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Fall 1987

## Explorations, Vol. 4, No. 1

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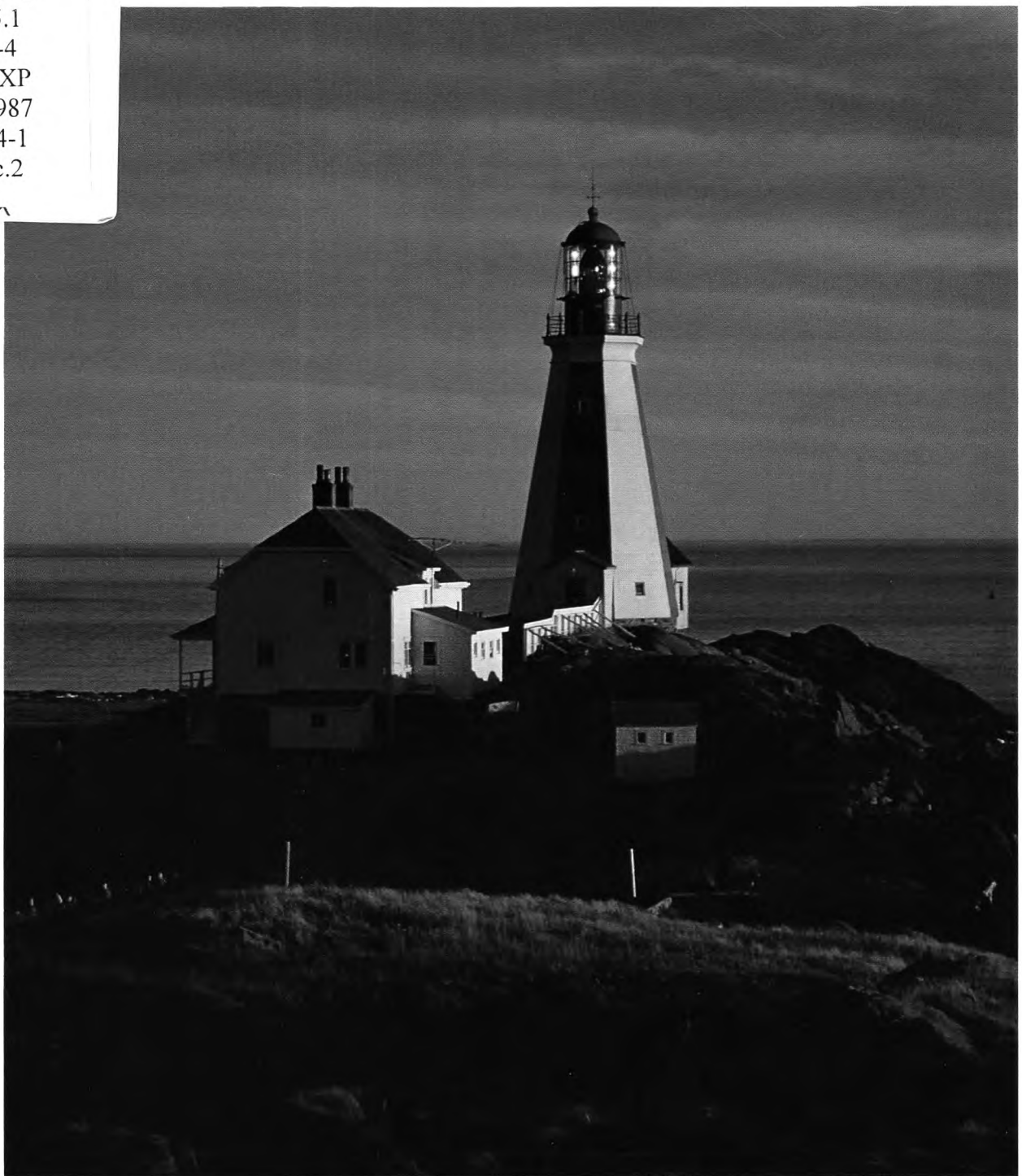
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# EXPLORATIONS

A JOURNAL OF RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

*Cover: Old Yarmouth Light, 1960, Cape Forchu, Nova Scotia.  
By and from the collection of Edgar McKay.*

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# EXPLORATIONS

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From time to time an editor has a chance to work with materials which are personally satisfying and particularly interesting. Such was the case with this issue of EXPLORATIONS.

There is occasional rousing narrative as in Dr. Babcock's article; surprising perspective from Dr. Herlan's piece on the Montréal Canadiens, participants in a sport we once thought dull; Dr. Konrad's borderlands theorem, a resoundingly new concept which wakes and challenges the brain.

We also enjoyed the opportunity to share the verbal magic of an old friend, Sandy Ives, while the articles by Dr. Stewart and Edgar McKay wakened memories of the history we have watched being made during our 27 years at the University of Maine.

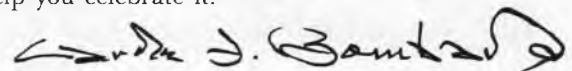
These are a few of the ingredients in this issue of EXPLORATIONS. Our only regret is that we were unable to include everyone whose work addresses the Canadian-American experience.

It is particularly appropriate that this issue appear now to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Canadian-American Center at the University of Maine. It is a Center with a focus on interdisciplinary study: a disciplined look at how

concepts, events and things fit together, and in fitting together, tell us more than the separate parts ever could. This issue is a story of growth and aspiration, of hard, dedicated work, and of commitment and vision.

The authors with whom we have had the privilege to work are to be commended for their patience and understanding with the monotonous steps of the printing process; they have, as a group, been outstandingly cooperative and collegial as we have put this issue together. Thanks go to Dr. Victor Konrad, Director of the Canadian-American Center, who more than once interrupted his busy schedule to consult with us. Special thanks to Rand Erb of the Center whose unflagging good spirits and willingness to help have brought this issue of the magazine quickly to press.

Congratulations on your Twentieth Anniversary, Canadian-American Center! We are honored to be able to help you celebrate it.



Carole J. Bombard  
Editor

Americans and Canadians live together in North America as friends, allies, and partners in trade. For over more than a century, the 5,526 mile undefended border has become virtually a sieve to the flow of people, ideas and commodities. It is a paradox, but the sense of mutual security and amity afforded by the undefended border masks both its complexity and its importance. The immense asset of the open border is routinely taken for granted, especially on the United States side. In recent years, as trade between Canada and the United States has more than doubled, as modern communication technology has brought Americans and Canadians into more direct contact with each other, and as people from both countries spend more of their leisure and business time in each others lands, the border's turnstiles have come to serve largely to record interaction rather than to place barriers in the path of mutual exchange. But in this vast zone of interaction a dynamic region has emerged. It is a region unlike any other in Canada or the United States and one which demands recognition from those who live in it and attention from those who study Canadian-American relations.



## THE BORDERLANDS CONCEPT: a new look at U.S.-Canada relations

by Victor Konrad and Lauren McKensey

The borderlands approach presupposes a need for the ongoing education of Americans and Canadians alike to the understanding of relations between the two countries. Notwithstanding the greater cordiality reflected in the *Shamrock Summit*, outstanding differences in national perspectives remain. Despite the promise of initiatives in acid rain and enhanced trade, consensus remains elusive, and Americans and Canadians continue to misunderstand each other. Amicable relations between Canada and the United States cannot be expected to rest indefinitely on good will alone. The borderlands approach described in this paper promises to help raise consciousness at a time when relations are more complex than ever.

Victor Konrad is Director of the Canadian-American Center and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Canadian Studies at the University of Maine. He earned his PhD in Geography at McMaster University. His current research interests focus on the transfer of culture and include work on material culture transfer between Canada and the United States, comparative historic preservation strategies, and North American historical geography. Dr. Konrad has recently been elected vice president of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States. He has served ACSUS in many capacities including the book review editorship of *The American Review of Canadian Studies*. Currently on the editorial board of *The Canadian Geographer*, Konrad also chairs the joint committee of the Association of American Geographers and the Canadian Association of Geographers and has served as councilor for the AAG.

Lauren McKensey is a member of the Department of Political Science and the 49th Parallel Institute at Montana State University.

The borderlands project is more than just another attempt to say that U.S.-Canada relations are important. It offers a new set of lenses for actually seeing the relationship at a critical point when the study of Canada in the U.S. is growing. Independent scholars in many disciplines are coming to understand what Seymour Martin Lipset said about Canada's suitability and accessibility for comparative study: *Geographers, historians, political scientists or literary critics can learn more about their own country in looking at Canada because Canada is close enough to provide a frame of reference yet distant enough to search for different explanations.*<sup>1</sup>

The borderlands concept is a new configuration for understanding the two-way importance of the Canada-U.S. relationship. While the concept is used widely to appreciate the territorial relationship of countries in many regions of the world it has not, paradoxically, been applied systematically to the relationship between Canada and the United States, an application that seems almost self-evident.<sup>2</sup>

The major premise of the borderlands concept in this study is that North America is configured more naturally on a north-south basis than on an east-west axis. Barriers to transportation and contact separate parts of Canada from each other, and there is natural southward gravitational pull owing to the relative size and dynamism of market forces in the U.S. As one scholar has noted, *Canada is more an act of political will than an exercise of economic logic*. Most Canadians live within 100 miles of the border, and Canada is essentially a border land. Yet Canada and Canadians emphasize regional differences across the country rather than acknowledge the two-dimensional tension of North American reality.

The borderlands concept, therefore, refocuses attention on the north-south dimension of the continent through a series of side-by-side regional comparisons. In each region there is emphasis on the commonality across the border and, simultaneously, on the counterbalancing reasons for distinctiveness of each counterpart within the region. We are interested in finding an explanation of both the causes and the consequences of these similarities and differences. Thus, in some instances the similarities about the land and people of the adjacent transboundary regions need to be featured and, in other instances, the differences that arise from the distinctive sovereign status and the national identities of Canada and the U.S. deserve to be emphasized.

From the perspective of political science, the borderlands concept combines lessons from international relations and comparative analysis.<sup>3</sup> It addresses the matter of national identity at international boundaries, where the borders of the nation-state may either reinforce or obscure the boundaries of ethnic or linguistic groups. Fundamental questions are drawn from the theory of political integration. *What is the glue that holds collectivities of people together as political communities? How important is language, culture and religion? Does economic advantage compel integration despite other societal cleavages? Are political states no more than outcomes of conquest or accidents of history that become legitimized by socialization?*

The world's population is organized primarily into geographical units. Sovereignty remains land-based. The modern nation-state system confirms that allegiance to territory supersedes other bonds. Some nation-states are quite homogeneous in terms of characteristics such as ethnicity, language or religion; others survive and prosper even when social heterogeneity prevails. Why is Switzerland united and Ireland divided?

Nation-states have internal bonds, based on territory, that are stronger than allegiances to universalistic ideas based on class struggle, religion or other ideal value. This spatial attachment may be natural or artificial. Natural ones result when people with a common sense of identity (based, perhaps, on language) share a belief in the legitimacy of their government. Artificial ones can be created by wars of conquest or partition: even here, the socialization of successive generations may engender legitimacy through force of habit.

Nevertheless, every nation-state experiences, to some degree, a tension between needs for unification and desires for autonomy based on social differences within the population. Political integration is the concept used to study the dynamics of the balance of centralizing and secessionist forces in nation-states. *Under what conditions does the nation-state lean in the direction of smaller scale, such as tribalism? In what circumstances does pressure arise for larger groupings, as in the case of confederation?*

Borderlands theory helps us to answer these questions. The importance of territory to the nation-state is both sym-

bolized and reified by its boundaries. Most of the 160 or so present nation-states do share a boundary with one or several neighbors. In cases where the tension of cleavages may put the legitimacy of the nation-state in doubt, the manifestations will be most apparent in the borderlands regions. The aspirations for autonomy may show up in movements to tear down existing borders or erect new ones. The border is the symbolic mark of the differences between people, giving them a land-based frame of reference.<sup>4</sup>



In another sense, the borderland is the laboratory for examining propositions that arise from political integration theory. It is the area to observe the effects of differences between people and to draw comparisons between peoples allegedly different from each other. Measuring the characteristics of people near and sharing a border may best reveal the problems that central governments have in holding the allegiances of their respective nationals.

There is a special place for borderlands theory in the case of federal systems of government, where citizens owe allegiances to both central and regional governments. By definition, federal systems are compromises between the pressures of unity and the yearning for diversity and autonomy. While the centralization of power may promote regional resentment, the decentralization of power may encourage and reinforce secessionist tendencies. The behavior of regional governments in neighboring federal systems, across a common border, can reveal a great deal about their political identity.<sup>5</sup>

Borderlands theory has temporal, spatial and landscape dimensions as well. Adjacent nation states experience changes in the borderland relationship due to uneven population growth and other imbalances in economic exchange, military strength and even cultural outlook. Cultural transfers across boundaries, for example, may occur through processes of subjugation, trade and adjustment. In the first instance, conquest may result in the imposition of political will but the border landscape is characteristically one of striking contrasts in cultural features as the conquered remain culturally distinct from the conquerors.<sup>6</sup> A second scenario of exchange results in transformation of one culture by another. More subtle, this process is characterized by transplants from one side of the border found in the cultural landscape on the other side.<sup>7</sup> Coalescent features across a boundary result from accommodation between cultures and characteristically evolve through a process of adjustment over generations.<sup>8</sup>



## UNITED STATES-CANADA RELATIONS IN A BORDERLANDS PERSPECTIVE

This paper outlines an early, theoretical exploration of the borderlands concept as applied to Canada and the United States, and represents an initial step in a major, cross-disciplinary research project designed to evaluate and characterize the emerging Canadian-American relationship. The relationship of Canada and the United States is an ideal subject for a case study of borderlands behavior.<sup>9</sup> Both countries have experienced tests of political integration and secessionist tendencies, achieving *unity without uniformity*. Both have adopted federated systems of government to accommodate pressures of unity and diversity, with regional governments playing more activist roles in *microdiplomacy*. The two share an extensive and diverse land and water border that acts as a barrier in many respects but is a conduit in others. Not only is the trade relationship the most significant in the world but other flows—tourists, communications, capital, innovation—are all extensive. Canada always has shared its land borders only with the United States. The borderland has evolved to reflect the changing relationship between the two countries.

In an attempt to differentiate it from the United States, geographers have defined Canada as a land which draws on the country's northern condition.<sup>10</sup> More recently it has been characterized as an archipelago of distinct and isolated regions<sup>11</sup> and as a juxtaposition of heartland and hinterland.<sup>12</sup> In seeking a distinctly Canadian geography, these characterizations generally overlook or avoid the intertwined nature of Canada and the United States established over a century of bilateral exchange. Exchange with the United States is a prominent force molding Canada's geography. *How does it affect regional definition and configuration? What components define regions and what characteristics align national identity? How does Canada adjust with relative ease from regional to national focus in its relationship with the United States? Why is the border such a strong magnet and pivot for regional definition and national articulation?*

Indeed, Canada may be viewed as a borderland, a band of regional entities joined in exchange with the United States and sustained as distinct from the American giant through strong cultural and political expression.<sup>13</sup> Virtually all of settled Canada lies within the borderland, and most Canadians experience attachment to the United States to a greater degree than relations among regions in their own country. In this sense the international boundary is deceiving in its regularity and simplicity for it merely flags a zone of subtle but considerable interaction. The enduring reality of Canada's evolution and subsequent maintenance as a borderland is conveniently overlooked in nation-based perspectives on the Canadian condition. A view of Canada as borderland offers an alternative perspective on its geography, and one that may prove increasingly

appropriate with accelerated trade and more pervasive exchange.

Among the underlying questions addressed in the borderlands study:

- what does it mean to live in a borderland region where people have settled expectations about lines that demarcate sovereignty, nationality and identity?
- what are the essential aspects of sharing a coast-to-coast border that, presumably, enrich the lives of people on both sides?
- what makes the undefended border so comforting for both populations—a border that nonetheless remains a clear demarcation of national sovereignty for two peoples who have chosen similar, but alternative, courses of political, social and economic endeavor?
- what pulls the various parts of a geographic region together—the Columbia and Rockies, the Northern Plains, the Great Lakes drainage, the St. Lawrence Waterway and the Atlantic and Appalachians?
- to what extent do regional commonalities transcend national characteristics (but not allegiances)?
- what challenges do the prospects of greater continental integration pose for cultural and political identity, especially in Canada?
- in what ways is the border visible and invisible? how is it a mirror? how is it a barrier?

In the accelerating interdependence of Canada and the United States, answers to these and other questions will be crucial to mutual understanding and collaboration in trade, resource management and other facets of interaction. Understanding the borderlands may provide an effective catalyst for broader understanding of dynamic Canadian-American relations.

## MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO THE BORDERLANDS COMPLEX

The larger study will explore what it means to live in a borderlands region where people have settled expectations about lines that demarcate sovereignty, nationality and identity. The following discussion introduces some of our initial thoughts on how to approach the borderlands reality with a matrix of multidisciplinary and regional perspectives designed to disaggregate and identify the components which merge and often coalesce at the boundary. Distinguishing cross-border themes on the one hand and aligning these opposite transcendent regions on the other may provide answers to questions which are not apparent in a simple bilateral comparison between Canada and the United States.

Comparing likenesses and contrasting differences among peoples is humanistic inquiry. Basic concepts of political integration applied in the seminar—cohesion, loyalty, exodus, socialization, nationalism, continentalism, irredentism—all explore the human condition. *What is the impact of people on the land and the land on the people? Why are political boundaries erected and maintained? How does sovereignty truncate community?*<sup>2</sup>

The range of these questions shows that borderlands theory raises fundamental concerns for the social sciences and the humanities generally, not only political science and geography. Hence, the seminar takes a multidisciplinary perspective, relying as heavily on literature, history, philosophy and film as it does on contemporary political evaluation and economic trade flow analysis. The multidisciplinary focus is a strength; different media help to tell a different story across the continent. General topics of the borderlands study include

- regional geography and environment;
- patterns of historical settlement;
- demographic profiles of the population;
- assessment of the resource base, stressing comparable resources;
- economic activity including development, trade, and investment;
- transportation and communication linkages;
- patterns of education and culture across the borderlands regions;
- tourism and other cross-border exchanges;
- selected aspects of government and politics within federal systems and cross-border political linkages;
- a comparison of political culture through current surveys and historical treaties;
- comparative examination of public policy issues; and
- examples of transboundary conflict and mechanisms of cooperation.

The following discussion provides a sample of the research themes to be addressed under disciplinary headings.

### **POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Here we examine political structure, process, the behavior of actors, public opinion and cross-border diplomacy. We know that the two countries have in common the exercise of democratic processes through federalistic institutions. Important differences arise, however, between the practice of party government in Canada and the presidential system in the United States. Together with different formulae for dividing power between central and regional governments, this means that states and provinces have different views about what may be at stake in cross-border

negotiations involving economic cooperation or environmental diplomacy.<sup>14</sup>

One study component is the replication of Roger Swanson's study of state-provincial linkages done for the U.S. Department of State in 1974. It is hypothesized that *sub-diplomatic relations* between the U.S. and Canada are being conducted by an increasing number of state and provincial actors. It may also be true that the frequency of interactions is greater for the border states than for the interior states, as the borderlands hypothesis presupposes.

To the extent that existing survey research is available, we will attempt to characterize aspects of the political culture of borderlands regions. *Are there areas of public policy where Canadians and Americans sharing a particular border region actually have closer opinions than either group has with respective nationals?* With sufficient resources we could create a survey instrument to test this proposition directly.

### **ECONOMICS**

In the economic dimension, the focus on borderlands is timely because the U.S. and Canada are in a phase in which the forces of continentalism and nationalism are in tension. It can be argued that the economic nexus has become the most crucial part of the evolving relationship. The *freer trade* negotiations and protectionist tendencies in the U.S. will necessarily be main themes of the borderlands study. The study will document the following aspects:

- description of the resource base for each region;
- explanation of economic development and diversification with reference to industrial and manufacturing activity;
- narrative on recent transitions of the economic base;
- highlights of the pattern of trade in each region;
- transportation networks and impediments;
- discussion of particular barriers to trade in each region;
- discussion of probable economic consequences and trade pattern alterations under different trade regime scenarios.

### **GEOGRAPHY, ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY**

The borderland template, its dimensions, subdivisions and texture establish a geographical context. Add to this base human settlements, infrastructure and environmental alteration and a borderland geography of linked places and landscape continuity emerges to be partitioned in regional components astride the boundary between Canada and the United States. In this zone of interaction live most Canadians, and a sizable proportion of the U.S. population, linked by family ties, social structures, cultural spill-over and ethnic continuity. With extensive use of cartography and graphic illustration, this dimension of the study

will document the physical geography of the borderlands. It will situate people and evaluate the human geography of borderlands interaction. Among the topics to be pursued in this section:

- borderland landscapes in transition;
- demographic characteristics and variables;
- resource management issues;
- migration;
- urban systems and internal city characteristics;
- the personality of borderland places.

## HISTORY

When Britain left the United States in the late eighteenth century and concentrated its forces in the country newly won from France, a situation of opposed armed camps prevailed in a sparsely occupied borderland. During the formative years of Canada, one distinct borderland emerged in the Northeast. In the late eighteenth century, Acadian refugees in the upper Saint John valley proclaimed the independent *Republique du Madawaska*. Here they established an isolated agricultural settlement characterized by distinctive furniture, textiles, land use, architecture and even woodpiles. Astride the upper Saint John, Madawaska persisted for several decades along the undefined border between Canada and the United States. It established the borderlands as a zone of interaction and cultural transfer. In 1842, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty between Britain and the United States delineated the boundary along the river and through the heart of the culture area. (Canadians were not consulted.) The new border, however, had little impact until the *potato boom* of the late nineteenth century began differentiating Canadian from American settlement.<sup>15</sup> But this early manifestation of borderland coalescence remained obscure as Canada and the United States took decidedly different paths of evolution and revolution. Transcontinental borderland accommodation is a modern phenomenon.

Historical perspectives of the project will include the determination of the boundary, comparative settlement, industrialization and modernization.

## LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

In recent years the *Canadian imagination*<sup>16</sup> has emerged in many forms. Significant among these is the growth and recognition of a distinctly Canadian literature. Also, Canadian writing exhibits strong regional characteristics and constituencies which remain distinct opposite Yankee traditions in New England. But many of the differences are lost and considerable affinity prevails in the literature of the Great Plains borderland.

Considerations in this dimension of the study include other facets of creativity and vision in poetry, music and

the fine arts. Special consideration is given to comparisons in artistic participation and patronage. Architecture, and particularly heritage conservation, are examined in detail.

## REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

North America makes little sense geographically. Many observers have noted the artificial quality of the nation-state boundaries between Canada, the USA and Mexico. Joel Garreau recast the ethno-territorial boundaries in his provocative work *The Nine Nations of North America*.<sup>17</sup> Even if there were two nations, the main division should run from the Arctic Islands to the Gulf of Mexico, not from the Atlantic across the continent to the Pacific.

Our study explores the common edge of these two North American nations, an edge that can be traced across five shared regions from coast to coast: the Atlantic, the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Plains and the Mountains. It explores whether the sum of these regional experiences characterizes the general condition of U.S.-Canada relations or if they individually convey only parochial themes.

The five extensive regions of the U.S.-Canada borderland allow us to test several propositions about the causes and consequences of borders. The eastern half of the border is a natural water division between the two; the western half is an artificial surveyor's line. *Which is the more real division between attitudes, values or allegiances?* In some cases, similarities—such as the pervasive impact of television—bring border neighbors closer together. Other similarities—dependence on farming or lumbering—may make residents of adjoining regions competitors frustrated with one another. Both of these tendencies appear across the U.S.-Canadian border to define regional entities and in some instances to obscure them. Whereas the extensive regions of the borderland are generally apparent, they too are blurred by transcontinental extensions of culture and society. For example, woodsmen engaged in the forest industries of the Pacific Northwest can trace roots back across the mountains, into the upper Great Lakes region and before that to New Brunswick and Maine. Their experience substantiates the borderlands.

