.

He went with linguists, a Mr. Speck. It was easy for him, he spoke three languages: English, French and Montagnais. It was easy to talk with other people. They also conducted a study on hunting and trapping. There was another one who came, I don't remember his name any more. I think it was Mr. Lips. They did that a couple of years,

if not two or three. They submitted that to the Department in Ottawa. Following that, they began giving lands to people who visited the forest, who hunted and trapped. Before that, the Indians had no land actually assigned to them. Of course, if you went to the Passes Dangereuses, it was mainly the Germains who went there. They weren't disturbed. The division of land was done with Mr. Morissette.

Ancestors

We are descendants from Lac Mistassini, according to my Uncle Benny, my grandfather's son. He is tracing our family tree. I don't know if he's finished yet. I know we have Cree blood. I didn't know this, it's what he taught me, my Uncle Édouard. Apparently, we changed our name three times. First, we were called the men with the big teeth. It sounded like Météopétéo or something like that. I don't know why they called us the men with big teeth. I'm anxious to see this, but in any case, my Uncle Benny is studying it. Then it became Kakwa, but I'm not sure.

I think instead that in the days when he interpreted, it was especially Americans who may have had trouble pronouncing Kurtness or Météopétéo, so they called him Kakwa. I don't know why and I think my Uncle Benny would be able to tell you.

My Uncle Thomas also has the Kakwa name, because he was handicapped. He was paralysed very young, at about age seven. He walked, let's say it, on his bum. He used his hands a lot to help. He still managed to get around. But he died like that, still paralysed. The old Indians said that even in May, when the water was still cold, Thomas played in the water. Maybe that's what caused his paralysis. That's what they claimed, anyway. In the end, my grandfather was killed by the cars. He was killed around nine o'clock on a clear moonlit evening, even. Apparently, he thought he heard the freight train coming, but it was the plow. The wings were spread. He didn't know it was the plow because he didn't stand far enough back. He was caught and thrown to the side.

I could't say if we still have relatives in Mistassini, because we were born here. It was mainly our ancestors, like my grandfather and father, who could have talked about this. I don't think my father stayed there long after he was born. He had a half-sister, Maude, and his brother, Édouard. But they mustn't remember. With Édouard's research, he'll find all that I think, especially the old ones from Lac Mistassini. Édouard gets by pretty well in English and speaks a little Montagnais. I think he'll be able to find a lot of information there. I think my Uncle Benny's (Édouard's) first wife was an Indian from Lac Mistassini. That's what he told me. That means that my father was a child of the first marriage. The second marriage was with Mary.

There was Maude, who died. I think she was about 18 years old. There was Édouard with his second wife. When I started working, I saw my grandfather often, especially in summer. He went for a walk every day. He was pretty interested in local politics, to try to help the Indians in general. Especially the hunter-trappers, because the fact he had done research on this, I think he was interested in assuring a continuity.

My grandfather died on the evening of the 25th, around nine o'clock. It has been a long time. He was dead before the 1956 centennial. I'm now 62 years old, that means he has been dead almost 40 years. That would put it around 1946-1947.

As for my father, he also was a man who travelled the woods. He did almost the same thing as my grandfather. He went with the inspectors, he hunted, trapped especially. He was a guide. He was always a man of the forest. He had no other trade than guide or hunter-trapper. He spoke three languages. That gave him a lot of opportunity to speak, to learn more. He was in politics for many years. He was chief for 23 years, I think. He married Christine Jourdain. She was not his first wife. His first wife was a Verreault, Christine Verreault. Unfortunately, the pictures of that were lost in the fire. It wasn't a big fire, but all the documents, the photos were burned. We couldn't see anything any more. It was the water and smoke that destroyed this information.

My mother was a Jourdain. She was raised in Péribonka. She was an Indian. Her father, Georges Jourdain, didn't hunt in Péribonka. All the Jourdain's hunted as a family in those days. They had come to Pointe-Bleue by canoe. There was the father, William, across from Jérôme Laroche's house. There was a store there. That was where my mother worked, that was where my father met her.

Of course, he had seen her in Péribonka, but officially, she had worked in William Connolly's store. It was after that they were married. They married very young, too, especially my mother. I think she was 17 years old. Back then, they married young. He continued hunting and trapping. We were born and at the age of seven, we went into the forest with him.

But at seven years of age, we had to go to school, that was school starting age back then. We began going to school here. He continued to go trapping. We left in early September, we came back down in late May or early June. In summer, there was what was called the Indian school. They taught us Catechism, how to write, to add, the main things. Our teacher was a nun who spoke Indian. I don't know if she was Indian but she spoke the language fluently. I think she came from Bersimis. I'm not sure of her name. I think it was Sister Marie du Mont-Carmel who taught us. This school lasted about two months, July and August, for the children of the hunter-trappers. She only taught us the basics. It was mostly in Montagnais. For

those who had problems in Montagnais, she spoke two languages, she taught us in French too.

PART IV

Customs

I had two brothers and two sisters. There was the late Lionel, who died at age 27, and Raymond, who is still living. Of my two sisters, the oldest is dead, Maude. That leaves Marthe, who is now married to René Paul. We don't have a large family.

In those days, our parents didn't write much, except on baptism day, the day you came into the world, and confirmation. They didn't keep a journal like today. I don't think the Indians wrote lists back then. In the past, the missionaries supplied calendars. If they didn't know how to write, they used a pin for each day, so as not to lose track of the day. Even the Indians had a type of calendar. When they didn't have a calendar, they made one with bits of wood. They managed to work it out with that. When they left in the fall, they told the old people on the reserve who couldn't go with them into the forest around what date they would come back. To avoid mistakes, they made signs. They didn't make a mistake, except maybe by a day or two, no more.

When they left for the forest, they always had the book the missionaries gave them, the Oblate fathers. These were prayers, hymns and every evening, they sang, prayed and read. Not so long ago, they still could be heard praying and singing hymns, especially in May or the month of Mary. It wasn't so long ago, François Germain, every evening we heard him singing hymns. He prayed, he was pious. There was even a crucifix that the Oblates gave them before they left. They hung it on the tent, in the back. In the evening, we prayed to Our Father before going to bed, and even at meals. When they rose in the morning, they sang.

The old women here in Pointe-Bleue almost all rolled their hair around a piece of wood on each side, with the Montagnais bonnet. They called these toques. I found it odd, because we came up to the school here and the two sisters of the husband of Mrs. Thomas Siméon, Marie Siméon and Christine Siméon. They came into the world with that and they died with that. It was odd. The Montagnais hat was pretty, it was red and black with pearls. It was especially, how do you say it, embellished, a little less pearled. Back then, each woman wore a black blouse. I'm talking about the real Indian women. They wore a long dress down to the ground, to the feet, and soft shoes, in winter and summer. It was fun back then. They went to mass every morning, especially in May. Every evening, we called that prayers, but the Oblates called it the Salvation of the Holy

Sacrament. They sang hymns to the Virgin Mary. They said the Rosary during the whole month of Mary in those days.

There was an Indian from Mistassini who came to my grandfather's house, his name was Coomshish. He was the son of Coom. He was a tall man, at least seven feet. He had lost an eye, the old man. He came to stay with us for weeks. His name was Métabé. This Métabé from Mistassini always had his eye hidden under a patch. There was another one who came too; he had shot himself with a rifle. His arm was cut off at the elbow. I don't remember his name, I was very young at the time. He came here for several weeks. Of course, he was sick. He had to go to the hospital, especially when he had lost his arm. When his accident happened, I imagine he was with his family, with his wife and perhaps his children, who were young then. He had cared for himself all alone. Apparently he cleaned the wound, and cared for it with herbs. Of course, he lost his winter of hunting. He came down only in the early days of June, on the Mistassini reserve. Once he reached Mistassini, he had to go see a doctor. He came down to the hospital in Roberval. He was going to get bandaged up. After, he came up to our place. He stayed with us for almost a month. That was when I knew him, I was very young. I don't remember his name. It may have been Shecapio. But it was old people who often came onto the reserve. There was old man Sydney Trapper, too. The one who shot his arm off was a big old man who looked nice.

Cures

The old people treated injuries with castoreum. The vast majority used beaver kidneys. They made herbal teas. That drew out the bad, they cleaned it with that. They soaked it in that and made bandages with that. But beaver kidneys were especially to draw out the bad. Still today, there are many Indian men and women who treat themselves with this. Apparently, its good for stimulating your appetite. You can't take it pure, you have to take it with herbal tea because it's strong and tastes bad. It has to be cut.

It's too bad those things have disappeared. But I think there are still young people with a very good memory of those things. We should still practice those things. Because this care ensured the survival of the Indians. There are people who drank this remedy for lung problems, for bronchitis or something worse than that. I remember that the Whites bought some at the store to treat themselves. I remember, it must be 40 years ago, old man Isaac Robertson worked with a doctor, as a guide. He made cures with roots and *rayon de castor*. He sold this in bottles. I'm not really sure how much he sold this for, but many non-Indians came to get some. Back then, he sold a lot of it, it wasn't strict like today. The old man grew old, he died and that was the end of it. There were a lot of other Indians who made some too.

Old man Connolly made some too. His nickname was Johnny Manie. He was the father of Philomène Connolly, a good old guy. It's too bad because the remedies we take, they're made from roots but we don't know. We called it *rayon de castor*, but I think the real name is castoreum or "Amishkoujna". "Amishkoujna", yes, that's it. Back then, they predicted the weather. They made a type of barometer.

They took the heads of fir branches, they took two or three branches. They cut the three others and left one. They stripped the bark, shoved it in the ground by the door of their tent or their camp. When the branch bowed down, the bad weather was near. If it bowed down fast, the next day, it meant rain or a snowstorm. When is straightened back up, it meant good weather. It was never wrong. But it absolutely had to be a fir branch. They had to make do on their own. In their day, there were no clocks or watches. They looked at the sun to figure out what time it was. The wind gave you your bearings for walking through the forest. It was the wind, the sun and the moon. They managed quite well. The old people said: "When the setting sun is red it means tomorrow will be very hot."

Today everything is topsy-turvy. Before, when the sun set behind a cloud, the weather would be nice the next day. Today, 10 minutes later, it's raining buckets. You can't predict the weather any more. It's like the "mesquenows", the roads on the lake. It was a

sign of rain. Today, you get two weeks of sunny weather. Everything has changed.

When the leaves were turned upside down, it was "go get your boots, it's going to rain, it won't be long." Today, the leaves roll over and it's nice weather two or three days later. But some things still work. When the hares peel the bark from large trees like the beavers, it means the hares are sick. It means that next year, there won't be any hares.(*)

There certainly was bad luck like everyone, but to live in the forest, you had to be resourceful, in other words, you had to have knowledge. Living by the end of your rifle was not always easy. The game back then was a little scarce too. Today, the beaver have reproduced, there are quite a few.

The game road

There was a lot of fur in the North. It was far away, you had to leave for six, seven or eight months. Today it's easier, there are access roads. Maybe it's too easy because there are people just about everywhere today. There are clubs, ZECS, all types of things. I'd say there may even be more non-Indians than Indians in the forest. The clubs definitely created openings. In any event, it's changing whether we like it or not, we have to accept progress.

Before to reach a hunting ground in the North, it took two to two and a half months. Today, it may take a day or two. It's not as hard because they had to portage. With today's roads, they drive up practically in front of their camp. I have already gone up by the Péribonka River to go to the Passes Dangereuses. Now, there are 17 portages.

The beaver were quite scarce. After that, they banned it for about 10 years, if memory serves me. After that, they seeded. Today, I think the beaver is the main food for Indians to survive in the forest. In winter, it's very good eating. It has enough fat to warm us up. It's also a meat that is not hard to cook. You can just roast it on the fire. I think beaver has been the Indians' manna. If there is an area without beaver, it's tough, especially if caribou or moose are scarce. North of the Montagnes Blanches, there were no moose, just caribou, but they were very rare. They don't have any food because the forest isn't very thick there.

Around Nichicun, it was burnt to the horizon. There's a lot of snow and it's very cold. It had to be real hard, the winter is long. When the Indians reach their hunting grounds, they're already prepared to hunt. They left around 15 or 20 August to go up there. They arrived as the first ice was forming, it was early. In the spring, the ice was still thick enough to walk on around 10 June. The summer isn't long. I've never been in the Far North, like

Nichicun, but there are Indians who have told me they saw snow all year round. This was in special places, I imagine. The Indians' lives were hard enough at times, that some even lost their lives there.

There was Charlot Pekutelegan who lost his life there. There were others as well, the Courtois family, in days gone by. It was a real tragedy. There were many Indians in the area where the best fur was. The quality is very good but hard to get. I imagine this was because the winter was very long. Today, I don't think many go there. Today it's reserved more for the northern Indians. The Mistassini post still exists. There were other posts such as Nichicun which closed. Often, the hunters came by airplane, and were given supplies. If they came by canoe, instead of bringing supplies for the winter, they'd get a visit to pick up their furs in early January and leave supplies for the rest of the year. There was less risk than in the past. Most have radio-transmitters. They have times to talk to each other. If an emergency arises, a plane or helicopter goes in the next day. In the past, though, those things didn't exist.

When you travel into those areas, there aren't many contacts. The plane goes in two or three times over the winter. Georges Robertson worked there for the surveyors. He found the winter long. He left early, in late August or early September. He returned in late May,

early June and had no news. Of course, he went by plane because he never would have gone up there. Georges Robertson went as cook and accompanied the inspectors who were prospecting. These are all things from today that we're going to take time to review. I think it has changed forever. But there have been a lot of improvements. It took two or three months to up, today it's just seven hours by plane, no more than that.

Of course, the old Indians are better off than before. Life is easier. Some 35, 40 or 50 years ago, help for the elderly was just so they wouldn't die of starvation. They had six or seven dollars of food. They weren't rich! Today, it's a little better, they have a good pension. They have the same pension as the white people. In the old days, it was just to help them out. They couldn't live on what they were given. They were entitled to salt pork, beans, a little flour, a little fat, half a pound of tea, a couple of pounds of sugar, no more. Even sugar was considered a luxury, but they had some from time to time because tea without sugar wasn't always good. I think maybe that's why the Indians drink their tea without sugar. Most Indians don't take any sugar. They're used to it like that. They were raised like that, there wasn't any so they didn't know about it. Today, sugar isn't their preference.

A mix of cultures

I think the young people want to be like the Whites. Starting with high school, they're really mixed in with the Whites. In our days, the young people didn't attend outside schools. They only went on the reserve. Today, it's easier. There are outside schools, CÉGEP and university. Back then it was unheard of, we didn't see that. I think it's a good thing for our young people. Today they start off in life, they know more. We know that to get a good job today, you need a lot of schooling to get your qualifications. Like my son Jacques, he has done very well. He liked it, he was in school 27 years. He liked it, it was his strong point. Today, I don't think he has any regrets. He has a good position at the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi as a professor. He's in charge of the Amerindian Studies department. It's very important. He really liked his schooling. But the young people here at the Roberval school, there are still clans, groups that don't mix with the non-Indians. These are young girls or boys, especially from the remote reserves. It takes time. We certainly have work to do in this area.

In Manouane or Obedjiwan, the young people have an accent when they speak French. Maybe that bothers them a lot too. Certainly language is a factor. But French is new for them. It's a second language they must learn when they arrive here. It's a question of shyness. Many Indians are very shy, especially when speaking French. It's a

little less complicated here in Pointe-Bleue. Our children speak French pretty well. There are also a lot of mixed marriages in Pointe-Bleue, about 50/50. We did a study a couple years ago. There were 107 women married to non-Indian men and 105 men married to non-Indian women. That means it's just about even. It's easier too, because we already speak French. When we come to Roberval, it's not a second language. These are people I've already met. I practically earned my living in Roberval. I worked a long time for Gagnon Frères, at the sawmill. All my children went to school in Roberval, all went through Roberval for high school. Mine had no problems. Today, they still call each other often. Some are married. I don't think we should panic over that. Even on the remote reserves in La Mauricie one day, there will have to be a blending somewhere and they will have to learn French. I don't want them to lose their Indian language, but French, I think, is pretty well the language of work. For Quebec, this is essential.

And they do their whole education in French. When they reach grade seven, and start high school, they begin to learn English. It's mainly French they want to learn so they can communicate more. There are also starting to be mixed marriages too, even with Anglophones, in these reserves. It's because they came to the school here, they know each other better. It's going to come. It's harder for them because they're so far away. The access roads are still very rough today, especially at this time of year. The plane

is easier today, but it's expensive. I think the fact they come to Pointe-Bleue will help them a lot. It will get them used to meeting people from outside their village. It opens their minds to others. They know each other better. Spending all your time in such an environment as a hunter-trapper, spending winter in the woods, spring time, you become pretty savage. You're happy to come and see your people, but you seem to be a little stand-offish. A lot of them are still like that. It takes them three or four days to lose their shyness and speak to someone else. It's normal, I understand that because to spend five or six months all alone in the forest, talking to your dog when you have one, or to the animals or to yourself... you don't look quite as crazy when you have a dog to talk to. Apparently, this is the trapper's friend in the forest. It speaks and it understands. It understands very well, he speaks to it all day long. The dog becomes the confidant. Today, it's a lot better, those who are isolated have radios and speak to each other twice a day. It's a good service, for safety. There's a young Connolly who fell on his chain saw. He didn't lose his arm, but did have a bad injury. They went to get him with a helicopter. If he hadn't had the radio, he probably would have died there. You never know how it may turn out.

GLOSSARY

[Not necessary for English version]

5

Saw mill owner:

Jules Gauthier

(Analysis of Life Story)

Analysis: Jules Gauthier

Introduction

This analysis is based on the life story of Jules Gauthier, of Laterrière in the Saguenay region. His life story relates the history of the Saguenay region at the very start of settlement, and thus is intended as a first-hand account presented in oral form. Mr. Gauthier tells the story of his life and his family's life. This life story helps place the history of a family into the context of its surroundings. The influence of this family within its community, in this instance, the village of Laterrière, shows a certain form of roots established by a village bourgeoisie.

The main objective of this work involves the influence of the Gauthier family on the village community. In this regard, our subject provides certain reference points that persuade us to examine the activities of family members and their links with the community. Throughout this story, in fact, the author gives us a personal version of the region's history. This story has the benefit of helping the reader understand the motives for the actions taken by the subject's ancestors. Jules Gauthier acts as a sort of painter, portraying a colourful picture of his life, and that of his ancestors, to highlight the impact his family has had on the community.

Analysis: Jules Gauthier

The analysis of his story will be carried out in three parts. Part I examines Jules' childhood, his apprenticeship and his adult life. Part II covers the arrival of the Gauthiers in the region and the purchase of the saw mill that would establish them in the community. Finally, the Gauthier's influence will be analysed in terms of the families economic and political activities.

Jules to Ernest to Joseph...

Childhood

Jules Gauthier was born in Laterrière on 26 December 1918, in the ancestral Gauthier home, just as his sister Thérèse was. His arrival was considered a blessing from heaven. His mother had suffered a few miscarriages and some of Jules' brothers had died young. In that era, women gave birth with a doctor present, but were attended by midwives. This function was often performed by aunts. Fear of a break in the Gauthier family line persuaded the family to place the child under the protection of the Holy Virgin. Jules' birth was providential.

> *There was my mother's sister, Alice, who was a midwife. (...) Every time my mother was ill, Mrs. Lapointe and my Aunt Diana came. They were her two guardian angels.* (#)

The birth of Jules assured the family's continuity. The Gauthier family was assured of descendants. As the hero of his story, Jules places himself under the full Christian protection of the Virgin, and explains why, from a very young age, he was able to act as "king and master" of the family.

> *When I came into the world, a lot of promises were made. In those days, they made promises to the Holy Virgin. In my first seven years, I wore nothing but blue and white. I was entrusted to the Holy Virgin. (...) I was king and master. I was the only boy in the family. (...) They needed a Gauthier heir for the stone house. I am the last descendant of the Gauthiers, Ernest's group.* (#)

The Gauthier heritage extends beyond the commercial and real estate aspects. The child would be an integral part of the history of the Gauthiers and its impact on the village community. Jules became the bearer of the future, the assurance of the active presence and influence of his family within the village.

The importance placed on Jules' birth is explained by his role as heir. His childhood and early school years were always based on the fact that he was the direct descendant of a family without which Laterrière would not be the village it had become. This importance is demonstrated on his first day at the village school. Here again, Jules shows the determination to assert his influence over the family, and already reveals a close relationship with his mother, who would have considerable influence on the family.

The first classes

On his first day of school, Jules did not seem thrilled with the atmosphere surrounding this event.

> *There were about 200 pupils playing in the yard. (...) I didn't want to go play. I stayed with the girls. I was young. There were my two female cousins who were there and I had been raised with them. They were chatting. When the time came to go in, they walked along the sidewalk toward the school. The teachers were watching them. So I made up my mind, I said no. I said: "I'm not going into the school."* (#)

Jules gives the impression this was his decision. In fact, his mother was battling an illness. She agreed to keep her son with her for one more year. This anecdote confirms Jules' voluntary character. While she could not be criticized as tolerant and indulgent, his mother appeared to be faced with an odd dilemma. While she may appear to have lacked character in this incident, we

will see later that she exercised unquestionable power over her son when he was responsible for the mill operations.

Education

After a few years at the village school, Jules continued his education at the seminary. This period appears to have produced few positive effects. He admits he did not like school. Yet there is no shortage of examples in which Jules' parents, especially some of his uncles, did well in school and pursued careers in the liberal professions. It appears, however, that his father's example provided the model for Jules. He clearly admits: "My father dropped out of school when he hadn't even completed elementary school. (#)

This sentence requires some clarification. Even by the mid 1920s, Jules was aware of his father's importance in society. Despite having almost no education, he enjoyed a privileged position. He was elected mayor for several terms. His lack of education posed no obstacle. As soon as Jules came to realize that social success did not depend on the length of one's education, his efforts to continue his education would be limited. At no time did dropping out appear to have had a negative influence on his life. He identified with the Gauthiers who carried on the industrial (saw

mill) and agricultural (farms supplying the industry) tradition surrounding the old family estates.

As he notes, Jules was the Gauthier heir. In this capacity, he knew how to take advantage of his privileged position to try to assert himself with the teachers in elementary school. A few times, when the school teachers argued with him, he told his exploits to the men working in the mill, in the hope they would exert pressure on the teachers. After a few unsuccessful attempts, he had to accept that his influence was limited and that his teachers were not going to submit. Once again, the aura linked to the Gauthier family's position determined Jules' relations in society. This would be his lot throughout life.

His mother was the most educated family member. He takes a certain pride in this.

> *My mother was a little more educated. She read a lot: books, novels, newspapers, everything available. (...) My mother wrote very well. She had a beautiful woman's script.* (#)

Jules admits that he did not begin to read the newspapers until he was fairly old. His father, in turn, had his employees read him the newspaper. This was a custom that Jules appears to find normal. It

denotes a certain attitude. Finally, Jules' schooling was cut short. He dropped out of the seminary and simultaneously entered the labour market.