## THE ATLANTIC EXPERIENCE:

### SHARING A MARITIME TRADITION

Connections in the *international region* of the Northeast are a tradition of centuries that may be traced back to trade relations between Acadians and Bay men. The sea allowed easy access and was favored in the region of rockbound coast and dense forests. Language, religion, ethnicity, all were set aside as Atlantic province residents consistently linked with New England interests even after Confederation. Similarly, New Englanders sought the resources off the coasts of Atlantic Canada.

The boundary, a land-based concern, was not confirmed until the 1840s; its seaward extension is an even more recent construct demanded more by national edict than regional design. In years past, woodsmen, farm laborers, fishermen and others easily moved in search of work throughout the region. Today the boundary complicates a centuries-old tradition and sparks recurrent hostilities over cross-border transfers of products from forest, land and sea. Yet, traditions of cross-border transfer and linkage are sustained as P.E.I. residents drive hundreds of miles to Bangor and Portland to shop, visit friends and relatives and perhaps frequent a favorite restaurant. In return, New Englanders annually flock to Atlantic Canada's tourist hide-aways.

The Northeast, isolated in North America and disadvantaged in population, industry and markets, has established strong formal and informal links in order to compete and survive. Among the established formal links, the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers serves to coordinate cross-border interaction at the highest levels.

#### **THE ST. LAWRENCE:**

##### **THE FRENCH FACT IN NORTH AMERICA**

Laurentian Canada remains the hearth of French culture in North America. As geographer Eric Waddell explains Québec is situated in North America and not merely in Canada.<sup>18</sup> Once the generator and focal point for French expansion throughout North America, Québec was obliged to concentrate under British control in order to survive. But population expansion, coupled with a search for new and greater opportunity, saw French Canadians relocate to Les Pays d'en Haut (northern Ontario), Le Québec d'en Bas (New England) L' Alberta, and, most recently, La Floride. This *continental diaspora* is a feature of the collective identity of Québécois; they are North Americans, and have forged a natural consciousness on this basis.

Close to the cultural hearth, in adjacent New England and New York, French Canada spills into the United States. In this borderland region, with direct access to Québec, French Canadians and Franco-Americans sustain connections and also take pride in distinct American and Canadian culture traits. Cultural affinity operates both to enhance interaction and to identify differences.

#### **THE GREAT LAKES:**

##### **A TWO-COUNTRY INDUSTRIAL HEARTLAND**

This region contains the *industrial heartland* of the two countries. Here we find the most imposing physical division of Canada and the United States, with bridges only at three connecting rivers between the Great Lakes. But the waterway is more a conduit than a barrier, for the exchange of

goods between the nations (Ontario leads Japan as the USA's foremost trade partner) and for the shipment of staples from the interior to ocean ports in both countries. Here is to be found the most formal integration between diversified economics, best exemplified by the decades-old Auto Pact that guarantees a sharing of North American markets.

In historical terms, these two regions demonstrate the philosophical differences between revolutionary USA and conservative Canada. Ontario became a home for loyalist emigrants following the American Revolution. Here is where the greatest battles of the pre-undefended border era were played out — during the War of 1812.

Today, in policy terms, the Great Lakes are the subject of considerable common concerns. Both sides have come to understand the nature of the Great Lakes as a common property, where environmental pollution upstream can hurt either side downstream. Two provinces and eight states of the region have signed a compact restraining themselves from exporting Great Lakes water outside of the basin.

#### **THE PRAIRIES AND PLAINS: COMMON EXPERIENCES OF NATIVES AND PIONEERS**

This is the region where Garreau's *Breadbasket* meets his *Empty Quarter*. It is characterized by dependence on resource extraction and farming. Population is sparse. Of all the regions, the way of life near the border is probably the most similar in its lack of economic diversification. The postulated existence of a prairie literature is consistent with this observation. The border is most open in this region, where it is also the most artificial; modern sod busters and stock ranchers, if left to their own devices, would pay it as little heed as their Indian predecessors who followed the buffalo north and south with the seasons.

Paradoxically, there is little formalization of cross-border affinities in this region.<sup>19</sup> The sparseness of population and the long distances to rendezvous reinforce a shared sense of isolation on the plains. There may be a common sense of alienation from distant economic and political forces but it is not explicitly shared. Recently, federal policies on regional development, alleged subsidies and trade practices created tension between these two sets of neighbors trying to sell the same products in world markets.

#### **THE MOUNTAINS:**

##### **MANIFEST DESTINY AND NATIONAL POLICY**

The Pacific was the common goal of nation-building philosophies and policies of the nineteenth century. *Comparisons between Manifest Destiny and National Policy reveal similar objectives but contrasting styles in securing the continent.* Pioneers in both countries faced formidable barriers in the great Rocky mountains, which still divide the continent in an era of fast transportation and instantaneous communication. The wall

of mountains makes these two neighbors the most isolated parts of their respective nations. But this common dimension does not make them close kin. Both are cosmopolitan, with diversified production and ports that make them part of the international economy.

Like the Great Lakes, the Pacific region has international waterways that both divide and combine communities of interest. In the 1960s, the two countries agreed on ways to harness the Columbia River to multiply benefits on both sides. There is mutual awareness that pollution of the Puget Sound environment is a common threat. The two countries desire to work out methods of sharing coastal zone resources where overfishing and oil drilling pose conflict. The ecological dimension extends to northern border management as well—Alaska's extensive boundary with British Columbia and the Yukon, symbolized by the Klondike gold rush of 1897-99.

## CONCLUSION:

### IMPLICATIONS FOR BORDERLANDS THEORY

*Why address the Canada-U.S. borderlands?* Political integration may be a core concept and it may be true that borderlands regions exemplify the frictions of sharing turf. *But is not Canadian-U.S. compatibility trivial in comparison to the hot borders that justify attention?* This alleged quiescence is perhaps the very reason to make a close examination. The West Bank is more volatile, the Rio Grande may be more seductive, but no borderland is more important than this one, not for the headlines that it does not inspire, but for the comity that is taken for granted.

Cynics argue that the border is undefended only because the U.S. does not need to defend it and Canadians could not if they tried. The different perspectives show that sharing the border is an asymmetrical experience: Canadians should pay more attention to the relationship. But the future of cordial relations will depend on Americans making an effort to understand the Canadian view, especially on issues like free trade negotiations and acid rain. If Americans and Canadians fail to learn what girds long-time friends, the understanding necessary for distant nations to coexist in the global community surely will be lacking.

From a U.S. perspective, the purpose of the borderlands study is not simply to learn more about Canada, but, in the comparison, for Americans to learn more about themselves. In the mirror are Canadians, people who look (and generally speak) like us yet are not American in values and goals. *What can it mean to us that our neighbors believe in a different destiny in North America?* Canadians already have faced that question.

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- <sup>3</sup>Ivo D. Duchacek, *The Territorial Dimension of Politics: Within, Among and Across Nations*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- <sup>4</sup>For an analysis of symbolic landscapes of nationalism see Victor Konrad "Symbolic Landscapes of Nationalism and Regionalism In Canada," Reginald Berry and James Acheson, eds., *Regionalism and National Identity Multi-Disciplinary on Canada, Australia and New Zealand*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1985, pp. 515-524. A U.S.-Canada comparison is found in Victor Konrad, Deryck Holdsworth and Wilbur Zelinsky, "Nationalism in the Landscape of Canada and the United States," *The Canadian Geographer* 30 (1986), pp. 167-180.
- <sup>5</sup>Duchacek, *op. cit.*
- <sup>6</sup>Andrew P. Vayda, *War in Ecological Perspective. Persistence Change and Adaptive Processes in Three Oceanic Societies*. New York: Plenum, 1976, pp. 1-9.
- <sup>7</sup>Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities. Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Island Kingdom*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981, pp. 33-66.
- <sup>8</sup>This is evident in North America's vernacular regions. Characteristically, they cross the border. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "North America's Vernacular Regions," *Annals Association of American Geographers* 70 (March, 1980), pp. 1-16.
- <sup>9</sup>Richard Gwyn, *The 49th Paradox. Canada in North America*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985; Charles F. Doran and John H. Sigler; *Canada and the United States: Enduring Friendship. Persistent Stress*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1985.
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- <sup>11</sup>Cole Harris, "Regionalism and the Canadian Archipelago," in L.D. McCann, ed., *A Geography of Canada, Heartland and Hinterland*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1982, pp. 459-484.
- <sup>12</sup>McCann, *Heartland and Hinterland*, pp. 30-35.
- <sup>13</sup>Victor Konrad, "Canada as Borderland: An Enduring Realty of Canadian Geography," Paper presented at NESTVAL/Middle States AAG. Albany, New York, October 18-19, 1985.
- <sup>14</sup>Roger Gibbons, *Regionalism: Territorial Politics in Canada and the United States*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1982.
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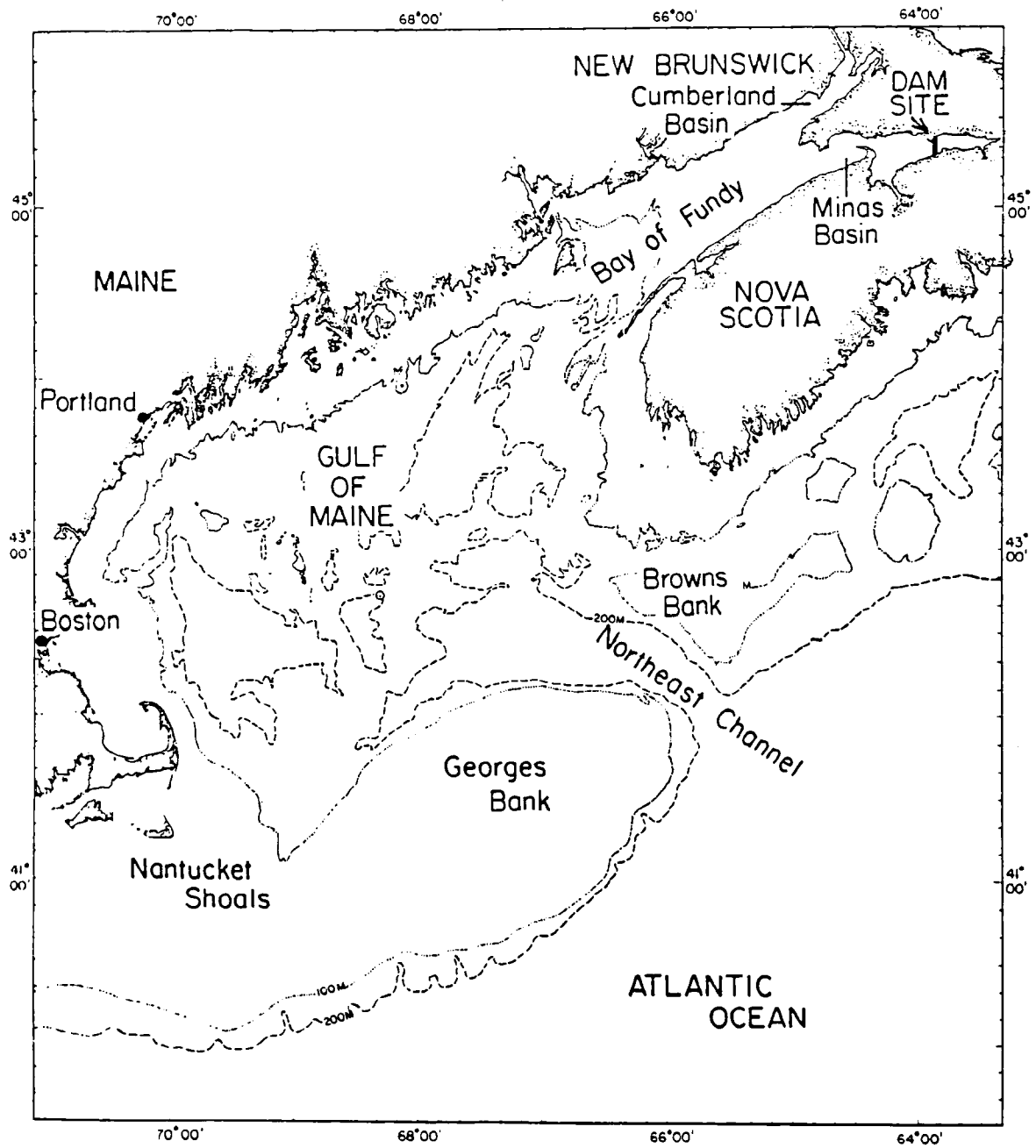


Fig. 1 - The Gulf of Maine - Bay of Fundy region.

*The largest mean tidal range in the world; the potential for a powerful hydro-dam; complex consequences for the environment; two sovereign countries which will experience both positive and negative effects: the scenario for what could be insoluble in many areas of the world.*

# Fundy Tidal Power Project

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by Gregory White

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The Bay of Fundy is awesome. Its structure and extremely large tides have led to proposals to harness its power for human use. During the last 20 years, many have looked at Fundy in terms of the cities it could illuminate, the positive monies its power could generate, and the ongoing energy crises which it could help modify. All of these considerations are on the positive side of the coin, the net social benefits which could be realized from the project.

It comes as no surprise that such a mammoth proposal has a multitude of negative potentialities as well. And to further complicate the analysis of its impacts and their evaluation, the project's effects will have an impact on both Canada and the United States.

Investigations were conducted by the governments of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. At that time, tidal power development was considered unfeasible until certain conditions changed. Those conditions included the following:

- \*\* a decline in interest rates**
- \*\* a breakthrough in construction costs or turbine efficiency**
- \*\* increasing costs of alternate sources from pollution abatement requirements**
- \*\* depletion of alternate sources.**

During the 1970s, these factors did change significantly and further studies were undertaken. Two sites, one in Cumberland Basin and one in Minas Basin, were determined to have a benefit to cost ratio of 1.2, a ratio making them potentially viable. The larger Minas Basin project has become the primary site for planning because of its larger power production potential and its ability to generate capital through export sales of surplus power.

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The tides in the Bay of Fundy, already the greatest in the world, will be amplified appreciably by the construction of a tidal barrage at the head of the Bay of Fundy. The power generated has more recently been calculated to produce a benefit to cost ratio of 2.6 to 3.0, a ratio which assumes an export sale of most of the power produced, 45 percent to the New England states and 45 percent to New York, and considers the cost of only purchased inputs. These numbers have encouraged further facility planning and research into the nature and significance of probable environmental consequences of the project.

## ENGAGING THE ENVIRONMENT

In 1984, Peter Larson and others from the Bigelow Laboratory for Ocean Sciences reported on a study conducted by Dr. David A. Greenberg of the Bedford Institute of Oceanography in which he predicted the impact of constructing the proposed tidal barrage on the tidal range. His forecasts include the prediction that the tidal range would be increased by about a foot along the Gulf of Maine shore from Boston through Maine, and by a third more than that in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. These changes amount to an increase of five to 12 percent in the tidal ranges currently experienced along the Gulf of Maine coastline.

Larson forecasts a comprehensive array of consequences to be visited on the physical and biological communities of the Gulf as well as significant socioeconomic impacts. He reports that the increase in the tidal range will cause an expansion of the intertidal areas; this in turn will result in an increased area for ice formation in winter, will influence sediment translocation, and have a possible impact on groundwater. The alteration of the heights of tides will change beach profiles and sand erosion, submerge biologically productive marsh areas, and increase the possibility of coastal flooding from storms.

In addition, the flushing action of the currents will be increased causing both increased currents and vertical mixing. The expected effects of the increased current on biological communities include reduced retention of larvae and

the development and spreading of red tide blooms. (Red tide is paralytic shellfish poisoning, caused by a phytoplankton.) The increased vertical mixing will reduce surface water temperature, alter fish migration patterns and the growth and reproduction of biota, increase barnacle fouling, and enhance the transport of both nutrients and pollutants between the surface and bottom sediments.

Major socioeconomic impacts upon shoreline structures and property values and tourism are expected, as well as the cost of participating in the Federal Flood Insurance Program. Other severe impacts include effects on shoreland archaeological sites, harvesting costs and productivity of fishing activities, oil spill containment, maintenance of navigational channels and so on.

The consequences included here are probably not comprehensive, and the effects probably will not all impose a net cost on society. The crucial consideration is to recognize the probability of extensive externalities stemming from the project on both sides of the border. The problems are difficult for analysts because they are international and because they involve a wide array of physical and social impacts with varying possibilities of being successfully represented by monetary values.

## **COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS**

A cost-benefit analysis has been the conceptual foundation method of analysis of major public projects in both the United States and Canada for the past 60 years. It continues to evolve with respect to methods of quantifying products and effects of a project as well as techniques for summarizing and displaying incommensurables and intangibles with the aim of developing rules and procedures which consistently identify projects of the greatest net social value. If analysts were to perform an informal assessment of the topic associated with cost-benefit analysis which generates the most comment and revision, that topic would most surely be the matter of identifying and monetarizing inputs and products of production when market prices do not exist or are biased. This is most certainly true of major water development activities which usually depend on extensive use of, and impact on, natural and environmental resources. One approach to a cost-benefit analysis of this sort is through what is referred to as a shadow price, a price which represents the true value to society of the inputs used and products produced. When a market value does not exist or is biased, estimates can usually be made. Currently, analysts can often obtain good estimates and identify situations of intangibles and incommensurables for which monetary values are not the most appropriate.

Another area of potential problems, particularly for projects with an international environmental impact, concerns the definition of the society which will govern the analysis of the project. Cost-benefit protocols are strict in

demanding the inclusion of the cost of all purchased inputs and the value of all product sales. The guidelines are less precise, however, about accounting for nonmarket effects and technological benefits stemming from the project which occur beyond the market area or political jurisdiction of the decision-making body.

The proposed Fundy Tidal Power Project is by all accounts massive in respect to its engineering and capital requirements and in respect to its potential impacts on the Gulf of Maine and Bay of Fundy environments. The social cost of some of these effects can be measured by the probable impact on commodities for which markets exist. Among this group of environmental externalities may be included the effects on stocks of harvested fish, alteration of shoreline structures, and other effects which will result in direct costs or savings to shoreland and marine users.

There is also a set of incommensurables or extramarket effects which are less capable of being represented in monetary units. It is particularly these environmental effects which pose the greatest difficulty toward resolving the merits of the project.

If the project were strictly domestic and the definition of the relevant society, or social segment, for the assessment of impacts and costs of minor concern, then the analysis could proceed reasonably smoothly. This project is not strictly domestic. The product, electrical energy, will be largely exported to the United States (90 percent of output) and the construction and operation of the project will have widespread effects on a major international resource.

The economic viability of the project rests on assumed export sales of generated power to the United States; consequently, it is significantly different from other major resource development projects which impose environmental externalities on neighboring countries but are subject to no external licensing or permit-granting processes. The vital question relative to the Fundy Tidal Power Project is the identity of the procedural process or institutional structure which can most efficiently and equitably conduct the analysis and review of the proposal.

## **THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA BILATERAL ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT**

The United States and Canada have an extensive history of efforts to address issues of environmental concern along their shared border. As early as 1905, the two countries established the International Waterways Commission; the steady improvement in bilateral relations between the two nations and the desire to build upon the first step of the International Waterways Commission led to the establishment of the Boundary Waters Treaty in 1909. Eventually



the International Waterways Commission was transformed into the International Joint Commission.

The International Joint Commission is perhaps as ideal an international decision-making body as any in existence. Composed of six members, three each from the United States and Canada, the Commission is endowed with administrative, quasi-judicial, arbitral and investigative powers. Its arbitral powers give it authority to make binding decisions relative to specific air quality, terrestrial, and fresh water transboundary issues referred to it by both countries.

The International Joint Commission's charter has been interpreted as excluding jurisdiction over marine boundary issues, however, and that exclusion restricts its authority in some areas.

During its 75-plus years of operation, the performance of the Commission has been judged by most observers as very successful. Its decisions almost never divide along national lines. The commission's systematic collection and analysis of information has undoubtedly caused it to proceed slowly when dealing with complex issues, but the findings have generally been received as acceptable to both parties.

The success of the Commission is attributed to several pivotal factors by Willoughby (1) :

*Many factors have been involved. One has been sheer luck. The Commission was created and its rules of procedure established well before water resource issues became crucial to the two countries and before vigorous national sentiment on both sides of the boundary emerged. A second factor has been the large measure of support accorded the agency by the governments and the independence that they have permitted it to enjoy. A third and related factor has been the adeptness of the commissioners in 'playing the game of politics' — in bearing in mind political realities and in adjusting to the needs of the day. A fourth has been the skill, competence, and dedication of most of the commissioners and of the experts who have provided the technical information, served on the boards, and written the reports. A fifth factor has been the common background of law enjoyed by the two sponsoring nations, their 'long experience in pacific settlement of international disputes...', and 'their common interest in the preservation and use of boundary waters.'* (2) Perhaps most important of all has been the principle of legal equality written into the various treaties and incorporated into the Commission's rules of procedure.

The next step in the evolution of the Fundy Tidal Power Project rests with the proponent, the Tidal Power Corporation. When the Corporation believes that marketing analysis is complete and accurate, financing options are feasible, primary scientific and technical studies have been completed, and plans for site development and operation are prepared, then it will begin the process of seeking the necessary permits from granting agencies in the United States and Canada. This will undoubtedly be a time-

consuming process which will require additional research and modification of the initial proposal. From the perspective of the applicant, any process which improves the efficiency and quality of the review process can be highly valuable in terms of time savings, minimizing the frequency of site plan or operation changes, and reducing the probability of third party litigation.

Many separate steps of review and approval must occur if the proposed project is to be undertaken. It is essential to the economic viability of the project to receive contracts for sales in the northeast states region. These must be approved by the various states' utility commissions which review the activities of the public and private utilities within their states. Each state will conduct reviews for various aspects of the project such as granting transmission easements on public lands, and environmental and site development permits. The federal government must also grant a license approving the importation of the power into the United States. A veto, or failure to grant a permit at any level, may effectively kill the entire project.

From an economic perspective, two conditions must be met if the project is to proceed:

- \*\* the net present value of the compensated costs and revenues must be adequate to the developer, and**
- \*\* the perceived net social benefits must be positive in each region which has permit-granting authority.**

## OUTLOOK

Do conditions exist in this case such that there is an expectation that a decision can be reached which is both socially efficient and equitable? At this time, the answer appears to be a conditional yes. A sensible review process would do three things:

- \*\* identify all relevant factors;**
- \*\* share information equally among all participants;**
- \*\* avoid duplication of effort or research of only marginal value.**

What should be done relative to reviewing the Fundy Tidal Power proposal? The author suggests the following. The first step should be to seek diplomatic agreement as to a commitment for a mutually shared investigation. Secondly, discussions should take place as to the possibility of submitting the issue to the International Joint Commission for investigation and recommendation. If that body's future role is to change, it will be the result of top level diplomatic communications encouraged by issues such as this.

If it is determined that the International Joint Commission is not the appropriate entity to conduct the review because of limitations in its charter or concerns about expanding its role, the next best alternative would be to

establish an ad hoc committee which reflects to the greatest degree possible those factors which govern the Commission's structure and operation and contribute to its independence and high degree of technical competence.

Often international organizations become increasingly rigid over time and less capable of effectively responding to their missions. After more than 76 years, the International Joint Commission has proven itself to continue to be an effective institution for addressing shared water issues between the United States and Canada. The realm of resource and environmental issues facing the two nations is likely to continue to expand as our economies become more complex and our understanding of the impacts of our activities on our environment increases. We owe it to our history of friendly bilateral relations, our shared environment, and our collective future to support and expand the functioning of the International Joint Commission or emulate it with comparable new institutions.

## NOTES

- (1) Willoughby in Spencer, p. 39.
- (2) McKay, R.A., and E.B. Rogers, *Canada Looks Abroad* (Toronto 1938), p. 131.

## AFTERWORD

*Since this paper was prepared, ongoing research on the questions of the impact of the proposed Fundy Tidal Power Project has continued at the University of Maine. Currently, several scientists are in the midst of conducting follow-up work in respect to the project's impact on the tides and tidal patterns in the Gulf of Maine. To date, the results of those studies and emerging models are documenting the predictions made earlier by Peter Larson of the Bigelow Laboratory for Ocean Sciences. We shall keep readers updated as the new data are generated.*

— the Editor

On several occasions during each academic year, the Canadian-American Center hosts conferences on topics of interest to both countries. These conferences bring together governmental, business, academic and artistic leaders from both sides of the border to exchange information, develop solutions to common problems, and suggest resolutions of conflicting positions. Recent gatherings have focused on *Resource Economics in Emerging Free Trade*, *Contemporary Native Arts Issues*, and *Foundations of a Sustainable Agriculture in the 21st Century*.

Rand H. Erb

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Canadian related research activities are being pursued by more than 100 University of Maine faculty and professionals. Much of this research involves cross-border collaboration with scientists in Canadian universities and government agencies. Projects range from Canadian labor history and Maritime archaeology to acid rain studies and North Atlantic fisheries investigations. These diverse projects may be defined in three categories: scientific cooperation concentrated in the environmental sciences, cross-border public policy work in the environmental and social sciences, and humanities and social science research on Canada.

Rand H. Erb

# CANADIAN POET:

## Ken Norris

### DISTANCES

There are these distances  
I've travelled from one self to another:  
around the world  
in one lifetime, and always changing.  
One moment I am that smiling man  
standing on a beach in Bora Bora;  
now find me in Montreal  
looking at a vase of tulips  
that will not open.

Distances open  
out before us; we have no choice  
but to traverse these deserts  
until civilization's found.

And the distance  
from me to you:  
it changes  
from inches to light years.

### THE STARS

The deep fullness of the night sky,  
stretching from dark horizon to dark horizon,  
and the stars fixed in that indelible ink  
which is space receding upon itself,  
a lonely vacuum banishing light from its precincts.

Points of light,  
scattered splatterings of white paint  
dotting the velvet of the sky:  
these are the stars.

*Ken Norris is Assistant Professor in Canadian Literature at the University of Maine. An accomplished poet, he earned his PhD at McGill University, Canada.*

### ODE TO THE DAY

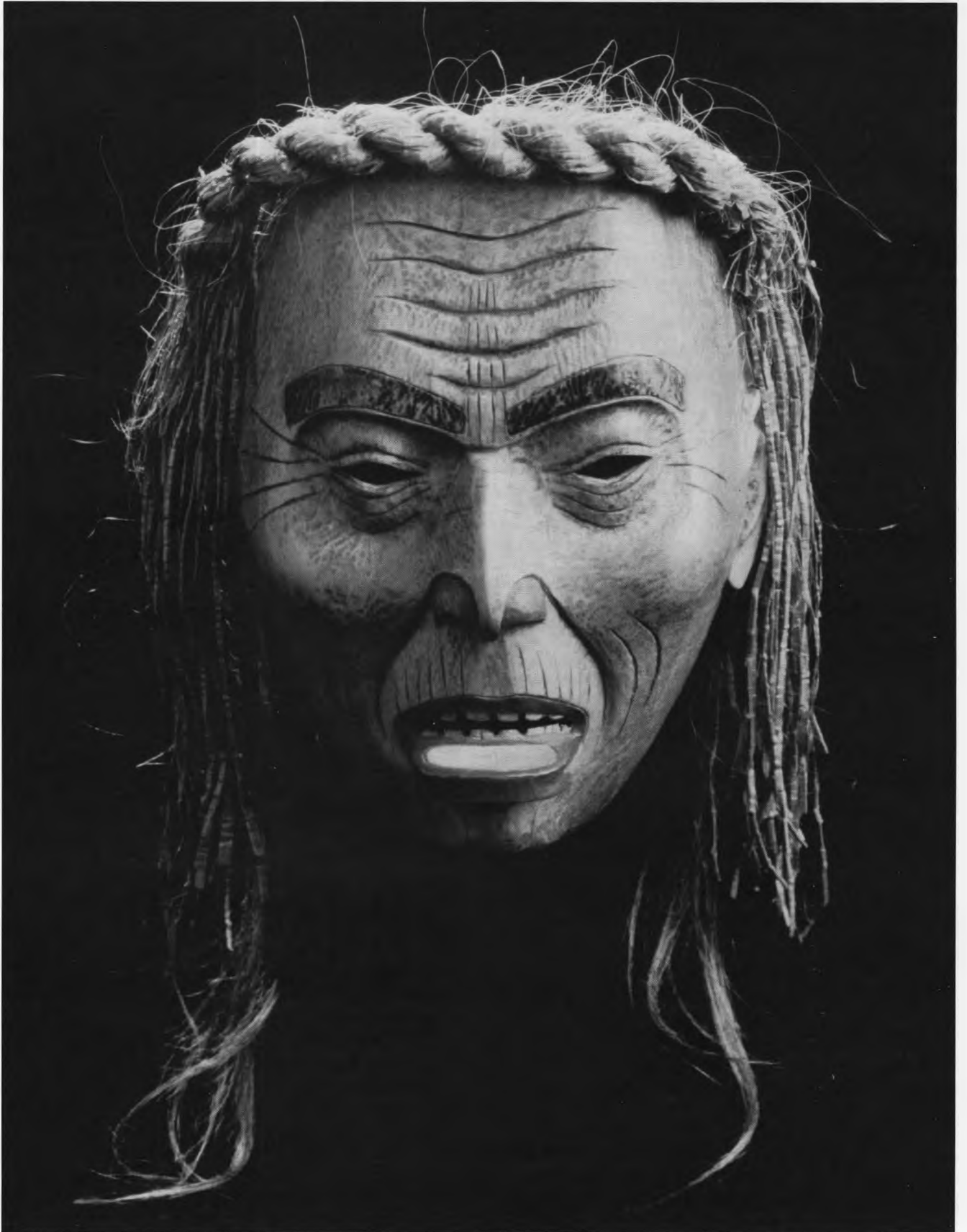
These hours of light:  
we awaken to them, cling to them;  
working our ways through timed routines  
we so often wonder where they go,  
they are the visible life.  
Journeying through the hours  
we glimpse the world, the cities,  
we almost face the light unflinchingly  
and call what we face 'day'.

But 'the day' is a fullness,  
the endless wedding of light & dark,  
a perfecting act of balance.  
The world turns our eyes to the sun  
then turns them to the stars;  
we see a blazing fire  
encircled by airy blue, we see smaller fires  
encased in dark, and with them in the night sky  
a moon, telling of another nature.

All this is the day,  
the waking & the working & the sleeping,  
the loving, the despairs,  
our lives travelling a circling course,  
our bodies encountering the air,  
the earth, the beautiful machinery,  
our minds filling up with tidal pools of reality  
and the half-lit bounty of dreams,  
our hearts beating strongly for the eternity of a day  
as the world turns once and we manage it,  
only rarely getting dizzy.

### POETIC DESIRE

Is desire for the world, letting fire  
burn out from the core, the air heavy  
with the smell of raw oysters.  
Conceived in darkness, struck from a spark,  
the poem flutters: a flag in the wind,  
the wings of a delicate bird, complete  
with a functioning heart.



# NATIVE AMERICAN LIFE AND ART: a celebration, November, 1986

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by Lee-Ann Konrad

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Today in North America, a growing realization of the value of Native American life and art encourages many artists to express the vitality of their heritage in both traditional and modern forms. The arts are material expressions of cultural values many Native Americans are currently struggling to keep alive. Increased awareness and pride is evidenced by the growing number of native arts associations, exhibits, and publications emerging on this continent. However, little exposure or encouragement is available to the native artists in the Northeastern area of North America. Thus, the events of *A Celebration of Native American Life and Art* provided an impetus for a heightened awareness and sustained appreciation of the Native North American artistic pursuits in this region. The common theme was the celebration of contemporary native life and art as the continuum of a living, evolving culture. An appropriate subtitle for the events of the celebration was *Indian arts are alive and well in the late 20th century*.

Highlighting the celebration was the exhibit of Contemporary Canadian Indian Art at Carnegie Galleries I & II from November 6 through January 15, 1987. Organized by the Indian Art Centre of Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the works show the full range of creativity and aesthetics practiced by contemporary native artists. Artists choose different styles, traditions and forms for an individual expression of their Indian experience. Variety in Indian art is a natural phenomenon when considering that the artists themselves come from a diverse background and range of experience. Contemporary artists are not restricted to specific art traditions and media. Many artists see the possibility of a new style of North American art arising from the merger of native art and the European-based art. Indian art is moving beyond its original anthropological interest to greater acceptance in the realm of art history. Some artists choose traditional imagery and form, while others present a more contemporary reality.

Opening on November 4, 1986, *Artists of the Dawn: Christine Nicholas and Senabeh* was an inaugural exhibit in the Hudson

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Museum. Christine Nicholas and her late brother, Senabeh (Ronald Francis), are Penobscot/Malecite who have long known the tradition of travel between Canada and the United States. The basketry and carving achievements of these two native artists blend the styles and designs of this region into unique artistic contributions to the area's native art traditions. Basketmakers and carvers are among the important tradition bearers of their culture; the value of these art forms often transcends the income derived from their sale. Many Indian people today feel that a sound understanding of traditional cultural values is necessary for cultural survival in contemporary society. Native peoples have a rich cultural tradition of handmade craftsmanship that is passed down and carried on with renewed dedication.

Another highlight of the month-long celebration was the Symposium on Contemporary Native Arts Issues held November 7, 1986. This day-long symposium was attended by approximately 80 people from New England, the Maritime Provinces, Ontario, Alaska, Washington, California and Iowa. The contemporary diversity of native arts was clearly illustrated by the range of topics.

Two cultural anthropologists from Maine, David Sanger of the University of Maine and Harald Prins of Bowdoin College, opened the symposium with papers dealing with the prehistoric and historic traditions of Northeastern Native visual expression. Active in the Nova Scotia Association of Indian Arts and Crafts, Catherine Martin presented a needs assessment for Northeastern Native artists. While this overview dealt mainly with artists in Nova Scotia, broader implications were apparent for Native artists in the Maritime-New England region.

Interesting personal insights were presented by two artists from this region who currently reside in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Luke Simon, Micmac from New Brunswick, and Tim Nocola, Penobscot from Maine, reflected on their personal experiences as they related to the current tasks and themes of contemporary Native art. Gerald McMaster, Cree artist and Curator of Contemporary Native Arts at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, provided an update on the collections and programs of this new facility, scheduled to open in 1989. McMaster notes that the collection will not be exhibited as the work of a vanishing race, but as that of a viable, recognized, modern eth-

nic group. Commenting on the negative stereotypes of Indian people which have proven detrimental to an acceptance of much contemporary Indian artistic expression were Margaret Archuleta, Associate Curator of Fine Arts at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, and Lee-Ann Konrad, Project Coordinator. Finally, R. James Schoppert, Tlingit artist and former commissioner of the Washington State Arts Commission, ended the symposium on a positive note for the future of Native arts. Schoppert says, *We are in that time when our people are rising above the hurt and anger; are developing the vocabulary necessary to articulate the events that have affected our people. The future of native art is indeed promising.*

The film entitled *Our Lives in Our Hands* completed the day's activities. Directed by Dr. Harald Prins, in cooperation with the Aroostook Micmac Council of Presque Isle, Maine, the basketmaking process, from gathering the ash to a successful marketing program, was presented through the words of the artists themselves. Featured artists in the film, Donald and David Sanipass, introduced the film and led the lively discussion period which followed.

From November 19 through the 22nd, the University of Maine theater production *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* portrayed one small glimpse of modern Indian life emerging from a century and a half of oppression. Directed by Al Cyrus, chairman of the University of Maine Department of Theatre/Dance, the play was chosen to compete in the regional American College Theater Festival in February 1987. Written by Canadian playwright George Ryga and first performed in 1967, the play is the story of a Kamloops Indian woman victimized by Canadian legal discrimination and social bigotry. *Rita Joe* stirred the consciousness

of its viewers, both Indian and non-Indian. While some believed that the drama reinforced many negative Indian stereotypes, Cyrus stated that the native characters are metaphors for the alien, the outsider, and could apply to any identifiable oppressed group of people isolated from their social and/or tribal source of support.

Emerging from the planned events of the Celebration of Native American Life and Art were many informal programs and conversations. On Saturday morning, November 8, a group of New Brunswick artists met over coffee with several symposium speakers and others at the Community Center on the Penobscot Indian Reservation at Indian Island. A lively exchange of ideas and promises to visit again left all concerned with renewed enthusiasm for further collaboration in native arts exhibits, education and personal interactions. In addition, more than 500 area schoolchildren toured the Native American collection in the Hudson Museum and the Contemporary Canadian Indian exhibit in Carnegie Galleries. Education personnel at the Hudson Museum, Carnegie Galleries and Indian Island School on the Penobscot Reservation coordinated a special program for Penobscot students in conjunction with the campus exhibits and theatre production. Student artists experimented with paper maché sculpture and block-printing to produce art forms influenced strongly by Indian exhibits on the campus. Michael Vermette, art teacher, and Barry Dana, cultural teacher at Indian Island School, were largely responsible for heightening an awareness of and excitement for Indian art traditions among their students.

# THE MONTRÉAL CANADIENS: a cultural institution

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by James J. Herlan

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Although professional hockey is primarily a business operated for the profit of the team owners, it has a broad cultural impact that reaches far beyond the corporate balance sheet. In Canada, where it is the national sport, ice hockey generates attachments and passions that often reflect the nature of society itself. In the eyes of Canada's hockey fans, their favorite teams and players seem to act out, symbolically at least, conflicts and feelings that trouble the collective psyche: **Team Canada defends the nation's honor in international tournaments, the Montréal Canadiens carry the banner of French Canada, while the Toronto Maple Leafs traditionally represent the values cherished by English Canada; and more recently teams in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver have become symbols of western pride.**

All of this is hardly surprising if one remembers that since the founding of the National Hockey League in 1917 an entire mythology of hockey has steadily evolved in Canada. Indeed, the sport has permeated the national consciousness and should not be dismissed as a trivial element in the culture. Playwright Rick Salutin has gone so far as to assert that *hockey is probably our only universal cultural symbol*. While that assertion may seem exaggerated, one can certainly cite a number of prominent writers, both anglophone and francophone, who have written about hockey as an important facet of Canadian life: Hugh MacLennan, Roch Carrier, Hugh Hood, Mordecai Richler, Salutin and others.

The legend that has grown up around the Montréal Canadiens, the most successful team in the history of professional sports, illustrates Salutin's point. It is a team that many considered the virtual embodiment of Québec.

The Canadiens' story, which has been called an epic cycle, has already become a part of Québec's folklore, replete with heroic figures who emerge with striking regularity.

While hockey is an important element in Canadian culture, it is probably even more significant in francophone Québec, where the sport provided an avenue to success that was open to young Québécois at a time when other roads to fame were still closed. The hockey arena became a symbolic battleground where *the economic and political defeats of the real world were momentarily erased* by the glorious victories of fast-skating, determined Québec players. During the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, the Canadiens were a tremendous source of cultural pride, especially for the hundreds of thousands of Québécois who followed the teams' fortunes on radio and television.

Today, it is clear, the Montréal hockey club remains a unique Canadian institution. The team has influenced the way Montréalers perceived themselves and, in some cases, the way they behaved; extreme high and low moments in the Canadian's history have on occasion engendered major collective reactions — jubilant victory parades, angry rioting, grief-stricken mourning. These emotion-laden responses demonstrate the unusually powerful impact of the team on society and reveal the scope of Montréal's commitment to the Canadiens. Those who would write off sports and popular culture as trivial might ask how many political leaders could touch the community so deeply.

Traditionally, the legend has been more closely associated with French Canada than with English Canada, and to a certain degree that perception can be justified. The Canadiens have long been considered the standard-bearers for francophone Québec (and, by extension, for all French-speaking Canadians), although that situation is now complicated by the presence of the Québec Nordiques, a relatively new team that seeks to usurp Montréal's role. Historically, however, *the Canadiens were the French team in the N.H.L., the Flying Frenchmen*, as they were called, symbolically representing francophone culture in the rest of Canada and in the United States. They were different and had what one writer described as a romantic aura.

The francophone element in the myth is linked to the founding of the Canadiens just prior to the 1909-1910 season. When the franchise was awarded to owner J. Ambrose

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O'Brien, it was decided that the Canadiens would utilize only French-speaking players. That historical detail constitutes the basis for much of the folklore that later evolved, but as a matter of fact the all-francophone composition of the team lasted only a few years. As early as the 1912-13 season, the Canadiens were allowed to sign two anglophone players and they jumped at the chance. Thus, with the exceptions of the first three years of their existence, the Canadiens were a bilingual club, even though a majority of the squad was French-speaking. In any case, they continued to be perceived as representatives of French Canada.

The fact that the Canadiens have, since World War I, been a bicultural team, reflects the demographic composition of the city they represent. The linguistic mixture of the team is hardly startling in a community where for more than two centuries the two founding peoples have coexisted along with more recent arrivals from other backgrounds. In this sense, the Canadiens can be viewed as a typical professional sports franchise, mirroring the area they serve; their uniqueness derives from the fact that Montréal is strikingly different from any other N.H.L. city.

In the early 1980s, the composition of the Canadiens started to change, as the number of American and European players began to increase. Some Québec purists saw this transformation as disastrous, a threat to the Canadiens' legend. However, if the Canadiens now have more Americans and Europeans on the squad than they did in the past, this is at least partially a result of a gradual evolution affecting the entire league. In recent years, the percentage of Europeans and U.S.-born players has steadily increased, as the number of native-born Canadians has declined slightly.

There are other considerations as well. If the composition of the N.H.L. rosters has been slowly changing, so has the nature of Montréal itself. The last twenty years have seen a striking metamorphosis in the basic nature of the community. Much has been written about the Quiet Revolution that affected all of Québec in the early 1960s, but since that period Montréal has experienced a rather dramatic urban revolution of its own. The most conspicuous changes resulted from preparations for two events, Expo '67 and the 1976 Olympic Games, both of which altered the way outsiders looked at Montréal — and the way Montrealers perceived themselves.

Culturally speaking, Montréal has undergone a process of internationalization. The once monolithic society of French Canada is now comparatively diverse, enriched in recent years by increased immigration from Haiti and French-speaking areas of North Africa. Other cultural groups are also playing a more significant role in Montréal's development, and this adds still another dimension to the picture. The new, multicultural Canadiens seem to embody the city's evolving self-image. Many in the media interpret the wide acceptance of the *internationalized* Canadiens as a sign of the new openness of Québec society to

people who were formerly considered outsiders.

In the historical development of the Montréal mystique, it is, of course, the stunning accomplishments of the team that form the real foundation of the legend. Without the matchless record of success, the power of the myth would have been significantly diminished (just as it has been, for example, in Toronto, where a once proud tradition has been blemished by idiosyncratic management). Simply put, the Canadiens' legend continues to grow and evolve because the team goes on winning with unprecedented regularity. By capturing the Stanley Cup in 1986 for the twenty-third time, the Canadiens surpassed the New York Yankees and became the only professional team in North America to have won that many championships. Much has been written about other teams with winning traditions — the Green Bay Packers in football, the Boston Celtics in basketball — but, except for the Yankees, no other club even comes close to the Canadiens. They stand alone at the top of professional sports.

Within the world of hockey, the Montréal record is even more impressive: their achievement of garnering twenty-three Cups is unlikely to be challenged in this century, and if the Canadiens' success continues, it will be difficult for any other teams to catch up, even after the year 2000. The second-ranked team in this category, the Toronto Maple Leafs, won the Stanley Cup eleven times — less than half the Montreal total. The Detroit Red Wings, third overall, have been N.H.L. champions on seven occasions, the last time in 1955. The New York Islanders, after winning four consecutive Cups at the beginning of the present decade, faltered and their dynasty seems to have collapsed. Statistically speaking, the Canadiens are so far ahead that they will face no serious threat for a long time to come.

Many factors — the historical roots of the club, the impressive collective achievements of the team over three quarters of a century, the brilliant individual accomplishments of Montréal's most legendary players, the record-setting number of Stanley Cups — have contributed significantly to the growth and power of the Canadiens' myth. Over the years, the club has included players of all-star quality at every position on the ice, more of them than any other team in the history of the sport. Among the most prominent were forwards like Guy Lafleur, Henri Richard and Jean Beliveau; defensemen Doug Harvey and *Butch* Bouchard; and outstanding goaltenders Ken Dryden, Jacques Plante and the fabled Georges Vezina, for whom the league's goaltending trophy is named.

Along with these players and other former stars, the Canadiens also produced two exceptional athletes whose performance set them apart from all the others: Howie Morenz and Maurice Richard are the authentic heroes, the truly Olympian figures in this Montréal version of a Greek drama. In the long history of the Club de Hockey Canadien, these two have a unique status. Although each





The Canadiens de Montréal Dream Team, chosen by Québec hockey fans, featured Jacques Plante, (now deceased), the first goaltender to wear a mask; the prolific, Jean Béliveau; the one and only Doug Harvey, one of the greatest defencemen of all times; the aggressive Dickie Moore; the only member still active on the Dream Team, Larry Robinson; and hockey's all-time great and most exciting player, Maurice "The Rocket" Richard. Hector "Toe" Blake was chosen as coach of this Dream Team. Bob Gainey, Captain of the Canadiens, and the illustrious Aurel Joliat (now deceased) accompanied the group for the official photograph on January 12, 1985.

of them compiled impressive statistics and each won his share of N.H.L. awards, their special standing came from a combination of factors — some intangible — that seemed to transform them into god-like figures, capable of stirring not only the faithful in Montréal but hockey fans throughout North America.

Morenz and Richard each had the gift of charisma, a quality that enabled them to electrify an entire arena full of people, to lift thousands of fans from their seats, as if by magic, while they made a spectacular dash down the ice. That rare quality had apparently come unbidden to Morenz and Richard, neither of whom seemed consciously aware of this power to move crowds. Like many athletes in the past (and perhaps even in the present), they were relatively naive and somewhat baffled by the charismatic influence they exercised almost in spite of themselves. Nonetheless, both men were acutely aware of the positive response of their fans and were gratified by its warmth. Their personal magnetism was all the more effective because it was not cultivated but natural — and presumably innate.

Considered individually, the two men were strikingly different in a number of ways: Morenz was an anglophone Protestant from small-town Ontario, while Richard was a francophone Catholic from Montréal; Morenz was an affable, charming extrovert who loved socializing, whereas Richard was a moody, reticent introvert who felt most comfortable within the privacy of his own home. What they had in common, however, was significant: exceptional athletic ability, intense determination, a deep commitment to winning, the ability to inspire others — and, of course, the fact they both performed for the Montréal Canadiens.

Howie Morenz, a generation older than Richard, played during the 1920s and 1930s. Known as the *Stratford Streak*, Morenz was named center on the first all-star team in N.H.L. history. He left an indelible mark on the sport during his outstanding career, but ironically it was his dramatic and untimely death that confirmed his heroic status. His playing days ended abruptly on January 28, 1937, when he caught his skate as he crashed into the end boards in the Montréal Forum. A Chicago defenseman fell on Morenz, whose left leg was badly broken.