> *I went to the seminary. When they saw that I didn't want to learn, they told me: "Go away!" I spent my vacations doing nothing and riding my bicycle. Just coasting, as they say.* (#)

Jules' father would not tolerate his idleness. If his son did not want to study, then he had to work to earn his living. After this brief vacation, Jules began his apprenticeship in the mill. He was 12½ years old. His father's authority came into play. He was forced to comply and learn a trade. In such a father-son relationship, marked by authority, Jules began to perform odd jobs in the saw mill with his father. This would also be the only time when he was paid wages.

His father gave him a choice: he could be a farmer or work in the Gauthier saw mill. For a boy like Jules, being confined to the life of a farmer apparently was unthinkable. He would become an apprentice in the Gauthier mill. Everything seemed to be proceeding as if the family tradition were inevitably pushing Jules toward this filed. The heir had to consider that the opportunities provided by the mill's output were the result of a determination

passed on by his ancestors. Any venture outside the Gauthier circle was transitory and could only be a trial. Sooner or later, every member of the family had to help strengthen the Gauthier legacy, which had enabled the family to exercise considerable influence in its community. However, his apprenticeship in the mill required that Jules become a combatant, to prove himself by starting at the bottom of the ladder.

> *In those days, some Dubois men were millwrights here, before me. My father told them: "Take him with you, tomorrow morning at seven." I can still see myself going down to the lumberyard for the first time. I didn't think it was funny. They had me cart around the slabs. I found the 10 hours very long, hard and tiring.* (#)

The early days were tough. Jules had to get used to physical labour, which he was not accustomed to doing. His father had him start at the bottom. When faced with this challenge, the apprentice had to assert himself and show that since he did not like school, he could at least earn his living by working with his hands. His apprenticeship with the Dubois certainly was not easy. Jules implies that his masters took a rather hard stance toward him, which he found difficult to accept. He admitted he was hard-headed. Ultimately, the experience with them proved inconclusive. His father assigned him to another millwright, an experienced man,

Édouard Gobeil. He placed great respect in this man, whom he considered very wise. It was from him that he would learn the fine points of his trade.

> *They decided that I would learn the trade of millwright. My father decided: "You're going to learn to run your mill and take care of it." It didn't work. Édouard Gobeil came to show me my trade. (...) He was respected.* (#)

Jules was placed in with men who worked very hard. He left his mother's lap and had to become involved in his new work. On the other hand, this apprenticeship appears to have impressed upon him a sense of responsibility.

> *We had to work relentlessly. I took care of the men and he (Édouard) showed me how to file the saws, stitch the straps, how to make a pulley.* (#)

He had to take control of the mill. His apprenticeship would last nine years. Nine years during which he would have to rely totally on the person showing him his trade.

Jules took care of the mill and visited with the young people in the village during his free time. It was difficult to reconcile work with outings, as we will see later. The hard work left little

time for outings. Jules also had to adjust to the new responsibilities given him at the mill. His mother would ensure that Jules was placed on the right path by ensuring very strict adherence to the schedule of the men working in the mill.

> *In the home, the mother was the boss. (...) One time, I had finished working with Édouard at five to noon, and she told me quite abruptly that we had never stopped before noon.* (#)

At the end of his apprenticeship, Jules could run the mill by himself. Everything was in place to start a family.

Courtship and marriage

Jules speaks little about his courtship. During his apprenticeship, he admits that the long work days left him little time and energy for outings.

> *In any event, when you work 10 hours a day you don't have much time for fun in the evening. In those days, work was practically forced labour, so you were too tired in the evening.* (#)

Everything indicates that courtship was conducted within a circle of friends and acquaintances in the community. Jules ended up marrying a distant cousin. The couple had to obtain a dispensation from the Church to be able to marry. This followed in the path of his father and mother, who had also had to seek permission from the religious authorities to marry.

After completing his military service in January 1941, Jules married Lucénie Émond in August that same year. He had known her since the age of four. The courtship had lasted five or six years. His future wife was a hairdresser and worked in Dolbeau, which complicated matters. Marriage would solve this problem.

Conclusion

Jules' birth and early years took place in special conditions. His arrival was expected and wanted. The Gauthier family enjoyed a privileged position in the village. It sought to maintain and perpetuate that position. Its importance in the community, as the agent for development of an economy based on farming and forestry, as well as the social importance it believed it held through the involvement of its members, made it a family, if not a clan[80] involved in all activities in the village.

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[80] A clan may be defined as a sociological unit consisting of individuals sharing a common ancestor, or a closed group of people united by shared interests or opinions. (Larousse)

Jules had to fit into this world of which he was an important link. Within a family in which the mother held overwhelming influence, the men focused outward by taking an active role in the socio-political life of the community. Through his life story, Jules contributes to reconstructing the official narrative of the Gauthiers in their community. As an actor pleased with his story, Jules seeks to establish the essential links between his own individual history, the history of his family and that of the entire village community. This reconstruction contains a determination for continuity that allows Jules to lay down the key components of his identity at the individual as well as the community and social levels.

The Gauthier properties

The legacy

The Gauthier land legacy remains the basis for the family's prestige in its community. The initial purchase by the Gauthiers includes everything built by Father Honorat. According to our subject, the same was made for about $1,800 in 1852. The mill, the house and the buildings were direct descendants of the structures built by the priest when the land was opened for settlement. The lands and animals were also included in the sale.

Because Jules inherited 35 oxen when he bought the Oblates' properties. These were tame oxen which they harnessed. This was not a farm, it was a work site, a lumber operation. (#)

Jules Gauthier, the first to bear this name, became the owner of a vast expanse of land and forest. The history of the purchase of this estate is told in detail by our subject, who lists the names of the Gauthier properties. We learn that the main building is the saw mill. It was combined with the flour mill which served the surrounding population from the first days of the settlement.

The house

The ancestral Gauthier home was built in 1866, by labourers from the village, for the fairly large sum of 700 dollars. At different times in its history, improvements were made to the house. The renovations were carried out by the occupant of the day who took responsibility for making the repairs he deemed proper. Our subject made his own repairs. Unfortunately, he believes he did not do good work.

When I made repairs to the house, I didn't do good work. To do good work, (...) I would have had to bring in a large machine to lower the ground all around the house by

about a foot because the first foundation had not lasted.

(#)

Thus, the family home underwent changes over the years, although it continued to reflect the past both through imposing architecture and through the social significance it had built up in the community.

The house remains a tangible symbol of the power of the Gauthiers. Built of fieldstone, like the church, this structure is imposing in more than one regard. Its dimensions reflect a certain wealth that distinguishes houses built in that era. Through its presence, it places the Gauthiers in context of time and thus space, demonstrating a not-very-distant past when the family's importance was measured favourably in lasting achievements designed to perpetuate a name.

Like many families of this era, several branches of the Gauthier family were brought together under this roof.

In the house, there were four households at the same time, within my lifetime even, but it worked well. There was my grandfather with his wife, my father with his wife, my Uncle Jos with his wife, and Herman with his

> *wife and daughters. There was also one more girl. Each family minded its own business.* (#)

The house therefore served as a gathering place for the Gauthier families. However, no single person could then claim to be "head" of the Gauthiers. As Jules notes:

> *Basilique and Onésime were both heads of the Gauthiers, on an equal footing. There was no definition to determine who was owner.* (#)

In this sense, the presence of several families in the house implied that the family business must be self-sufficient and support everyone living under its roof. Such affluence in the home presumed a sharing of space and mutual respect among the occupants. Jules notes that everyone had to mind his own business. How was this cohabitation carried on? Our subject remains discrete on this point. Implicit rules of family solidarity often determine what a subject can or cannot say. In this regard, Jules forms part of this legitimate trend of a narrative that demonstrates the Gauthier solidarity. We have reason to believe, however, that there must have been some friction.

As the cornerstone of the family properties, the mill held a special place in the economy of the village and the Gauthier family

in particular. Initially, it formed the centre of the village economy.

> *It was the saw mill that was most profitable. The flour mill was too because there was no competition. There was only that mill for the whole district.* (#)

Originally, the mill was the engine by which the village community could hope to progress and improve its lot. In the 20th century, however, major industries gradually began to appear in the village and the neighbouring towns, which created considerable pressure on the mill.

> *When I started working in the saw mill, Thomas-Louis Gagné earned 50 cents a day to clear the large saw. When he left the mill, Arvida was paying him six dollars a day. I had raised the wages but it was impossible to pay him six dollars a day.* (#)

Despite these pressures, the Gauthier business remains a definite economic asset both through the employees it hires on site as well as those required in the forest. Most of the mill's output is exported out of the region. The Gauthiers would successfully adapt the mill's activities to changes in demand. In a closed system, the village's main industry remains an assurance of earnings for many

workers. The mill therefore constitutes the central component of affirmation of the Gauthiers, both economically and socially. The family's participation in municipal, provincial and federal politics confirms the Gauthier family's importance in its local, regional and national environment.

Jules feels responsible for the closing of the mill. In fact, he realizes that he was instrumental in shutting down an activity that had helped the village achieve progress. Over several generations, the mill provided a living for many families.

> *I'm the one who made the blunder of closing the mill. In 1954, I went to work for Price, as foreman in Lac Kénogami. I never should have gone because the mill would still be running, but I had to pay outsiders wages.* (#)

In an ironic twist of fate, the founder of Laterrière, Jean-Baptiste Honorat (Oblate) created this "free colony" to help the settlers break free of the businessmen he believed were exploiting them. Jules closed the mill in part because of these same businessmen, who had always competed with small producers.

The farm

The house and the mill never could have survived without the contribution of the farm. It provided the necessary autonomy within the activities related to cutting and sawing lumber. Production operations in the forest and at the mill in fact required a large number of employees. In the summer, the house accommodated the workers. They ate there and the farm provided the food for the employees and family members.

> *When you always have some 30 hired men working and eating, you need meat, potatoes and flour. There were always a lot of employees on the farms and in the mill.*
> (#)

Jules also confirms that the farm remained an important production link to ensure the mill's survival.

> *The farm was useful for feeding the saw mill. It provided horses and feed. To continue our activities, we needed at least a dozen horses. There were always 12 to 15 horses in the stable and 35 or 40 horned animals, sometimes more. They milked about 22, 24 cows on the two farms.*
> (#)

These few figures show the importance of these farms. They served the mill by providing beasts of burden useful in the forest and on the farm. They were also important in the community. For their day, these were large farms. They allowed the Gauthiers to assert their prestige in this community in which farming and logging were the dominant activities until the middle of the century.

> *In those days, a landowner with one and a half or two lots was a large-scale farmer, a large landowner. The Gauthiers were never farmers. They owned land because they had nine lots under cultivation. They produced lumber. They had the flour mill which ran and they engaged in trade.* (#)

In fact, the relative importance of a farmer has always been based on the number of animals and the amount of land he owned. Thus, the Gauthiers were immediately at the top of the social ladder. They had considerable influence based on the following characteristics: the value of the assets they managed or owned, the interest they generated in their surroundings and the role they were called upon to play in their community.

The history of the Gauthier family

The first Jules Gauthier purchased the holdings of Father Honorat in 1852. He sold the coasting company he operated on the St. Lawrence River to run the mill and farms.

> *When the Gauthiers took over in 1852, they ran the operation. They bought the entire mill, with the forks. Father Honorat left with a coat rack. He left everything behind. He left with his religious effects and his clothes.* (#)

The Gauthiers continued the priest's operations. In this sense, they were the direct heirs of Father Honorat. He had opened up this land to free the settlers from the grasp of the big industrialists. In fact, the first Gauthier who arrived in the Saguenay region took advantage of a favourable economy to purchase this property. Father Honorat was being challenged. He was forced to sell and return to Montreal. The purchase by the first Jules benefitted his successors for several generations. We have managed to draw up an abbreviated family tree based on our subject's story. (See Appendix.) We find that the first Jules Gauthier had four children. This was a small family compared with typical families of the day. In general, there do not appear to have been large families in this bloodline at

least. However, we do not have the names of all the children of the people included in this tree.

Genealogy

Our subject can name all his ancestors, as we can see in the attached family tree. In this respect, Jules has an infallible memory of the close links that bind the Gauthier family.

> *Basilique was married to a Lausé. He became a widower, he married the Villeneuve woman before marrying the Mérand woman. It has always been a tradition among us to collect names.* (#)

The roots of the Gauthiers trace back to France. Our subject is the echo of a memory of relatives handed down from one generation to the next, solely in oral form. The following brief excerpt reveals an entire family history marked by pride in the ability to explain the origins of one's relatives.

> *They had another brother they left in France. He settled in Paris. They moved during the French revolution. My grandfather was on the water when the Revolution was announced. He didn't know. (...) When he saw that, he*

brought his youngest brother on board. The second stayed in Europe and they left. (#)

Thus, the Gauthiers' arrival in America was related to the events occurring in Europe around 1789. What are we to make of such a statement? We must deduce that these facts were transferred down from father to son and form part of the oral history of this family.

In the family tree developed from this story, we find that the speaker bears the same name as his ancestor. The subject focuses his remarks on the branch directly descended from Basilique, through Joseph to his father, Ernest. All played an active part in expanding the Gauthier property. They passed the torch to the generations that followed.

Everything combines to place the Gauthiers at the centre of the history of this village. Adventurous and enterprising ancestors, people who knew what they wanted and went after it, energetic and authoritarian women, and finally, the arrival in the region at the very start of settlement, accompanied by the first people to arrive. They would also have contacts and associations with these people.

> *The Gauthiers, who were the first and largest, were fairly close with Mars and Sauveur Singelais. The Gauthiers, with the Singelais, they always got along.* (#)

In fact, through the history of his family, Jules takes us back in time to the opening of the region, and in space through a family's involvement in a Quebec village. Everything combines for the role he assigns to his family to fall on its descendants and himself in particular. In fact, the glory he feels urges him to see among his ancestors men of character, men of determination who controlled their surroundings.

Conclusion

As the product of the sale of Father Honorat's properties, the Gauthier legacy holds a major place in the village community of Laterrière. The Gauthier mill today is still readily associated with the patronym of Father Honorat. This reflects the importance it holds in the community. The first Jules Gauthier took over the facilities established by the priest. His descendants would continue the commercial operations down to our subject, who feels guilty for closing the mill. In his determination to express what constitutes the strength of the Gauthiers, the history he tells us

is an epic. In every respect, it matches the history of the region, of which it forms an integral part.

Jules stands by this history as the heir of a certain local bourgeoisie which bases its status on a few unavoidable values: control of an activity that by its nature is inseparable from settlement of the land and development of the forest; second, the forest operations and related farms that required the participation of workers, and thus a certain form of power over the population, which the family put to work. In this fairly closed circle of the village, the Gauthiers' influence is more clearly understood. The family business of that day displayed paternalistic characteristics. It took care of its employees. The influence the business held over its environment could only translate into political capital, at all levels of government.

Jules' memory

The influence of the Gauthiers in their community

As noted earlier, the importance of a landowner is directly related to the possession of land and property. On the matter of land, our subject can easily list the lots his ancestor owned after purchasing Father Honorat's possessions.

> *The Gauthiers owned lands on concession 5. They never had any on concession 6. The start of the cemetery marks the line between 5 and 6. We had lot 8.* (#)

Jules knows by heart the limits of the Gauthiers' lands. Since memory is a fallible faculty, the history of his family has no doubt been intentionally repetitive so it could be assimilated in such detail. The ownership of these lands cannot be contested. Throughout his story, Jules presents us with real facts, that is, his memory has recorded all the purchases made over several generations.

As chronicler, Jules becomes the repository of the oral culture of his family and the community. Here is another example.

> *Then it was sold to "Bésine" Tremblay and after that to Adélard. On the other side, it belonged to a Bédard. It was vacant a long time. After that, the grounds around the house belonged to the Simards. The station was in back. After that, elected member Gaudreault bought it. This was on the Gauthier estate. That whole corner of the village is built on the Gauthier estate. Côté & Boivin, the Roberval-Saguenay station, was on Gauthier land. They bought the land.* (#)

These sales were made over a few decades, a few generations, as the village grew. The cultural transfer was made within the family through links that Jules traces in direct continuity with his parents and grandparents. Consequently, the recall of former Gauthier lands simply comforts Jules about the importance of the Gauthiers in the village's development.

In brief, the Gauthier estate extended over a vast area. By listing the current sites of stores and businesses in the village, Jules sends out a message: all the good land belonged to the Gauthiers. The proof is the fact the businesses and stores chose them as the site of the buildings they put up. The Gauthier property thus has gradually been sold off to foster development of the village. So there is no nostalgic view of the type of development, since these sales were made while maintaining the old family property.

Donations

Throughout the history of the Gauthiers, the family participated actively in the economic and social life of the village. It sold and, in some instances, donated land.

Religion held an important place in the typical French Canadian village, and Laterrière was no exception. The religious structures at the start of settlement required permanent facilities. The first Jules Gauthier could be generous, as our subject notes.

> *Then they decided to build a church in the parish. This caused a big chill because when Monseigneur decided to build the church, my great great grandfather said there were no papers for the land. There still are none today. There is no contract signed by a notary for the land that belongs to the factory. The land was donated orally by Father Honorat. The first Jules endorsed what Father Honorat had donated.* (#)

Through this donation, Jules showed that the Gauthiers continued the founder's work. This donation helped root in the village's memories the generosity of a man and a family, while also serving notice of an alliance with the Church and the first manifestation of prestige. The first Jules complied with the wishes of the high

clergy by donating this land but gained essential prestige from this act to assert himself in his community.

This anecdote reveals another form of power held by the Gauthiers. They therefore controlled both the social and religious environment of the village. As a result of this observation, we must acknowledge that this family possesses assets that give a certain influence over part of the population. What form does this power take?

Political life

Municipal politics

All the actions of the Gauthier patriarch or of his descendants probably were not carried out based on self-interest each time they became involved in some way in their community. But their actions consolidated a certain capital from which the family would profit. What better way to use such power than in municipal politics? The heads of the Gauthier family were involved in municipal life for many decades.

My father was mayor beginning in 1939 or 1940. He remained mayor for 16 years. (...) He was followed by

Onésime. He was a council member for 30 years while my father was mayor. (#)

Once again, our subject distinguishes himself from his ancestors. He was the one who stopped this family custom and did not seek office in the municipality. Why? In fact, it appears the burden was too heavy for his shoulders. He could not manage to take on the responsibilities linked to involvement in the village. His family name confronted Jules with a dilemma: continue the municipal activities by becoming involved in various offices, or back out and break an implicit but accepted tradition in his family. Our subject chose to avoid municipal politics. In his story, the anecdotes related to municipal politics are those experienced by his father or his uncle. This confirms the assumption that his own life story is both a continuation of and a break with his ancestors. By telling the great accomplishments of the Gauthiers, Jules embellishes his own life and traces lines that occasionally point at a certain frustration or even bitterness, but also a knowledge of his own limitations, which reflect the family's loss of influence in the community.

The Gauthiers have almost always been in municipal politics. I'm the one who stopped. (#)

Given this situation, how can we fail to understand the need Jules feels for telling the history of the Gauthiers in conjunction with his personal history, which he weaves into that of his family as a whole?

The Gauthiers' influence also extended to provincial and national politics. Through their business relations, they took advantage of contacts at different levels of government. Some people attached to them would benefit from this.

> *They came to report to my father, who came down to see Mr. Dubuc and he told him: "I need so and so for my farm." Mr. Dubuc never asked him for the name. He referred him to the Department of Defence. The guy got his relief.* (#)

This influence was appreciated, because it enabled the recipient to avoid conscription during the war. On several occasions, the jobs offered on the farm or in the mill were protected through relations with elected members or ministers. This protection worked to the advantage of Ernest Gauthier's son.

> *Mr. Dubuc and my father were Liberals, so they supported each other. They had always been friends, so they*

protected each other. I got my exemption right away.

(#)

This form of association between businessmen working in the same sector, one with a family business and the other owning an industry in the full sense of the word did not fail to impress. The services provided benefitted both parties. Release from conscription, considered forced labour by many people, allowed workers to contribute to production in the mill, which fed Dubuc's factory. In fact, everything was done in full view of the public, which accepted this influence peddling because it kept workers out of the army and the war.

By capitalizing on their political contacts, the Gauthiers gained on two levels. First, they ensured the continuity of their operations both at the mill and in the forest. Second, they gained recognition among the working classes living in the village. This established a certain form of political capital, a long-term investment in provincial and federal politics, which would be transferred in municipal elections to the people presented or supported by the Gauthier clan.

Ultimately, whether knowingly or not, the political activities that involved everyone in the village were the focus of the relations and actions carried out by the Gauthiers. Jules, however, made a

break from these forms of patronage. He refused to become involved in village politics. He did not take advantage of the capital built up by his family in social and community life, and thus abandoned a certain political heritage linked with the family. In a community with a certain focus on itself, this is symptomatic of power that wanes as villagers come to depend less and less solely on the Gauthier mill for work.

Conclusion

Based on the life story of Jules Gauthier, we can glimpse the influence of a family in a Quebec village. This influence results in a permanent presence in the community. The power held by this family allows us to understand the existence of a certain life style that has changed during the life of our subject. The operations of the business in the village reveal that the role it has played can be compared with development of a community linked to the presence of an industry.

Jules Gauthier's life story is built around three main themes. From birth, he has born the family's hopes as the descendant it was waiting for. As heir of an important family in the village of Laterrière, he has been subject since birth to the inherent pressures of continuing industrial and commercial activities within

his community. He therefore became integrated into the family history. He would have to carry on the family's activities.

Third, during his adult life, Jules has failed to carry on the family legacy. He was responsible for closing the mill, a business that had been in operation for several generations. In the political arena, he refused to participate in any way whatsoever in municipal politics. Jules failed to adapt the mill's operations to the limitations of his day.

The reconstruction of his life story gives Jules the means for raising the standing of his family by having it play a leading role in the history of the village. Ultimately, he transfers the history of his family over his own, thereby giving himself a central role to give meaning to his own life. He makes notable efforts to restore the best status for his ancestors. In this way, he very specifically mentions the start of settlement, the role played in that settlement by his family and the place he takes in this long family history.

KEY YEARS, LIFE STORY OF JULES GAUTHIER

1846	Issue of letters patent for the property at the bottom of the river and the lands located on each side of the river
1846	Construction of the first dam by the Oblate Fathers
1852	Purchase of the Oblate lands by the first Jules Gauthier
1860	Termination of navigation activities of Jules Gauthier
1866	Construction of the stone house
1870	Construction of the flour mill
1909	Repair of the house foundations
1918	Arrival of Ernest Gauthier, father of Jules, in the stone house
1918	Birth of Jules Gauthier, author of this life story
1920	Fire in the mill's boiler room
1924-1925	Death of Jules' paternal grandfather (Joseph)
1925-1926	Arrival of the Shocks in Laterrière
1930	Sale of mill parts by Jules
1931-1932	Abandonment of railway to Laterrière
1935	Arrival of electricity at the mill (lights only)
1936	Beginning of Jules' financial arrangements with the Caisse populaire
1939-1940	Expansion of the aluminum industry
1939-1940	Start of Ernest Gauthier's terms as mayor
1940	Marriages "on the fly"
1941	Jules Gauthier's marriage

Analysis: Jules Gauthier

1941	Jules performs military service in Chicoutimi
1942-1943	Jules retains sole responsibility for operation of the mill
1954	Shutdown of mill activities
1954	Jules goes to work for Price
1955	Repair of outside joints on house
1958-1959	Ernest Gauthier ends his activities in municipal politics
1960	Death of Ernest Gauthier

APPENDIX

Gauthier family tree based on life story

Woman

Man

Indicates order of marriage from oldest to most recent

Ambiguous relationship

Marriage

Relationship

Graphics: Jean-François Moreau,

Archaeology Laboratory, UQAC

5.1

Jules Gauthier

(Life Story)

INFORMATION ON THE SUBJECT

FAMILY NAME:	Gauthier
GIVEN NAME:	Jules
DATE OF BIRTH:	26 December 1918
PLACE OF BIRTH:	Laterrière
MARITAL STATUS:	Married
DATE OF MARRIAGE:	August 1941
NAME OF SPOUSE:	Lucénie Émond
CHILDREN:	3 children: 2 boys and 1 girl
OCCUPATION:	Millwright
EDUCATION:	Until age 12

Interviewer: Camil Girard

SUMMARY

Jules Gauthier tells the history of his family, and at the same time, that Of the village of Laterrière. Since the first settlement of this area, the Gauthiers have been directly involved in the village's religious, social and economic activities.