He was taken to St. Luke's Hospital, where he remained for treatment. In the weeks that followed, his leg appeared to be mending, but Morenz did not feel right and became depressed. In early March, he called his parents' home in Ontario to ask his father to visit him. Then on Monday, March 8, Howie Morenz died in his sleep at the age of thirty-four. Some accounts indicated he had died of heart failure, while others suggested an embolism had caused his death. In a sense, it did not matter. Some sort of breakdown in the vascular system had snuffed out the life of hockey's first truly heroic figure, and no one really cared about the mechanics of his death. The Stratford Streak, the Co-

met from Ontario, would shine no more — that was all that counted.

His untimely demise stunned hockey fans all over Canada and the United States. People had wondered whether Morenz would be able to make a comeback as a player, but no one anticipated his not leaving the hospital alive. He was simply too young and vigorous for that. Because of the shocking suddenness of the end, the public expressions of grief welled up spontaneously from all segments of society. Floral tributes poured in from all over Canada, reflecting the breadth of Morenz' appeal.

Morenz' remains were first moved to a funeral chapel in downtown Montréal, where mourners flocked in to pay their respects. The decision was made to move Morenz' body to the Forum, and on March 11 his casket was placed at center ice, along with four truckloads of flowers that had been sent to the funeral home. During the four hours preceding the scheduled service, officials estimated that 50,000 mourners filed past the remains. Many of them stayed, and when the service began, the Forum was filled to capacity with close to 15,000 in attendance. At least as many mourners huddled outside the arena in the streets.

The scope of the responses, the widespread mourning, and the intensity of the grief in Montréal attested to the heroic status of Howie Morenz. The depth of feeling involved suggests that Morenz had indeed become far more than a popular hockey star. He was a genuine hero — a modern hero, at least, whose unique qualities demonstrated that life could be exhilarating, even in the midst of the Depression, and whose own performance on the ice proved that brief moments of glory could lift people above their workaday slough and into a brighter realm.

More than four decades after the Morenz tragedy, Senator Hartland Molson reflected on the almost magical powers of the Canadiens' great center. Morenz was, of course, an anglophone native of Ontario, a young man of German descent with a Protestant background. He played in Montréal during a historical period that was certainly far less ecumenical than the present era. Yet, as the Senator observed, Morenz was quickly accepted by Montréal fans, the vast majority of whom were French-speaking and Roman Catholic. He soon became an adoptive son and was treated like one of their own by Canadiens' supporters. Speaking of the funeral held in the Forum, Senator Molson marveled at the fact that nearly 15,000 francophone Catholics had come to attend a Protestant service conducted in English. As he suggested, this reflected the ability of Howie Morenz — even in death — to transcend differences and unite people in a common cause. In one sense, this gift may have been Morenz' greatest legacy.

After Morenz' tragic demise, the entire Montréal organization seemed to slump, and the team did not regain its winning momentum until Maurice Richard appeared on the scene in the fall of 1942. Destined to be the Canadiens'

next superstar, the young Richard was strong, fast-skating and totally dedicated to winning. He was a superbly talented athlete and an inspirational performer who led by example.

Whereas Morenz had been happy-go-lucky, Richard was down-to-earth, a plain family man, happy to stay out of the limelight once he left the arena. Richard was seen as an ordinary person who had combined his innate ability with a tremendous will to succeed, transforming himself into a hockey star. He also, of course, became a hero for all of French Canada, yet always remained very much a working-class hero, a star with whom the average fan could readily identify. The Rocket's father, Onésime Richard, was a carpenter who worked for the Canadian Pacific Railway for years, and Maurice Richard never forgot his origins. He was a native son, born in Montréal in a French-speaking Catholic family. Richard, in other words, had the perfect background for an authentic Canadiens' hero.

The Rocket, as he was called, was a winner, capable of performing amazing individual exploits as he led the beloved Canadiens to the Stanley Cup. In the midst of economic hardships and political restrictiveness, here was a real winner, a man to show the rest of North America what French Canada had to offer. Maurice Richard could inspire Montréal to victory over their bitter rival in Toronto (back when the Maple Leafs were the standard-bearers for all of English Canada) and over the four American teams that challenged for the Cup. These triumphs on the rink helped to compensate for the real-world hardships associated with minority status, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, and the leadership role of Richard made winning all the sweeter. To the extent that the Rocket embodied the values dear to francophone Canadians, he became a shining symbol of the dynamic strength of his people. Indeed, to many of his compatriots, he seemed the very personification of French Canada.

Maurice Richard's special status in Québec was confirmed by the hockey riot of 1955, a rare event in the history of Canadian sports, where there is no tradition of spectator violence. Though far less tragic than the Morenz funeral, the tumultuous uprising in downtown Montréal left its own mark on the collective psyche of the province. The actual sequence of events began on March 13, 1955, during a Boston-Montréal game, which was marred by a violent incident involving Richard and a Boston player named Hal Laycoe. In the course of a struggle for the puck, Laycoe used his stick to open a five-stitch cut on Richard's forehead. Enraged, Richard retaliated with his fists and quickly knocked his opponent to the ice. When the official linesman tried to restrain Richard, he also received a blow in the face. It was for this violation of the rules (rather than for the original retaliation) that Richard was to be punished by league president Clarence Campbell. When that punishment was announced two days later, many found it exces-

sive: Richard was to be suspended for the rest of the regular season *and* for the all-important, post-season playoffs.

Devoted Montréal fans were outraged by what they considered the unjust suspension of their hero by the N.H.L. president. To some extent, the public and the media seemed to focus attention on the two antagonists as embodiments of conflicting values. Accordingly, when both men chose to attend Montréal's next home game, their physical presence appeared to crystallize hostile feelings.

The next game to be played at the Forum was scheduled—ironically—for St. Patrick's Day. Although Campbell was advised not to attend the game, he chose to take his regular seat in the arena. His arrival provoked a chorus of verbal abuse, and some spectators threw eggs and fruit at him. During the first intermission, a tear-gas bomb was thrown onto the ice, touching off the disruption. The 15,000 fans in the Forum rushed out to escape the fumes and were met by another 6,000 Montréalers who had gathered in the streets. At this point, the riot erupted in earnest: most windows in the Forum and adjoining buildings were broken, a police car was overturned, and phone booths and kiosks were tumbled and set afire. Ultimately, fifty-two people were arrested and property damage reached \$50,000 as a result of the riot. Remarkably, no one was seriously injured during the riot, and in that sense the disruption was not as devastating as it might have been. The whole affair remains, however, a messy and confusing episode in Montréal's cultural history. Thirty years later, sociologists are still trying to interpret the meaning of it all. Without getting into the more esoteric explanations that have been put forth, one can see that Maurice Richard was a genuine folk hero whose banishment stirred thousands to action. It is equally obvious that the Canadiens as a team are an authentic cultural institution with a social impact that goes far beyond the world of sports. In effect, the 1955 riot demonstrated that the Montréal hockey team plays a symbolic role that is unique in Canada and perhaps in all of North America.

The Canadiens are a prestigious franchise, to be sure, and their winning tradition is the recurrent, underlying theme of the story. Beyond that, however, a whole mythology has developed around the team since its founding in 1909. Ultimately, the legend is a kind of collective love story, a tale of mutual admiration between players and fans, carried on over the generations. The saga of the Canadiens is open-ended, naturally, because the team, with a life of its own, will continue to evolve as long as hockey is played in Canada.

*The following is excerpted from Kent Carter's doctoral dissertation presented to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts, February, 1987. This dissertation was funded, in part, by the Canadian Government through its embassy in Washington. The survey on which the following is based included looking at the theorem: Top executives of Canadian corporations are more likely to rely on formal plans (and methods) in making their corporate decisions than are U.S. executives. This was based on research done by Dickerson and Nadeau in 1978. The sample consisted of top executives in small, medium and large firms. The U.S. sample surveyed numbered 400 with a 34 percent response rate; the Canadian sample surveyed numbered 400 with a response rate of 29.6 percent. A mail survey with three follow-ups was used.*

# **U.S. AND CANADIAN EXECUTIVES: use of formal and informal plans in top executive decision-making**

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by Kent Carter

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This empirical study examines the two areas of planning and decision-making at the highest echelon of business organizations. It is both an exploratory endeavor and a measurement investigation that hopes to provide practical social and theoretical scientific significance.

The strategic management literature suggests that corporate decision-making is really a haphazard and disjointed process totally separated from the insights an executive might gain from using a formal planning system to help those decisions. Much of this study is aimed at determining the validity of that suggestion.

Other literature in the field of comparative management suggests not only that U.S. business executives are likely to make very intuitive informal corporate decisions but that their counterparts in Canada are more structured and in-

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flexible and, therefore, more likely to use very formal systems in their decision-making. Since these issues are closely related to the original intentions of this project, a cross-cultural comparison was deemed a valuable practical extension of the theoretical objectives.

A review of previous research in this area reveals several testable propositions related to the theories of corporate planning and decision-making. Since little empirical research has been carried out, a measurement instrument was developed to explore these hypotheses. The results are enlightening.

## **Major Findings**

The results of this study do not support the theory that business executives prefer making most major decisions using intuition and gut feelings. However, the findings presented below may only be generalized to the sample in this study and not to the wider population of chief executive officers throughout the U.S. and Canada. Within the study limitations, the findings indicate that both U.S. and Canadian Chief Executive Officers do prefer to use formal plans to make extremely important corporate decisions. The surveyed executives prefer to use both formal and informal plans in situations where they need to *buy time*. However, further research is needed to determine which of these two directions is preferred; consequently, little can be said about the issue of *buying time* in the decision-making process.

It appears from the results of this study that there is no solid link between the turbulence of the environment in which the firm operates and the executive decision-maker's preference for plans. While it seems logical that there will be a definite connection between environment and types of plans used in decision-making, none is found. There does appear to be a link between the riskiness of the decision to be made and a general executive's preference for formal plans in making that decision.

**Is it possible that, in today's world economy, change is so prevalent and rapid that any answer about style will do in the short term?**

Finally, there is no significant difference between U.S. and Canadian executives in their preference for either formal or informal plans in making corporate decisions. The only exceptions are the following: *Canadian executives in the industrial sector appear to prefer more formal plans for general decision-making than their U.S. colleagues, and Canadian executives who have been in their top level positions longer than twenty years prefer informal plans in decision-making more than their U.S. colleagues.* It is also of interest to note that the *U.S. executives tend to be, on average, four and one-half years older than the Canadian executives.* A caveat concerning each of these findings is that if the executive has been in his position more than twenty years, has less than twelve years of education, or is working in the industrial sector, these generalized findings cannot be substantiated. In respect to this lack of data, further research is necessary.

## Implications and Conclusions

Management studies of business executives at the upper echelons of corporations are limited in both scope and number (see in particular Mintzberg, 1970; Donaldson & Lorsch, 1983; and Clifford & Cavanaugh, 1985). Most research about corporate planning investigates the impact on performance of formal planning processes. This study investigates the usefulness of formal plans as a tool in corporate decision-making. Numerous studies suggest there is a formal/informal planning dichotomy, but none carefully defines both terms. One of the requirements for pursuing this study was the development of clear and concise definitions which could then be reused in other studies to broaden the knowledge of informal planning dimensions. Some research attempts to present models which will help the individual executive more clearly define the decision-making framework appropriate to his or her personality and style; however, these models avoid specifying the value

and place intuition has in that framework. This study provides clarification for use in building future theoretical models which give credence to the intuitive side of decision makers' thought processes. A new view of both formal and informal planning is developed by linking these two tools to the overall Chief Executive Officer's decision-making process.

The implication is not that substantial and exclusive enlightenment is thrust upon the field of strategic management, but that some vague yet interconnected concepts are initially explored and related to each other. This addition to theoretical knowledge can serve to provide both insight and stimulation for more questions. For example, since these respondents do not have a distinct preference for either formal or informal plans in their business environments, and since the instability of the environments is not significantly different in respect to various type businesses, *is it possible that, in today's world economy, change is so prevalent and rapid that any answer about style will do in the short term?*

This study also adds new information to the field of Canadian - U.S. management studies. The findings here may be preliminary to other studies describing how a world market may spawn a new international personality in business executives. These findings further substantiate those of Malcolm (1985) when he suggests that Canadian business managers have become less formal and more flexible in recent decades and dispute the Lipset (1985) descriptions of the traditional, plodding, and ultraconservative Canadian executive.

The implications for corporate executives are that *the executives who participated in this study do prefer formal plans for making important and/or risky corporate decisions.* However, neither formal nor informal plans are substantially preferred for making decisions in turbulent environments. Of further interest is that both Canadian and U.S. executives feel they primarily use a decision-making approach that borders on being more rational than intuitive. This point is especially interesting since the literature related to the Canadian - U.S. perspective suggests that U.S. executives tend to be intuitive decision-makers when, in fact, the respondents in this study are much more aligned with the rational approach to decision-making.

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# Our Cover Artist: bits and pieces of one man's Nova Scotia

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by Edgar McKay

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I am told that a photographer who presumes to display his work in public must inform his viewers as to his reasons for showing what he shows.

The title of the show "Bits and Pieces of One Man's Nova Scotia" is very personal to me and my wife and our daughter. It is personal because for more than 50 years our lives have been enriched by this beautiful province — the village of Bear River, Digby Neck, the Annapolis Valley, Grand Pré, the South Shore, the Cape Breton Highlands and points between. All of these places, whether mountain, seashore or town are part of nature and each puts on a display in season and on its own terms. And it is in these places that we are truly at home.

I have had no formal training in photography, but I have been given advice and counsel by good friends. I am grateful to Professor Vincent Hartgen, retired head of the Art Department, University of Maine, who over the years has helped me to see more clearly *what is there*. To Jim Garvin, chief cinematographer/videographer, University of Maine, I owe much as he patiently tutored me in proper use of

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*Edgar McKay was born in Boston, attended elementary school in Bear River, Nova Scotia, and both high school and Colby College in Maine. He taught social studies, coached varsity track and junior varsity football and served as principal at Winslow High School. In 1947 he taught Modern Society at the University of Maine's Brunswick annex, and in 1949 he moved to the Orono campus where he served as Chairman of the Modern Society Program and as the first Director of the New England/Atlantic Provinces/Quebec Center (now called the Canadian-American Center) until his retirement in 1973. From 1961 through 1967 he was involved in interdisciplinary research and community development in Digby County, Nova Scotia, as part of a team directed from Cornell University. His intellectual interests are the problems of the environment and nuclear issues. He is a member of the Wilderness Society and the Natural Resources Council of Maine. His hobbies have been mountain climbing, hiking, canoeing, fly fishing for brook trout and photography.*

my first Kodak Pony and color film. And to Al Pelletier and Jack Walas of PICS go my warm thanks for encouragement. These four, in their several ways, have helped me to see more clearly what Ansel Adams means in his magnificent classic *The Eloquent Light*. Finally, there have been the many times when wife or daughter would exclaim *Look, see!* and I would look and see and the camera would capture an instant of reality and make it ours.

To me my camera is an instrument of magic — a box with eyes that can transfer a bit or piece of the real world to paper to reinforce the rather faulty album of the mind called memory. If it can capture the muted gray of Fundy fog against a granite headland, I am content. And if it can move a shaft of light from the setting sun to discover a baby deer in deep woods, I know the magic works.

*Right: a reproduction of a photograph of the Acadian church and the Statue of Evangeline at Grand Pré, Nova Scotia. Located on the original site in the Grand Pré National Historic Park, the church is a model of the original church of St. Charles. It was from this place the people of Grand Pré were expelled by the British in 1755 and conveyed by boat to New England, Louisiana and other places in the southern colonies. After the peace of 1763, numbers of these exiles returned to other parts of Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces. The original photograph was taken by Edgar B. McKay, Associate Professor Emeritus of Modern Society at the University of Maine. He is the author of the following verse:*

**Grand Pré, in gloom and storm-cloud, holds  
Reminders in the Present of the Past —  
Man's blind unreason to his fellow man.  
Now exiles home in Acadie at last.  
Today a chapel cross thrusts to the sky;  
The shadow of Evangeline stands by.**

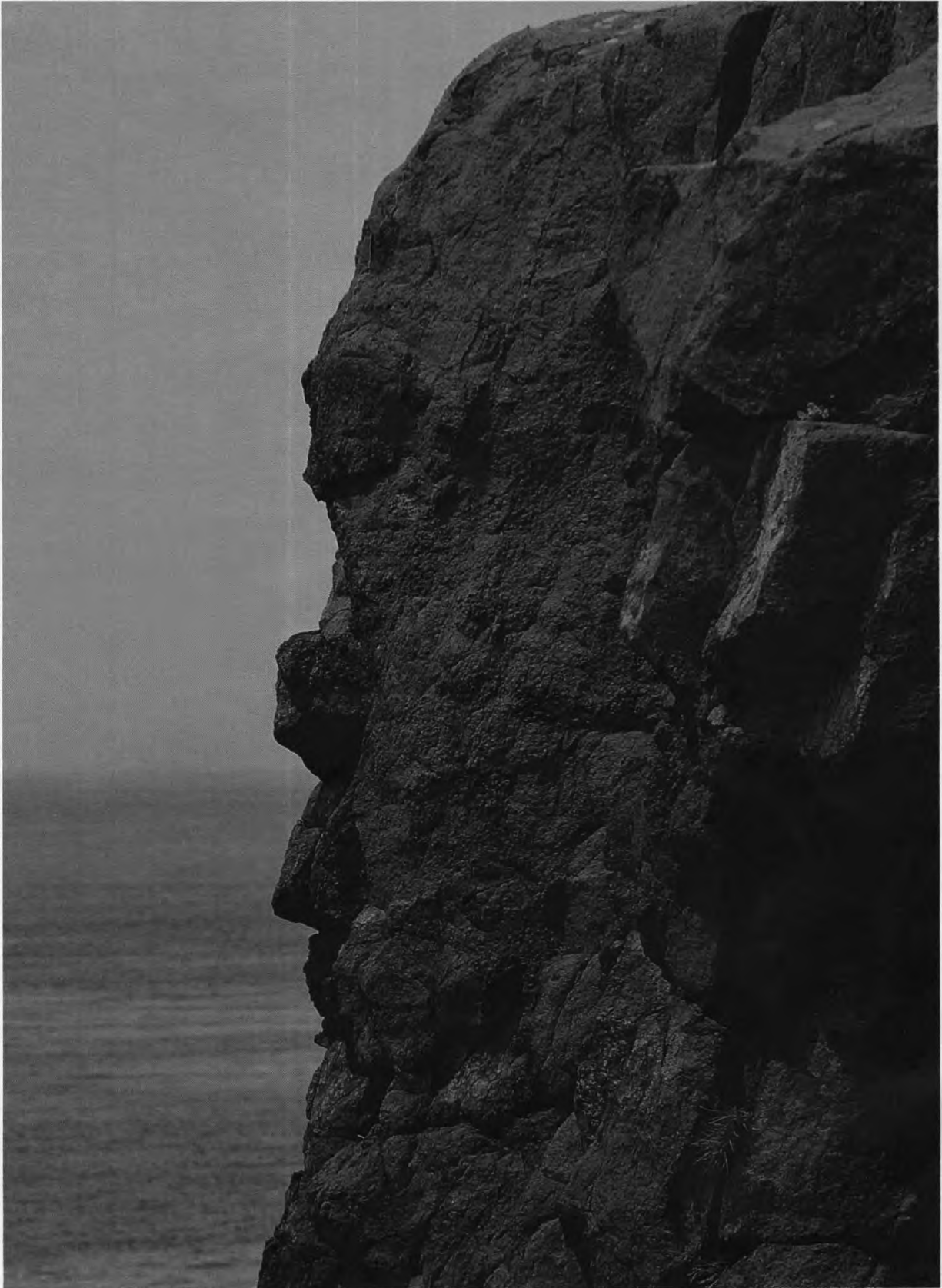
**Center spread: *Home from the Sea*, fishing fleet entering Digby Gut, Nova Scotia. From the collection of Edgar McKay.**











*Old Man of the Sea, Brier Island, Nova Scotia. From the collection of Edgar McKay.*

# The Canadian-American Center and the Canadian Collection of the Fogler Library

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by Alice Stewart

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The University of Maine's Fogler Library has one of the country's largest Canadian collections, especially strong in materials on the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec. Researchers here and elsewhere can consult the Library's 20,000 monographs, supplemented by nearly 70,000 microforms and a Canadian documents section of more than 100,000 items. They have access to 41 Canadian newspapers, some of which, like the *Montreal Gazette*, go back to the eighteenth century, and to more than 200 periodicals. The Library also holds some 3,000 Canadian topographical and cadastral maps, nearly complete for Eastern Canada. For more extensive coverage they can use Fogler's computer links and subject-matter searches for interlibrary loans. While serious researchers may still have to visit Canadian libraries and archives, the Fogler Library provides a solid base for Canadian studies.

The building of a strong Canadian collection in the Fogler Library has been one of the main objectives of the Canadian-American Center, as it was of its predecessor, the New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center. The faculty committees who worked to establish the Center in the 1960s recognized early that the long-term program of developing Canadian and regional studies and related activities at the University of Maine would succeed only if they could help the Library to strengthen its then modest holdings on Canada.

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The Fogler Library's Canadian collection had very small beginnings. When the first Canadian history courses were given at the University of Maine in the mid-1920s, the University's Library had a few books on Canadian subjects, scattered documents, and subscriptions to two journals, the *Canadian Historical Review* and the *Canadian Entomologist*. By 1947, when the Department of History and Government began to offer Canadian History regularly, some monographs, and a number of standard series had been added. These included the pioneering *Canada and its Provinces*, the *Chronicles of Canada*, the revised collection of biographies, called the *Makers of Canada*, and scattered volumes in the Carnegie Canadian-American Relations series.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, the Canadian historian, working with the Library staff, began the tasks of strengthening the retrospective collection and of suggesting from a still relatively small Library budget the acquisition of some of the new Canadian books being published in increasing numbers as Canadian universities developed more specialized departments in the humanities and social sciences. There were occasional gifts like that of President Arthur Hauck who in 1958 donated the Canadian section of his private library to the University Library. By 1960 the University's Canadian collection was fairly adequate for undergraduate history courses, but not for either graduate or faculty research. During these years and for some time thereafter the Library relied on the better endowed Bangor Public Library for such research materials as the Champlain Society series, the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations* and the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, important for early Maritime as well as for American Colonial History. Volumes of the Royal Society of Canada series were borrowed from time to time from the Bowdoin College Library.

The real expansion of the Library's Canadian holdings began in the early 1960s as part of the plans for a regionally oriented Canadian Center, added undergraduate Canadian courses, and graduate work in Canadian history. In 1962 the first formal proposal to the University for such a Center made clear the commitment of the sponsoring committee to the University Library. The Center statement contained the following paragraph:

The Center would maintain a specialized library and information center. While a small reference library, containing standard reference books, pamphlets, and a selection of regional newspapers, periodicals, and other publications would be available at the Center office, the main research collection on New England and the Atlantic Provinces would be developed as a part of the University of Maine Library. In addition, the resources of other libraries would be made available through union lists and bibliographies, and the wider use of interlibrary loan.

With this decision the Center Committee could begin more extensive Canadian collection planning. Grants from President Lloyd Elliot and the University's Coe Research Fund enabled the Committee to arrange a series of library surveys. The first, broadened to include other Maine libraries, covered books and research materials on the Atlantic Provinces. It resulted in the 1965 publication of *The Atlantic Provinces of Canada: Union Lists of Materials in the Larger Libraries of Maine*, Alice R. Stewart, compiler (2nd edition, 1971). Cecil Reynolds of the University of Maine English Department undertook the difficult task of identifying Fogler's English Canadian Literature books. Claude Thibault of Bishop's University, one of Canada's leading bibliographers, surveyed the Library's small collection of books in French on French Canada, making recommendations for future purchase. The last of the original planned surveys was published in 1971 as *The Franco-Americans of New England: A Union List of Materials in Selected Maine Libraries*, Irene Simano, compiler.

While these surveys were being made, the Committee for a New England-Atlantic Provinces Center was using a variety of means to increase the number of Canadian materials available in Fogler. Members of the Committee visited libraries, archives, and bookstores in Maine, New England and Canada, discussing possible book and document exchanges, acquiring duplicates, reports, and bulletins, and, in a few cases, making purchases of scarce items. The Library itself was adding Canadian periodicals. In the middle 1960s it became a partial depository for Canadian government documents. It also added on permanent loan from the Bangor Public Library its first Canadian newspaper, the Saint John *New Brunswick Courier* (1833-1865). The results of this period of growth in Fogler's Canadian collection were reported in 1965 and 1966. The first report

estimated Canadian titles, both fiction and nonfiction, at 3056, of which 522 were on the Atlantic Provinces. The Halifax *Chronicle-Herald* and the Montreal *Gazette* were taken daily, and a beginning had been made at purchasing the microfilm of the latter newspaper. In 1966 when Committee members again proposed the establishment of a New England-Atlantic Provinces Study Center, this time to President Edwin Young, they included the statement that *One of the University's greatest resources for study and research on Canada is the Canadian collection of the Fogler Library*. They pointed out that the collection contained 70 current periodicals and a growing number of Canadian government documents for which the Library is a selective depository.

If Fogler could now provide an improved basis for teaching and research on Canada, there was much to be done to strengthen the Library's still modest holdings of Canadian newspapers and documents, and to increase the scope of annual book purchases. Pressure for expanded Canadian acquisitions grew in the late 1960s. In 1967 the University of Maine Trustees authorized the establishment of a New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center. Also in 1967 the History Department approved and the Graduate Executive Committee accepted a History Canadian-American Studies graduate program which included a Ph.D. By the end of the decade undergraduate courses were planned in a number of departments other than History. These included English, Foreign Languages, Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology and Economics. The means of assisting the Library staff in book selection had been in place for some years; the major problem now was identifying regular annual financial resources to supplement a Library budget which could help, but could not support, a Canadian acquisitions program on the scale planned.

The answer to this problem for the 1970s was to combine and extend earlier acquisitions methods with new approaches. The Center's staff and its Faculty Committee continued to use their many Canadian contacts to identify possible exchanges, to acquire duplicates and to encourage book donations. Examples were a substantial gift of *Canadian Parliamentary Debate* volumes by Dale Thompson, the Director of the Johns Hopkins Canadian Center, and a similar donation of Nova Scotia law books and sessional papers by Edgar McKay, a founder of the NEAP-Q Center and its first Director. On several occasions the Canadian and Quebec governments gave books to the Center for the collection. In 1970 the question of regular funding was addressed by establishing the Canadian Library Fund to receive and administer allocations from the Library and other sources. These included the NEAP-Q Center itself, which in 1969-70 received a large grant from the Donner Foundation, as well as grants or gifts from governments, institutions and individuals. Most notable of these was the gift from the UMO Class of 1972 of \$5,000 for the purchase of books on the international region.

While the broad commitment of those working with Fogler's Canadian collection remained much the same into the 1980s, with changing circumstances there were some shifts of emphasis. In 1975 the NEAP-Q Center, at the suggestion of University President Howard Neville and the new Director, Ronald Tallman, was renamed the Canadian-American Center. Reflecting the change of name, the Canadian program of the Library, while retaining the specialties of the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec, began to place more emphasis on wider Canadian acquisitions. Faculty members in those departments which participated in the Canadian Studies minor or concentration authorized in 1974 were requesting still more library materials in the subjects involved. Graduate and faculty research on Canadian topics increased not only in History but in other humanities and social studies departments. The result was an accelerated search for funds to meet the needs of an expanding Canadian Studies Program.

The Canadian-American Center, the Fogler Library staff and the University continued in this period to play significant roles in developing the Canadian collection. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the Center, now one of the leading members of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States, received several foundation and government grants, all of which benefited the Library, directly or indirectly. In 1976 the Quebec Government contributed to a French Canadian Studies program, which was expanded in the next year by a second Donner grant. In 1978 the National Endowment for the Humanities funded a Canadian-Franco-American project and in that same year the Canadian Government formally added the University of Maine to its annual program of book donations to *prestigious institutions in the U.S. with major programs in Canadian Studies*. On a number of occasions in the early 1980s the Canadian Department of External Affairs and the Quebec Government gave the Center for Fogler such research materials as *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, the *Shipping Registries of Atlantic Canada*, and topographic maps of the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec. The Library was also included in the Center's U.S. Department of Education NDEA Title VI grants which began in 1979-1980 and have continued since.

Of major importance in the establishing and maintenance of the collection has been the contribution of the Fogler Library staff, both in funding and in personnel. The Library's annual allocation to the Canadian Library Funds has been a stable budget element. Also significant are the Library's additions to and continuation of Canadian serials subscriptions and its purchases of Canadian documents and reference works. As Librarian, James MacCampbell was an early participant in planning and a supporter of the collection, arranging such acquisitions as the first major series of *Canadian Parliamentary Debates*. In 1983 he gave assistance with the addition of the notable Metcalfe collec-

tion of English Canadian Literature. His successors, Sam Garwood (Acting) and Elaine Albright have been helpful, as have the Acquisitions Librarian, Myrna McCallister, the former and present Heads of the Documents Department, Barbara MacCampbell and Frank Wihbey, and the former Canadian Documents Librarian, Francesca Ruggieri. With some assistance from the Canadian-American Center, Thomas Patterson, Head of the Reference Department and the Canadian Studies representative in Fogler, made a number of trips in 1979 and 1980 to libraries and archives in Eastern Canada and Ontario, later helping to organize a Canadian-American committee within the American Library Association. Other Library staff members have attended meetings in Canada, have taken part in exchanges and have helped prepare grant proposals and bibliographies. In 1981 the Library staff organized and hosted a successful Canadian-American Library Conference, the first in this international region.

The University's role in the development of the Canadian collection, generally supportive through its Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Deans, became more explicit in 1982 with the agreement to add to the Library budget each year over a ten year period the requisite amount for the purchase of *Pre-1900 Canadiana*. This project is publishing in successive units microfiche of all Canadian books and pamphlets between 1867 and 1900. With Fogler's earlier microfilm series which reproduces many of the Canadian holdings of the Toronto Public Library published before 1867, users of the University's library will have access to most Canadian books and pamphlets from the 16th century to the 20th century.

At the end of the 1980s the Canadian-American Center's commitment to Fogler's Canadian collection remains substantial, both in budget allocations to the Canadian Library Funds and in other ways. An illustration is the role of the Center's staff in the inventory of the Wade legacy. Mason Wade, distinguished as a scholar of French Canada, and a long-time friend of Maine's Canadian-American Center, left his large collection of Canadiana, some 1550 items, to be divided among Dartmouth College and the Universities of Maine and Vermont. Those Atlantic Provinces and Quebec volumes allocated to Fogler will add much to an important section of its Canadian holdings.

The building of the Canadian collection of the Fogler Library shows that with the cooperation over a period of time of the University's administration, the faculty concerned, and the Library staff, an outstanding library resource can be developed.

**Sources:** The main sources for this article are the *New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec* and the *Stewart Papers in Fogler's Special Collections Department*, and the files of the Library and the Canadian-American Center.

# Capitalist Development in the New England-Atlantic Provinces Region

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by Robert H. Babcock

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On the last day of July in 1850 a group of judges, governors, businessmen and clergy pressed into a hall in Portland, Maine, to attend an "International Railway Convention." They had journeyed from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, New England, Canada, and New York to share their enthusiasm for the new railway technology. Among those gathering in a room decorated with the Stars and Stripes, the Cross of St. George, and a large map of the North Atlantic region of Europe and America were Maine's governor, several members of provincial legislatures including Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia and Lemuel A. Wilmot of New Brunswick, and the mayors of Portland and Saint John. They had been invited by John Alfred Poor, a Portland lawyer and promoter, to hear his proposal for a grandiose new railway. It would stretch eastward from Portland along the Maine coast to Saint John, continue across the Chignecto Isthmus to Halifax, and thence run up the coast of Nova Scotia and across Canso Strait to Sydney or Glace Bay. From that point Poor imagined a fleet of steamers carrying passengers, mail, and freight across the Atlantic Ocean to Galway Bay. His vision projected rails across Ireland to Dublin, and imaginary ferries raced over the Irish Sea to Liverpool where a final transfer to British rails would bring people and goods from North America to London. Poor's scheme promised to save three or four days and 900 miles of ocean travel, and the fact that his hearers took him seriously should remind us of the difficulty and danger of ocean crossings at that time. This European and North American railway (E&NA), as Poor dubbed

his idea, was expected to forge new avenues of friendship and commerce between New England and the Maritime Provinces. Railways, Poor asserted, would spawn "a similarity of ideas, of tastes and pursuits, and of institutions" that inevitably would erode political boundaries.<sup>1</sup>

On the threshold of the new age of iron and steam, New Englanders and Maritimers welcomed the convergence of their destinies. The circular announcing Poor's meeting had provoked New Brunswick enthusiasts into organizing a "Railway League." GIVE US RAILROADS! the Saint John *Daily News* proclaimed.

Give the people employment. Open up the resources of the country. Introduce capital. GIVE US RAILROADS!<sup>2</sup>

Delegates at the Portland convention echoed the editorial hype. L.A. Wilmot looked forward to the time when the E&NA would make New Brunswick better known beyond its borders. Joseph Howe added his wholehearted endorsement to Poor's scheme and later stirred Halifax audiences with an eloquent interpretation of the Portlander's vision. A committee of representatives from Maine, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was impaneled to arrange for the construction in each jurisdiction. Then the sessions ended in an orgy of "repeated and prolonged cheers," climaxed by three huzzahs each for Queen Victoria and the President, Zachary Taylor, for the Mother Country and "her American children," and finally "for the success of THE EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN RAILWAY."<sup>3</sup>

Railways brought new stages of capitalist development to the North Atlantic region. Thanks largely to spreading railway tracks, mercantile capitalism soon peaked and gave way to a new competitive stage characterized by the rapid advance of the factory system and the rise of a new class of entrepreneurs. Then, at the turn of the century after railways had extended product and labor markets across the continent, businessmen reorganized on a much larger scale into vertical and horizontal combinations that enabled them to sell goods in all four corners of North America and abroad. The cities of Portland, Maine, and Saint John, New Brunswick, two small regional urban centers in 1850, were profoundly affected by these transitions, especially to monopoly capitalism. Both became satellites of Boston and Montreal, two much larger urban entities. But Saint John

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became much more subservient than Portland to external capitalists who gained control over the extraction of surplus capital from the city and port at the expense of local elites. The international boundary mediated the impact of capitalist development which in turn dictated the pattern of class relations in each of these two cities between the 1850s and the 1920s.

The enthusiasm for Poor's scheme emerged out of the economic and social dislocations during the preceding decade in both Portland and Saint John. At that time the timber trade dominated the mercantile economies of both centers. Great merchants owning fleets of sailing ships conducted a vast trade in Europe, South America, and the West Indies. Economic activity in shipbuilding, cooperage, brass and iron foundries, sailmaking, sugar refining, and distilling reflected backward and forward linkages to the dominant staple. Wholesalers and retailers serviced not only the local urban market but a hinterland area reaching, in Portland's case, into northern New Hampshire and Vermont and along the Downeast coast into the Bay of Fundy. Saint John merchants controlled the terms of trade in the Saint John River valley and along the Fundy coasts of both New Brunswick and southern Nova Scotia. While the end of imperial preferences and the chaotic timber markets of the Forties threatened the old order, the new railway technology promised an opportunity for Portland and Saint John to cut into the entrepot trade between North America and Europe then dominated by Montreal, Boston, and New York. After all, local elites reasoned, both cities were hundreds of miles and several hours' sailing time closer to Liverpool.<sup>4</sup>

## I. The Twilight of Merchant Capital

Even as the delegates talked, another segment of John Poor's comprehensive plan was already under way. Four years earlier he had persuaded the mercantile interests of Portland and Montreal to build a railway between their two cities. From November to April when the Gulf of St. Lawrence was locked in ice, Portland could serve as Canada's winter port. Finally in 1853 the railway was completed and in December the *Sarah Sands* arrived from Liverpool. Henceforth the wealth of British North America could be exchanged in Portland for the products of Europe's workshops. Spawned by Poor's schemes, a railway boom in both New England and the Maritimes stimulated the growth of foundries, machine shops, and rolling mills. Seeking to protect its hinterland from Boston's grasp, Mainers purposefully adopted a broad-gauge track. Meanwhile, square timber gave way to the deal trade, promoting the construction of sawmills in both towns, but wooden shipbuilding declined more rapidly in Portland than in Saint John as steam-propelled vessels demonstrated their overall superiority. While port-related industries expanded in Maine's largest city, in Saint John a family of wholesale drygoods

merchants established the Maritime region's first cotton mill.<sup>5</sup>

Both Saint John and Portland experienced substantial population growth during the latter stages of the age of mercantile capital. In the two decades after 1850, the Saint John urban region nearly doubled to more than 41,000 people, while Portland's population rose a bit over 50 per cent to 31,413. Some of Saint John's expansion could be attributed to a massive influx of famine Irish along with lesser numbers of British, Welsh, and Scots who were absorbed into timber-connected activities. By 1871 a quarter of the Fundy port's populace was foreign-born compared to Portland's 22 per cent.

Not surprisingly, the social structures of these cities reflected their dominant economic and demographic features. In Saint John about forty great merchants controlled the banking system, the wharves, and the ships involved in the trans-Atlantic trade. Men like Stephen Wiggins and John Robertson accumulated assets in excess of a quarter of a million dollars.<sup>6</sup> In Portland Asa Clapp and others garnered large fortunes by controlling fleets of ships that traded in Europe, the East and West Indies, and South America. Clapp employed scores of mariners, mechanics and laborers. Groups of lesser merchants specialized in the wholesale and retail trade of the cities and their immediate hinterlands. While sometimes men of substance, their personal fortunes rarely matched those amassed by the ship-owning timber merchants. Finally, a small group of doctors, lawyers, and the like could be found lodged within these two levels of elites.<sup>7</sup>

At the bottom of the social order was a broad and diverse group ranging from skilled and sometimes self-employed artisans in port-connected work — sailmakers, shipcarpenters, pump and block makers, coopers, blacksmiths, ropemakers, chonometer makers — through the usual coterie of carpenters, cabinet makers, and tailors to larger groups of unskilled and often desperately poor laborers. During this period many artisans and small entrepreneurs found themselves competing with machine-made goods and concluded that their own interests were diverging significantly from those of the great merchants. These socio-economic tensions often found expression in the debates within both communities over reciprocity, the western extension of New Brunswick's railways to New England, and Confederation with central Canada. Already stronger metropolitan interests outside Portland and Saint John often dictated the resolution of these issues.<sup>8</sup>

## II. The Era of Competitive Capital

In 1874 Maine's railways adopted Boston's and the nation's standard gauge; two years later, the Intercolonial Railway (ICR) reached into the Maritimes from Montreal. These two events signalled the penetration of Boston and Mon-

trepreneurial interests into their respective eastern hinterlands on a new level of intensity.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter the goods of Portland and Saint John, and the men and women who produced them, faced accelerating competition from the burgeoning workshops sprouting up on both sides of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River. Although often plagued by scarcities of capital and raw materials, entrepreneurs in Portland and Saint John prepared to meet this competition from the North American heartland.

Saint John entrepreneurs took advantage of the National Policy tariffs of 1879 which at least offered protection from American and British wares at rates averaging about 25 per cent. In 1883 blacksmith James Harris reorganized and expanded his firm into a five-acre foundry, rolling mill and car works, becoming the largest industrial employer in the Maritimes. The Phoenix Foundry, employing about 175 workers, built locomotives for the ICR and western extension. The Parks family erected a second cotton mill in the mid-1880s and sold a substantial portion of its product to "Upper Canada." Metal fabricating shops experienced a similar transformation in Portland. The largest foundry, the Portland Company, had been launched by John A. Poor in the summer of 1846 to build locomotives, cars, and equipment for the railway to Montreal. Soon boiler, car and machine shops appeared at the end of Commercial Street in the Maine city that employed hundreds of workers. More than 40 per cent of the 325 locomotives produced at the Portland Company by 1874 were sold to Canada's Grand Trunk Railway. During the 1880s the firm produced scores of engines for James J. Hill's Great Northern Railway.<sup>10</sup>

In both Portland and Saint John, the railway supply industry fell upon harder times in the late 1880s and early 1890s. In the latter city, over-expansion at the Harris Works was followed by a decline in orders and a bad fire, provoking wage cuts and labor troubles. In 1893 Harris's heirs sold the business to a firm in Amherst, Nova Scotia, ostensibly because the ICR needed the Saint John property for its own expansion. Similarly, in Maine the railways obtained more of their rolling stock elsewhere and business fell off for the Portland Company. By the close of the era of competitive capital, the railway supply industry had concentrated outside the New England-Atlantic Provinces region in cities such as Montreal and Philadelphia where huge locomotive shops had arisen.<sup>11</sup>

The boot and shoe industry reveals a similar story. The Canadas imported factory-made products from the United States until a tariff was levied in 1859; even then, finer grades of American boots and shoes continued to find a market in British North America. A similar tariff in New Brunswick prompted David Hall to organize the first boot and shoe factory in Saint John in 1860. Shoe factories flourished amid traditional handmade production in artisans' homes or ten-footers. Most of the latest technology,

such as the McKay shoe sewer, was imported from south of the border. Entrepreneurs arrived in Saint John in the 1860s and early 1870s to launch new shoe factories or to buy into existing ones. Joseph Valpey and his brothers came from the United States; James Robinson moved from Montreal to Saint John as a young man. During the pre-railway era, theirs and other factories produced largely for Maritime markets and combined manufacturing with wholesaling operations.

Rail connections with Canada and the United States in the 1870s coincided with depression conditions and produced a glut of unsold boots and shoes in Saint John. Dealers began to feel the effects of price-cutting in Montreal and their profits soon turned to losses. Some like Valpey were driven out of business quickly; others such as Robinson managed to hang on a little longer. But by 1888 most of the remaining shoe factories were said to be experiencing difficulties and only two survived into the 20th century. The railways, instead of creating new markets for Saint John-made leather goods in Canada, had opened the Maritimes up to competition from Montreal and Toronto factories.<sup>12</sup>

Factory production of boots and shoes sprang up in Portland for some of the same reasons it had flourished in Saint John. Plentiful supplies of hemlock, a key source of tannin, enabled Maine to rank very high in the production of leather. On the eve of the Panic of 1873 Portland was second to Auburn, Maine, in the state's production of boots and shoes. The city boasted four factories employing more than 100 workers each and selling goods throughout New England, the Maritimes, and some western states. Up-country dealers who formerly had placed their orders in Boston now came regularly to Portland. The shoe business boomed in the early 1880s. Shaw, Goding and Company employed 210 workers and spent \$4,000 enlarging their operations. Both W.B. Sawyer Company and Webb & Cushing employed more than 100 hands.

But only two years later the shoe business began to suffer "a good deal" from labor troubles. Strikes inspired by the Knights of Labor interrupted production and also prompted shoe manufacturers to escape the "agitators" by moving their operations into rural areas. Employment in Portland shoe factories fell during the 1890s. While the industry recovered later, neither the number of factories nor the size of the work force matched the 1890 peak. Boston dealers began to open branches in Portland in the late 1880s to compete with the Maine firms.<sup>13</sup>

In effect, Portland and Saint John experienced both uneven development and underdevelopment during the age of competitive industrial capitalism. Neither city reached the sustained and balanced growth of Boston or Montreal. While some industrial sectors grew rapidly and competed (if only briefly) in larger markets, others still remained small artisanal shops that relied upon manpower rather than



steam. Product markets were often chaotic, swinging wildly from shortage to glut conditions; labor markets became increasingly extended and competitive as workers used the improved means of communication and transportation to seek work over a wider area. Saint John's troubles were compounded by a devastating fire in 1877 that wiped out a substantial section of the mercantile and industrial establishments.

Demographic data bears out Saint John's more stagnant economy during this age of competitive capital. Population actually dropped by 6 per cent between 1881 and 1901 to 40,711 while that of its hinterlands (county and province) declined or remained steady at best. The percentage of foreign-born plummeted by half to 10 per cent. Thanks to its more rapidly expanding hinterland of new pulp-and-paper resource towns, Portland's population increased by about 8 per cent to 50,145 during the same twenty-year period. Its more vigorous economy remained attractive to immigrants who continued to make up slightly more than 20 per cent of its residents.<sup>14</sup>

During the era of competitive industrial capitalism the social structure changed in important ways. Retailers took precedence over wholesalers as the latter began to feel the effects of competition from brand-name goods, and consequently the clerical sector expanded. The proletariat became increasingly segmented along skill, ethnic and now gender lines with a noticeable increase in the number of women workers in canning and clothing factories. During the 1880s Portland workers mobilized into four assemblies of the Knights of Labor and successfully persuaded the state legislature to establish a bureau of labor. Saint John workers were nourished by their own militant traditions but remained isolated from such continental influences as the Knights. In 1890, nearly two decades after the victorious Nine-Hours movement in Toronto and Hamilton, they finally gained the shorter workday.<sup>15</sup>

In both cities at this time, a relatively small, close-knit group of local bankers, lawyers, and businessmen exercised untrammelled power over their communities through patronage politics. In Saint John this group laid plans to convert the harbor of the New Brunswick port into Portland's chief rival for Canada's winter trade with Europe.

### III. The Rise of Monopoly Capital

At 3 p.m. on Monday, June 3, 1889, Canadian Pacific Railway locomotive #174, engineer James Wells at the controls, pulled into Saint John amid ovations from a welcoming crowd. Nineteen hours earlier it had left Montreal's famed Windsor Station and hauled two comfortable passenger cars upholstered in maroon plush through the forests of northern Maine on the new ribbons of steel linking Montreal to Saint John. The line cut 270 miles off the old ICR route to central Canada and promised to make Saint John com-

petitive with Portland for the Canadian winter trade. "The opening of the Short Line," the *Evening Gazette* exulted, "makes Saint John as great a center as Toronto now is, with the advantage which Toronto does not possess of being a seaport as well."<sup>16</sup> Saint John business and political elites then turned to the huge task of building a modern ocean terminal. As construction began on the first deep water piers, one of the city's merchants concluded that Saint John and Portland were going to be "the two great export cities of the East."

Monopoly capitalism was characterized by huge integrated corporations (of which the CPR would soon become a premier Canadian example) that produced goods and services for national and international markets. Because they required massive amounts of capital, bankers often played a key role in forming and directing these giant entities. They were particularly prominent in the new electrical and chemical industries, but the age was characterized by greater degrees of rationalization, concentration, and integration in many other sectors as well. In general, these firms were located in large cities that aggregated sufficient capital, labor, transportation facilities, and markets for their needs. They often acquired branch plants and warehouses in satellite communities to service more distant regions. Both Saint John and Portland were drawn more tightly into North American capitalist structures during the age of monopoly capital, but in significantly different ways.