As owner of the saw mill and flour mill, he was one of the main employers in a community based on agriculture and forestry. In this respect, our subject is an intermediary between the history of the village and that of his family. He talks about the Gauthier's influence at both the municipal and provincial levels.

Jules Gauthier was born in 1918 in Laterrière. He is the direct descendant of the first Gauthier who came to the Saguenay region at the start of settlement. His main occupation would be running the family saw mill. Through his life story, Jules reveals the importance of his family. Through links with the Dubuc family, who were industrialists, for certain forestry operations, the Gauthiers capitalized on that family's political influence.

Jules' life story therefore is related to the history of the village, and thus the Gauthier family's activities lie at the centre of the development of this community. This narrative is the echo of a past still living in the memory of Jules Gauthier.

LIST OF PERSONS MENTIONED

First arrival	Mars Simard
One of Mars' sons	Castule Simard
First arrival	Sauveur Singelais
A farmer	Thomas Singelais
The missionaries	Oblate Fathers
A missionary	Father Honorat
One of Jules' ancestors	Jules Gauthier
The entrepreneurs	Price
	McLeod
A notary	Kane
A farmer	Ferdinand Gauthier
The settlers	Desbiens
	Gagnon
	Boulianne
A farmer	Thomas-Louis Gagné
A missionary	Father Pinet
A villager	Mr. Jean
A neighbour	Henri Gauthier
A buyer	Gérard Côté
The chatelaine	Marie Dubuc
A landowner	Roland Fournier
His great grandfather	Basilique (Jos)
A millwright	Achille Fournier
A mill operator	Hercule Dubois
Basilique's wives	Lausé
	Villeneuve

	Mérand
Farmers	Émond
	Collard
	Desbiens
	Gagnon
A cousin	Henri
A contractor	Richard Vaillancourt
A relative	Hermel
Sons of the first Jules Gauthier	Onésime
	Basilique
	Patrick
Basilique's mother	Marie Lausé
Basilique's son	Joseph
Joseph's son	Ernest
Sauveur's son	Narcisse St-Gelais
A daughter of the first Jules Gauthier	Césaré
Césaré's nephew	Joseph
A priest	Gauthier
A buyer	Jules Côté
Villagers	Gaudreault
	Esther Gaudreault
	Albert Tremblay "Chapelle"
	Méridé Gaudreault
	Victor Gaudreault
	"Bésime" Tremblay

	Adélard tremblay
	Bédard
	Simard
An elected member	Gaudreault
A parish priest	Jules Mailly
The wife of the second Mars Simard	Julie Gauthier
A mill owner	Lepage
An entrepreneur	Dubuc
One of Jules' sisters	Thérèse
A doctor	Desgagné
One of Jules' aunts	Alice
Midwives	Mrs. George Lapointe
	Marie Desbiens
One of Jules' aunts	Marthe
Jules' father	Ernest Gauthier
Jules' mother	Laura Émond
Millers	Achille Fournier
	Ludger Desgagné
	Gobeil
An adopted daughter	Maria
The teachers	Laura Côté
	Yvonne Girard
A nun	Desgagné
A teacher	Berthe Fournier
The school principal	Thomas Tremblay

The parish priests	Arthur Gaudreault
	Labrecque
	Allard
The millwrights	Dubois
	Édouard Gobeil
Édouard Gobeil's wife	Girard
A labourer	Paul Dubois
A cheesemaker	Ernest Lapointe
Labourers	Évague Girard
	Ernest Girard
Manager of the Caisse populaire	Edmond Gagnon
A mill employee	Thomas-Louis gagné
An entrepreneur	Dubuc
Truck drivers	Mathias Tremblay
	Paul-Eugène Simard
	Donaldo Gaudreault
	Roméo Lapointe
Mill drivers	Gaston Lepage
	Boudreault
An uncle	Cyrille
A neighbour	Henri Munger
A parish priest	Girard
An officer	Arnold Shock
A herder	Peter Shock
The Shocks' father	Nicholas

Prime Minister	Mackenzie King
A sergeant-major	Eugène Aubin
Eugène's father	Gaston Aubin
An advocate, lieutenant-colonel	Landry
An uncle	Onésime
Onésime's wife	Marie-Jeanne Côté
A brother of Marie-Jeanne	Gérard Côté
Premiers	Duplessis
	Godbout
The mayors	Cyrille Émond
	Raoul Plourde
	Roméo Lapointe
A minister	Antonio Talbot
Villagers	Adrien Gagnon
	Joseph-Élie Mathias
	Joseph St-Gelais
	Ludger Fortin
School Board secretary	Aimé Girard
A villager	Joseph-Élie Gagné
School Board members	Flavien Grenon
	Alphonse Bédard
	Aimé Potvin
	Alfred Bouchard
The beadle	Jean

An uncle of Ernest Gauthier	Georges Bouchard
A brother of Joseph-Élie Mathias	Edmond-Louis
One of Jules' sons	Paul Gauthier
A doctor	Louis-Joseph Gobeil
Mr. Gobeil's wife	Ida Girard
Dr. Gobeil's father	Lucien Gobeil
A doctor	Ernest Gagné
One of Jules' sons	Gilles Gauthier
A doctor	Laperrière
Jules' brothers	Patrick Gauthier
	Pit Gauthier
One of Jules' sisters	Thérèse Gauthier
One of Jules' daughters	Françoise Gauthier
An uncle	Dieudonné Simard
Mechanics	Boivin
	Morissette
Neighbours	Gilbert
	Mariette
A priest	Father Augustin
A villager	Jos-Luc Simard
A stroller	Walter Girard
Ange-Émile's son	Jean-Guy Tremblay
A neighbour	Lapointe

LIST OF PLACES MENTIONED

Arvida

Bagotville

Boston

Talbot Boulevard

Bras-de-Jacob

Bras-de-l'Enfer

Bras-Noir

Charlevoix

Chicoutimi

Chute-à-Langevin

Dolbeau

Grande-Baie

Île d'Oréans

Jonquière

Lac de la Chaîne

Lac des Maltais

Lac des Mouches

Lac des Mousses

Lac des Pères

Lac des Plaines

Lac des Rats-Musqués

Lac George

Lac Hamel

Lac Kénogami

Lac-Saint-Jean

Larouche

Le Portage

Montreal

New York City

Normandy

New Brunswick

Laurentides Park

Paris

Port-Alfred

Quatre-Milles

Quebec City

Concession 5

Concession 6

"Cidon" concession

de l'Église concession

des Menés concession

Saint-Isidore concession

Rapides-à-Bégin

Rivière-à-Mars

Rivière-du-Bassin

Rivière-du-Moulin

Chicoutimi River

Cyriac River

Langevin River

Roberval

Saint-Charles

Saint-Félicien

Saint-Fulgence

Saint-Honoré

Saint-Irénée

PART I

The first arrivals

Mars Simard was the first white man to settle here in Laterrière. He belonged to the Société des Vingt-et-Un of 1838. That year, in Grande-baie, there was a committee that managed the Vingt-et-Un and acted as the group's municipal government. Each had been granted a certain territory for hunting. There was no reference to logging, farming or anything else. Initially, it was mainly hunting. Mars Simard was granted Rivière-à-Mars. He was young, only 26 or 27 years old. In 1935, I saw with my own eyes a shelter used by Mr. Simard when he slept at the head of Rivière-à-Mars. It was a shelter in earth and alders. There was a type of large birch bark that covered the alders with earth on top of that. There was just one opening. You had to kneel, almost crawl on your stomach to enter. There was no stove or chimney. It looked like he made a fire in the opening because the hole measured about three square feet.

In 1842, Mr. Simard was trapping at Lac des Rats-Musqués, which forms part of the headwaters of the Rivière-à-Mars, Rivière-du-Moulin and Cyriac river. He took the Rvière-du-Moulin and went down as far as Laterrière, and realized where he was. According to his grandson, there is where he spent three to four days, in the very place where his family still lives today. That's where he decided

to settle, in Laterrière, after one month. Today, they call that Lac des Plaines.

Then, he returned downstream to his home. In those days in the Saguenay, the government surveyors had drawn the base line from Bagotville to Chicoutimi. They were marking the second line from the base line in Bagotville up to Laterrière. They had set a target of laying out an eight-mile line. It wasn't done overnight. It took a lot of time. Mr. Simard knew the base line had been drawn. These people were more accustomed than we are to travelling in the forest using the sun. He was a trapper by nature. This was his main trade. That's why they gave his name to the Rivière-à-Mars. It was his trapping territory.

They knew the watercourses all ran in the same direction. Apparently they had already visited the lands along the Saguenay. He crossed over to the Bagot line knowing it was there, and by constantly following the mountains. From the bagot line, he went to Grande-baie and decided to come and build a small cabin at Lac des Plaines. Since it was a little late in the season, and the weather really wasn't favourable, he worked only two months at Lac des Plaines in 1841. Around 6 June, he went up to settle with one of his sons, castule. In the spring of 1842, he built his cabin and spent the summer there with his son. In 1842, he wintered in Bagotville with his wife and family. In 1843, the Singelais and Simard families came to settle permanently at Laterrière.

Sauveur Singelais, who belonged to the group from Grande-Bai, came to visit him. He had explored along the Rivière-du-Moulin. He had gone a little higher up and had been to see the lands. Between the Chicoutimi River and the Rivière-du-Moulin, there was an island at Laterrière. He crossed from one river to the other and explored the area. He checked the earth and the quality of the wood, whether the land was flat or too mountainous. Initially, Sauveur Singelais had practically allotted himself a bit of land about two miles from Lac des Plaines.

The first settlements

In 1844, the first horned animal (cow) arrived in Laterrière, where it lived for a month and a half. It was strangled by a bear. It was the only domestic animal in the area and belonged to Sauveur Singelais. It was a milk cow to feed his young children. He had bought it in Grande-baie and it supplied milk for the Simard family. The Simards bought another cow.

Simard sowed wheat in 1844. It grew very well. Sauveur had worked the land a little in 1844, but he wasn't able to sow in the spring. It was only in 1845 that he was able to sow. Apparently it rose too much. It was new land that had not been farmed. Sauveur lived on the other side of the river, at the detour. The river made a right-angled turn of sorts, and there was hole there. I have seen Thomas

Singelais' foundation. It was at the foot of the bank. He built there, sheltered from the north-northeast wind.

He had given himself a large plot. He had been smarter than Mars Simard. He had come there as a squatter but had made arrangements. In the winter, he wrote to the government to have himself accepted as a land squatter. The Simards didn't do that. They settled just with the land agent in Grande-Baie as squatters, because the lot numbers had not yet been completely drawn. The triangulations were not finished and there was nothing, but he had taken a certain expanse of land. Sauveur Singelais also took a certain expanse of land.

The Oblate Fathers learned about this and in the spring of 1846, decided to establish a mission at Laterrière. It was my great great grandfather who took Father Honorat to La Baie. The first Jules was a navigator. Its name was Saint-Bruno in those days because when Laterrière was known by the famous name Grand-Brûlé, it was under the patronage of Saint-Bruno. This was Saint-Bruno township. There was no mention of Laterrière back then because it has since become the parish of Laterrière. When they built the church in honour of the Seigneur of Laterrière, it became Notre-Dame-de-Laterrière. But the name has changed. It has always had the name of Grand-Brûlé.

The first thing Father Honorat did upon arriving was to have letters patent issued for his lots. He had letters issued for nine.

Lots 10 and 11 were pending. They were held by Sauveur Singelais, but he since was a squatter, Father Honorat went over Sauveur's back. At Lac des Pères, lots 12 and 13 belonged to Sauveur as a squatter on the third concession, but Father Honorat had letters patent issued for them in his name. Sauveur had lost his two lots.

Father Honorat ran the same type of industry as Price and Peter McLeod. He logged the woods and sold in timber. Since these were clergymen, they had influence over the people. They didn't want the people to be exploited by these merchants. He could exploit them, but they didn't have the right. Price and McLeod complained to the Monseigneur in Quebec City. There were no religious authorities in Chicoutimi in those days. The bishop ordered the Oblate Father to divest himself of his mission in February 1852. Back then, when Monseigneur spoke, the fathers and priests packed up.

That's why there were chilly relations between the Singelais family and Father Honorat. After that, he decided to go over to Mars' side. He wanted to get him out of there. He had the lots he wanted. These were very fine wood lots. They had a lot of arguments. Finally, it turned into a real nasty quarrel, and it went to court. The Simards won since they had been squatters for too long. They were the first ones here. All this was taken into consideration by the notary Kane, who acted as judge. The trial was held in Grande-Baie. The two parties had agreed that the notary Kane would decide the matter, that it would go through him. Mars kept his lots and

Father Honorat kept his. The series of lots belonging to Father Honorat was located between the lots of Mars Simard and Sauveur Singelais. Father Honorat had letters patent for nine full lots. Then, he had three other lots he had bought from Ferdinand Gauthier, who came before Jules, around 1846-1847. These Gauthiers came from Saint-Irénée. It wasn't the same family as us.

Peter McLeod operated out of Chicoutimi. The Oblate Fathers did not expect Mars Simard to side with Peter McLeod. Mars knew full well that the Oblate Fathers carried more weight than him with the government, that they were more experienced and had more money. They were educated, he was not. He linked up with and worked for Peter McLeod. In between hunting expeditions, he explored the upper reaches of the rivers, the tributaries, the arms and all the feeders to the river. He was paid for this. Peter McLeod took care of having Mars Simard's lots properly registered. This didn't please the Oblates, who wanted to own all the land. They didn't need Peter McLeod or Price to have their lots registered. They went to Quebec City and had fourteen lots registered at once. But they were unable to get what they had hoped for. The Oblate Fathers had wanted to stay on the south side of the Rivière-du-Moulin. They weren't interested in acquiring the lands on the north side. However, they were forced to automatically acquire these since, with the Simards on one side and the Singelais on the other, they couldn't do what they wanted.

All of this was not accomplished without a hitch. Mars Simard had already built the foundation for his stable. The Oblate Father had taken his men working on the sawmill to tear it down during the night. That didn't stop Simard because the next day, he started rebuilding. They built in groups, because in the interim, other settlers had arrived who had settled along the des Menés concession (Saint-Isidore concession): Desbiens, Gagnons and Bouliannes. The de l'Église concession was not open. They sided with the Simards. Sauveur served as witness for Mars that he had been the first person to settle there. This trial was held in 1849-1850. Mars Simard had to take revenge. He had no education but he had a head on his shoulders.

At that time, they did a some lumbering, but very little, mostly to build for themselves. There was no mill. They had to square the wood with an axe. Sauveur built his small house and a stable. Mars also decided to build himself a house. It was built out of squared logs. There were no boards. They never moved the old house but it was extended later. It was built without a foundation, on the ground. They decided to build the cellar later. In the winter, they slept on the ground. They didn't sleep in their houses, because they were too cold. They dug out about have the floor space of the house. It was about 15 feet wide by about 20 feet deep. It was square. It's as if they took half the house and dug out half the house. It was about seven feet high, it was deep and all one room. There was about three or four feet between the ground and the floor

of the house. That's where the beds were placed. I think they could sleep about 15 people. When I went there, the family was large and they all slept there together. We happened to be passing by there because they were relatives. I saw it. I went into the hole. You went down into the cellar by a ladder. There was a large cast iron stove hooked up to a chimney and it heated the area. The heat stayed there in the hole, because the upper house stayed too cold.

The arrival of the first Jules Gauthier

During the same period, my great great grandfather whose name was Jules Gauthier, had been a navigator on the Saguenay for four years. He was a long-distance navigator. When he had settled in Saint-Irénée, he navigated on the Saguenay. He carried wood. There weren't many passengers but he carried families to Grande-Baie. Price had a coaster as well, but it was mainly the first Jules Gauthier who carried wood for Price, McLeod and the Oblates. There were only two people who did this work.

Jules Gauthier learned about the dispute, but said he had no business there. When it was the time to buy, then he got involved. So the Oblate Father sold him his mission. He paid in the neighbourhood of $1,800 in cash and gave his property in Saint-Irénée in trade. In that location, he had almost a half lot with buildings. The Oblate Fathers had 14 lots plus two other lots they had acquired through bills. There were two wood lots at Lac des

Pères which belonged to a Gauthier who had settled lower down than they had. Ferdinand Gauthier, known as "the bear", had borrowed $1,100 from the Oblate Fathers, from Father Honorat. When he came, he had to repay since Father Honorat was leaving. He gave him his wood lots which formed part of the mission. Jules got them in the same way.

One year later, he sold off his two coasters. The land could not be transferred because the agreements weren't made until 22 February 1852. The land wasn't transferred until 4 September. The land had to be transferred by eight in the morning on 4 September. He operated his transport business the whole summer. On the morning of 4 September, he arrived with guns and baggage. The Oblates had returned to Grand-Baie to leave, their headquarters were in Montreal.

In the interim, the Oblate Father had given a certain parcel to Monseignor to build the church. But the Simards were not to be outmanoeuvred. They had also given land to the church. The Oblates wanted to have a chapel, since it was natural to have a chapel on their property. It was located about 150 feet from the mill, in a coulee or cut. The chapel was built on top. Then they decided to build a church in the parish. This caused a big chill because when Monseigneur decided to build the church, by great great grandfather said there were no papers for the land. There still are none today. There is no contract signed by a notary for the land that belongs

to the factory. The land was donated orally by Father Honorat. The first Jules endorsed what Father Honorat had donated. The church is built there. But that caused chilly relations in the municipality. It finally calmed down, but it took several years. The church lands were ceded by the Oblate Father.

Initially, there was discussion of building the church along Saint-Isidore concession. Mars had ceded the land on the Saint-Isidore concession to the parishioners to build. They had formed a group from the factory. It wasn't official yet. Mars had left it up to the taxpayers to build the church there. But the Oblate Fathers had also ceded land. It caused a small controversy but ultimately they had to come to an agreement. In the interim, the Oblate Fathers had moved out. The first Jules said: "What Father Honorat did, I won't tear down, what the Fathers have donated, I will cede." He let his lands go. They reached an agreement for the church to be built there.

It went right up to the lot line. It didn't go as far as the river. Then he got the cemetery with that bluff. That was the land. It started from the line at 8C, up to the line at 8B which belonged to the Gauthiers. There was a stable and a potato cellar. The bottom of the hill didn't belong to the factory. That's what Jules ceded initially. Later, the Gauthiers donated this *orally* but not by papers, because there was a horse and three cows. The parish priest had to live on something. He wasn't rich. The settlers couldn't

support him. He grew what he could. He had three cows and and a horse to go visit his patients and his people. He had some fields under cultivation.

There were three chapels in Laterrière. There was one at Thomas-Louis Gagné's, another small one in the bottom lands, and then that one there. The Oblate Fathers chapel on the corner of the bluff and the saw mill below. It was between the house and the mill. There was the Oblates Fathers' residence, then the chapel and the mill below. That's how it was organized. The buildings for the animals were on the other side of the river.

I have seen the foundations of the stable where they kept their oxen. Because Jules inherited 35 oxen when he bought the Oblates' properties. These were tame oxen which they harnessed. This was not a farm, it was a work site, a lumber operation. The mill was powered by oxen and they were used to haul the lumber to Grande-Baie.

The timber was cut behind and along the Rivière-du-Moulin. They called the Laterrière land Grand-Brûlé, since there was always a fire every spring for 30 years. They made brush and it caught fire. It ran wild because the land was flat. The big Saguenay fire didn't touch Laterrière. From Jonquière, it crossed the Saguenay but spread mostly toward Saint-Fulgence, Saint-Honoré and Saint-Charles. It stopped at Saint-Fulgence. It burned a little on this

side, but very little, not even one mile on the south side of the Saguenay. The big burn ran from Saint-Félicien all down Lac-Saint-Jean. The Oblate Fathers had to make use of the Laterrière fires.

When wood has burned, it must be cut immediately or it's lost. The whole tree doesn't burn. A few trees will burn but very few. It's mainly the bark that burns and the lower branches. If you cut the tree and it's healthy, it may keep for two or three years, but no longer, or the flies and worms will get in and you'll lose it. They're lighter and easier to work. A forest that burned was tragic, but the wood was still recovered, although it was very dangerous. There was no interest in conserving wood back then, there was a lot of it.

At first, there was a saw mill which was the main building. It was combined with the flour mill already there. It was water-powered. There was also a house. The Gauthier mill is not in the same place as Father Honorat's mill, which was located about 75 feet upstream from the current mill. I worked on the foundations of the old mill. The old slab was on top of the foundations. The mill foundations provided pilings to support the slab. They also provided support for the piping that fed the flour mill.

This was a big piece of squared timber. These long timbers must have measured about 20 inches around. The flour mill formed part of the same building. There was only a grain millstone because a flour

mill is a grindstone. There was only a grindstone and a grindstone operator. The two mills were built entirely of wood. They made flour for bread. They made bread and mash for the animals. Everything that comes from grain is edible. The last thing that comes out of grain is the bran. They used this to make "lottin".

The first chapel was on the other side of the river, but it didn't last long. It wasn't a chapel but they celebrated mass there. The buildings for the oxen were on the other side, near Henri Gauthier's, right at the foot of the bank. I saw the foundations, the barn and stable. I learned about that but I didn't see any animals inside. It was too old and dilapidated. Henri's house was next to the house the Gauthiers built. They built there because on this side there were no buildings for the animals. There was only Father Honorat's house, the chapel and the mills. It was important for them.

When the Gauthiers took over in 1852, they ran the operation. They bought the entire mill, with the forks. Father Honorat left with a coat rack. He left everything behind. He left with his religious effects and his clothes.

Forest operations

Three fourths of the wood lots in Laterrière were stands of huge white pine. This was quality wood for construction. That's why they

had so little trouble selling it. They had high quality wood. They were organized for this. They could have sawn a four-foot log as easily as a two-foot log. At first, everything was done with axes. About 10 or 12 years later, the hand saws arrived. It was quite a blessing, even though they weren't great. They ran their business with that. The famous two-man whipsaws arrived with the small hand saws. Some were four, six, even eight feet long. They operated in the same way as trains. They put two big handles on each end with a man at each end. Some people knew how to properly sharpen them.