Saint John's new winter port scheme attracted large amounts of external public and private capital. Starting in 1895-96, Ottawa agreed to subsidize regular steamer trips during the winter months between the Fundy port and Liverpool. By 1910 Saint John had invested approximately \$1 million, the CPR \$1.5 million, and Ottawa \$2.7 million in dredging, wharves, warehouses, grain elevators, and related facilities. Public and private enterprise had joined together in pragmatic fashion to advance the development of Saint John's ocean terminal. Fueled by the wheat boom, the volume of trade passing through the city spiraled. A nearby coal mine began selling a *Winter Port* brand of coal, and the Saint John hockey club renamed itself *The Winter Ports*.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, Portland elites concluded from the Canadian trade arriving in their city on Grand Trunk tracks that local public assistance was unnecessary. They fully expected their city to grow in size and importance "as a direct result" of the GT's own investments. Turning their backs to the port, they began to look at their city with a tourist's eye. Already by 1900 steamers plying the waters between Boston, New York City and Portland were depositing thousands of summer visitors on the shores of Casco Bay. New hotels sprang up; summer playhouses, motion picture theaters, and bowling alleys appeared. The new emphasis on tourism could also be seen in the city's harbor. Graceful yachts, their sails billowing in the harbor breezes, domi-

nated the waterfront during the summer months. The tourist industry also prompted Portland businessmen to cultivate their rural northern New England market rather than pursue the more elusive Canadian hinterland.

In many ways, tourism and the hinterland trade shared an obvious common denominator; they produced the same wonderful jingle of cash register bells. By luring rural New Englanders to Portland during the off-season, canny Portland merchants had found a way to extend their tourist business beyond the dreaded Labor Day exodus. From their viewpoint, funds spent on new street lighting, a new city hall and auditorium, and on a new exposition building — rather than on wharves and warehouses — made Portland “a city of progressiveness and refinement.” Clearly, by 1900 the harbor and winter port trade had lost favor, and the city’s waterfront was no longer deemed vital to Portland’s future as it had been in John Poor’s heyday. Instead Portland became the “Gateway to the summer playground of America” and the center of commercial enterprise in northern New England. In a belated effort to preserve the port, the city persuaded the taxpayers of Maine to erect a modern, fireproof pier in 1922. But it was the proverbial case of “too little and too late,” for by then Saint John had garnered a stranglehold on Canada’s winter port trade.

As one might expect, these divergent development trajectories revealed differing results for the two communities during the transition to monopoly capitalism. Port-related enterprise blossomed in Saint John. Sugar-refining, provisioning, marine engineering, and steel shipbuilding spurred during the war and immediate postwar years, as did cotton mills and brass foundries. All these sectors of the New Brunswick port’s economy produced a substantial portion of their goods for a continental Canadian market. But most of them were owned by Montreal and Toronto capitalists who had gained control over the extraction of surplus capital from the city at the expense of local elites. On the other hand, in the Maine city we find a different trend. Taking their port for granted, local elites promoted tourism and retailing sectors which remained in local hands, enabling Portland “to escape a takeover” by external capitalists by preserving a greater measure of local control over the city’s economy. In effect, tourism and retailing redistributed the surplus capital of the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia capitalist class among Maine resorts but did not perpetuate the control of that capital by external elites. Furthermore, the new industries such as pulp and paper that were controlled by monopoly capitalists in Portland’s hinterland created many opportunities in the local service and supply sectors which Portland manufacturers quickly exploited. For instance, the Portland Company ceased manufacturing locomotives for a national market and began making water towers and huge wood pulp digesters for the New England region’s burgeoning paper industry. The city’s second largest factory in 1913-14 manufactured window

screens for the homes and cottages of wealthy east coast tourists. Other large factories produced consumer goods — hats, shoes, underwear and shirtwaists — for the city’s hinterland consumers.<sup>18</sup>

In both cities, but much more visibly in Saint John than in Portland, the financial and entrepreneurial interests of external metropolitan centers had consolidated their hold on the urban economy. The Montreal Shipping Federation gained control of the Saint John winter port activity. Branch banks and branch plants siphoned off a growing share of the regional trade. For instance, John Lebatt Ltd. of London, Ontario, established a district warehouse and branch bottling plant in Saint John in 1894 to service the eastern provinces. Ames Holden McCready Ltd. of Montreal, the largest shoe manufacturer in Canada, built a five-story plant in Saint John in 1912 in order to dominate the Maritimes market. The Atlantic Sugar Refinery, a direct result of the winter port development, was controlled by Montreal interests. Portland fared better; while a number of Boston wholesalers in groceries and drygoods penetrated Maine markets, the city’s tourist-related industries were primarily labor- rather than capital-intensive and remained for the most part under local control.

Aggregate population data reveal the demographic consequences of these two development trajectories. Portland grew 38 per cent from 50,900 in 1900 to nearly 70,000 two decades later, whereas Saint John’s population increase from 40,000 to 47,000 was less than half that rate. The proportion of Portland’s foreign-born dipped slightly from 21 per cent to 19 per cent of its total population but was still nearly double the proportion of Saint John’s. Canadian-born remained the largest foreign nationality in Portland, a reflection of the exodus of Maritimers to the “Boston states.” In Saint John the American-born displaced the Irish-born as the city’s largest foreign group. All in all, population data suggest that Portland’s mix of tourism, retailing and service industries offered more economic opportunities than Saint John’s capital-intensive, winter port-related businesses.<sup>19</sup>

Economic changes generated by monopoly capitalism reshaped the social structures of both cities. In Saint John especially, local business elites lost authority to the agents of Montreal and Toronto enterprise. Among the bourgeoisie, branch store managers became more numerous as local proprietors declined. But the changes were most noticeable among the proletariat. The artisan community declined as the machine age eroded their skills. The AFL’s Canadian trade-union organizer visited Saint John for the first time in 1901, linking many more of the city’s workers to external labor organizations at the same time that the Montreal Shipping Federation was exerting control over the new winter port facilities by periodically importing strikebreakers. A new class of lawyers represented the interests of “big business” or “big labor.” Initially, the pace of trade-union organization was uneven, but by 1905 the

workers of both cities had achieved comparable levels. Many hard-fought strikes, an increasing number of which were national or even continental in scope, reflected the polarization of labor/capital relations throughout North America. In both cities, a growing number of these strikes involved struggles for control of the workplace.

In Saint John, the waterfront became the cockpit for a series of struggles between the city's militant longshoremen and the Montreal shippers. Class consciousness spread rapidly to other sectors. While calls to patriotism temporarily muted these conflicts, by 1919 the city was polarized once again between highly mobilized working-class groups and local elites who now generally served the interests of their central Canadian masters. But the revolt of 1919 failed in Saint John as it did elsewhere in North America, and by the early 1920s the monopoly capitalists had used the instrumentality of the state to reassert control. A process of massive deindustrialization started in Saint John which involved closing factories and transferring them to central Canada. In sharp contrast, while trade-union organization kept pace in Portland, class polarization was nowhere near as great as in Saint John. Because local elites were still in control of significant sectors of Portland's economy, they felt more pressure to settle workers' grievances.

As the forces of monopoly capital penetrated Portland and Saint John, politics visibly intruded into the everyday affairs of residents of both communities. During the eras of Laurier and Borden, Saint John relied heavily upon its representatives in the federal cabinet (successively, A.G. Blair, William Pugsley, and J.D. Hazen) to insure a steady flow of money from both Ottawa and the CPR into various port-related projects. Portland turned to its native son and "czar" of the House of Representatives, Thomas B. Reed, to divert pork-barrel funds into dredging, fortification, and harbor improvements. At the regional levels, newly mobilized workers in Saint John pressed successfully in 1905 for a factory act regulating child labor and working conditions. Workers in both cities campaigned long, hard and successfully for workmen's compensation laws.

At the municipal levels, working-class representation in Saint John city government was made all but impossible by city-wide voting on candidates put up by working-class wards. In 1904 the longshoremen and their supporters did manage to elect one of their number to a single term on the city council, but this proved to be an exception. Frustrated Saint John workers were driven by 1912 and 1914 to organize a municipal labor party in failed efforts to elect one of their own. Afterward they put up labor candidates in unsuccessful bids for both provincial and federal offices as well. In sharp contrast the recently mobilized Portland workers faced no such obstacle and began to elect "class representatives" on a regular basis, particularly in the most

heavily industrialized first and second wards. No doubt their access to political power lessened class tensions in Maine's largest city.<sup>20</sup>

What can we conclude about the process of capitalist development in the borderlands region of New England and the Maritime provinces? By and large, we have seen that the international boundary exerted little direct influence on the overall timing or pace of economic and social change in both Portland and Saint John. The new steam and railway technology of the mid-19th century rapidly diffused throughout the region, forging alliances among New England and Maritimes entrepreneurs whose ancestors had been fighting each other only a few decades earlier. We can see the same overall consequences for both cities as their initial optimistic expectations of displacing Montreal, Boston, and even New York City based on John A. Poor's grandiose schemes proved impossible and gave way to more sober and realistic satellite roles.

But after 1900 the boundary loomed considerably larger in the responses of people in both cities to the effects of capitalist development. Portland elites allowed their winter port to fall behind and instead embraced a new urban "City Beautiful" ethos revolving around merchandising and tourism. Saint John citizens, with fewer options at their disposal, "stole the winter port idea" and promoted it both economically and politically. But as a result, the people of the port of Saint John were tied more tightly to the vagaries of Canada's staples-driven economy, and the locus of economic controls shifted outside the city and region. Portlanders, on the other hand, remained content to service the more populous hinterland of northern New England that was pockmarked with relatively prosperous single-industry towns, and to milk the annual influx of tourists who seemed determined to spend their disposable income in Maine regardless of the condition of the national economy.

Class relations diverged. As a consequence of Portland's development trajectory, the city's proletariat negotiated with a compliant local elite of retail-minded bourgeoisie during the era of monopoly capital. Working-class political interests found limited expression at both the local and regional (state) levels. As a result of Saint John's winter port strategy, the city became much more heavily dependent upon the distant, hardnosed corporate and political elites of central Canada. By the end of the first World War workers in both cities had mobilized into trade unions, but those in Saint John militantly challenged the combined force of external political and economic elites — and lost. The greater polarization of classes in Canada's "loyalist" city was a direct consequence of a particular pattern of capitalist development that stemmed from Saint John's acquisition of Canada's winter port business at the turn of the century.

### Footnotes

Rather than a fully annotated essay, this paper is a progress report on a large-scale, on-going investigation into comparative urban and working-class history. Most of the footnotes will refer to portions of the evidence already published, but the argument developed here represents a substantial re-interpretation of the data. I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Jacques Ferland, for valuable comments on an earlier draft.

<sup>1</sup>*American Railway Journal*, May 3, 1851, quoted in M. Sheehy, "John Alfred Poor and International Railroads, The Early Years to 1860," unpublished MA thesis, University of Maine, 1974, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>[Saint John] *Morning News*, March 9, 1849.

<sup>3</sup>New Brunswick *Courier*, August 10, 1850; [Portland] *Eastern Argus*, August 1, 1850.

<sup>4</sup>Poor's railway schemes and the reactions to them are recounted in Babcock, "Economic Development in Portland (Me.) and Saint John (N.B.) During the Age of Iron and Steam, 1850-1914," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* IX, No. 1 (Spring, 1979), 3-8.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>T.W. Acheson, "The Great Merchant and Economic Development in St. John 1820-1850," *Acadiensis* VIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1979), 3-27.

<sup>7</sup>Babcock, "The Artisan 'Republic' in Longfellow's Portland," lecture sponsored by the Maine Historical Society, Portland, February 26, 1986.

<sup>8</sup>Acheson, "Great Merchant,"; Babcock, "The Artisan 'Republic'."

<sup>9</sup>Babcock, "Economic Development," 13-15.

<sup>10</sup>Babcock, "Economic Development," 17-20.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 20-23.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>U.S., Canadian census data.

<sup>15</sup>See C.A. Scontras, *Two Decades of Organized Labor and Labor Politics in Maine 1880-1900* (Orono, 1969); Eugene Forsey, *Trade Unions in Canada 1812-1902* (Toronto, 1982), 298-303.

<sup>16</sup>[Saint John] *Evening Gazette*, June 4, 1889.

<sup>17</sup>See Robert H. Babcock, "Private vs. Public Enterprise: A Comparison of Two Atlantic Seaboard Cities, 1850-1925," in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, eds., *Power and Place: Canadian Urban Development in the North American Context* (Vancouver, 1986), 61-67.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 67-76.

<sup>19</sup>U.S., Canadian census data.

<sup>20</sup>Babcock, "Labour, Socialism, and Reform Politics in Portland (Me.) and Saint John (N.B.), 1895-1914," unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association meetings, Montreal, June 1980.

**The preceding article is the text of a paper delivered by Dr. Babcock at the Biennial Meeting of ACSUS, October 1987, in Montreal, Canada.**

# Atlantic Canadian Members of Parliament as Representatives

by Howard Cody

To all appearances, a Canadian Member of Parliament (commonly called an M.P.) occupies an unenviable position in respect to his constituents. Whatever his constituency's interests may be, and whatever he may wish to accomplish on its behalf, the Canadian M.P. normally must publicly defend his party's position on almost all issues and must vote as instructed. He knows that his constituents voted for him not for his own qualities but as the local representative of his party, its leader, and its platform. This is in keeping with the Westminster-style parliamentary system of Cabinet government borrowed from Britain. In this arrangement individual legislators owe their political careers—past, present and future—to powerful party organizations.

An M.P. outside the Cabinet is thought to enjoy minimal influence over his party's policymaking when the party is in office. At such times the Cabinet makes policy in secret and announces it in party caucus meetings, where only a major uprising can force major revisions. Opposition M.P.s play a greater role in party policymaking. However, a party out of power cannot implement its policies. When an opposition party takes over the government, the new Cabinet makes policies which often differ significantly from the party's policies while in opposition.

Canadian parties are able to utilize three sanctions which impose strong disincentives on potential dissidents in a parliamentary caucus. The first sanction concerns the fact that an M.P. who aspires to a Cabinet or other leadership position must first establish himself as a reliable team player. Public dissent from party policy can provoke virtual life disqualification from a leadership post. The second and third sanctions are closely related. There is the electoral sanction, the fact that the public and the news media expect parliamentary parties to present a united front on issues. Evidence of an internal split on any issue on which the party has taken a position is interpreted as weakness. The party's electoral prospects are thereby damaged. The social sanction is often neglected but may be the most powerful of all. Canadian party caucuses have a team spirit. There is a camaraderie, a sense of common cause and a

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shared political destiny in their high-stakes competition with other parties. While Canadian parties may lack the ideological commitment of, say, their British counterparts, the social and competitive aspects are as strong as in Britain.<sup>1</sup>

As if all this were not enough, M.P.s from peripheries (geographically remote, often economically distressed areas of relatively low population) seem to suffer from additional disabilities. Canada possesses a clearly defined central core. The core makes up the densely populated and highly industrialized provinces of Ontario and Quebec, where more than sixty percent of Canadians live. The rest of the population is scattered across the western, northern, and Atlantic peripheries. The Canadian House of Commons, like the United States House of Representatives, is apportioned on a population basis. Well over half of Canada's M.P.s (170 of 282 at this writing) represent Ontario and Quebec constituencies. Despite some overrepresentation, the four Atlantic provinces elect only thirty-two M.P.s.

Members of Parliament from peripheries accordingly must cope with the fact that they constitute relatively small minorities in their party caucuses. Because core constituencies invariably prove decisive in federal elections, the parties must conform their policies to central Canadian interests. This is usually easy to do, since most caucus members participating in party policy and strategy formulation themselves represent such constituencies and wish to retain them. Furthermore, M.P.s from peripheries, unlike their counterparts in the United States, cannot expect the legislature's upper house to compensate for their region's weakness in the lower house. The Canadian Senate is a much ridiculed appointed body which lacks legitimacy. It need not concern us here.

## The Research Project

The circumstances detailed in the preceding two paragraphs are well understood and breed resentment in Atlantic and Western Canada. Yet questions remain. *Just what can be the role of an M.P. from the periphery in Canada? Can an M.P. represent his constituency in any meaningful way? If so, how? What sort of relationship can a legislator cultivate with individual constituents and organized interests? What are his responsibilities to them? What can he do to advance the interests of his province and region? How does his party's status (as government or opposition) or his own position (inside or outside Cabinet) affect all this? In short, what can an M.P. do, and how and where can he do it?* I attempted to develop some tentative insights into these matters through

interviews with twelve Atlantic M.P.s in June and July, 1987. These interviews involved five of the ten New Brunswick M.P.s, three of the eleven Nova Scotians, two of the four Prince Edward Islanders, and two of the six Newfoundlanders.

Thanks to the national Progressive Conservative landslide under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in the 1984 election, the Atlantic provinces currently resemble the rest of Canada in their predominantly Conservative House delegations. The region elected twenty-five Conservatives and only seven Liberals. I interviewed eight of the Conservatives, including one Cabinet minister, and four of the Liberals. The New Democratic party, Canada's traditional third party, elected no Atlantic M.P.s in 1984. Women also were absent from this group. Although women occasionally appear in municipal and provincial politics, at least in the mainland provinces, they rarely can be found on the federal scene in the Atlantic provinces.

### **Representation: Definition, Forms, Models**

There are several quite different ways of interpreting the representational responsibilities of legislators. Theoretical treatment of representation is not often applied to Canada on the assumption that federal and provincial legislators operate essentially as party agents. However, it is necessary to apply theoretical categories to address the questions raised in the preceding section.

Hannah Pitkin, a leading student of representation, perceives representation as responsiveness to the people. Specifically, citizens expect government to respond in some way to their *action and judgment, capable of initiating government activity*.<sup>2</sup> For Pitkin, the crucial point is that people must recognize that they possess the capability of action and judgment, and that they can influence policymaking if they make the effort to do so.

Applying Pitkin's definition, we may ask how Canadian parliamentarians can be responsive to the public's initiatives. Responsiveness can take a variety of forms. For Heinz Eulau and Paul Karp, it can embrace policy, service, allocation, and symbolic functions.<sup>3</sup> Policy responsiveness requires governments' taking into consideration the wishes of the people when formulating public policy. This aspect of responsiveness will be divided into four varieties below. Service responsiveness involves casework for individuals and groups seeking personalized assistance in gaining, keeping, or regaining public sector employment; and in dealings with government officials on such matters as eligibility for pensions or unemployment insurance benefits. Allocation responsiveness means obtaining government favors for a constituency, province, or region. Usually this means grants for public sector job creation projects like bridges and wharves, or incentive grants to private sector enterprises to induce them to locate away from their traditional centers. Allocation responsiveness also includes efforts to

tailor federal grants programs to the distinctive needs of one's own region. For example, Atlantic M.P.s may attempt to assure that unemployment insurance regulations permit fishermen and other primary workers who can find only seasonal work to receive unemployment insurance benefits for the remainder of the year. Symbolic responsiveness is crucial to any country with entrenched regionalism. It involves M.P.s acting as ambassadors of the federal government in their constituencies, safeguarding their constituents' support for, and identification with, the national political system and by extension the country itself. Here the M.P. must convince his constituents that through him they exercise some influence over policymaking (thereby meeting Pitkin's definition of representation). Unfortunately for symbolic responsiveness, however, opposition M.P.s in Canada can do little themselves and must condemn government policy and convince their constituents that their concerns are not being, and indeed cannot be, addressed adequately by the government of the day.

Policy responsiveness has been defined in terms of political leaders considering the wishes of the people as they devise policy. There are at least four distinct ways in which a legislator may (consciously or otherwise) interpret his role in regard to his constituency. These models are popular delegate, interest delegate, popular statesman, and national statesman. They may be applied to legislators in a variety of countries and political systems. A legislator may choose to follow all of these models at different times, or he may prefer one or some models to the others.

The popular delegate honors the wishes of his constituents, as he understands them, whether or not he or his party agrees with them. This model can prove irresistible on highly controversial issues where a stand opposing constituency opinion can lead to political difficulty. Such issues may be economic (where the constituency's economic development is at stake) or emotional (like abortion and capital punishment). However, in a country with strong parties, like Canada, M.P.s often can hide behind their parties and use party policy as an excuse for defying public opinion. On those numerous issues where an M.P. agrees with party policy rather than constituency opinion, this excuse for rejecting the popular delegate model is attractive.

The interest delegate looks after one or more crucial interests in his constituency, whether or not they reflect constituency opinion. Such interests may include wealthy and powerful individuals or corporations (major employers or campaign contributors), or well-organized groups that can mobilize a minority of the constituents to support or oppose a candidate for office (such as labor unions or right-to-life groups or gun lobbies). For example, the Irving companies in New Brunswick and Great Northern Paper Company in Maine have long been thought to enjoy great influence over policymaking at the provincial and state level. Indeed, in economically distressed areas like the Atlantic

provinces, a lingering double-digit unemployment rate gives a major employer great leverage to exact tax and other concessions from governments to perpetuate private sector employment in the region.

Both the popular delegate and the interest delegate concede great influence over their policy decisions to powerful forces in their constituencies. By contrast, popular statesmen and national statesmen reserve for themselves the right to employ their own judgment, expertise, conscience, and superior access to information to make policy decisions which may run contrary to constituency opinion and to powerful interests. In my view, it is useful to distinguish between the popular statesman and the national statesman. The popular statesman operates on the presumption that constituency opinion on an issue normally should be followed unless the legislator's informed judgment clearly dictates a contrary position. The burden of proof lies with the evidence which runs counter to constituency views. By contrast, the national statesman agrees only to hear out his constituents. He will ultimately render a verdict on an issue strictly on his interpretation of the national interest. This is the model eloquently championed by eighteenth century British Whig M.P. Edmund Burke. Burke maintained that Parliament is a deliberative assembly with one interest, that of the whole nation. Each M.P. must exploit his superior judgment and access to information to concern himself with the national interest alone.<sup>4</sup> The national statesman model leaves little room for affording influence to comparatively uninformed and parochial views, which is an apt description of constituency opinion almost anywhere.

### **Atlantic M.P.s and Their Constituents**

Atlantic M.P.s enjoy certain advantages over most of their colleagues in their constituency relations. Atlantic constituencies tend to be relatively small and rural. For example, New Brunswick's constituencies have a mean population of about 70,000. This is about two-thirds of the average for Central and Western Canada. (By contrast, a Congressman in the United States has more than a half million constituents.) The low numbers, coupled with the rural environment, permit Atlantic M.P.s to develop first-name relationships with most of their politically interested and socially prominent constituents. Unlike M.P.s from large cities, they can cultivate a high local profile and can generate extensive local media coverage. (One M.P. observed to me that every time he burps, he makes the front page of his city's daily newspaper.) This mutual familiarity of M.P.s and constituents assists M.P.s in their service responsiveness duties. Unfortunately for the M.P.s, however, constituents expect service responsiveness as their due, often take it for granted when it is rendered, and rarely reward legislators for it at election time.

Atlantic M.P.s noted in the interviews that their constituents express concern primarily with personal and local matters, not national issues. Partly for this reason, Canadians rarely expect legislators to be popular delegates in their voting or public statements. This applies even for emotional issues like capital punishment. M.P.s recently rejected reimposition of the death penalty on a rare free vote (no party line), despite seventy percent public approval for the legislation. My interviewees generally admire the national statesman model and agree with its underlying assumptions. Those who voted against the death penalty do not fear electoral retribution.