They sawed with set saws in those days. Some were nine feet long and others were eight. This is a type of whipsaw powered by a mill. They are vertical saws that are thicker and have different teeth. I had tons of them here. They were made with wonderful high-quality steel. I sold them in the 1930s, when the race horses began in Jonquière. They were for the runners for the sleighs used for the race horses. I had a tons.

By 1866, the house had become too small. It was too crowded. They decided to build this one. The house cost $700 to build. The mason was paid 25 cents a day. He was the only paid labour. The others worked for their food and whatever they needed, food, meat or something else. In those days, they were big on bees. Everyone arranged to come.

In 1870, they built the flour mill. The old mill wasn't large enough to serve the population. They decided to build a flour mill, but instead of having only one millstone, they installed three.

Initially there was the first one. Then what was to become flour went to another millstone. Then, the other one was used to go faster. There were three sets of millstones. I saw them being moved. They put them at the foot of the hill here. I sold four or five of those stones. I sold some to Gérard Côté. He took it off to Rivière-du-Moulin and Île d'Orléans for the mansion Marie Dubuc had built. A few remained. You could still see some there. It was four or five feet in diameter.

When the Oblate Fathers sold out to the Gauthiers, the flour mill and the saw mill were together. The Gauthiers decided to separate the two mills since the demand was too high for what they could supply. When the Lac-Saint-Jean area was settled, flour was carted day and night. They made three types of flour: bread flour, barley flour and buckwheat flour. Then, they tore down the mill here for good, because the demand was still too high and to get a greater output. That's when they removed the set saws I was talking about a moment ago. They had circular saws, big saws. Then a "ledger" arrived, to cut up the wood.

Everything was powered by the water wheel. At the start of construction, there was a Mr. Guay who had built a saw mill on the

Langevin River. At the Chute-à-Langevin in Chicoutimi, there was a waterfall about one mile from the Saguenay. Before the mouth of the river, there was a saw mill. There had been a water wheel. He had bought it in Quebec City. My great grandfather had gone to get the waterwheel to remove his own. He took them off to install the new water wheel. Then he bought two others. There was one for the flour mill. When we expanded, we bought another one.

The Dubuc pulp company used its wood in 12, 13 and 14-foot lengths. They cut it up at the saw mill. Then they decided to build a mill at the Lake. The mill operated for about 15 years.

On this side of the ravine, there was the mill woodyard. The factory had it for a time, but the Gauthiers took it back. It was used as pasture and for crops. The land under cultivation was never flooded. The bank was used as a woodyard. It couldn't be sold. There was the bread over which was there. The saw mill yard and that whole area down to the stream has always been used as a woodyard.

I was the one who found the first contract with Father Honorat when he sold out to the Gauthiers and it was hand written. He wrote very well. It was written in ink. It has been photographed and this contract is registered in Quebec City. It's a long contract, there were so many forks, so many knives, so many harnesses for so many

animals. Notary Kane from Quebec City transcribed the contract to have it registered.

They produced a little linen but it wasn't their specialty. In Laterrière, people carded wool. There were carding mills. There was a carding mill on the Rivière-du-Bassin just by the old bridge. I remember going there on my bicycle when I was young.

That was the mill's specialty, carding wool. They brought the sheared wool from the sheep, which was washed and then carded. That was around 1890. I know the last person who operated this mill was Hercule Dubois. He's the one who built the sluice here. He looked after the carding in those days, but I don't know if it was at the start of the carding mill or after.

The women carded their wool by hand. They took their wool, shorn from the sheep, and they put that in small burlap bags. Then they went down to the carding mill in Chicoutimi. They had their wool carded and then they spun it. Others used it in different ways on a loom.

People ate mutton. Mutton was used mainly to feed the family. There were certain ways of preparing it. There was the famous mutton sauce, which I still consider a treat today. I never found that it gave me indigestion. Sometimes, I'll eat two big platefuls. It's a special dish. Lamb was used to augment the diet. Almost nothing was

wasted. The blood was steamed and made into a white sauce. This was called lamb sauce. It was a type of blood pudding...

In those days, nothing was thrown out. Some hogs are not edible. They had a way of preparing them: they boiled them then reheated the morsels of meat. They didn't waste it. It was tough in some places, but they still ate it. The cattle were Ayrshire and Canadian. A few Jerseys, but primarily Ayrshire and Canadian. Mine were pure Canadian. My father had a few Holsteins.

Jules' relatives

Basilique was married to a Lausé. He became a widower, he married the Villeneuve woman before marrying the Mérand woman. It has always been a tradition among us to collect names. They named him Jos. He didn't use the name Basilique. He was baptized as Basilique, but he always conducted business under the name Jos, my great grandfather. He was not born here in the Saguenay. His baptistry was in France. The first Jules was born there. I know the name of the place but I can't say it, it was in Normandy, in that area. It was Normans rather than Bretons.

They had another brother they left in France. He settled in Paris. They moved during the French revolution. My grandfather was on the water when the Revolution was announced. He didn't know. In those days, there was no telegraph. When he reached France, there was a

revolution. When he saw that, he brought his youngest brother on board. The second stayed in Europe and they left. They sailed the Atlantic all along the American coast. They went to New York City, and Boston. They cruised the coast. Then he came to Montreal. When sailing, he carried the shipowner. He carried goods and when he came into the St. Lawrence, he recognized the Saguenay. He settled in Saint-Irénée. He had found what he needed. This was a new place. He could anchor his boats in the bay, which was sheltered. The quay did not take too long to build. He settled there with two cows. When the Oblate Fathers came here, as well as Price and McLeod, he began sailing the Saguenay and he struck up a friendship with the Oblate Father. He continued navigating until about 1860. Then he stopped. He had two coasters which came directly from France. They were sold in Charlevoix.

The Saint-Gelais and Émond families also came from Charlevoix. There was the first Collard who came from Île d'Orléans. Many people came from there. There were Desbiens, Gagnons and Collards.

When Basilique willed his possessions to his sons, I had a dispute with Henri about a right of way to go cut wood on the lots. That's when I had the contracts sent. I have the wills of Basilique and Jules. It was a lifetime right of way. They couldn't remove it. They couldn't work on it. I can do what I want. In addition, everything on the other side which belonged to the Gauthiers, I have the right to go cut wood there to repair the buildings and for

firewood, at any time of year. There was no mention of a term, on the other hand, I didn't have the right to sell anything.

I'm the fifth generation while Henri, who is a cousin, is the fourth generation of Gauthiers. He must be 76 years old. His sister is much older. She is 91 years old and still bright. She lives in the Larouche home. Their father was very sociable but my aunt was quite reserved after she settled on the other side of the river. Henri married about 27 or 28 years ago, when he was 47 or 48.

The first Onésime had quite a personality. He was good at numbers. He was fairly educated. He was head churchwarden. This was in the early days of the church. He was strict. The parish priest was a Frenchman, Mailley (October 1870 - October 1876). Well, Onésime wanted to see the books for the factory but the priest didn't want to show him. Onésime said that wouldn't do. We know that the priests were no more educated than the people. They followed their generations. Onésime was good at numbers. He was a skinflint, a miser. The accounts didn't add up. The priest didn't want to show him the books, but Onésime, who was head churchwarden, had the right to see them. The priest was angry and touched him. Onésime grabbed him by both arms and sat him down in his chair. He said: "Father, you're going to stay there; I have the right to see the books, and I'm going to see them!" It didn't go to court.

The Gauthiers, who were the first and the largest, were pretty tight with Mars and Sauveur Singelais. The Gauthiers always got along with the Singelais family. And they were pretty close with the Simards as well. At first it was hard to make the collection. But they were always close. Castule was friends with Jules. Events with the Gauthiers and Simards had chilled relations a little with the church. Both were in the same fix. Back then, you couldn't touch the church.

Everyone courted each other. Castule married his son to a Gauthier girl. Mars Simard, the second Mars, was married to Julie Gauthier. The Singelais also married a Gauthier girl. It forged links. That's why they stuck together. That's why, except for the head churchwarden, you don't see any Gauthiers in the factory. You don't see any Simards either, or Singelais. It was always the others, the smaller families. The priest was always feared. He was always important in the parish back then. Today, no one pays any attention to the priests any more.

The stone house

The house was built of stone taken from the winter road that climbs up to Lac des Pères. You climb the hill and you continue on a small plateau. You come up the bluff and when you make a detour, that's where the stone was taken from. For the church, they took the stone from Sauveur Singelais' land. On the edge of the bank here, at the

edge of that wood, there's a stone quarry. I never touched that one, though. I know where it is but I never touched it. But the other quarry, I made some stones fall. You come with crowbars, as they're called, prybars and when you can, you pry away pieces. There were tradesmen to dress the stone. The pieces weren't squared. Everything was taken from there. The stone for the church was taken a little ways toward Saint-Isidore. The fort was taken from Sauveur Singelais and the Gauthiers' land.

These were stone workers in those days. They were much more skilled than us for cutting stone. I knew some who split the stone with sledgehammers. They broke it along lines. They cut wood toward Lac des Pères. They had a lot of stone for easy building. Today, you go looking for stone in that area about a foot, foot and a half thick. The nicest stone was on the Singelais land, just behind the bank when you go up to Lac des Pères by the watermain road. The outside joints of the house were repaired in 1955, but the inside joints have never been repaired. It's carved onto a stone. Richard Vaillancourt, a contractor from Jonquière, repointed the mortar.

The watermain is still visible when you go up the watermain road. They moved the stone with oxen. They had no horses in those days. They moved as best they could, but never in summer. They carted their stones in winter.

When I made repairs to the house, I didn't do good work. To do good work, before where the porch starts, I would have had to bring in a large machine to lower the ground all around the house by about a foot because the first foundation had not lasted. It looked like the second foundation had collapsed. As earth was added for flowers and trees, the ground rose. That's what happens. For 100 years, they planted flowers, trees, small pots here, small pots there.

In 1909, they had to put in the second foundation. It was built on timbers, the way the Oblate Father had built his mill. Large pine timbers, squared with an axe along their length. They were square. I saw that at the mill. It was the same timbers as those. They had to put in a foundation. The house was shifting too much.

They dug around the perimeter, and put in a foundation six feet thick and eight feet deep. It still shifts. They dug a trench all around and put in stones. It still shifts, it always has shifted and it always will shift. Now it has stabilized, but if you start heating, oops!, you find the doors won't close any more.

The stone won't crack because this had already happened. It doesn't crack any more like it used to. In that corner, I noticed there had been a crack. It was filled back in and it didn't open again. The inside was in plaster until my father got sick of it. When the house started to shift, the plaster cracked and split. It fell on people's heads. You went along the wall and it fell on your head.

So they put up wallpaper. When it shifted, they ripped off the wallpaper.

After my grandfather died in 1924 or 1925, my father decided to have it panelled all around. Just around the outside, the walls. He had it panelled in B.C. fir, pine from British Columbia. This required dry wood, uniform boards. It's hard and very thin. So you can't find that wood here. We had wood an inch thick with a groove that warps, while B.C. pine doesn't warp. It doesn't attract humidity. In those days, it was quite unusual.

Grandfather Jules had a pretty good family. He had three boys and raised one. The oldest was named Onésime, the second Basilique and the third, "Pit", or Patrick. I'm from Basilique's family. Onésime had no children, he died young. He got married and died at 44. Basilique married Onésime's widow. She was a Villeneuve. A sister of the parish priest, Villeneuve. I come from that line. Basilique's mother was Marie Lausé. When she died, he married the Villeneuve woman. Then he married a third. He had many children, too.

Basilique fathered Joseph who fathered Ernest. He was the oldest. After that, there was me. I'm the fourth of the children. The three others are dead. Basilique and Onésime were both heads of the Gauthiers, on an equal footing. There was no definition to determine who was owner. Basilique always lived here. He never went

anywhere else, while Onésime had the property of the other Onésime Gauthier but didn't live there.

Patrick, known as "Pit" had a large age difference from the other two. They settled Pit on the other side of the river. That's where he took the Oblate Father's first house and buildings. In the meantime, Jules built a stable. He had a daughter. Only Basilique had children.

Herman's land was part of Sauveur Singelais' land. Narcisse, one of Sauveur's sons, married one of Jules' daughters. Her name was Césaré. They had children. Narcisse died young. His widow, Césaré, sold out to the Gauthiers. She remarried to a Potvin. He was a distant relative. Césaré Gauthier sold out to her nephew, Joseph.

The Gauthier property

The Gauthiers owned lands on concession 5. They never had any on concession 6. The start of the cemetery marks the line between 5 and 6. We had lot 8. My father sold some of it, but Basilique sold most. It was sold off gradually. After that, they gave some to Father Gauthier. One of Joseph's sons got a good piece. The Fourniers were the first to buy there. After that came Jules Côté. There wasn't a soul in the area.

When the work started at Lac Kénogami, a lot of people were moved to the village, such as the Gaudreaults. Esther Gaudreault decided to build in the village. He built the house where they lived before building the other one across from the post office. The house of Albert Tremblay "Chapelle" was built by Gaudreaults. It was the father of Méridé and Victor Gaudreault who built it together. It was registered in Méridé's name. They had sites between the railway and Notre-Dame Street. The railway used to come through there before, in 1910, 1911. Between the railway and Notre-Dame Street was given to Father Gauthier, who sold it.

Then it was sold to "Bésine" Tremblay and after that to Adélard. On the other side, it belonged to a Bédard. It was vacant a long time. After that, the grounds around the house belonged to the Simards. The station was in back. After that, elected member Gaudreault bought it. This was on the Gauthier estate. That whole corner of the village is built on the Gauthier estate. Côté & Boivin, the Roberval-Saguenay station, was on Gauthier land. They bought the land. The village wasn't built yet, back then.

When Grandfather Jules came, he followed the line. He left it at the Bagot concession there. He crossed the "Cidon" concession, but at an angle. He didn't follow the same concession. He just took the little bank behind. He followed the mountain. It was the Gauthiers who built the old bridge. Father Honorat had built the sluice to feed his mill a little further up than the Gauthiers, at least 100

feet higher up. The first thing he did, was to build a sluice to hold back water for his mill. It came over the top. It was between the two bridges and the old sluice. You can still see it today. It's just a crossing, to stop the water. You could walk across.

They had built a structure in sand. They carted in sand. There's an island there. They used the island and crossed. Rather than climb up into the diversion, they crossed as soon as they reached the edge of the river. They followed the ravine that led to their mill. They had a small pond of water. The river was always high enough to supply water to the wheel. It didn't take a big pond of water. It was just a bit of a shortcut, as they say, a little lakelet to bring the water to the sluice feeding the mill.

The Gauthiers owned the riverbed and the land on either side of the river. The letters patent were issued in 1846. The Oblate Father had them issued. To feed his mill, the wood had to come in by water. To stock up the wood, he needed the riverbed and the banks. He needed wood to feed his mill.

Development of the waterway

When Price bought Quebec Pulp from Dubuc, who had gone bankrupt, there was wood on the edges of the Rivière-du-Moulin which had been cut by Quebec Pulp. He couldn't delay since he had gone bankrupt. Price bought this wood for his mill.

There was a pulp mill in Chicoutimi, on the Rivière-du-Bassin. That's where they took their wood. They had to move it by train and it was expensive. They couldn't bring the trains up there just to bring down the pulp. The engineers of the day therefore decided to move it by water. It cost less. But they didn't have the right to take water from the Rivière-du-Moulin and move it to the Chicoutimi River because this was a natural watercourse and it already belonged to the Rivière-du-Moulin. They couldn't divert the water. Even if it's a stream, you can't divert the natural course. You need permission. They built a spillway. They had already explored the ground. They found it wasn't expensive to build a spillway to move the wood into the Chicoutimi River.

From the Chicoutimi River, they went to Chicoutimi. My father didn't want to give up his rights. There were three or four people who had rights. There was a certain Marcel along Sainte-Famille concession, near the Langevin waterfall, then there was my father. Lepage wasn't old enough. His mill ran on steam. When Lepage converted it to water, he wasn't old enough then, so he didn't have the right. The Prices bought the Langevin waterfall and bought out Martel. They bought it. They had no payments to make. We were the only ones who didn't want to sell. So they paid one guy in cash. They paid $6,000 cash and $2,000 a year as rent, for the right to take a bit of water.

In those days, there was plenty of water, but there were sluices along the Rivière-du-Moulin. Lac aux Rats Musqués held some reserves, as did Lac de la Chaîne and Lac des Mousses. There were several sluices on the Rivière-du-Moulin. You had the right to dam a watercourse but you had to return the water.

There were several small sluices. There was one at the "Quatre milles" and another at the Bras de Jacob. These were small sluices that held back the water for moving the wood. There was another at Lac des Mouches. They let the water go and all the wood moved down. This was done by Quebec Pulp and Price carried on this practice afterward. There was a reserve of water. You went up and ran into the Rapide à John. Shortly before Lac au Rat Musqué, there was another sluice there. That was the last one on the Rivière-du-Moulin. They were all made of wood. They had obtained limits from the government, such as the watercourse. The Gauthiers and Dubucs were always together.

Dubuc was never an open liberal, but they were friends. The mill sold. First they built houses. They finished the wood with machines. They had machines to make openings, windows, doors. They also had a boiler room. The mill had everything needed. We milled fir, but especially spruce and a little of everything the forest provided.

We also produced firewood. We produced a little wood for carting stone and supporting ingots, but not a lot. It was normal aspen sawn and cleared. Instead of squaring it, we just sawed it and split it into boards, or two-inch lumber. They put it underneath and on the side to prevent rubbing the side of the boats. We produced railway ties for the Roberval-Saguenay railway. That was red pine, which they called cypress.

The Oblate Father operated in this area. He produced all the large-dimension wood. There was pine, but not a lot. They totally ruined that. It became farmland, for wheat. There was a fire and it burned. After the fire, they cleaned it up, and sowed wheat. When I reclaimed it, the second growth was only red pine and white pine. There were clumps of birch. It looked like it had been deliberately planted, but it was natural. From time to time, there was a fir, a spruce, but they were quite rare. You needed wet land.

The edge of the lake was in cedar. The Oblate Father had obtained a cedar wood a little higher up, about five miles from here. It was open meadows. There's still cedar in that area. It's wet and greasy. Cedar needs a lot of water and dampness. If you build along a large river, you'll get cedar. But if you go along a small stream or a lake, cedar is quite rare.

In those days, a landowner with one and a half or two lots was a large-scale farmer, a large landowner. The Gauthiers were never

farmers. They owned land because they had nine lots under cultivation. They produced lumber. They had the flour mill which ran and they engaged in trade. The farms were used to provide some of their food. Back then, there was no butcher, no refrigerator and no freezer to store the meat. So the farms fed the family and the employees. When you always have some 30 hired men working and eating, you need a lot of meat, potatoes and flour. There were always a lot of employees on the farms and in the mill.

The Gauthiers were not heavy labourers. They managed, they were the operators. They only had time to manage. They never had large families. My father's generation began to work. Basilique's and Jules' children were like that. Beginning with Basilique's grandchildren, they began to work. They used their hands. Each family had a head. In my Uncle Ernest's family, it was Jules, little Jules. He died early, at 24 or 25. He was killed by a horse. The father only handled the stores, nothing else. He was the one who followed Dad in the family. When they came to the property here, they were together. Then there was Onésime, young Onésime. He took the farm. The person who repaired the plowing implements and could do some repairs is the one I call the head. My Uncle Onésime didn't do any repairs on wood, but he was qualified for the plowing implements.

Financial affairs were another matter. Dad was always a financial whiz. In the other family, Jos was financed by Hermel, who was the

administrator. He was much younger, but he handled the finances. Things worked by rank.

In the house, there were four households at the same time, within my lifetime even, but it worked well. There was my grandfather with his wife, my father with his wife, my Uncle Jos with his wife, and Herman with his wife and daughters. There was also one more girl. Each family minded its own business.

PART III

Birth and childhood

My sister Thérèse was born here. But the other children before her were not born here. They were born in the brick house, Onésime Gauthier's old house. My father moved into the stone house in April 1918. He was with his father and stepmother. I was born here in the fall.

When my sister was born, Dr. Desgagné came from Port-Alfred. Someone had gone for him in the car. I very clearly remember the car being ready, then I saw it leave to get the doctor. They went up to the Collards at the end of Saint-Isidore concession. From there, they changed cars to come here, so they could come faster.

There was my mother's sister, Alice, who was a midwife. There was also Mrs. Georges Lapointe and Marie Desbiens. Every time my mother was ill, Mrs. Lapointe and my Aunt Diana came. They were her two guardian angels. There was also my Aunt Martha. When the baby was born, it was my Aunt Martha, with my Aunt Alice.

I was born in the stone house on 26 December 1918. My father's name was Ernest Gauthier and my mother was Laura Émond. They were third cousins twice removed. I was the fourth child in the family. There was a girl before me. The first born in the family was a girl. Then there were two boys who died at two and a half years of age. I have a sister who was fifth. There are seven years between us.

The house was packed to the rafters with workers from the saw mill and lumberjacks. I was raised with at least some twenty men in the house. The mill was working flat out. The miller lived in the flour mill. He had an apartment there. Achille Fournier, Ludger Desgagné and Mr. Gobeil were millers successively. Mr. Fournier handled both mills. Ludger started at the flour mill only, then came to the saw mill as millwright. After that came Mr. Gobeil. He worked for about four years in the mill. Then my father began running it. They made changes to the mill; before, there had been millstones. Later my father brought in a hammer mill which he continued to operate until 1960.

When the Gauthiers arrived in Laterrière, they bought a saw mill and a flour mill. They operated both on an equal footing. Then it burned in 1920, there was a fire in the boiler room, and the open shop. The mill never burned. It was renovated several times because the wood rotted, since it was built over water. There was always dampness, so it had to be renovated often. The wood was brought in by water, and was dumped onto dry land, when it was running.

A waterwheel powered the entire mill. It ran the saws, the wood planer and the wood shop. Electricity was brought in for the lights only in 1935. We never used an electrical motor in the saw mill. The waterwheel turned and drove the entire mill.

Elementary school

The first time I went to school, my mother was sick. There were two servant girls and an adopted daughter. I had to go to school. They dressed me for school and took me to the school. It was quite the event, "Little Jules" was going to school! When I got there, Miss Laura Côté was there. She was a cousin I knew very well. There was also Miss Yvonne Girard, Sister Desgagné and Miss Berthe Fournier, who was starting her first year as a teacher.

This was in the old yellow school where the fire station is today. I arrived there at eight in the morning, led by my three women, my adopted sister and the two servant girls. It was the same group of

young people. Laura Côté and Miss Yvonne were much older, but it was the same group. They began chatting.

There were about 200 pupils playing in the yard. There were two yards. The girls were in front and the boys in back. I didn't want to go play. I stayed with the girls. I was young. There were my two female cousins who were there and I had been raised with them. They were chatting. When the time came to go in, they walked along the sidewalk toward the school. The teachers were watching them. So I made up my mind, I said no. I said: "I'm not going into the school." Laura Côté said: "You're going to come to school." She was a first cousin of my father who was linked to the family. She was always here. I said: "I'm not going to school." I took to the sidewalk behind the two servant girls and Maria and I came back here. It was a fine year. My mother was sick and couldn't move. She had an abcess in her throat or her behind.

Dad was always on the road, taking care of business. In those days, we had a big set-up, three farms combined, the saw mill and the flour mill, all working. My mother said: "Stay here, my little boy." My mother ruled the house. She lived until the age of 84. She was an Émond. Those damn Émonds had come into the family for life.

I was an altar boy for a long time. Around the age of seven or eight, you started serving mass. That continued until 10 or 12 years of age, until you went to the seminary. I dropped out when I

left the seminary. If someone recited their lesson before me, I was certain to know it. I had a good memory.

My father still had two adopted daughters. My sister Thérèse was in school in Roberval. My parents wanted to send me to the seminar, but I didn't like school. That really disappointed them. Only Thérèse went to school. She went through university. She took courses even while teaching. She studied in Roberval with the Ursulines. The principal of the school in Roberval was Thomas Tremblay, a local child, a "Bézime" Tremblay.

My father dropped out of school when he hadn't even completed elementary school. My mother was a little more educated. She read a lot: books, novels, newspapers, everything available. She got up at five in the morning, rocked herself near the stove, with the oven open, because we didn't have heating back then, and read. I began reading newspapers only about 15 years ago. My father had the millwright or my mother read him the newspaper. He knew how to read, but he had people read to him all the same. He liked that. He didn't have nice handwriting, but this was normal for the Gauthiers, because they didn't write too well. My mother wrote very well. She had a beautiful woman's script. There was one of my uncles among the Gauthiers who also wrote very well. But the others all had terrible chicken scratching like me. Ernest's brother who was a notary studied at the seminary in Chicoutimi. He did his

elementary schooling with the brothers in Bagotville. After that, he went to Université Laval in Quebec City.

I did my elementary schooling at the old school. My first teacher was Yvonne Girard. After that, there was Miss Berthe Fournier. Then Laura Côté. They were the only three teachers I had. They were strict and often administered a slap. Miss Laura had a large hardwood switch and had a light hand. The parents didn't complain, as they approved of strictness.

I wasn't afraid because I was protected by the boys in the mill. They revelled in their youth. When the school teachers chided me, I told the men, who rebuked the teacher. They had to stop, as they were the target of insults in the evening, they were subjected to nasty remarks, I was sassy.

No one goes through school without feeling the switch, but Miss Laura never hit me with her ruler. She chided me strongly, especially when I pulled stunts before going to her school. I told the men she had rebuked me. "I was punished, and this happened, then that happened." I complained, it wasn't funny, I had been punished. The boys went courting, and you can believe the teachers got a talking-to. The next day, they scolded me. "You shouldn't have said that, young man, you don't go telling tales out of school."

The first parish priest I knew was Father Arthur Gaudreault, a cousin of our elected member. Between Mr. Gaudreault and Mr. Labrecque, there was a priest who stayed nine or ten months in the parish. I don't remember him. But I do remember that Father Labrecque often came here. He came with his brother, Monseignor Labrecque from Chicoutimi. Then there was Father Allard. We took our holy communion with Father Allard.

Adolescence

In the whole time I worked, I was paid wages only once. I was 11 years old. That was the only time I worked for a wage. I was given 10 cents a day for stamping out wood for spindles. I was paid by Hanson Lumber, the company paid me directly, not my father. He was the one who did the job, as they say, who arranged the business. There was an accountant who sent the payroll. They were the ones who paid the workers. I was never paid a fixed wage at the mill.

I began working in the mill at the age of 12½. I went to the seminary. When they saw that I didn't want to learn, they told me: "Go away!" I spent my vacations doing nothing and riding my bicycle. Just a stripling, as they say. My father came along one fine morning and said: "Don't think I'm going to support you so you can do nothing for the rest of your life. You have to work. You don't want to go to school? I've done everything to give you an education but you haven't been interested." My uncle said: "He

doesn't want to study? Keep him! Make him into a farmer." Because he was a farmer, he would have eaten dirt. He wanted us all to be farmers, and good ones at that. My father said: "I do believe he's a little young for farming. We'll wait."

The saw mill's main customers were farmers. We had forest concessions and we logged in winter. We always cut between 3,000 and 4,000 logs a winter. Near Lac des Pères, we had seven wood lots. The boys logged in winter and sawed in summer. To the best of my knowledge, the saw mill ran for five winters. In 1930, the boys made spindle wood. This is wood four feet long, one inch square and smaller. It was used to make spindles for thread, and mop or broom handles. To ensure it was very straight, you had to use real fine birch. Spindle wood was sold mainly in Montreal and Quebec City. We shipped the wood by train; the trains came to Laterrière and we loaded them from horse-drawn wagons, then it was delivered to Quebec City, to Hanson Lumber and Richardson, which were our main buyers.

The mill ran year round, day and night. It continued working flat out during the Depression. We knew it wasn't the most profitable operation, but it did run at full capacity. Don't forget, we were sawing wood for three dollars the thousand feet. The men were paid 50 cents a day, 40 cents a day later. They worked 10 hours straight. There was no question of a break. It was the mill workers

who logged, others moved the wood with the farm horses. My father ran quite the business.

Apprenticeship

In those days, some Dubois men were millwrights here, before me. My father told them: "Take him with you, tomorrow morning at seven." I can still see myself going down to the lumber yard for the first time. I didn't think it was funny. They had me cart around the boards sawn on one side only. I found the 10 hours very long, hard and tiring. In the evening, I didn't go out, I was too tired. They told me: "You have to get used to it, you have to train yourself." I spent the fall there. I got better.

In the winter, I was shown how to log. I received good training but I had a hard head. There was no problem driving the horses because I had been doing that since the age of four or five. I drove the horses until April. Then I went back down to the mill. They decided that I would learn the trade of millwright. My father decided: "You're going to learn to run your mill and take care of it." It didn't work. Édouard Gobeil came to show me my trade as millwright. He was respected. He was an imposing and serious man. He didn't talk a lot but he had a large stature. He was married to a Girard. He had worked here in the past.

Mr. Gobeil had made the major repairs, such as building the spillway. With the Dubois men, it was expensive to build those things. Mr. Gobeil was better suited to this type of work but he was fairly expensive. Édouard was perfect for building a sluice or a bridge. Those Gobeils came from Saint-Fulgence. They had always worked on the water's adge. They operated a mill along the Saguenay in Saint-Fulgence. It was fed by a stream and had to be dammed. I don't know how they came here, to Laterrière. He wasn't young at the time. He didn't want to manage the men, he didn't like that.

He was a man who was too much out of his time. He had been raised in the old style. We had to work relentlessly. I took care of the men and he showed me how to file the saws, stitch the straps, how to make a pulley. A mill had to keep running. He was the one who showed me that. At first, the Dubois men showed me how to work, but they were a pretty hard lot, and I was also ill-natured. It made for a lot of sparks. Things heated up too much. Mr. Dubois didn't teach. He said: "You want to learn some trade? Learn it. Here, work. Come along with us." He never said: "You do that like this, this way." No! But Mr. Gobeil showed you how.

I feared and respected Mr. Gobeil. I never would have told Édouard: "You're wrong." I gave him advice only once. He didn't let me forget it for a month.

He worked part-time. He worked here when Consol didn't need him for the sluices or to raise the water level. When there was something to be determined at Consol involving water, they called in Édouard Gobeil. He came and said: "I'll put the sluice there. It will be so high and the lake will rise to such a height. There will be so much impounded water for so much time."

When I took over the mill, I was 16 years old. But it wasn't a success. I was still learning. Édouard had to come back. He came back for a couple more springs to lend me a hand. After that, when I was on my own, it was alright. The preparation of the finished wood was what was hard.

Mr. Gobeil was like the rest. He wasn't great on the planer. He was most comfortable with the water power. The Dubois men were useless in water power. That was their weakness. They were good at running the mill itself and keeping the saws sharp. For this work, they were better than Édouard.

The waterpower, the sluice and the spillway all had to be kept in peak condition. Ultimately, the water had to be kept at a certain level to remain useful. Water was easy to lead, but you had to know how. If you didn't lead it, there was nothing more destructive than water. It could tear down a building in two or three minutes. It had to be adjusted just right.

With Édouard, I learned that properly. The last time Édouard came was in 1944. I was all alone. It was in 1942-1943 that he left me there for good. Once, the spillway collapsed three quarters of the way from the sluice down. We needed a certain level of water, but I was too young. I was ready to take the chance, but Dad wasn't willing. He went to get Édouard and Évague Girard. They were his builders. This was the group that could work together, hand in hand. Évague was more skilled than the others. Ernest Girard gave the orders. He stood across from Édouard Gobeil. But it was Édouard who showed me how to build and how to set water levels. After that, I managed on my own. I did that for a long time.

We had a good sluice. It held back enough water for us to operate. The river was large enough to always keep the mill pond full. The first sluice was built by the Oblate Fathers in 1846. The second was built in 1895, 1880, around 1895. In fact, it was the Dubois men who built that sluice. They didn't live in Laterrière. The one who built the sluice lived by the old covered bridge over the Chicoutimi River. The Dubois men only came here as employees. There is still a Dubois son in Larouche who worked here in the past. His name was Paul Dubois and he still lives in Larouche.

It was Mr. Samuel's father who built the sluice to run his mill. The millwright who came was a certified timber measurer. The millwright is someone who maintains a saw mill. A timber measurer is another matter. In winter, instead of living here with the other

employees, he went into the woods and measured for the Price or Consol companies, or for Belle-Rivière.

The farm and mill operation

It was the saw mill that was most profitable. So was the flour mill because there was no competition. That was the only mill for the whole district. It only made flour by milling the grain for the animals. It didn't produce bread flour.

The farm was useful for feeding the saw mill. It provided horses and feed. To continue our activities, we needed at least a dozen horses. There were always 12 to 15 horses in the stable and 35 or 40 head of cattle, sometimes more. They milked about 22, 24 cows on the two farms.

There were two stables with about 30 or 35 cows. They kept the young animals down there: the bulls, the calves. The hired hands took care of these two farms. Normally, there were always three men on the farm. They didn't milk all year because in winter, there weren't enough cows to milk. In summer, the surplus went to the cheese factory owned by Ernest Lapointe. I haven't known of any others. We took the milk to the cheese factory in the summer. We used a lot of cream. We made butter, we cooked, we had our potatoes, our meat, our pork and fowl; the farm was self-

sufficient. I won't say it was the same quality as today, because we had no cold room. But I have seen ice houses in the past.

When the river was frozen, around February, the ice was about two or two and a half feet thick. They sawed the ice into squares about two feet on a side, which made about two feet cubed, then they put these into moulds. They made a mould in the barn, they put about two feet of sawdust over it. They kept a hole in the middle and they put their meat there, then the butter, then everything they could preserve. The dairy here in back was just temporary.

It was the farm that made this ice house. It kept for the whole year, even in summer. We canned a lot. Meat was smoked too. There was always someone who was more knowledgeable about that than another, they gave it a try. I've seen some smoking on chimneys, on all sorts of fires.

The bread oven was just in front of the house. When I came here, Mrs. Gauthier made the bread. I saw the old oven and I saw the new one built. The women looked after the garden and for the heavy work, the men from the farm helped the women. But it was primarily the women who looked after the garden. Almost everyone ate here. There were a lot of strangers who came to work. They ate at midnight. They had to stay here day and night.

When I was working in the mill, I got up at five in the morning, then I went down to the mill and inspected the spillway that led the water to the waterwheel. This was my main responsibility. Then, so the mill would be ready to start up, I inspected the wide belts. These were flat belts of rubber sewn with rawhide. Everything absolutely had to be done by 6:30 in the morning. At that time, I had just enough time to file the saws so the mill could start up at seven o'clock on the dot. The guys got up at six o'clock and had a good breakfast before coming down. One of the guys came in for 6:30 or 6:40, the other around a quarter to seven, but at seven o'clock, they all had to be at the mill. They worked until high noon. We stopped for five minutes around 9:40, 9:45, to touch up the large saw with the file. The other saws were good for the day. We stopped at noon and resumed at one o'clock. I didn't have time to go up for dinner. I had to inspect the condition of the mill. At one o'clock sharp, it started up again until six o'clock. It was like that six days a week. When it ran day and night, it started up again at seven in the evening and stopped at midnight. At one in the monring, it started again until six in the morning.

In general, almost everyone from Laterrière worked in the mill. There were a few outsiders, but generally it was people from Laterrière. Back then, it was the main activity in the village. There was no money in those days, When I began running the mill, I was paid after three years for the sawing I had done. I paid the men after one year, two years, sometines, three years.

The general merchant had the main store. He sold everything. When the account was getting too high, Dad worked a trade. He paid the accounts for the equivalent in wages, in lumber or slabs, or even in firewood. He worked trades or else he paid when he had money. That's how it always worked. Trade was done much more in materials than with cash. This system continued until 1936.

That year, I was left alone with the mill; I had served my apprenticeship. It caused a big ruckus when I came in and told my father: "That thing won't work. I'm going to borrow money and pay my men, who will pay for the sawing." That way, if I have nothing left at the end, they'll be paid and we won't owe anything to anyone.

That's what I did. To operate for seven months, it cost me $750 dollars, which I borrowed. That was the first year the Caisse populaire was doing business in Laterrière. Edmond Gagnon loaned me that, on a note. From there on, I always made the payments every two weeks. I gradually repaid it over the summer, as I was able, as soon as I had a little money. I had good customers: farmers and day labourers who had wood and were able to pay in cash. I was able to obtain funds to gradually repay my loan. In the fall, I was on top, my note had been paid and I had money left over. In particular, I kept the sawing accounts. I paid the men every week or two weeks. That way I knew if a man had missed a day, because it was marked.

I remember that time as a very good period. We worked, we had our troubles but people's spirits weren't like today. We respected other people's property, there was no danger of anyone touching a pin. Anyone who had the misfortune to take a nail was a thief. It was serious, you couldn't be taken for a thief. People were honest. A man provided an honest day's work. You didn't have to keep on top of him. You told them that you wanted the wood stacked in a certain way. When you came back in the evening, you were certain they had been productive. They knew how much time it took to do this work. I knew it as well. If they hadn't finished their pile, I asked them: "What happened?" They knew I would ask them that. It was practically sacrilege to ask a man that. So they stacked their wood with that in mind. I find that morals have declined. Since I was brought up, until today, morals have declined.

In the home, my mother was the boss. My mother and father had an understanding. One time, I had finished working with Édouard at five to noon, and she told me quite abruptly that we had never stopped before noon. The mill had broken down but I had fixed it right away. When it broke down, we had to stop and restart the mill. A strap had come unsewn; I repaired it but there were five minutes left. It wasn't worth starting up this big saw mill with 10 men for five minutes. So I said: "We'll go have dinner, and start up again at five to one." The men had sat down at the table, and my mother hadn't said a word. But when I came to sit down at the table, she said: "Hey, young man! The saw mill stops at noon, not

five to noon." She said: "In future, you'll stop at noon." She never told me again, it was final. After that, we always arrived at noon.

Dad wasn't so strict. He was very clumsy. He wasn't able to lead the men. He wanted everything done that very moment. He wanted the day to be done in the space of five minutes. My father was better in business than all the others, he took care of that. He had to look after the saw mill, the flour mill and the farm. He was pretty busy.

The guys made wine and beer, they called it homebrew. They were all bootleggers. They couldn't strut around like today. Someone with a pedal bicycle was practically a millionaire. In any event, when you work 10 hours a day you don't have much time for fun in the evening. In those days, work was practically forced labour, so you were too tired in the evening. When you were a little tipsy around 9:30 or 10:00 in the evening, you were in no condition to go for a five or six-mile run. So if you stayed in your corner, it wasn't as obvious. Today there are cars and bicycles. Everything is handy, it can't help but show. In those days, it didn't show as much if you drank, especially in homes. There's no more drinking today than back then, it seems. In fact, there may have been more drinking back then.

I began carting around homebrew when I was about four. I began buying a little five-pound pail and then a ten-pound pail. I never went far, since my legs were short. Of course, the homes that sold it weren't far. My mother didn't like that, she was a person who hated drink. Once she made 10 gallons of grape wine and never saw a drop. She had hidden it in the cellar, but one day they decided to change the heating. They dug a hole in the cellar and the guys found the 10 gallons. They came out drunk. She never made any more in her life. The doctor had her drink porter with an egg and milk. She took this for a long time. Sometimes, the boys nipped a bottle from my mother, put the cap back on and put it back in the case. They suffered all the vices.

In the mill, the guys quite often came in drunk, but I wouldn't stand for anyone bombed. I hated drink. When I started drinking, I was old; I didn't drink for a long time. I took a nip, but that saint there (his wife) howled, so I said: "No more." It never occurs to me to have a bottle of beer. I never had the constitution to digest hard liquor. Why make myself sick, I'm far too lazy.

My mother was pious. She always had her rosary with her. My father was pious as well. If someone couldn't worship with them, it was sacrilege. They never would have stood for it. In those days, everything was a sin. You couldn't take communion until you had been to confession. We would have liked to linger in bed a little at 6:30 or 7:00 in the morning, but since communion was at seven,

you had to get up and go to confession so you could take communion. This was compulsory every Sunday. My mother said: "Come to confession then you can take communion, you'll go to mass. In the afternoon, you can sleep all you want." But in the afternoon, you wanted to go out.

When I started working in the saw mill, Thomas-Louis Gagné earned 50 cents a day to clear the large saw. When he left the mill, Arvida was paying him six dollars a day. I had raised the wages but it was impossibole to pay him six dollars a day.

Development of operations

I visited the production line to see Mr. Dubuc's men working at Quebec Pulp. After that, when he made his famous Ballast, his sandbank at the Portage, I went to see the site. When they built the dam, I was there, not to work, just to see, because I was too young. Mr. Dubuc only cut wood for paper, four, six or eight feet long. We only cut 12, 13 or 14-foot lengths. These were saw logs. Mr. Dubuc rented the mill for at least four years to saw wood he had cut on his concessions, which he couldn't deliver to his company. He sawed it at the mill, which he had running day and night eight months a year. When the mill was running day and night, it took 30 to 35 men to make up the two shifts. When it ran days only, I was alright with 10 or 12 men.

We never competed with Dubuc. We always worked hand in hand. The only time we competed with him was when he wanted to take away the wood lots belonging to the family which were across his concessions. But we had letters patent, so he couldn't get them deregistered.

I worked the wood at the mill, but I didn't have time to work on construction, the building and the house. I would have liked to, but I didn't have the time. I had the time once, and I built a shed. We had some employees who were skilled. We sent a man from the mill who could do it.

The wood was moved with sledges. It was brought down by horses and stacked along the river. The railway stopped in 1931 or 1932, and never started again. A team of horses was hitched to 15,000 feet of wood. It took the whole day to go down to Chicoutimi and come back. The horses were used for about two or three years. Then the trucks began coming in. These were one-and-a-half-ton trucks, small trucks that couldn't carry a big load. Later, they got bigger.

From 1936 to 1950, it was mainly trucks. In 1936, the two-ton trucks arrived. Mathias Tremblay had a two-ton truck. Then Paul-Eugène Simard and Donaldo Gaudreault had a truck for two or three years. It was a Ford two-ton truck which they used to carry wood. Roméo Lapointe had trucks for a long time, since the beginning. He had a one-and-a-half-ton truck, then he expanded, with a one-and-a-

half-ton and a two-ton truck. He handled some of the supply for the mill. Donaldo also carted for a long time. When we sold the wood in Chicoutimi, the customers came to pick up their goods in trucks.

The wood was stacked for a month, a month and a half in the saw mill yard to dry. Than made it lighter. These were boards. We cut fir and spruce only. When the white pine came in, there were lots of trucks. The white pine was brought in partly by me between 1945 and 1947. We sold it. Door frames and windows were made in pine. Fir and spruce were the basic wood for house walls.

The aluminum industry triggered a big boom in 1939 and 1940. They took all types of wood, even aspen, whatever was available. The ground was too soft in Arvida. It was a swamp. They dug and put in five or six layers of large wood, then they filled it in to make a solid base. They bought a lot of this wood at the mill.

We sold mostly aspen. We sold aspen in Port-Alfred for many years. When they ship rolls of paper, they have to put wood between the rolls to separate them. This is the wood they use, a softwood that is flexible and can absorb shocks. We cut aspen and sawed it only in one direction before sending it down there. They put it in rows, then placed the paper on it. The first ingots of aluminum came in the same way. They put down wood and laid the other row of ingots on top. The bought the wood here at the mill.

We produced firewood. We sold a little from time to time, but not very much. Roméo Lapointe was the firewood merchant. I've always seen him selling firewood, since I was born. He dropped this when oil heat came in.

We sold a lot of wood to Consol. This was pulpwood. We had dealt with Price in the past but it wasn't a big contract. It was mainly for water. Price bought the wood from Quebec pulp. When the company closed down, they continued producing wood on their concessions. It was Price that bought this wood. They moved it by train for a long time. Quebec Pulp cut its own wood; they took it from the Rivière-du-Moulin and brought it down by train to the mill production line. This system doesn't work much anymore. They decided to build a spillway from the production line that runs to Henriette Stream, down to the Chicoutimi River.

Back then, there was another mill on the line. Below Mr. Dubuc's operations, there was a saw mill owned by Gaston Lepage. A certain Mr. Boudreault bought it back but there was a terrible accident. He was cut right through by his saw. After that, my Uncle Cyrille bought it. He operated it, but I don't know for how long. His main operation was cutting ties, eight feet long, for the railway. Dubuc did a lot of business with sleepers. He was the one who built the railways to the lake and Alma. They were made of red pine, there was a lot of it here at the time. There's still some. Not everywhere, not as much, but there is still some at Lac des Pères.

There were two accidents in Laterrière. There was one of Henri Munger's boys who was killed at Mr. Hyppolite's, and the other was cut trhough by his saw. The main accidents were injuries to legs and arms. I never suffered many injuries. But it was quite common to twist a knee or get hit by a piece of wood in the shoulder. The guys went to see the man who fixed fractures, and came back to work. We very rarely went to the doctors for that.

I'm the one who made the blunder of closing the mill. In 1954, I went to work for Price, as foreman in Lac Kénogami. I never should have gone because the mill would still be running, but I had to pay outsiders wages. It was still the same family working here, the Dubois men.

PART III

Marriage "on the fly"

I did my military service in January 1941, then I got married in August. My wife and I got married as third cousins thrice removed. We had to pay four dollars for a dispensation. My father paid twelve dollars for a dispensation to marry his wife. My wife and I were raised together. We knew each other at age four, in grade one. We took our first communion together, our holy communion. She lived across from us. Her father and mother were first cousins. They were raised together, so they were almost brother and sister. Her father

had a large family. I courted her at least five or six years. I worked and so did she. She was a hairdresser, but three quarters of the time, she went to Dolbeau. When we got married, that calmed things down, we settled the matter. It was time for us to marry.

The first thing Father Girard asked me was whether I was marrying out of duty. I said: "No sir, I am not marrying out of duty. I am marrying because I want to get married, and that's it!" He told me: "You'll have to pay a dispensation. You have to seek permission from Monseignor." He asked me that in front of my future father-in-law. He knew we had run wild together. We were always together, but he didn't know we wanted to get married.

Marriage "on the fly" started in 1940. At the time, they were conducting the national census because conscription had passed. They didn't know how many subjects they had. If you decided to marry, you didn't need an engagement or wedding ring. You showed up at the church and you got married. If you were married before the national census, you were exempted from the army. Even if you were of induction age, you were exempted from the army.