However, constituents do want their legislators to champion their constituencies' economic interests inside their party caucuses. Since caucus proceedings are secret, an M.P. can always assure his constituents that he has proved responsive to their action and judgment by forcefully raising a matter in caucus. Generally it cannot be determined how seriously Cabinets or party leaders entertain such representations. Even so, M.P.s insist that it is in the party caucus, individually or through their Atlantic regional caucus, or privately, in a personal meeting with a Minister, that they enjoy their best opportunity to advance the interests of their constituencies. They point to occasional successes, mostly in generating increases in federal grants and job-creation programs in the region. Atlantic M.P.s do concede, however, they harbor low expectations of favors for a region of marginal electoral importance, particularly when Central Canadians have competing interests.

An important recent development has been a reform of the House of Commons committee system. These reforms are provisional and may be withdrawn or changed by the Cabinet. Before 1986, Commons committees were essentially under the control of the government of the day. Occasionally they would propose amendments to government bills, which Cabinets could accept or reject as they wished. The recent reforms created two classes of committees. Standing committees correspond to government departments (such as Fisheries, Agriculture, and Transport). These committees deal not with legislation but with investigating more general matters in each jurisdiction. They permit M.P.s to become knowledgeable or sometimes expert in a matter of importance in their constituencies. My interviewees find these new committees useful and often (depending on the chairman) even nonpartisan in spirit. They travel the country, hold hearings, consult with individuals and interest groups, and issue reports containing recommendations to Ministers for future legislation and regulations. Ministers must respond to these recommendations, some of which already have been implemented, at least in part. M.P.s realize, however, that media coverage and public consciousness of committee activities have been minimal to date. Relatively few Canadians are aware that the reforms have taken place. If only for this reason,

it is difficult to predict at this time how much or even whether the new standing committee system will influence relations between M.P.s and their constituents.

The second group of new Commons committees are Legislation committees. These are *ad hoc* committees put together to consider separately each bill that has passed second reading. Unfortunately, members of a Legislation committee to consider, say, a bill on transport are not usually members of the Standing Committee on Transport. For this reason, Legislation committees do not possess the expertise required for close scrutiny of bills. M.P.s generally agree that Legislation committees have not helped them to become more influential in policymaking.

A final consideration in regard to what an M.P. can do for his constituents involves the sharp distinction between government and opposition. Government M.P.s in theory enjoy greater access than opposition M.P.s to Ministers, and a much better opportunity to influence policymaking and to gain favors for individual constituents and their constituency as a whole. Of course, Cabinet Ministers theoretically occupy the best position of all. Interviews revealed, however, that Liberal M.P.s generally claimed that they can serve individual constituents as effectively as their counterparts on the government side. Most such interventions involve the nonpartisan civil service, which usually does not treat government and opposition M.P.s differently. The same may be said of most Ministers, excepting only the Cabinet's most partisan members. (One M.P. indicated, however, that M.P.s who have been reelected at least once obtain a better hearing, on the assumption that they are likely to be around for a while.) M.P.s of both parties claim that their constituents expect them to achieve a higher level of success in advancing both individual cases (irrespective of their merits) and constituency concerns on issues (particularly allocation responsiveness matters) when they are on the government side than when in opposition. There is also a consensus, shared by Ministers themselves, that Ministers experience the greatest policy and casework success of all, thanks to the collegial atmosphere of Cabinet and Ministers' direct access to the civil service.

### Assessment

The interviews conducted for this study largely validate the conventional wisdom about Canadian M.P.s as representatives. M.P.s can and do benefit their constituents through some success in service and allocation responsiveness matters. Yet in essence they fail Pitkin's test of representation: They cannot often respond publicly or effectively to their constituents' action and judgment. Because M.P.s must perform their most important representative functions behind the scenes, their capacity for symbolic responsiveness is severely limited. This reality, combined with the peripheries' small number of M.P.s which limits the potential success of policy and allocation responsiveness efforts, has contributed

to perpetuated regional resentments and alienation from the federal government. This phenomenon is most acute in the Atlantic region, the nation's poorest and least populated. Atlantic M.P.s fully recognize the situation. Many would favor introduction of an elected Senate with equal or nearly equal representation for each province. They realize that any such reform is unlikely, even while the institutionalized limitations on their ability to represent the region's interests remain intractable.

Nowhere is the difference between Canadian M.P.s and their counterparts in Washington starker than at election time. In Canada, the personal vote is usually negligible. Canadians give little weight to the performance of their own M.P. when they decide how to vote. Much of the M.P.'s activity is invisible to them in any case. Instead, they vote on the basis of their evaluation of the government's performance as a whole, and on their general media-fed impression of the national party leaders. Under these circumstances, individual M.P.s often cannot influence their own electoral fates. Half or more of a party's M.P.s can be swept away when the party falls out of favor. This happened to the Liberals in 1984.

The fact that an M.P. is hostage to his party and to his constituents' perceptions of his party and its leader carries major implications for his role as a representative. He enjoys an independence from his constituents and private interests that United States Representatives might envy. His party and public election financing laws ensure that he has sufficient funds for electioneering. He can afford to invoke Burke and the national statesman model, and vote with his party—with which he personally agrees on most issues—largely irrespective of constituency opinion or major interests. As long as the national and regional trend favors his party, he can coast and perform minimal service responsiveness. His Ottawa career may be brief, cut short by forces totally out of his control, but it does have its compensations, while it lasts.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Edward Crowe claims that authority relationships in British parties are consensual, that M.P.s genuinely agree with party policy, like their party leaders, feel obligated to their party, and share common values and goals. I find this exaggerated for Britain, and more so for Canada. Yet all successful Westminster system parties must maintain some cohesion in all of these areas. See Edward Crowe, "The Web of Authority: Party Loyalty and Social Control in the British House of Commons," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1986.

<sup>2</sup>Hannah Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 232.

<sup>3</sup>Heinz Eulau and Paul D. Karps, "The Puzzle of Representation: Specifying Components of Responsiveness," in Heinz Eulau *et al.*, *The Politics of Representation: Continuities in Theory and Research* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978), p. 62.

<sup>4</sup>Burke's various statements on the M.P. as representative are collected in Hannah F. Pitkin, editor, *Representation* (New York: Atherton Press,



*The following is the text of the Convocation Address given by Dr. Edward D. Ives at the University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, P.E.I., May 11, 1986. Dr. Ives received the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, that day. We have not changed any of the text, nor have we excerpted from it. Dr. Ives (Sandy, as he is known to many) is an exceptional storyteller whose voice and words spin a magic circle from which we may learn many lessons.*

## **THE ROWER AND THE PYRAMID: a tribute to Joe Walsh**

*by Edward D. Ives*

Thank you, President Eliot, and thank you one and all for granting me this opportunity to visit Prince Edward Island once again. It is traditional, even almost obligatory, for a speaker to begin by saying, *It gives me great pleasure to be here today*, even if in truth the speaker would rather be in Philadelphia or playing golf. Since it is a cliché, and since we all know clichés are to be avoided, I will not begin by saying how it gives me great pleasure to be here today, even though it does. Of course, some of you may have noticed that by the simple dodge of telling you that I am not going to begin by saying what a great pleasure it is for me to be here today I have already said it three times. Let's get on with the business at hand, then. Perhaps by the time I am through speaking you will better understand what a great pleasure it really is for me to be here today.

Somewhere in the country of the imagination there is a bird that flies backwards. Some call it the goofus bird, others the killyloo, but, whatever it is called, everyone knows that it flies backwards because it doesn't give a damn where it is going, it wants to see where it is coming from. Mostly this technique works pretty well for it, but occasionally the goofus fetches up on things, which means that while its crest is always full-plumed and upright, its tail feathers are apt to take a beating now and then. Now all this may sound like foolishness to you, and foolishness it probably is, but even so I offer this retrograde bird as a metaphor for man's progress through life. What the killyloo does by choice, man does because there is no other possible way for him to proceed.

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Let me clarify that metaphor by trying another: rowing, a means of locomotion in which one moves in the direction opposite to which he is facing. A good rower sets his course in relation to objects he is leaving behind. Oh sure, there's the occasional glance over the shoulder, but the real work is done backwards, and the only way for the rower to get where he is going is to face squarely to where he has been and proceed as best he can.

There's a good deal of loose talk about facing the future, and it's all very inspiring so long as we realize that anatomically and metaphysically it can't be done. Like the rower, we face the past and back into the future, with nothing to be gained by the over-the-shoulder look because there's nothing ahead there to be seen. No one, not Ronald Reagan — not even John Kenneth Galbraith — has a clue to what's coming. The future is pure potentiality, a series of possibilities, and certain it is that those possibilities — our hopes and fears — shape us and affect us powerfully. But our course into the future is set by our vision of the past.

And what of that past? Always deepening, spreading out more and more behind us, the accumulation of all present moments gone by, it is a confusion overwhelming in its magnitude. *Hold to the now, the here*, said Stephen Dedalus, *through which all future plunges to the past*. It is good advice; the here and now is all we know for sure.

Yet it too is impossible advice to follow, because we can only see the here and now in the light of the past through the diaphane of the imagination, which constantly recreates and reinterprets that past for us in those simplified and evanescent patterns known as History. Like the rower, we search out landmarks to help us triangulate where we are, and we look for special landmarks we can hold steady over the transom to give us a bearing on where we think we want to go. It's a confusing business, and it's not surprising that we turn for help to specialists in the study of the past.

Nor is it surprising that over the years those specialists have developed emphases of their own that profoundly affect our views of what's important, who we are, and where



we should be going. One of the most powerful is the idea that history is great men and significant events, that we can understand European history, for example, by studying the Congress of Vienna and Castlereagh's role in it. Eighty percent—and in case you are wondering where I got that statistic, I made it up—eighty percent of what passes for history is concerned with such events and such men. Even some of those who claim to reject this elitist pattern find themselves trapped in its implications when they describe what they are doing as *history from the bottom up*, implying quite clearly where is the bottom, where is the top. At the top are the few who lead, who manipulate the power, and history is their chronicle. The rest is silence, or a bit of local color. No more.

That fine scholar Henry Glassie lashes out eloquently at this pyramidal picture of society, at what he calls this *frantic equation of power and wealth with intelligence and verbal skill*. Its vision of reality, he continues, *is ordered to trickle down from top to bottom, from power to weakness, wealth to poverty, intelligence to stupidity, invention to imitation*. It is a false and ugly metaphor,

but it is so well established it seems an affront to the obvious to challenge it.

Consider the influence of this model on the study of human narrative and poetic expression. Ninety percent of the effort—again the figure is my own—goes into about two percent of the product: Shakespeare, Browning, and Pound, let's say, not Stephen King or Rod McKuen, and certainly not the common man, who creates nothing worthwhile. He only imitates what trickles down to him, and even then he more than likely debases or vulgarizes whatever he touches. Granted other models have emerged and are emerging; my brush is broad, but let no one question the pyramidal model's ubiquity, both within Academia and outside it.

I can offer my own experience as a case in point. Thirty years ago, when I first began collecting the songs of Larry Gorman—that notorious satirist from West Prince (P.E.I.)—I was told by several of my English Department colleagues that his work was not poetry at all, being unworthy of the name and utterly irrelevant to the study of art and creativity. When I asked what it was, then, I was told it was one of several kinds of *mere*, mere doggerel, mere versifying, mere hackwork, or whatever other mere my critic-friends might use to camouflage what I now see as their myopia. But at the time I was troubled. Was I really wasting my time with these songs and songmakers? Were they really beneath the notice of anyone like myself who claimed interest in what Yeats once called *the supreme theme of art and song*? Should I chuck it? Somehow—I'm not exactly sure why—I decided to stay with it, and for two very good reasons I've never been sorry.

First, I have been privileged to learn that the aesthetic impulse, the desire and the ability to shape thought and experience into apposite form, is not limited to elites but is present in communities on all levels of society. Larry Gorman, widely known as *The Man Who Makes the Songs* among Maine woodsmen and Lot Seven fishermen, wrote satires that could tear the hide off his victims' backs. Lawrence Doyle of Fortune Road (P.E.I.) was gentler in his approach, but his songs made his neighbors laugh at local foibles, even their own, and their children are still laughing. Over in the Maine woods Joe Scott made ballads on unhappy love, death on the job, drunkenness, and sick and lonely suicide, and his fellow woodsmen carried them home to all corners of Maine and the Maritimes, where they are still remembered and treasured. I ended my book on Joe Scott with an image of Scott and Yeats drinking beer together in Heaven in quiet and understanding. Between them there would be no question of higher or lower, great or minor, just equivalence. I have already lived too long to be sure of many things in this world, but of this equivalence I am as sure as sure can be.

My second reason is not far from the first. Welcomed over the years into kitchens and parlors from Tignish (P.E.I.) to Berlin, New Hampshire, I have heard singing

the power and beauty of which I could never have dreamed of before. I have heard Miramichi's Wilmot MacDonald in his prime, and he was as great in his metier as Jussi Björling or Aksel Schiøtz were in theirs, but I have also heard men who hadn't sung for years suddenly take hold of an old song they loved with such integrity that their singing soared above whatever cracks and quavers might appear in their aging voices. I have been privileged to hear the old songs sung by men for whom they were a living reality, treasures they were happy to share with me because we both loved them. It has been a *great* privilege and an honor to know these men. Many of them are gone now, and I would like to close simply by giving their names, because, as you may imagine, they are very much with me today:

Edmund Doucette, Miminegash  
Charlie Gorman, Burton (Lot Seven)  
Angus Enman, Spring Hill  
Wesley Smith, Victoria West  
Billy Bell, Enmore and Brewer, Maine  
Jim Pendergast, Kensington and Charlottetown  
Leo Gorman, St. Charles  
Arthur Cahill, St. Charles, and  
Joseph Walsh, Morell Rear.

There are others, to be sure, but let those few names stand for all. Not only have these men given me new landmarks to steer by, they have laid the insidious aesthetic pyramid in the dust forever. They were my teachers, and they were also my friends. *They are all gone into the world of light*, said the Silurist Henry Vaughan in one of his finest poems. May it be so, please, for them. Thank you very much.

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## The Canadian-American Center: exercise in excellence

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by *Rand Erb*

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The tradition of excellence in Canadian Studies at the University of Maine has been built upon a range of connections between Maine and the neighboring provinces. Maine intervenes between Laurentian Canada and the Maritime provinces. Almost fifty percent of the state's people have ancestral roots in Canada. Contemporary issues affecting both nations, such as energy and environmental policy, link Maine and eastern Canada. Divisive issues of boundary claims and resource management emphasize the need for greater understanding. Maine's economy, both in such traditional industries as forest products and fisheries and in modern pursuits of tourism and manufacturing, depends on mutual cooperation in the international region.

In response to these influences, the University of Maine's Canadian-American Center supports the most comprehensive Canadian Studies program of any university in the United States. Designated by the United States Department of Education as a national resource center for the study of Canada, the Center coordinates a program of undergraduate and graduate education, promotes cross-border research in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences, and directs outreach programs to regional and national audiences.

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Undergraduate students at the University of Maine may select from more than 80 courses dealing with Canadian issues. Courses are offered in Anthropology, Archaeology, Art, Economics, English, Folklore, French, Geography, Geology, History, Journalism, Music, Oceanography, Political Sciences, professional programs in Agriculture, Business Administration, Education, Engineering, Forestry, and Law. Enrollments in Canadian Studies exceed 2000 students annually.

Canadian Studies interdisciplinary course concentrations are offered in four areas: New England and the Atlantic Provinces, Canadian Culture, Modern Canada, and French Canada. Containing eleven to eighteen courses in each concentration, this structure provides undergraduates with an opportunity to develop understanding and expertise in specific streams of Canadian Studies.

Courses in Quebec Studies within the Department of Foreign Languages and Classics permit students to earn a bachelor's degree in French with a North American option. This program, which includes courses in History, Anthropology, and related liberal arts disciplines, focuses on the literature and culture of French Canada.

Graduate degrees with Canadian emphases are offered in History, French, English, Political Science, Anthropology, Business Administration, Life Sciences and Agriculture, and Forest Resources. A substantial program of financial aid is available to graduate students pursuing degrees in Canadian Studies. This includes Canadian-American Center Internships, New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Fellowships, Atlantic Provinces Tuition Scholarships, and Canadian-American Graduate Research Assistantships.

# Canadian and Maine Potatoes: a bushel of questions

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by George K. Criner, Alan S. Kezis, and James D. Leiby

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Potatoes have been closely associated with the State of Maine for many years: they enjoy a recognition factor with the state where they have been a mainstay of agricultural production since before the turn of the century.

Because of this relationship and because Maine was once the leading potato producing region in the United States, competition, real or imagined, from potato producers in Eastern Canada is an intensely emotional issue.

The 1982 Agricultural Census reported that there were 1,134 potato producing farms in Maine; since 1977, the value of the annual Maine potato crop has ranged between 20 and 30 percent of the total Maine farm cash receipts.

Aroostook County is especially influenced by the potato industry. Indeed, more than 90 percent of Maine's potatoes are produced there, and consequently, the county's total economic activity is strongly tied to and dependent upon the vitality of the potato industry. The county's industrial base rests heavily on its food manufacturing component: food manufacturing jobs account for 25 percent of its total manufacturing jobs.

Although Maine was once the leading potato producing region in the United States, the industry has been experiencing a significant decline in recent years. Typical of any industry, potato production in Aroostook County has a complex array of relationships with producers, shippers, and dealers, as well as the associated agribusiness and serv-

ice sectors. During the last ten years, Maine potato producers have seen their share of the large eastern United States tablestock market decline. Simultaneously, the shares of eastern Canadian and western United States producers have been increasing.

Why has this been happening? Few people agree on the reasons behind Maine's declining presence in the potato market, but many people are willing and even eager to lay the blame at the feet of the Canadian potato industry. The Maine Potato Industry itself has attributed a considerable share of the blame to Canadian exports.

While it is easy and even comfortable to go along with a position taken by many, disciplined researchers are never comfortable with bandwagon responses to questions. Consequently, research scientists in the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at the University of Maine have been examining the commonly held opinions about the nature and causes of the decline in the Maine potato presence. One method used in this study was to isolate and evaluate the allegations made by both the United States and the Canadian producers.

## INTERCHANGE OF OPINION

During a United States Trade Commission investigation of the situation, the Maine potato industry alleged:

- \*\* The Maine potato industry has suffered injury due to the increasing volume of Canadian imports;
- \*\* Canadian potatoes are being sold at less than the cost of production and are thus depressing price;
- \*\* Canadian exports are significantly subsidized, and
- \*\* The exchange rate has depressed market prices for Maine producers.

Members of the Canadian group countered by alleging:

- \*\* The decline in the Maine potato industry is primarily due to competition from western United States producers and changing consumer demand;
- \*\* Canadian grade standards are considered superior to those of Maine;
- \*\* There is government assistance to potato producers on both sides of the border;
- \*\* The exchange rate has had some effect on the potato trade.

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University of Maine researchers reviewed export and market share data briefly and discovered the bases for the variation in opinion held by both groups. Figures 1 and 2 show a dramatic increase in Canadian exports in general and in particular a dramatic increase in the shipments of Canadian potatoes that pass through Maine. It is clear that Canadian potato exports have a high visibility in Maine, and that visibility can and apparently does contribute to strong negative feelings among Maine producers.

A different and more substantiated perspective is gained by examining the data in Figures 3, 4 and 5. This information indicates that the major competitor for Maine's potato markets is the western United States, rather than eastern Canada.

Prior to the dramatic increase of Canadian exports, the Maine potato industry was already in a state of decline due to structural problems and the industry's inability to adapt to changing consumer demands. It is accurate to say, however, that Canadian exports have helped to worsen a difficult situation for the Maine industry. The Canadian share of the United States market is growing in areas traditionally dominated by Maine, and Canadian and Maine potatoes compete in the same market segment. The concrete impact of Canadian exports is more significant than may appear from the aggregated data in Figures 3, 4 and 5 basically because exported Canadian potatoes are a much closer substitute for Maine potatoes than western United States potatoes.

Reasons cited for the increased Canadian competition are numerous, but mentioned most often are changes in exchange rates and Canadian subsidies. Each of these has some effect, but the effect is not necessarily the perceived effect.

## THE EXCHANGE RATE

The general argument with respect to the exchange rate affecting the Maine potato industry is that a strong dollar causes Canadian potatoes to become cheaper relative to Maine potatoes. The argument is partially correct but is not convincing as the source of the decline of the Maine potato industry for at least two reasons.

Under the United States' current system of floating exchange rates, changes in the exchange rate generally reflect changes in the costs of living and production in the trading nations. Thus, the changes in exchange rates are likely to be the effects of the currency costs of producing goods, including potatoes, rather than causes of changes in trade patterns.

It is accepted knowledge, however, that fluctuations in exchange rates reflect overall changes in costs and may or may not represent the changes in the costs of producing

potatoes in particular. To the degree that the changing exchange rates do make Canadian potatoes cheaper, an increase in the sales of Canadian potatoes to the United States would be expected. This would, however, be a relatively short-run phenomenon, after which market shares would be expected to stabilize.

If exchange rates were a continuing source of changes similar to those described above, a continuous strengthening of the United States dollar would be necessary. Since the mid-1970s, the exchange rate (United States dollar/Canadian dollar) has fallen by 25 to 30 percent. This includes two short periods of decrease (a stronger United States dollar) from 1977 to 1979 and from 1983 to 1985; two periods of increase (a weaker United States dollar) from 1979 to 1980 and 1985 to 1987. During the rest of the time, exchange rates have been relatively stable. These data are not consistent with a long-run decline of the Maine potato industry.

## GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

Another factor frequently cited for the increase of Canadian potato exports is the Canadian policy designed to subsidize exports. While there appear to be no Canadian programs designed explicitly to enhance the international competitiveness of Canadian potatoes, data suggest that Canadian agricultural programs more often tend to reduce the costs of producing potatoes, while the United States programs applicable to Maine potato production are less likely to do so. This type situation would tend to increase Canada's market share relative to Maine's.

On the other hand, for this to be the cause would require constant changes in one or both countries' policies causing costs to diverge continually. This does not appear to be the case. In addition, since these policies tend either to subsidize or tax the use of certain productive inputs, if the policy differences were important, production techniques would be different between Maine and the eastern Canadian regions. This does not appear to be the case. Based on these analyses, it is probable that the differences are not important.

The relationship between the Maine and eastern Canadian potato industries in terms of their interactions and impact on one another in the current competitive environment is extremely complex. Having dealt sensibly and well with the commonly accepted reasons for the Maine potato situation, the authors are currently involved in research to assess changes in industry structure for potato production and marketing and to examine the effects of selected macroeconomic and policy variables on the competitive positions of Maine, other United States areas and eastern Canadian areas.

FIGURE 1

EASTERN CANADIAN POTATO EXPORTS TO U.S.