I was called up in the first days of September and I didn't want to go. My father also didn't want me to go. The saw mill was running and I couldn't leave it. The harvest was coming and I was the only one who could operate the harvester. I couldn't go and enlist. I did my military service only in January 1941, at the harbour in

Chicoutimi. There were tents and huts. I began on 9 January and ended on 7 February. That was my military service. We did training, carrying arms, but especially marching and discipline. We lived in barracks.

To go overseas in those days, you had to volunteer. You didn't go right away because the training was more extensive, it took some time. But those who wanted to go could. We were paid $31 a month. It wasn't that bad. Our military service was pretty rough. I was under the orders of Arnold Shock. I had asked to join his platoon. He was at the Portage. The Shocks arrived here in 1925-1926. Mr. Shock had come to raise mink. At first there were five of them. After that, Peter expanded the business and they hired about 15 men. They had a village. Then it declined somewhat. Everything changed especially when the mansion and the boulevard were built, around 1946. He was the first to start this up in Saguenay. Mr. Shock spoke French. He was fully bilingual. Nicolas Shock was the father. Arnold, the son, was a lieutenant in the army.

At the saw mill, I exempted 17 guys from military service. They came to work one day on the land, then they worked in the mill. After, they went home and they were exempted for the year. They came to report to my father, who came down to see Mr. Dubuc and he told him: "I need so and so for my farm." Mr. Dubic never asked him for the name. He referred him to the Department of Defence. The guy got his relief. As soon as he had it, he went to work in the mill.

Mr. Dubuc and my father were liberals, so they supported each other. They were always friends, so they protected each other. I got my exemption right away. I left the military in February and my father went to Chicoutimi one week later. He met with Mr. Dubuc and told him: "My son will have to be exempted because I need him." In March, I got my relief.

MacKenzie King passed the national conscription act. Somebody who was married was exempted from the army. Bachelors were subject to military service. If the date was set for a Monday morning, you had to go through national conscription. If you weren't married, you were subject to induction. On Sunday evening, there were marriages in all the churches. They married 10, 15, 20 couples. I think there were six or eight in Laterrière.

It wasn't military service. It was more like a stroll. That was at the very beginning. When conscription passed, I was the first from Laterrière to be scheduled for military service. I was the right age. The discipline wasn't excessive. The sergeant-major was Eugène Aubin, the father of Gaston Aubin. Landry the lawyer was lieutenant-colonel. It was all people we knew. I knew Landry the lawyer very well. He had been with me in the seminary. I knew there was no danger for me in the army. I had been confirmed.

Leisure

In my days, there were masquerades and Shrovetide parties. We made homebrew and moonshine. People had a drink quite often! People have always drunk and always will drink. Today's generations are no better than the others. I find that today's generation has improved from my time. Because in my time, they didn't drink regularly, but when they did, they were swimming in it! They got bombed. They went on binges. Almost everyone drank.

It was the times. When my father went on a binge, it might last three weeks. After that, he was sick of drink. He drank till he passed out. But he was bull-headed. When he said he was stopping, that was it. He could go seven or eight months without taking a drink. It didn't matter what the event was, a holiday, New Year's Day, or a wedding, he wouldn't take a drink. When he did decide to take a drink, look out! It might last for a month. He was a problem drinker. He was tiring. My father was quite aggressive.

The Gauthiers were card players. Christmas was pretty quiet, but from the first of the year to Shrove Tuesday, there wasn't much moderation. They played "brisque", euchre and "poule". They argued and took a little nip. The workers and the families got together all the time. We played cards until two or three in the morning. We had a lot of fun. When you won a game, you played a little music and danced. But we weren't singers or musicians. My ancestors were better.

My father and mother were not great fans of music. They liked it, but nothing more. Among the men in the mill, there were always musicians. One played mouth organ, others the Jew's harp and all types of instruments. That's where I learned to play the saw. I know how to get sounds of this tool. But there are a whole lot of people who don't know that.

Visits were shared. One evening was at one person's house, the next was at the other's. In those days, wedding receptions weren't held in hotels. People made their own fun. Nono's wedding lasted eight days. He got married at 28 or 29 to Marie-Jeanne, one of Gérard Côté's sisters. She was much younger than him. She worked here. Her father lived in the flour mill. They had come from New Brunswick.

They were like the others, they had to work. The father was pretty good worker, but the children had to work too. Her family lived down there and she worked here. There were always two or three servants here. There was almost always someone living upstairs in the mill. Only in the last 25 to 30 years has it been vacant. Nono was the last of his generation to marry. The wedding was held in mid-summer. That was a big party.

Initially, it was only supposed to be the families, but it expanded. It became big. Almost half the guests slept in the barn. You have to figure it was pretty hot. The women stayed here. It was

beautiful weather. The old barn had hinged doors that opened in the middle of each side.

The door was wide open. There was a little hay, and straw. I don't know if it was wheat or barley, but I do know something had been brought in. That was the bunkhouse. It started in the evening and lasted eight days. There were all types of professional people, lawyers, notaries. They took advantage of the opportunity.

Nono got married at four in the morning. He had to be taken to Bagotville. He took the Canada Steamships Line boat for Quebec City for his honeymoon. They took him there, and continued the party afterwards. The newlyweds stayed with relatives in Quebec City. Nono's godmother lived there. She hadn't come to the wedding. They went to see her. When they arrived in Quebec, no preparations had been made. Nono didn't want to go to the hotel. He wanted to go to his godmother's. That evening, he had to go find his cousins to get a place to sleep. His wife went to sleep with her new cousins. They didn't sleep together.

The next day, he met a relative from another branch who told him: "Wait a minute. Your honeymoon will be better than that." He took him to his home and gave him a room. You'd better believe they didn't have to force him. They had gotten on the boat around 6:00 or 6:30 in the morning, had gotten off at 7:00 in the evening at Quebec City. It took time to get around. They had a cabin. They had

everything they needed. In any event, they didn't strike out, as we say. In those large families, all sorts of things happened.

When Nono left, the guests continued to party for three days. Some really crazy things happened. The harvest had begun. Professional people went out to make up bales. They lost their hats, even their pants. They ended up in the barn. They parties on the threshing floors. I saw it all. When Onésime returned from his honeymoon, things had calmed down the night before. He had been gone eight days. The people had great fun together. There was no question of a small group, it was all one group, all together. There were no classes. It was a wedding.

The only thing is that each man had his stock, as they say. He had all his supplies, and he drank. Some drank hard stuff, others beer, or even wine. When you have 40 or 90 gallons of booze, it lasts a long time. In those days, they made beer by the 90-gallon barrel. They all celebrated Shrovetide and they drank even in the middle of Lent. It wasn't pretty, but to take a drink during Lent was the only sin I saw those people commit in those days. It was winter, it was cold and three quarters of the people were half dressed.

Religion

I have celebrated Shrovetide but in my days, it was more moderate. It didn't bother Father Allard too much. He also celebrated

Shrovetide. He encouraged the people to do it. But Father Girard was against it. There was also the Corpus Christi. It was interesting and a lot more fun than this year. There were arches and temporary altars. It was well organized but there aren't any more. On the Sunday I wanted to go to the procession, they didn't have one. Everything took place at the church. It was still nice. When I went to high mass on Sunday, I bore the shame of Laterrière. To not hold a Corpus Christi procession is not good. For my father and mother, if the Good Lord did not go out on Corpus Christi, it was a bad omen for the year. We also celebrated St. John the Baptist's Day.

On 24 May, we celebrated arbour day. The school teachers always organized a few small parties. St. Catherine's Day was also celebrated. It was a card party. They tore down the school walls and held a big euchre tournament. The whole parish came out to play cards. There were gifts and all sorts of things. Everyone knew everyone else. When someone new moved to the parish, everyone accepted and helped him. If he had no relatives, everyone was around so he wouldn't get lonely. They were sociable.

Politics

The Gauthiers have almost always been in municipal politics. I'm the one who stopped. I was a board member. I didn't want to sit on the municipal council. My father was mayor beginning in 1939 or

1940. He remained mayor for 16 years. He was mayor in Duplessis' time. That was in 1936-1939. He was mayor in Godbout's time, then the whole Union nationale time. He left the mayor's office in the final years the Union nationale was in power, around 1958 or 1959. It was Dad who sent Cyrille Émond to the mayor's office. He introduced Cyrille for four years, then Raoul Plourde was mayor. My father died in 1960 and in 1961, my Uncle Nono replaced Raoul Plourde.

He was followed by Onésime. He was a council member for 30 years while my father was mayor. Cyrille Émond was mayor for four years. so was Raoul Plourde, but Roméo Lapointe was mayor for a dozen years.

When they built the road from the village to Talbot Boulevard, I took my father out of the village hall with my mother. Otherwise, he never would have left. Antonio Talbot and the senior engineer had been promised the road would go where they wanted. The two lots in back belonged to us. They wanted to put the road right through the college. The Côté-Boivin store and Adrien Gagnon and Cyrille Émond wanted no part of that. We gave them the land so they could build the road. My father was caught between a rock and a hard place. I told him: "Give them your land and retire from there." That's how it happened.

My father was a liberal at the provincial and federal levels. The elected member preferred a straight Liberal over a fervent Union nationale supporter, because the Union nationale was formed of fervent Liberals. My father received favours as never before. My father went to see the elected member and was quite happy when they paved the road, even though they didn't belong to the same party. Dad told the elected member: "I won't vote for you but I'll give you a majority in the village." That's the only time the Union nationale got a majority, by 82 votes. It lost this majority the next year. The parish had always been blue. Sometimes it voted red, but it had always been blue. With our politician, there was no playing around. We had a politician in the family. The notary was elected in the 1950s. You had to be red at the provincial and federal levels. You had to be red from your hair to your toes.

My father was red and Joseph-Élie Maltais was excessively blue, but they were two fast friends. They never fell out. They were in municipal politics. They were opposing candidates for the mayor's office. My father nominated Mr. Maltais for board member. He got him in despite the entire population of Laterrière. Mr. Maltais ran in the election and lost to Joseph Saint-Gelais here. He hadn't lost by a large majority, about 35 or 40 votes. Dad was with Mr. Maltais the evening he lost the election. He told him: "Joseph-Élie, you'll be a board member anyway." He got him in after one month. He had the other candidate disqualified. They were three taxpayers. There was my father, my Uncle Onésime and Ludger Fortin.

They signed a letter stating that Mr. Saint-Gelais couldn't read or write. The qualifications for a board member include the ability to read and write. He knew how to sign his name but not how to read.

The first thing they asked Mr. Saint-Gelais when they came to the council chambers to swear him in was: "Mr. Saint-Gelais, can you read?" As they said this, they handed him a letter. He wasn't able to read it. Aimé Girard was secretary. He was secretary on the school board for 20 years, I think. He was good with numbers. He was the one administering the oath to Mr. Maltais. So since Mr. Saint-Gelais wasn't qualified, the position of board member was open to another person. This person was qualified but wasn't a landowner. He was the son of a landowner. The rules required the future board member to be a landowner. Both board members were out.

In place of Mr. Maltais, they wanted to nominate Joseph-Élie Gagné. It was the remaining board members who elected them. There were three: Flavien Grenon, Alphonse Bédard and Aimé Potvin. There were five seats in all on the school board at the time. The two others had to be elected. My father plotted with Flavien Grenon and Aimé Potvin, who were close friends. They did business together. They made an arrangement together. When the call for nominations was issued, the entire municipality had signed. They approved Joseph-Élie Maltais and Alfred Bouchard.

Mr. Maltais was a good board member. He was the best board member Laterrière has ever had. He was a guy who pulled his weight. He always pulled for Laterrière on the school board. At the time, there were two assessment rolls for Laterrière, one for the village and one for the parish. They were not at the same rate. The parish assessment was one third the village assessment. The taxpayers in the parish paid far less taxes to the school board than those of us in the village! Joseph-Élie rectified matters. He was the only one who managed to that in the municipality.

I went to see this meeting with Jos, one of my friends, one of Jean the beadle's sons. We were teens at the time. We were seated in the front of the room. We had gone to check things out. Aimé Potvin was acting chairman of the meeting. There were two board members. One made a motion, the other seconded it or made another motion. The petition arrived. The whole room was filled. It was one of my father's first uncles who had been nominated. Dad had voted against him. He had nominated Alfred Bouchard against him.

When the time came to vote, I saw Mr. Girard stand up. He said: "I have something to say: 'Mr. Saint-Gelais, can you read?' Mr. Saint-Gelais didn't say no. He hesitated. Mr. Girard handed him a letter. Mr. Saint-Gelais said: "I cannot read. I don't know how to read." Mr. Girard replied: "You are not qualified to be a school board member."

He turned to the other and said: "Mr. Munger, you have been elected but we have just learned that the property is not in your name." Mr. Munger said: "No, it's in my father's name." "You are not qualified to be a board member because you don't own any property." Both had to step down. The session fell through. They postponed the meeting to the following week. They had their petition signed. Against Joseph-âlie they nominated "Gassout" Gagné, Joseph-Élie Gagné, and against Alfred Bouchard, Georges Bouchard, Dad's uncle.

To carry off his plan to have Joseph-Élie installed, my father had to support Alfred Bouchard against his own first uncle. It passed. Alphonse Bédard nominated the two guys on the petition. He nominated Georges Bouchard and Joseph-Élie Gagné as board members. Flavien Grenon said: "I nominate Alfred Bouchard and Joseph-Élie Maltais." They realized right away that Aimé Potvin was voting with them. So pandemonium broke out. Everyone was shouting. Joseph-Élie stood up, although he had not yet been sworn in. He said: "My friends, wait a second. Let's tune our fiddle, before we play." So all the boys were surprised. Aimé Girard swore in Joseph-Élie. Then he swore in Alfred Bouchard. Mr. Maltais rose again and said: "Now, if you will, please excuse me!" He was celebrating the 25th year his brother, Edmond-Louis, in Chicoutimi, had been working for Bell Telephone. He said: "I have to go to the party." He excused himself and left. The guys were shouting, yelling. I saw him move through the crowd, jump into the car with Viateur holding the door, and leave. He had to go down to Chicoutimi to congratulate Edmond-

Louis. This was one of the big events in Laterrière. It was a regular meeting of the school board. When they merged the boards, they took the school board minutes to Chicoutimi.

Births

For babies, you had to go see the doctor. In those days, they weren't great for broken bones, dislocated or trampled limbs. Back then, you saw the doctor for internal injuries.

My wife always had her children in the hospital, except Paul who was born here. It was Louis-Joseph Gobeil who came to the house. He was one of Édouard's sons. Louis-Joseph earned the money for his university here, at the mill. I was his boss. He was older than me. So I didn't have a lot of authority. He was troublesome to lead. I was worse than him, but we got along fairly well. He was a little hard. Mr. Gobeil's wife was Ida Girard. She was also pretty hard. It was Louis-Joseph who always had to care for her, until he died.

Mrs. Gauthier: I didn't breast feed my babies. I wasn't able."

The doctor had told her she would never have children. Father Girard said: "She's going to have children, they're not going to operate on that little woman." She didn't have surgery.

When Louis-Joseph Gobeil came here the first time, I said: "Louis, I didn't want you to come here. But you're here now, so settle your problems, I won't get involved anymore, but you're going to care for her, now. We'll pay whatever it costs, but she's in your care now."

The first time she was sick, Louis-Joseph still hadn't been licensed as a doctor. So I had taken Gagné and stayed with him. I consulted Lemieux several times, but he didn't come. They consulted with each other. They were two old family doctors. She needed surgery.

Illness

Around the age of three, my son Gilles had difficulty walking. He had two operations. I always said I was the one who had made him do that. At seven months, he was lying here on the table, on two pillows, and he was dying. It was All Saints' Day. The family was gathered round. He cried day and night. I called Louis-Joseph to come to the house. He came and told us: "I can give him a shot. It may bring him back or make him die. It's practically life or death." He gave him a shot and Louis-Joseph told me it had attacked his nerves. He maintained that was the problem. Louis-Joseph wasn't sure it was from birth. But the child revived. Right after the shot, he took a turn for the better.

Mrs. G.: "Dr. Lapierre claimed it was the Achilles tendons. Dr. Lapierre always said it was from birth." So we had him operated on for that.

When they operated, he was in a cast up to there. His legs were spread with a stick that held his legs. It was in the very hot weather.

Mrs. G: "Sometimes, people criticize me, but I tell them it was no one's fault. I really nurtured him. Once, we had bought him skates. He came in one evening saying he had hurt himself. I put the skates away. Maybe those are the mistakes I made. He always did what he wanted. He was my child. He was wanted. I didn't want anyone else to take care of him. I took care of him and I'm still taking care of him."

Care in those days consisted of family remedies. The doctor didn't come every day. He was there for births, and even then, not often. It was midwives who came. When I came into the world, it was as if the baby Jesus had arrived!

Mrs. G: "Mrs. Gauthier had already lost three children. The oldest was a girl. She lost her at 18 months."

The two boys died at two and a half years of age. They fill sick and were dead in just 10 hours. The two boys, Patrick and "Pit",

died right away. When I came into the world, a lot of promises were made. In those days, they made promises to the Holy Virgin. In my first seven years, I wore nothing but blue and white.

I was entrusted to the Holy Virgin. I couldn't do anything else. They had made a beauty. I was king and master. I was the only boy in the family. I had one sister, Thérèse. There were just the two of us. The families, the uncles, great uncles on both sides of the family were clamouring for an heir. They needed a Gauthier heir for the stone house. I am the last descendant of the Gauthiers, Ernest's group. I'm the last descendant of the Gauthiers, Ernest's group. My sister only has one boy.

Death

My father Ernest was the last person laid out here in the house. He died in September 1960. The house was large, so he was laid out here. It was just crazy.

Mrs. G: "Especially laid out in a private house. It didn't clear out."

It was a terrible experience. We had to look after everyone, even though we had a lot of people helping out. It's not just the outfit, it's the job it makes. My mother couldn't help out much, as she was sickly. She had to welcome her people. It was my mother and

my wife who bore the whole burden. There was a lot of help, but when all three floors are full...

We no longer use the summer house. We use it for storage. When you have eight or ten men, in addition to your family, who sit down to eat, you need a lot of room.

Retirement

I went fishing with Father Augustin. We left here in the car, we went up either to Bras-de-l'Enfer or Bras-Noir, or even Rivière-à-Mars. We came to the lake and we fished the whole evening. We got there around 4:30 or 5:00, depending on when we could get away. We fished for trout until 11:00 in Grand Lac Georges. It depended a bit on the fishing. If it was good, fine, if not, we had to go somewhere else. We pulled up stakes, left to go fishing, but we were poaching then. We crossed into the Laurentides park to go fish on Bras-de-l'Enfer, at Lac -de-l'Enfer. If it didn't work out, we retraced our steps and crossed back along Grand Lac Georges to Petit Lac Georges. We always crossed at night so we wouldn't be seen. We had to avoid being seen by the day warden. It was monitored by the park wardens.

No lamp could pierce the darkness. We waited a little, evening came, we followed the fading light. First it was quite dark, but then our eyes adjusted and it worked quite well. It was habit as

well. You had to stay calm and not be afraid. At first, I had a hard time. Just last year, someone got lost in the woods. I left around nine or ten in the evening and arrived at three or four in the morning. I walked the whole night in the woods, above Lac-des-Pères. I knew where I was, I know the mountains. I'm no smarter than the next guy. Every year, a few get lost. There is a certain part of the woods there where I'm the only one who goes at night. Many go there in the day, but only I go at night. They can go to other places because the roads are better. They're opened out more. The terrain is so hilly, they can't place themselves.

My daughter has gotten lost in this area in the past. She was at Rapides-à-Bégin, while I had gone to Lac-à-Maltais. I had taken the long way around, by Lac Hamel. I had left around 7:30 in the evening, and I arrived at Lac-à-Maltais around 1:30 in the morning, or two o'clock. I had two teenage boys with me and two men. There was Walter Girard and Lucien Munger's oldest son, plus one of Ange-Émile's sons, Jean-Guy. At any rate, when we stopped around 11:00 or 11:30, they were tired. As soon as I stopped to get my bearings, or look at the mountains, they laid down on their backs. I said to Walter: "The young lads are tired." I had reached Lac-à-Maltais but I didn't know where I was anymore. Lac-à-Maltais is confusing at night when you're not sure. The name isn't written on the water. There was a cabin nearby, I said: "We'll go lie down, lads, and wait until tomorrow morning." I returned to the cabin, lit the stove, and heated water. I gave them two aspirins each with boiling

water, and had them lie down. They started snoring right away. They slept like princes. I was a little worried, so I made a little tour of the area. I walked until about three in the morning. I came back to get my boys and at five o'clock, I said: "Get up, it's time for us to go." We made it to Jos-Luc Simard's at six o'clock.

They had been looking for my daughter, but she was the one who came looking for us in the car. The others had found her. I had sent the Lapointes to Rapides-à-Bégin, because they knew the road well. Then night fell. It was late in the fall. Five or six girls had left together.

That's how we did it. We walked at night. If someone was nervous and afraid, he was better to stay home. But if he didn't think about anything and walked naturally as if it were day, in ten minutes at most, he could see clearly. When I go fishing at Lac des Pères in the fall, night comes early, around 6:30 or 7:00. I never go down before 10:30 or 11:00 at night.

Three years ago, I took at least 40 or 45 trout from Lac des Pères. They weighed between three and a half and three and three quarter pounds. They were those type of trout. I didn't take too many at a time, one or two, sometimes three. Once, I took four on the same trip. It was mostly the joy of catching them, not just being able to say: "I eat trout." It's the joy of having it on the end of the line and fighting to land it.

I fish in the middle of the lake in a boat. When you're sitting on a beautiful three-and-a-half-pount trout, and it's not too cold, and the trout is ornery, it fights like crazy. These are speckled trout, or salmon trout. They're very aggressive. Those who fish for ouananiche truly believe it's the real trout. These are as aggressive as ouananiche, if not more so. They take off with the line. They're alive, not dead in the water. You manage to hook it, and at that moment, it starts to fight. Sometimes, when I have to give it line, I'm wary. I bought myself a good rod. You eventually get the hang of it. I land a three-and-a-quarter-pound, three-and-a-half-pound trout in about 35, 40 seconds, sometimes a minute. Some people may take four or five minutes. Personally, I don't have any time to waste.

It's better in the fall or spring. I don't use bait. I'm not a traitor, no lures, no worms, just dry flies. I begin fly fishing as soon as the ice goes out. I fly fish until the ice forms around the end of my rod. I use mainly a red fly, especially the Laurentian. It depends on the weather and how far we are into the year. I don't cast or troll fish.

I bought myself a quality rod, in fibreglass. With a small reel and a fairly light fly. I've always done this. I like a steel rod but it's tiring. When I went into the back woods with Father Augustin, we had killed seven partridges with a steel rod. When you go fishing in late August, the partidges in the back woods don't fly

off. They're not frightened by the chicks' beating. The mother is also larger than the others and always has her feathers ruffled. She's always ornery, always angry. We took our rods and put a hare snare on with a ring. A partridge is stupid, really stupid. It stretches its neck out deliberately. It likes to strut. It stretches its neck out, right into the snare. You give a little tug and it's caught. You bring it down to the ground and twist its neck. Then you go after the others. They don't take off if the mother is gone.

I never saw a more determined fisherman than Father Augustin. He was skilled, a good fisherman and persistent. I had quite the teacher.

GLOSSARY

[Not necessary in English]

6

Life In My Father's Footsteps

Marc Brubacher

(Analysis of Life Story)

INTRODUCTION

This analysis focuses on the stages that have affected the life of a German immigrant to the Saguenay. Through this life story, the image of an original and an adopted culture, the French Canadian culture, is profiled. For approximately 50 years, Marc Brubacher lived, worked and raised his family in the region. Through his account, we will therefore attempt to perceive how an immigrant manages to integrate into a region such as the Saguenay. Obviously, we do not presume to provide the reader with a recurring model of adaptation. However, certain comments, by their accuracy, clearly show that any determination to integrate into a community is directly linked with a form of identification, be it religion, culture or language.

The first section deals with the Brubachers' origin; the second part, with the young Brubacher's education. Professional life follows; this includes both the relationships within the community and the factory work or the more social involvement.

The Brubachers' origins

A German father

Our subject, Marc Brubacher, was born in Auclair, Wisconsin, on 25 July 1918. He does not remember his grandfather or his grandmother. Apparently, his parents, particularly his father, never talked to him about his grandparents.

His father was William Brubacher. He was born in 1885 in Aschaffenburg, near Frankfurt, Germany. During his military service, he was forced to learn two foreign languages, English and French. This skill would prove to be a decisive factor in the young Brubacher's career. In fact, William Price went to Europe to hire young engineers specialized in paper manufacturing. He met William Brubacher in France where "he was specializing in paper" and offered him a job in his company. His knowledge, both of his profession and of the two main languages used in Canada, encouraged him to seek adventure in North America around 1911 or 1912. At the turn of the century, William Price III implemented major changes to adapt the family business to the demands of a modern economy. He opened pulp and paper mills across the country. In the Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean region, the Price family had owned vast tracts of

land since 1850, which ensured the supply of wood to the new factories that opened in Jonquière (1902) and Kénogami (1910).[81]

From his arrival in Kénogami, the subject's father established relationships with those we could call "the regional elite".

> *While he worked in Kénogami, he made several friends. He struck up a friendship with Monseignor Eugène Lapointe, with Verreault, the notary, and with the Price family.* (#)

William Brubacher, therefore, established a network of friends. However, the onset of hostilities in Europe triggered a hunt for Germans nationals living in Canada. Marc's father was locked up in a prison camp. He managed to escape and make his way to the United States, which was neutral at the beginning of the conflict.

The father's war experiences become the foundation of this life story. In this respect, Marc seems to have memorized his father's history as if he himself had lived it. He, however, was born in 1918. The paternal adventure during the First World War is described succinctly. All his father's pilgrimages aim to illustrate the Canadians' refusal to accept a German's continued

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[81] Camil Girard, "L'implantation de la grande industrie", in C. Girard and N. Perron, *Histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean*, Quebec City: IQRC, 1989, pp. 309 and ff.

freedom on national soil. According to the subject, the declaration of war by England and the Commonwealth on Germany launched a hunt for German nationals living on Canadian soil. After their capture, they were sent to prison camps scattered throughout the country, particularly in Ontario.

In his account, Marc shows that the First World War was a difficult experience for German immigrants. He knows that because of his background, his father was considered an enemy by the authorities of the day; he was considered a soldier of the German army who should normally have returned to his homeland.

However, the United States provided him with a new homeland. There William Brubacher married a young French Canadian woman he had met in the Saguenay, whom he met again in New York City. The couple settled in Wisconsin, where Marc was born in 1918.

A French Canadian mother

Our subject's mother was Marie-Paule Verreault. William met her during a party.

> *My father met my mother at a party. She had come from Saint-Jean-Port-Joli to visit her brother. My wife's mother also attended these parties.* (#)

During such parties, which were typical of the French Canadian culture of the time, first meetings took place under the parents' watchful eyes. Marc's father already appeared to have integrated into the community. In fact, everything seemed to contribute to facilitating the young engineer's adaptation into an environment where all doors seemed open. The fact the Brubachers were Catholic appeared to generate an immediate affinity toward this newcomer, who, in addition, had a command of French, while being at ease with the essentially Anglophone employers who managed major industry in the region.

In short, the factors that facilitated Marc's father's arrival were based on his training in chemistry, which ensured him a job in the Price factories. He spoke French and was Catholic, which made him an ideal candidate in a region such as the Saguenay. He eventually married a woman of the region who followed him to the United States. This initial contact with the region allowed the Brubachers to forge links that made them feel a certain attachment to this area.

Furthermore, it is clear that for the host society of the Saguenay at the beginning of the century, religion was vitally important and any immigrant would no doubt be surrounded by devout Catholics. A command of French was a key factor for anyone who wanted to communicate effectively with the many factory workers. Marc's father could therefore benefit from his multilingualism in labour

relations in an exclusively Francophone area and in his dealings with the Anglophone employers. As we will see in the section on professional life, Marc's father therefore served as an example: although spent primarily in the Saguenay, the son's life was a continuation of the deep relationship with the father's life, with which the son identified.

A bicultural childhood

Through his parents, his German father and his French Canadian mother, our subject was faced with two cultures:

> *At home, we all spoke French to my mother and English to my father. Sometimes, at the table, we switched languages in the middle of a sentence. My mother spoke English very well, but I couldn't speak to her in this language. It was an obstacle. She raised us. I wasn't able to speak to her in English.* (#)

There is a clear distinction between the father and the mother. Outside the home, in Auclair, Wisconsin, the Anglophone environment forced the family to speak English. However, the return home meant a return to a different culture represented by the mother, who insisted her children learn and speak French at least in the privacy of the family. In fact, we find a mother who acted as guardian of the mother tongue and Francophone culture, while the

father came to symbolize the relationships with public life. Hence, the distinction between the father and mother is also the distinction between public and private life.

The mix of cultures appeared to promote a certain openness toward the various ethnic groups that surrounded Marc. It appears that within the family circle, the maternal culture took precedence. Thus, the young Brubacher learned two languages and adapted to learning two cultures: one experienced in his private life and the other, in his public life. In his professional and social life, he knew how to capitalize on this ambivalence, since he knew how to integrate into two cultures throughout his life.

The subject had a German father and a French Canadian mother. As a result, from a young age he was initiated into two cultures and had a perfect command of English and French. In fact, his youth was spent in permanent contact with English, the language of school and contacts with the host society. He used French when he returned home, since he spoke only French with his mother.

The development of this life story is based exclusively on the fact that the son identified with his father who, like a hero, appeared to have lived extraordinary adventures. This father had come from Germany and had to show his courage and ingenuity to survive during the First World War, when he was a newcomer to Canada.

This father's history resembled a true adventure in which the hero dodges the most difficult obstacles. The son shaped his account by recalling his father's escape from a German internment camp located in Ontario. He recalls being an impressionable little boy fascinated with his father's war adventures. William Brubacher's marriage clearly illustrates this determination to remain in America and build his life there. Due to the problems related to the war, Marc was born in the United States. American-born with a German-Saguenay background, he appeared to follow his fate which inevitably led him back to the Saguenay region.

Education

Studies in the United States

During the 1930s, the Brubacher family settled in Ontario. Marc attended high school in Kapuskasing. There, various cultures lived side by side:

> *It was mixed: Catholic and Protestant, English and French. It wasn't a bad experience because we knew each other better; we made friends. There wasn't any prejudice in our group. I think it's good to be mixed like that: a lot of the prejudices fall away. In all the scout camps, we were mixed: Protestants, Catholics, French Canadians, Poles.* (#)

Therefore, his schooling provided an opportunity for him to meet people and make friends while maintaining contact with other cultures and other lifestyles. He is aware that this was a beneficial experience. After two years of college, he went to university in Indiana. He earned a chemical engineering degree in 1943.

He quickly chose a discipline that offered many career opportunities. In fact, the forestry and paper industry still suffers a shortage of qualified engineers today. At the time, young Francophones in Quebec turned to the humanities, not the sciences, a sector with a high demand for workers. The proof is that at the time, major industry leaders travelled abroad looking for skilled workers.

The first job

At the beginning of the Second World War, fear of the Germans led certain factories to fire their German employees. Marc's father lost his job in Ontario. He returned to Niagara, Wisconsin, in the United States. According to our subject, the union in Kapuskasing contacted the union in Niagara, Wisconsin, to warn it of the Brubacher's German background. Marc's father was forced to leave and return to Kapuskasing. Without work, he could no longer pay for his son's university courses. Marc left for Montreal, where he worked for a cousin. At this point in his life story, William

Brubacher's contacts with the priest in Kapuskasing came into play. A network of solidarity was established. The priest contacted the Consolidated Bathurst company in La Baie. He offered the young Brubacher's services, who was hired on the spot as a junior engineer.

He had the opportunity to work with French Canadians and has good memories of the experience. Nevertheless, when the time came to make a career choice for this company, he declined the offer. He found the company managers' decision-making powers too limited.

> *The Consol' seemed too small to have a future. That was one of the problems. When someone needed something, a chair, for example, you had to write to Montreal. There was no autonomy.* (#)

The young engineer found this creative autonomy in his work at the Alcan company. He quickly obtained positions of authority, with several employees under his supervision. In fact, the job of engineer at Alcan was highly coveted and brought with it a certain individual and social prestige.

Due to his education, the young engineer very closely fit the profile the company was seeking. With his love of the outdoors, hunting and fishing, he did not object to settling in a remote area. He married a Francophone woman, spoke both languages very

well, which was very important for managers, who were mostly Anglophones concentrated in Montreal. In short, he represented the young manager with a future whom the company wanted to employ and for whom the company could develop a career plan to satisfy the young engineer's ambitions.

He also had some experience: his summer jobs as a student-employee gave him the opportunity to familiarize himself with work in an industrial setting. He learned quickly and formed his own team.

> *I formed a good team of workers; it was a pleasure to work. They were mainly French Canadians. When I arrived, an American was manager and chief engineer; his name was Cain. After that came two Canadian engineers. The general laboratory foreman was Armand Bergeron; he came from the region.* (#)

Working with French Canadians did not prevent him from establishing contacts with members of other ethnic groups. Marc's first contacts were made through a Dane who came to talk to him and whom he befriended.

> *That year I met a Dane, a Mr. Rasmussen. I think he raised 21 children. On my first day at the factory, he came to talk to me. He had heard of my father on the East coast. He invited me to his home after work. He was a man*

who really liked to discuss things. He invited me to the ski club. People met there once a week for a dance. (#)

The solidarity and cooperation among the employees facilitated Marc's integration into his new environment. His knowledge of French facilitated his integration with the mainly French-speaking Catholic workers. This factor definitely made the young engineer feel welcome in the community.

Leisure

Like his father, the subject married a woman from the region. In this respect, we must point out that the son's life story unfolded like his father's, to the point of confusing the two. Hence, from his arrival in the region, he was able to capitalize on the many contacts that his father had already established during his time in the Saguenay region. The bonds with maternal relatives undoubtedly facilitated the family's continued contact with French Canadians.

As a young graduate of an American institution specializing in chemistry, the young engineer continued in his father's footsteps and acquired the tools needed to pursue a career with a multinational company operating in the Saguenay. Marc quickly became associated with the local elite, with whom he identified. Monseignor Eugène Lapointe, founder of the Catholic union in the

region, was subsequently chosen to perform Marc's marriage to Marguerite Pouliot, who came from La Baie, on 16 September 1944.

His education, his university studies, all played a role in the dynamics that fostered the young man's ambitions. Through his Catholic and French Canadian background and his knowledge of chemistry, he could have expected to enjoy an enriching career in the region. Through his openness to other cultures, he was already naturally tolerant. He benefitted from this learning throughout his life.

When he finished university, he had a choice of careers. He preferred working for the Alcan company which, in his view, better allowed people to develop a certain autonomy on the job. Upon entering the company, he was immediately promised a brilliant future. In addition to his professional qualities, he was perfectly bilingual, which, in an almost exclusively Francophone environment, opened quite a few doors since several major company managers in the region at the time spoke only English. Furthermore, he liked living in a region far from big cities. He preferred the tranquillity of the country which allowed him to practise his favourite sports, such as skiing, hunting and fishing.

Professional life

Contacts and relationships

When Marc's father arrived in the Saguenay region, the relationships he forged with various important people were immediate proof of a determination to integrate into the Saguenay community, particularly because he married a French Canadian. However, because of the nature of his career, this integration was identified with a certain regional elite. Several contacts were made within the Anglophone and Francophone communities in the region. However, the subject found that certain distinctions characterized the two communities: one was more rigorous than the other in service organization and management.

> *When these guys (the Anglophones) were here, golf clubs, swimming clubs, everything worked. It was managed. When we start taking over, all hell breaks loose. One by one, everything falls apart. They had very strict rules. The French Canadians weren't used to such rigour.* (#)

In a region like the Saguenay, the Anglophone community primarily depended on the support of specialized workers who worked either in large paper mills or in the Alcan complex in Arvida, which

experienced unprecedented growth during the Second World War.[82] People other than Francophones who decided to settle in the region were rare, at least after the war. It was not uncommon to find that when there was an opening in a centrally located company, Anglophones would return to an area where the opportunities to speak English were more frequent. Furthermore, Marc noted that the region's English population was dwindling and that this constituted a real loss for the region.

> *The Anglophones' departure was a loss for the region. A lot of Anglophones came to work here, but their wives found it boring. They would leave. Even the engineers who married French Canadian women found there weren't enough operas, stores, and that people in Chicoutimi were snobs. Within a year, they were fed up. If we could not find them a job in Montreal, they would quit the company.* (#)

In fact, the networks formed as a result of the transfers to some extent facilitated a certain adaptation while encouraging a certain withdrawal into oneself. Cooperation was based on the needs of the new member of the community. Everyone eventually met during social events. To some degree, the lack of cultural infrastructures

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[82] Camil Girard, "Changements structurels de l'économie et grande entreprise", in C. Girard and N. Perron, *Histoire du Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean*, Quebec City: IQRC, 1989, p. 473 and ff.

appeared to be a major disadvantage for the many employees forced to come to work in the region. In fact, total French immersion could be perceived as another factor preventing adaptation, primarily for unilingual Anglophones. Whenever someone has to conduct business of any nature, that person must speak French.

Therefore, people who are open to other cultures and other lifestyles adapt more easily to such situations. The subject appears to be an important example. Granted, he spoke French very well, which gave him a distinct advantage over a colleague who could speak only English. However, he admits never having experienced any animosity from the Francophones he dealt with.

> *Back then, we shook hands. When you've been here for such a long time, people start to get to know you. Even if we didn't know each other's name, we knew one another, mainly because we spoke French. The unilingual Anglophones left; they didn't stay.* (#)

In fact, this integration took place over quite a long period of time. Another important factor was that Marc's wife was French Canadian. That is what facilitated communication between the son of immigrants and the host society. In brief, his integration depended on several factors. Command of French allowed him to communicate effectively with those around him. The desire to settle in the region where he could work and pursue his career while raising his

family, the opportunity to practise his favourite sports, and the quality of life in a northern region were other significant factors.

Work in the factory

Marc started working for Alcan in January 1944. The demand for aluminum during the war forced the company to look for workers outside the region, since it could not keep up with demand.

> *They needed aluminum. We were the ones who supplied the heavy framework for Shipshaw. In 1942-43, a lot of aluminum was produced. A lot of people came: Poles, people from Halifax, Saskatchewan. The Poles mainly worked on building railways, pick and shovel work. Some worked in the laboratory, but they mainly did pick and shovel work.* (#)

These years of great production fostered the arrival of workers with various backgrounds. Marc was already a regular employee of the company. He saw some of the company's major production years. Throughout the years, he noted that the computerization of procedures facilitated the work, while decreasing the number of employees.

At that time, we had production problems. When it didn't work, it really didn't work. During the big production years, I think there must have been 2,000 or 2,500 employees. During the early years, it was a lot of work. The equipment broke down; there was a lot of manual labour. It was simplistic and not very fair. It improved and as it improved, fewer workers were required. We didn't have a computer at the time; that was just starting. Since the arrival of computers, the process has been controlled. (#)

The advent of computers resulted in changes within the company. In the beginning, several production problems resulted from the employees' inexperience. In the long run, there was an improvement thanks in part to the hiring of qualified employees and to the introduction of a form of quality control facilitated by computerization of production operations. The subject was fortunate to witness these changes by virtue of his position of authority within the company. Like the employees, he had to adapt to the new technology and the new forms of control at work.

Throughout his career at Alcan, he was required to continue his education. He therefore took courses in administration and labour relations. He was required to make several trips outside the region.

During the whole time I worked at Alcan, we had to take courses almost continually. In 1957, they sent me on a five-week course out in Halifax. It was a general course on finance and planning. I also took computer, human relations, and labour relations courses. I also took T-group courses. (#)

Marc's career therefore developed based on the changes that required the implementation of new technologies. The company had to constantly make its operations more profitable by improving its production procedures.

Social involvement

Marc never took an active role in politics. Nonetheless, he had very definite ideas on the subject. He noted that separatism had been the reason why many Anglophones left. In general, they went to live in Ontario, either Kingston or Ottawa. For his part, Marc admitted that there was never a question of his family leaving the region.

For us, it wasn't an issue. I am quite well established in the region. I have some friends who are separatists, but we don't talk about that. I'm not a separatist. I think if we separate, we will sorely regret it because the Anglophones will want to hurt Quebec in some way or

other. They are quite mean-spirited. If they see us reducing the Anglophones' privileges just as they are doing... like allowing languages. How will they work in a common market? (#)

This quote shows us a certain unease on the subject's part. He questioned the relevance of limiting Anglophones' privileges. In fact, he feared the Anglophones' retaliation toward the Francophones. This fear is a sign of a certain knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon power. In fact, the subject seems critical of a situation that has gone on for too long in Quebec.

...The Orangemen had the power. All the positions were decided by them. There weren't any Catholics or French Canadians in the top positions. They were everywhere in Quebec. (...) Price was dominated by them; so were the mining industries. Nothing was controlled by French Canadians. In the 50s, things started to change. Maybe we don't have the papers to prove the Orangemen's control, but it was a large group that held meetings in Quebec. These groups met and made decisions. The Catholics never got the positions they deserved, even if they were qualified. When Dave Ferguson arrived here, he came from the West and spoke French quite well. He saw through all that. He fired two or three guys; one was the manager of Isle-Maligne. He started recruiting engineers from McGill

and the Polytechnique. There was a shortage of engineers. He wanted French Canadian engineers. (#)

Hence, he noted that for certain Orangemen, not only was a French background a negative factor, but religion also played a decisive role. Marc insisted on dissociating himself from such groups. Through his religion, his language and his marriage, Marc willingly integrated into the general society of the region. Through his Franco-Germanic roots, he refused any form of segregation that existed in a given era within small marginal groups that held significant powers, even within major industry in Quebec.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the life story of Marc Brubacher centres around integration, which hinged on three factors. First, he was attached to the French Canadian culture through his mother's Catholic religion; she was originally from Quebec. Second, his childhood and education took place in two languages, English and French. This advantage quickly provided him with the ease to adapt and understand when he was called on to work in a bilingual environment. Third, his work surrounded him with French-speaking and English-speaking people, in the company where he worked. He identified himself with the Francophones when he supervised his employees who were generally day labourers; he identified himself to the Anglophones, his superiors, when he held the highest positions in the company. He therefore became sensitized to the French fact and the limited opportunities of advancement for Francophones in a particular era.

By observing the various processes of integration, our subject was forced to admit that Anglophones generally represented a certain elite. Nevertheless, he noticed that a change was occurring in a multinational company such as Alcan and that the company subsequently offered career paths to French Canadians.

His life therefore appears to revolve around an account in which the main actor deeply identifies with his father and mother. He

recreated his own family's model by marrying a French Canadian and settling in the region. He learned to understand and love this northern land where he worked and raised his family. He now spends his retirement there surrounded by children and grandchildren.

APPENDIX

Brubacher family tree based on life story

Woman

Man

Marriage

Relationship

[Insert the family tree from French version.]

Graphics: Jean-François Moreau,

Archeology Laboratory, UQAC

6.1

MARC BRUBACHER

(Life Story)

INFORMATION ON THE SUBJECT

FAMILY NAME:	Brubacher
GIVEN NAME:	Marc
DATE OF BIRTH:	25 July 1918
PLACE OF BIRTH:	Auclair, Wisconsin
MARITAL STATUS:	married
DATE OF MARRIAGE:	16 September 1944
SPOUSE'S NAME:	Marguerite Pouliot
CHILDREN:	3 sons, 2 miscarriages
OCCUPATION:	chemical engineer
EDUCATION:	Primary and high school: Kapuskasing High School of Commerce Loyola College
University Studies:	Tristate College of Engineering, Indiana

Interviewer: Camil Girard

SUMMARY

Marc Brubacher was born in Wisconsin, in the United States, on 25 July 1918. His father was German. After his university studies in the United States, he came to work in the Saguenay region in the Alcan mill in Arvida. Through his position as engineer in the company, Marc witnessed the changes that took place in the company during this 40-year career.

In terms of integration into his adoptive region, he considers himself a Saguenay resident. He married a French Canadian during the Second World War. They had three sons. Marc noted certain differences between the Francophone and Anglophone cultures. According to him, there is a certain lack of discipline among Francophones. Consequently, he noted a certain laxity in sports or other facilities. A nature lover, he admitted that he could not live in a big city. The quality of life in the region suited him perfectly, since his favourite pastimes are hunting and fishing.

Marc Brubacher is definitely an example of integration. He has a perfect command of both official languages, which has opened many doors to him in the region's French-speaking majority community.

LIST OF PEOPLE MENTIONED

His wife	Marguerite Pouliot
His father	William Brubacher
His mother	Marie-Paule Verreault
His grandfather	Jean
An industrialist	Sir William Price
Friends of his father	Monseignor Eugène Lapointe
	Verreault, a notary
	Robert Young
His brother	Jean-Léon
His sister	Charlotte
A general foreman	Armand Bergeron
A friend	Rasmussen
His children	Carl
	Paul
	Éric
Eric's associate	Luc Gravel
A leader of a political party	Parizeau
A master fisherman	Élie Gagnon
A soldier	Lieutenant Coulombe
Mill managers	Dave Ferguson
	Leblanc
	Girard

LIST OF PLACES MENTIONED

Germany

England

Arvida

Aschaffenburg

Auclair

Bagotville

Bavaria

Canada

Chicoutimi

Chicoutimi-Nord

United States

Europe

Florida

France

Guyana

Halifax

Maligne Island

Anticosti Island

Indiana

Jamaica

Jonquière

Kapuskasing

Kénogami

Kingston

La Baie

La Tuque

Lac Clair

Laterrière

Thousand Islands

Montreal

Morin Heights

New York City

Niagara, Wisconsin

Onatchiway

Ontario

Ottawa

Paris

Quebec

Sainte-Marguerite River

Lavoisier Street

Wake Street

Saint-Félix d'Otis

Saint-Jean-Port-Joli

Saint-Siméon

Saskatchewan

Shipshaw

Summit

Wisconsin

PART I

Origins

My name is Marc Brubacher. I was born on 25 July 1918 in Auclair, Wisconsin. My wife's name is Marguerite Pouliot; we were married in 1944. We have three sons; my wife suffered two miscarriages.