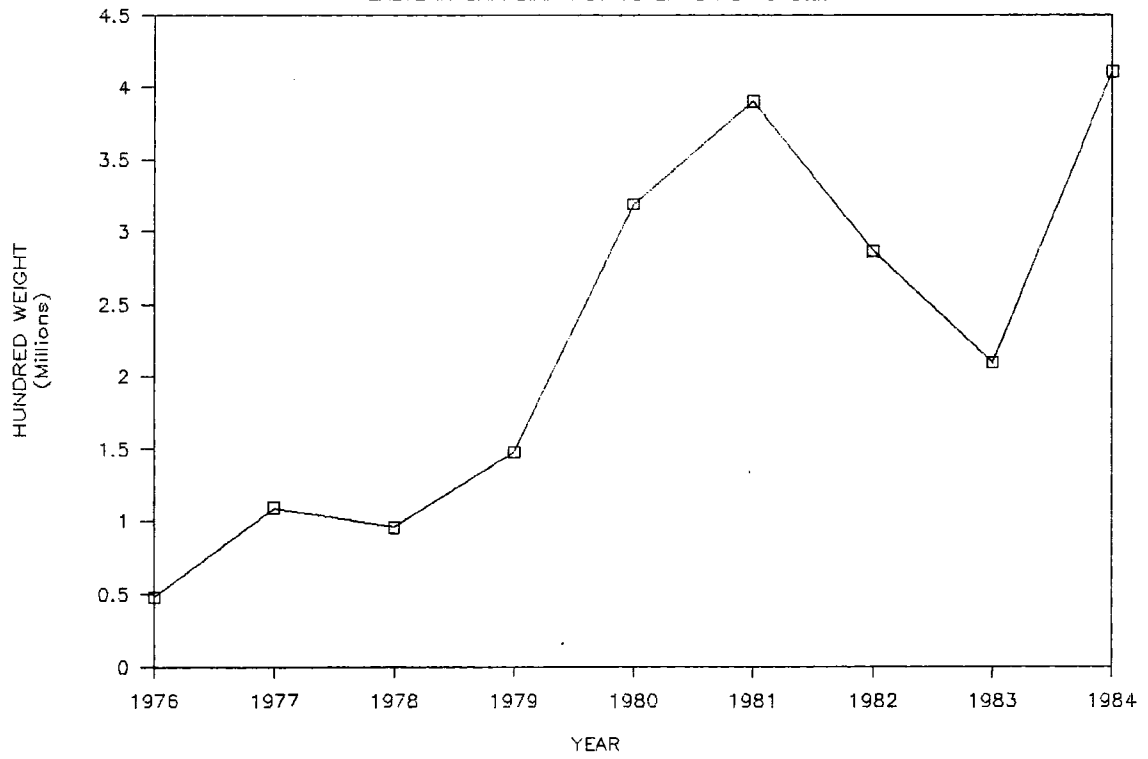


FIGURE 2

CANADIAN POTATO EXPORTS THROUGH MAINE

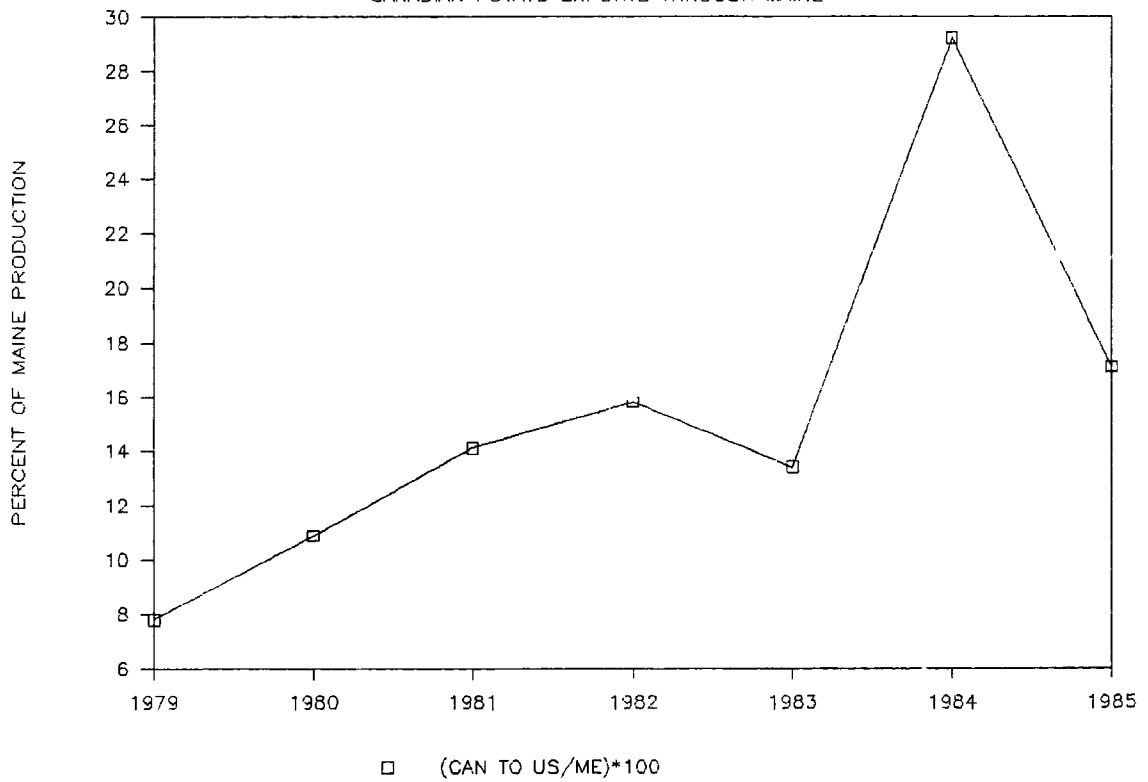


FIGURE 3

BOSTON POTATO MARKET SHARES

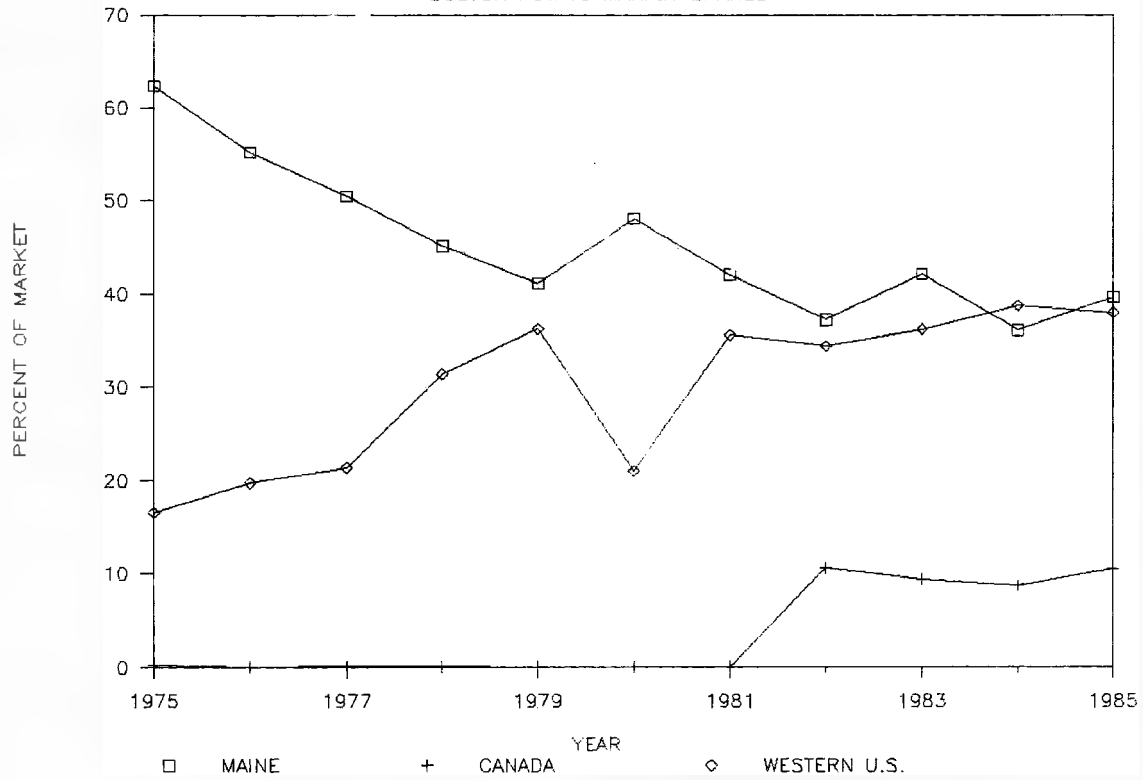


FIGURE 4

NEW YORK/NEWARK POTATO MARKET SHARES

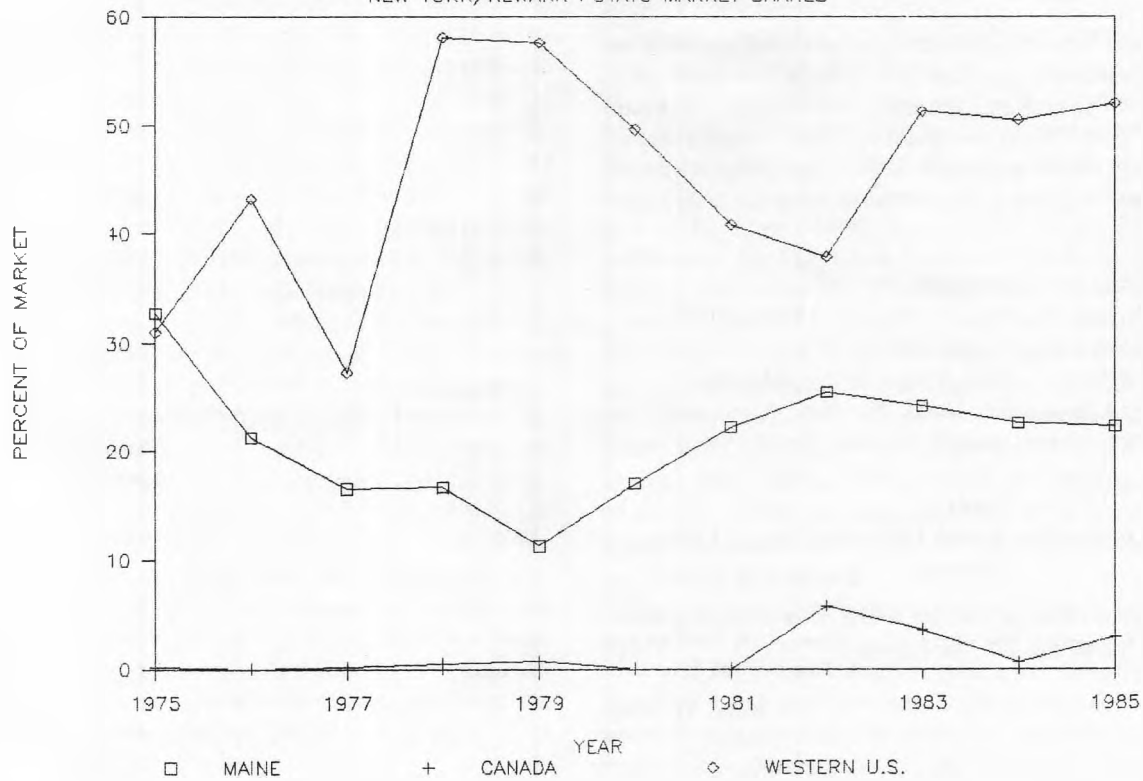
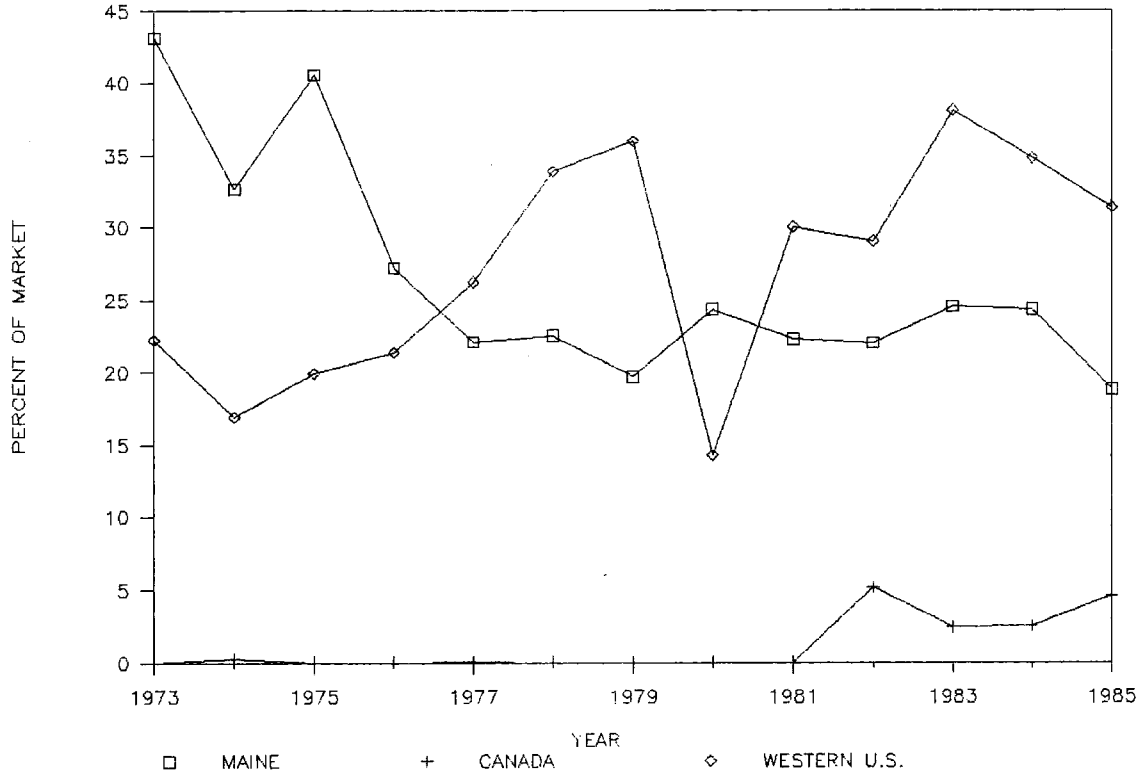


FIGURE 5

PHILADELPHIA POTATO MARKET SHARE



The Canada Year Program enables qualified students, in their junior years, to gain a greater understanding of Canada within a cultural and academic framework. Canadian university credit hours and grades are fully transferable to the student's degree programs at the University of Maine. Canada Year students have enrolled at universities throughout the country:

- Newfoundland: Memorial
- New Brunswick: New Brunswick; Mount Allison
- Nova Scotia: Dalhousie; Acadia
- Prince Edward Island: Prince Edward Island
- Quebec: Chicoutimi; Laval; McGill; Sherbrooke
- Ontario: Carleton; Guelph; Toronto; Trent; Waterloo; Windsor; York
- Alberta: Alberta; Calgary
- British Columbia: British Columbia; Simon Fraser; Victoria

This program ranks as the oldest and most comprehensive such activity in the United States.

**Rand H. Erb**



# AFTER 20: the Future of the Canadian-American Center

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by *Victor Konrad*

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On the occasion of its twentieth anniversary the Canadian-American Center stands poised to lead Canadian Studies to new heights. Since its origin in 1967, the Center has been guided by a spirit of collaborative innovation and a goal of academic excellence in the study of Canada and U.S.-Canada relations. Beginning with a regional focus on New England, the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec, the Center was among the first university institutes in the United States dedicated to the study of Canada and Canadian-American relations. Soon it emerged as one of the leading Centers in the development of Canadian Studies nationwide and currently holds national prominence in this rapidly growing international studies field. The first twenty years of growth have been vigorous and exciting but the future promises even more success for the Canadian-American Center.

During the last few years the Center has expanded significantly with enhanced commitment by the University of Maine as well as increased support from the State of Maine, federal agencies in the United States and Canada, Donner and other foundations, and a growing number of individual and corporate benefactors. These elements of support and confidence have allowed program development in several areas crucial to sustaining national prominence in Canadian Studies, and they have helped establish a firm base for program extension in the most promising fields of Canadian Studies scholarship, instruction and public service. Among the most substantial commitments to Canadian Studies at Maine, and elsewhere in the United States, was the University's move to add four new and permanent faculty positions in Business Administration, Economics, Forest Management and Political Science. With the reinstatement of a permanent, cross-appointment between the Center and Anthropology, this increases the Canadian Studies faculty strength by five in 1987. Most of the new faculty are involved in trade-related research with public policy implications for Maine and the region. Also concerned with issues of cross-border trade, investment and environmental impact are a growing number of University of Maine faculty in all colleges. Linked with a Canadian Studies faculty and professional staff approaching fifty, they contribute to the most comprehensive program of its kind in the United States.

To coordinate this rapidly expanding program, the Canadian-American Center has engaged additional professional and clerical personnel with expertise in program development, fund raising and financial management, faculty and student exchanges, planning, and publications. Facilities in Canada House have been upgraded with new equipment and enlarged space to serve more students and faculty, as well as the increased number of people from outside the University who visit the Center daily for a variety of services ranging from Canadian Studies teaching materials to basic information on Canada. Recent additions to the Center include a satellite receiving antenna, combined with audio and video equipment capable of receiving and recording radio and television programs from across Canada. This media link is in the new seminar and information facility added to Canada House. The facility exemplifies a new approach to coordinated delivery of Canadian Studies information to students, faculty and audiences from the community.

Innovation of this kind is in large part possible because the Center is built on a firm base. In addition to the enthusiastic participation and sustained contribution of a highly qualified faculty, with an exceptional number of nationally prominent Canadian Studies scholars, the program is supported by a major Canadian Studies research collection in the Fogler Library. Added to this are specialized collections, the Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History, the University of Maine School of Law Canadian Collection, and the newsletter, slide and videotape holdings of the Center. Print and other media materials not available at the University of Maine are accessible through the Center's extensive network of linkages with Canadian universities and other centers in the United States and abroad. Also, the Center maintains a substantial network of faculty exchanges and consortia arrangements with Canadian Studies programs in the United States and universities in Canada.

Maine's sister institution relationship with the University of New Brunswick is the strongest between any Canadian and American university pair and currently involves undergraduate and graduate student exchange, faculty research and teaching collaboration, cross-border government and university linkages, joint public service commit-

ments, library exchange, and, most recently, an initiative to join forces in international development work. The two universities, and others in the international region of the Northeast, collaborate as well in cultural programming. Characteristically, Canadian art exhibits, music and dance performances, theatre, and museum displays move throughout the region. At Maine, the new Maine Center for the Arts with its Hutchins Concert Hall and Hudson Museum, combined with the Carnegie Hall galleries, Hauck Auditorium and smaller display and performance facilities throughout the university, provide an impressive array of facilities for a growing number of events featuring aspects of Canada's culture.

The twentieth anniversary celebration of the Canadian-American Center will feature one of the world's premier ballet companies, Canada's Royal Winnipeg Ballet, in performance at the Hutchins Concert Hall. This event, and an international symposium with renowned scholars reading papers on four centuries of cross-border interaction in the international region of the Northeast, will highlight the Center's anniversary celebration, but the many components of Center activity and strength, outlined above, are the essentials to be acknowledged and commemorated. These elements, combined with a new University of Maine sense of vitality and direction, and a strong new institutional leadership, informed about Canadian Studies and aware of its contribution and potential, are investing the Canadian-American Center with an even higher level of purpose for the future.

Predicting directions for a center in a rapidly growing and changing field is a difficult if not impossible task. However, several directions for Canadian Studies at Maine are clear enough to be articulated as goals for the next five years. Indeed, they are components of the Center's plan for the development of Canadian Studies at the University of Maine.

Among the goals of the Center is to expand graduate programs in Canadian Studies. To this end, three new research assistantships have been added to the Canadian Studies graduate student awards by the University. Others are being added from external funding agencies to enhance Maine's ability to attract more and better graduate students in Canadian Studies fields. These fields are being expanded with greater emphasis on graduate research in Canadian Studies trade and environmental policy. The existing Master's program in Canadian and regional studies will be expanded and developed as a more truly interdisciplinary graduate program. Currently, Maine ranks as a major institution in Canadian Studies graduate research and education. But with more U.S. universities, and particularly larger and highly ranked institutions, moving in this direction, the Center will need to work aggressively to establish Maine's leadership in selected Canadian Studies graduate fields.

Closely related to this goal is the Center's aim to expand further the research and publication profile and the impact of Canadian Studies at Maine. Maine faculty and graduate students enjoy an impressive record in this area, but more work needs to be done to increase the visibility of published scholarship and enhance its impact on public policy from local to national levels. Among Center initiatives to achieve these ends are measures to provide greater faculty access to research start-up and clean-up funds, publish conference proceedings, assist with faculty research proposals, support faculty and graduate student travel to conferences and symposia, and establish a stronger Canadian Studies publication series with the University of Maine Press. Cross-disciplinary research efforts, the Borderlands project for example, are providing greater opportunities for faculty to connect current and completed Canadian Studies research to the work of colleagues at Maine and elsewhere. Similarly, research connections with scholars at the University of New Brunswick promise not only the benefits of greater collaboration between scholars in the same field but the broader benefits of cross-discipline linkages and heightened understanding of the U.S.-Canada relationship.

In the undergraduate program in Canadian Studies we plan to get closer to a true interdisciplinary approach. This means going beyond the interdisciplinary efforts in introducing Canada to students and providing seniors and honors students with an opportunity to cross-interdisciplinary exchange in seminars and tutorials. Needed are more comparative courses and courses featuring team approaches by faculty from different fields. The aim is to loosen the glue of disciplinary orientation so that students, and faculty, may gain more substantially in their appreciation and understanding of Canada.

Expanding public consciousness of Canada, and particularly Canada-U.S. interaction as it relates to Maine, is already well underway at the Center. With new professional appointments designed to enhance our capabilities in the public service sphere, the Center aims to move forward with a broader range of initiatives varying from annual teacher's institutes to regular public policy seminars for Maine business and government. The ultimate goal is to be as responsive as possible to the Canadian Studies needs of the community outside the university at local, state and national levels.

Curiously, the Canadian-American Center may be better known today at national and regional levels than it is in Maine. Beyond the state, the Center, its faculty and staff, have played key roles in the development of Canadian Studies in the United States. University of Maine Canadianists have led in the founding and building of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States, editing *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, establishing Canadian Studies curricula and standards, contributing to U.S. scholarship in Canadian Studies and promoting outreach

to schools, government and the media. Clearly, the Center intends to continue its leadership role in Canadian Studies and sustain its national prominence. But it aims to balance this leadership role, to contribute as effectively to Canadian Studies understanding in Maine, with its many diverse communities, as it has beyond the state. Ultimately, a Center that attains true and lasting national prominence must respond effectively to the needs of all its constituencies.

from p. 44

1969), pp. 157-176. A good analysis is found in James Conniff, "Burke, Bristol, and the Concept of Representation," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1977.

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The Canadian-American Center has installed a satellite receiving station providing access to radio and television programming from throughout Canada. Faculty and students may view television broadcasts by CBC Montreal in French and English, CBC North, CBC Parliament, and feeds from Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Halifax. Radio stations in Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver, Whitehorse/Yukon, and Yellowknife/Northwest Territories are also available. The privately

funded system was made possible by gifts from local businesses and a foundation. Seen with the satellite dish are Ralph Foss, Magazines Incorporated; Rand Erb, Canadian-American Center; Victor Konrad, Director of the Canadian-American Center; Paul Morrow of Key Trust of Maine representing the Wing-Benjamin Trust; Judson Grant, Jr., Broadway Furniture; and Roy Daigle, General Manager of the Bangor Mall.



Inventory is being taken of 1,500 books from the Mason Wade collection to be distributed between the Universities of Maine and Vermont as requested by the estate of the late French Canada scholar. Taking part in the inventory process are, left to right, Tom Patterson, reference librarian and specialist on Canada at UM's Fogler Library; Jim Herlan, assistant director of UM's Canadian-American Center and a French Canada specialist; Alice R. Stewart, UM professor emerita of history and library consultant of the Canadian-American Center; and Helen Alsaid, a UM sophomore assisting on the Mason Wade book project. Many of the books will one day be added to Fogler Library's Canadian Collection - described by independent evaluators

as one of the strongest in the United States, with outstanding holdings on the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec. Wade (1913-1986) was a New Hampshire-based author/editor who is credited with introducing English Canadians and Americans to the history of French Canada for more than 40 years. Professor of History at the Universities of Rochester (1955-1965) and Western Ontario (1965-1972), Wade was author of *French Canadian Outlook* and *The French Canadians, 1760-1767*. He was the first American to serve as president of the Canadian Historical Association (1964-65), and helped found the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States.



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