During most of my life, I worked at Alcan as a chemical engineer. I started working at Alcan in 1943 as a student. In 1944, I became a permanent employee and I worked until 1980.

My primary and secondary schooling was obtained at the high school of commerce in Kapuskasing, Ontario. I studied there for eight years; I then attended Loyola College for two years. Finally, I attended university at Tristate College of Engineering, in Indiana, where I studied from 1939 to 1940. I then interrupted my studies until 1943 when I returned and earned my bachelor's degree in chemical engineering.

Ancestry

My father was William Brubacher; my mother, Marie-Paule Verreault, came from Saint-Jean-Port-Joli. They met in Jonquière at a party. I don't know a lot about by grandfather. I know that he came here with my father. He apparently died in Jonquière and was buried here. My father never talked a lot about it; my cousin told me about it. My grandfather's name was Jean. I don't remember my

grandmother. My father had a lot of keepsakes, but when he left Kapuskasing to find work, he stored our belongings in a Jewish home in Montreal which later burned down. We lost our memories.

My father was born in Aschaffenburg in Bavaria, Germany. He studied chemistry in university. Upon graduation, he was forced to serve in the German army. During his training, he was forced to learn to read and write two languages: French and English. He specialized in paper technology. After his military service, he went to work in France. At the time, a certain Sir William Price was looking for engineers to work at his factory in Kénogami. He convinced my father to come here to work; that was in 1911 or 1912.

While he worked in Kénogami, he made several friends. He struck up a friendship with Monseignor Eugène Lapointe, with Verreault, the notary, and with the Price family. My father met my mother at a party. She had come from Saint-Jean-Port-Joli to visit her brother. My wife's mother also attended these parties.

War breaks out

In 1914, war was declared and my father was interned because he was an officer in the German army. They sent him to Fort Kent in Kingston. During his detention, he met another soldier. He was in a train. At one point, he thought he was in the United States. He said: "Thank God, I'm in the States now." However, he was not in

the United States: he was still in Canada. They detained him as well because he was German. He and my father became friends. My father tried to escape once but was unsuccessful. They caught him right away. The second time, he asked for permission to plant a garden. During his daily walk, he said that he would tend to his garden, but in fact he was digging a tunnel to escape. He told no one, but his friend Robert Young realized what was going on. He asked him: "What are you doing there? Digging a hole? My father answered: "But of course." His friend said: "You'd be best to dig on the spot where we are standing; otherwise, it'll take you an extra month." My father and his friend had checked everything out. They knew when the guards walked by. One day, after the parades, he asked two of his friends to come into the hole: they escaped during the night. They jumped the wall, then took the boat from the base to go the Thousand Islands. They hid during the day and travelled at night. They managed to get to the United States. They met an American actress of German origin who took care of them. She clothed them, fed them and gave them pocket money. My father found work in various paper mills in the United States. Later, he had my mother come to New York City. She had a married sister living there. My father and mother were married in New York City. They then moved to Wisconsin, where I was born. My father worked in a paper mill in Auclair.

A brief return to the native country

After the war, in 1923, we went on a trip to Germany and stayed with one of my father's sisters. We spent a year in Europe. We travelled around France and Germany. I remember two or three things about this trip. I remember going up a river. I also remember that in France, my father had bought me a little car that I could drive around in. I also remember my aunt. When she wanted to give me something, I had to get down on my knees and say: "Bitte, bitte" (Please, please.) Two of my cousins also had electric cars which were fascinating.

In my family, I had a brother, Jean-Léon, and a sister, Charlotte. They are younger than I am. My sister died when she was eight. My brother is still living; he lives in Montreal. He is a crane installer. He had two daughters, both teachers. One works with the Inuit, the other is in the United States temporarily. My brother works installing and developing estimates for conveyors and cranes.

PART II

Return to Canada

After the trip to Germany, we returned to Quebec for a few months. My father was hired in a paper mill in Niagara, Wisconsin, the Kimberley Clark company, which manufactures Kotex products. The

company decided to open a new factory in northern Ontario in Kapuskasing. They sent my father to set up the factory and oversee operations. That was in 1927.

In 1939, war broke out again. At the time, the Ontario Legion and Ontario in general were very fanatical toward French Canadians, Catholics and above all Germans. The Legion wrote a letter to the company stating that my father should leave since he was an enemy. In 1939, the company did not react; in 1940, when the Germans started bombing England, Germans working in the factory all lost their jobs. They sent my father to Niagara, Wisconsin. The Americans were not at war at the time. The union in Kapuskasing wrote to the company union in the United States and revealed that my father was German: he was forced to leave. He returned to Kapuskasing.

In 1940, the police chief sent for my brother and me. During the Second World War, the authorities gave me an identification card. I no longer have mine, but my brother kept his. I couldn't get any work. I tried to get work in a lot of places, but with this card, I was barred from everything. In Quebec, I had no problems. When I started to work for Consol Stone, they knew I had this card because the priest had explained our situation to them in a letter. The mounties came to question me two or three times. They told me to shut my mouth. This card was a mistake. They apologized afterwards. They should never have registered us as the enemy. We got rid of

our guns; we had given them to our neighbours. We were forced to go to the police station. They gave us an identification card that classified us as the enemy. We objected. They admitted that it was a mistake. The complication occurred mainly because they had not realized that I was an American citizen. It was not clear. They said: "He's the enemy." I no longer have my American citizenship, but it would be easy enough to get it. We found it pretty idiotic. We were members of all sorts of organizations, scouts, etc. I was nine when we arrived. My father had his naturalization papers. It was difficult to find a job. He no longer worked. I had to stop my studies at Tristate. I went to Montreal where one of my cousins lived. He gave me a job: it was more or less a clerk's job. I stayed there for two or three months.

The job search

In the meantime, I received a telephone call from the head office of Consolidated Bathurst of Montreal. The priest in Kapuskasing, a friend of my father's, had contacts in this company. He wrote to the company and explained my situation. They called me into the office and hired me on the spot as a junior engineer. I was accepted because the folks in that neck of the woods were pretty much against war. People were more or less against the English and war. I had to be careful because the mounties followed us everywhere. It was best for us not to talk. Some people said: "Hey, damn it! The Germans have landed!" My father was a devout Catholic.

That's how he knew the priest in Kapuskasing. He often came to visit us.

Learning two languages

At home, we all spoke French to my mother and English to my father. Sometimes, at the table, we switched languages in the middle of a sentence. My mother spoke English very well, but I couldn't speak to her in this language. It was an obstacle. She raised us. I wasn't able to speak to her in English. We were used to that. I attended high school in Kapuskasing. For the first part of the course, classes were separated. Later, the high school was built. It was mixed: Catholic and Protestant, English and French.

It wasn't a bad experience because we knew each other better; we made friends. There wasn't any prejudice in our group. I think it's good to be mixed like that: a lot of the prejudices fall away. In all the scout camps, we were mixed: Protestants, Catholics, French Canadians, Poles. It was a whole group, but in the factory people from different ethnic backgrounds were separated. There weren't many French Canadians.

When I arrived in La Baie, I was 22 years old. I started working in the laboratory. The first thing I did was conduct a study on electrical failures that affected every engine when it was overloaded. I had to compile statistics. Then, I moved up to paper

tests on the machines. I formed a good team of workers; it was a pleasure to work. They were mainly French Canadians. When I arrived, an American was manager and chief engineer; his name was Cain. After that came two Canadian engineers. The general laboratory foreman was Armand Bergeron; he came from the region.

Contacts in the region

That year I met a Dane, a Mr. Rasmussen. I think he raised 21 children. On my first day at the factory, he came to talk to me. He had heard of my father on the East coast. He invited me to his home after work. He was a man who really liked to discuss things. He invited me to the ski club. People met there once a week for a dance.

I went there with his two sons and there I met my wife. We were skiing together. When I returned to study in Indiana, my wife and I kept in touch. We wrote all the time. She's two years younger than I am. We courted for two or three years. I did not pop the big question. Her father no doubt knew that we would get married: he knew that we saw each other often. We were married in the church in Bagotville. Monseignor Eugène Lapointe married us. He was not young at the time; that was three or four years before he died.

We were married early one morning. One of my friends drove us to Saint-Siméon to take the boat. We boarded the *Canada Steamship* and

went to Montreal. My mother had rented an apartment for me in Montreal and my father had lent me his car. We rented a cottage north of Montreal. I think it was Chalet Cauchon. My father and mother came to visit us once. We stayed there for two weeks and then we returned here.

We had a good group of friends. I wanted to complete my studies. In 1942, I was allowed to return to the United States to study. I returned to work in La Baie as a student during the summer. I completed my program in December 1943. The summer when I returned here, I applied to work at Alcan. The Consol' seemed too small to have a future. That was one of the problems. When someone needed something, a chair, for example, you had to write to Montreal. There was no autonomy.

PART III

Professional life

I worked in Arvida as a summer student. They asked me if I would be prepared to return when I was finished with my studies. I accepted. I started working at Alcan in January 1944. I wrote to my captain. I wanted to finish my program and enlist in the army. I would have liked to join the Canadian army. However, at the end of my studies, they no longer wanted us to go into the army. There are engineers at Alcan who had enlisted but the company forced them to return to

work. They needed aluminum. We were the ones who supplied the heavy framework for Shipshaw. In 1942-43, a lot of aluminum was produced. A lot of people came: Poles, people from Halifax, Saskatchewan. The Poles mainly worked on building railways, pick and shovel work. Some worked in the laboratory, but they mainly did pick and shovel work.

I started at the bauxite factory, in the chemistry department. Eventually, I was manager of the chemistry factory, the Vaudreuil factory. A lot of people worked there. At the time, there was a chloride plant and two acid plants. Today, it's all shut down. At that time, we had production problems. When it didn't work, it really didn't work. During the big production years, I think there must have been 2,000 or 2,500 employees. During the early years, it was a lot of work. The equipment broke down; there was a lot of manual labour. It was simplistic and not very fair. It improved and as it improved, fewer workers were required. We didn't have a computer at the time; that was just starting. Since the arrival of computers, the process has been controlled.

At first, when we wanted to change a worn-out pump, it would take three or four days. We had to do all the calculations by hand, use the friction tables, factor in the number of elbows, the height. It was all done by hand. Today, all you do is push a couple of buttons. I remember that in the beginning, we took our own samples to ensure that everything had been done properly. We sometimes had

an hourly employee take care of that. After a while, they trained technicians who did the work previously done by engineers. That freed things up a little.

Modernizing the factory

The work became sophisticated in all sectors and it's still continuing to this day. Today, engineering graduates have a whole lot of background that we don't have. They have computer knowledge. When I started working at Alcan, there were no big salaries. Especially since I had a family to support. We paid for everything, even miscarriages. It took me several years to pay off my debt to the hospital in Chicoutimi. You went to the hospital then and before they sent you to your room, you had to prove that you could pay. Insurance did not cover this. It was expensive. Then, you had to buy little things for the children. That meant that even with a reasonable salary, the expenses would eat away your budget.

The family line

We were married on 16 September 1944 and our first son, Carl, was born on 26 December 1948. Our second child, Paul arrived in 1952. Éric, the last one, arrived on New Year's Day in 1956. My wife had all the children in the hospital: one was born in the hospital in Arvida; the other two, in Jonquière.

Carl is a film-maker. Éric is a partner with Luc Gravel, repairing motorcycles. They work in Chicoutimi-Nord. Paul worked for the Canadian Bank. He then applied to the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi. He earned a certificate in psychology. He wants to go to Université Laval to get his bachelor's degree in psychological counselling. When he reached school age, we sent him the University of Ottawa. He was there for six months, then he returned. He interrupted his studies for three years, then he returned. He said: "I don't know why I interrupted my studies: I really love that."

We always encouraged them to study. Carl is a teacher at the CÉGEP. When he was young, he didn't know what to do. I sent him to Montreal to take some tests, to find out what field might interest him. He took an arts communications course at Loyola. He clearly liked that. He was in his element. When he returned here, he took photos. What he likes most is film-making.

My second son is into motorcycles. He seems to like that. We sent him to the CÉGEP in Montreal, but that didn't work out. It's a real joke at the CÉGEP: he left the CÉGEP with a diploma, after taking tests in courses he never attended! He passed the course. It was a joke. CÉGEPs have been in need of a review for a long time. The two other children are quite happy with their university studies.

Éric has three daughters, including twins. They will be three; the eldest is five. Two other children are on the way. Paul is

expecting one in September and Carl in May. He married a little cutie; she's 31 years old.

Exile of the Anglophones

When we returned from our honeymoon, we lived in an apartment building on Wake Street. Alcan had arranged this, but it wasn't free. We were a group of newlyweds in that area. The children and women had fun together in the big sandbox nearby.

When separatism became a major issue in the region, in recent years, a whole group of friends left. A lot of our English friends went to Kingston or Ottawa. Even some French Canadians left; they went to Ottawa and Kingston. Some good pension funds left Quebec for Ontario. For us, it wasn't an issue. I am quite well established in the region. I have some friends who are separatists, but we don't talk about that. I'm not a separatist. I think if we separate, we will sorely regret it because the Anglophones will want to hurt Quebec in some way or other. They are quite mean-spirited. If they see us reducing the Anglophones' privileges just as they are doing... like allowing languages. How will they work in a common market? We have guys from Alcan who go on vacation in Florida. They, the unilinguals, are unable to do anything in the city. They realize they are pitiful. They can't manage. We often went to Florida. I went only once by car; usually we go by plane.

It's like the unilingual sign issue. We don't need to go to that extreme to protect ourselves. What good does that do? It's a question of time. We're a pocket of six million here. In the United States, signs are in Spanish or any language in the world. In France, they don't bother with all that. They have unilingual signs as well as trilingual signs. In the larger offices, employees must speak English because of their international business dealings. My children speak English and French. They all went to Saint-Patrick in Arvida. We sent them to school, to French kindergarten. We spoke French at home.

Nowadays, French Canadian families are no longer allowed to send their children to English schools. That's crazy because young people want to learn English to get along in the world. English teachers aren't worth much. With all the free trade agreements, we can't conduct everything in French. Americans don't want to learn French to come and negotiate with us; nor do the Germans.

The political issue within families is changing with time. In the beginning, they were all separatists. It has cooled down considerably now. My youngest could never vote for Parizeau. We see it changing. They understand more. I never actively took part in politics. I went to conventions; that's about it. I still bought a Liberal party card though. However, I was already a churchwarden. That's recent. I resigned. That was on Saint Philippe's day.

Public life

I was also in the Arvida chamber of commerce for several years. I was also one of the directors of the Arvida hospital. I sat on the board of directors; that lasted for five or six years. It was interesting; I learned a lot. The hospital belonged to the Alcan company. It belongs to those who built it. They got rid of it, but still had a major role to play in its sale. Before that, there was a small wooden hospital that was inadequate. A factory with so many employees has a lot of accidents. During the first few years, people were inexperienced. There were good doctors, but the equipment was inadequate.

The Anglophones' departure was a loss for the region. A lot of Anglophones came to work here, but their wives found it boring. They would leave. Even the engineers who married French Canadian women found there weren't enough operas, stores, and that people in Chicoutimi were snobs. Within a year, they were fed up. If we could not find them a job in Montreal, they would quit the company. As we said: "If we could only find an engineer from the area..."

There was a greater chance that they would stay. When these guys (the Anglophones) were here, golf clubs, swimming clubs, everything worked. It was managed. When we start taking over, all hell breaks loose. One by one, everything falls apart. They had very strict rules. The French Canadians weren't used to such rigour.

PART IV

A certain lifestyle

I bought my first home in 1961. Previously, we had nice accommodations in four- and six-room apartments. The first house, a new one, was on Lavoisier Street. I paid $19,000 for it. The mortgage was at 11.75 percent; it wasn't very cheap. Someone gave us an icebox. We dug a hole in the cellar. We bought blocks of ice. There was a man who came around with his horse selling ice. We lived on Wake Street at the time, around 1944-45. There was also someone who sold chickens and eggs, as well as a baker. Women took the bus and did the groceries at Dominion. Then I bought this house in 1975.

I bought my first car in the United States when I was a student. It was a 1935 Ford; I paid $200 for it. I drove it into the ground: I never had any trouble with it. However, the second car was a real lemon: I had so many problems with it. It was a big Studebaker. It always broke down. It was a friend of my wife's family who sold it to me.

Continuing education

During the whole time I worked at Alcan, we had to take courses almost continually. In 1957, they sent me on a five-week course out in Halifax. It was a general course on finance and planning. I also took computer, human relations, and labour relations courses. I also took T-group courses. I don't know what it meant. They took managers from various factories, people who were quite high in the organization. We sat around a table. The monitor wasn't there. It was the part of the course when we had to look at one another. We were all strangers; we didn't know each other. All of a sudden, a man asked: "Where do you come from?" Then the conversation slowly started. The monitor asked us to introduce ourselves. Some said: "It's none of your business!" There was tension in the group. It was like being on pins and needles. This went on from morning to evening for two weeks. I saw men crying. Some took off their suitcoats. Sometimes, a group was mean. They would pounce on a guy with problems and wouldn't let go; they grilled him. It was supposed to improve the person: if someone had faults, he would correct them by listening to others. There were some guys with family problems who didn't want to talk; it was too private. That's what went on in the 1950s. Some couldn't get through the course. They had to call in the doctor to treat them in the months following the course. Before sending people on such courses, they would have you tested by psychiatrists to see if you could handle

it. These courses were held in the United States. We had our fill of them.

Labour relations

I never had problems with employees or the union. When I left the factory, they gave me a farewell party and the union heads attended. The hourly employees gave me a nice gift; that's a good sign.

I don't really remember the strike of 1944. I know it didn't last long; the army intervened. The conflict of 1956-57 was tough but the worst one was in 1976. The staff smashed windows with sledgehammers. When the managers left the factory, the guys scratched our cars from one end to the other. It wasn't funny. When they were really mad, they found ways to bother management. Unnecessary damage, idiots. A lot happened. In the long run, they were the ones who suffered because the call-backs were much slower because of the damage.

I really loved my career with Alcan. They wanted to transfer me twice. Once to Guyana; once to Jamaica. I had already been to these countries and was familiar with their systems. I said: "I don't want to get myself into such a hole." The guy who offered me this told me that this would not hurt my career. Sometimes, if you refuse, it hurts your profession. They also wanted me to go to

Montreal to help the staff. I told them I didn't want to. Montreal doesn't interest me. I love the forest; I hate the city.

Leisure

I started playing golf, but with my family it took too long. I played a little junior hockey when my sons were playing. I also did some cross-country skiing with them. Later, we bought a cottage on Lac Clair and spent our summers there. I really like fishing and hunting, mainly hunting. I no longer really hunt, but moose hunting did interest me. I must have shot five or six moose. There were always four or five of us in the group. We went to the Summit area along the railway tracks that led up to La Tuque, about three hours from Jonquière. We also went toward Onatchiway, in that area. We also went by car. My wife liked hunting small game. We have a fishing cabin in Saint-Félix d'Otis. We are friends with three other members. There is a lot of small game hunting. My youngest and oldest want nothing to do with hunting. However, they did like it when they were youngsters. My second son is crazy about hunting.

I mainly fish for trout. I already had tried the outfitters, but it wasn't all that great. I've fished on the Sainte-Marguerite River. I was invited by Alcan. I went salmon fishing several times, but I never caught anything. I went with master fishermen like Élie Gagnon, one of the best in the region, but I never caught anything.

Almost every year, my wife held a reception here. My father and mother would come from Montreal. My father died in Montreal in 1972 at the age of 87. He had a cottage in Morin Heights where he spent his summers; he'd spend the winter with us. He would spend a couple of weeks with my brother in Montreal, then he'd come here. My father died on a hot day. He had some heart problem, but he often went on walks. One day, he took a long walk. He returned to my brother's house and didn't feel well. My brother took him to the hospital where he died. My mother died in the hospital at Jonquière of a pancreatic disease in 1958 at the age of 76. When he was younger, we went small game hunting together. We went around Kaspuskasing.

I read French and English. I read all kinds of books: *Time* magazine, *Sélection*, *Actualité*.

I knew some friends who had gone to war. Two of my friends, the Rasmussens, whom I regularly skied with suddenly announced to me that they had voluntarily enlisted. They fought in Europe. Another one went: Lieutenant Coulombe. He received a lot of decorations. He died last year. A lot of French Canadians enlisted. Good for them!

Integration into the community

I consider myself a Saguenay resident. I have integrated into the community. I was always a devout Catholic, still am to this day.

All my friends are here; my wife's parents and my sons are here. I love sports. This winter, I didn't do much. I came down with bronchitis and with the cold air, I couldn't get out much. Here I dream of fishing and hunting. Last year, I took my wife deer hunting on Anticosti Island. We shot two deer; we almost got four. It's fun. My wife likes it. In the beginning, she was afraid of rifles. I took her down to the sand dune to practise. She shoots well. She has already shot a 12-gauge shotgun, when we were hunting geese. She really developed a liking for it: she wanted to go and shoot almost every day.

The best meat is moose meat. I wouldn't eat it every day though. When we went moose hunting, I cooked. I had to. Here at home, I don't cook; my wife does that. I don't like cooking.

Back then, we shook hands. When you've been here for such a long time, people start to get to know you. Even if we didn't know each other's name, we knew one another, mainly because we spoke French. The unilingual Anglophones left; they didn't stay. We had a factory manager at Alcan; his name was Ferguson. When he arrived in the 1940s, the Orangemen had the power. All the positions were decided by them. There weren't any Catholics or French Canadians in the top positions. They were everywhere in Quebec. The Orangemen and the Freemasons. Price was dominated by them; so were the mining industries. Nothing was controlled by French Canadians. In the 50s, things started to change. Maybe we don't have the papers to prove

the Orangemen's control, but it was a large group that held meetings in Quebec. These groups met and made decisions. The Catholics never got the positions they deserved, even if they were qualified. When Dave Ferguson arrived here, he came from the West and spoke French quite well. He saw through all that. He fired two or three guys; one was the manager of Maligne Island. He started recruiting engineers from McGill and the Polytechnique. There was a shortage of engineers. He wanted French Canadian engineers.

You also had to learn French. He had a team come over from Paris. They gave courses to foreigners who had come to work. They evaluated us. Then, he had another group come over; I'm not sure if it was from Université Laval or from Montreal. They were experts at administering French comprehension tests. We all passed the tests. They categorized us. He then organized a whole system of courses with the instructors. It was on company time; people took French courses.

I was forced to take courses to learn to write French. The time came when all the reports that went out from Arvida could be written in French. Then, order came: you could write reports in either English or French. Finally, all monthly reports for Montreal had to be in French. Before that, they were only done in English.

Today, we have managers in Montreal who are French Canadians. They aren't the big, big bosses; they're factory managers. For the

Arvida complex, there is Leblanc and someone called Girard in Laterrière. These guys were recruited from university to come to work here as young engineers and they then stayed on. At one time, there weren't any French Canadian engineers; you had to go as far as England and France to find any.

GLOSSARY

[Not necessary for English version]