CHAPTER 1

TO THE GULF OF ST LAWRENCE

The Clarke Steamship Company, whose ships plied the Gulf of St Lawrence for the best part of the 20th century, owed its formation to an unusual set of circumstances. Four prosperous Toronto-born brothers of Irish descent visited the Bay of Sept-Iles in the closing days of the 19th century, liked what they saw, and decided to establish the first of several businesses, which would come to include, eventually, a shipping company.

It was not simply a whim that led the Clarkes to set up and operate a shipping line from Montreal and Quebec to serve the Gulf of St Lawrence. It was a calculated business decision, based on the knowledge that the wealth of the region was untapped and offered a potential that the brothers hoped to exploit.

Although a number of isolated settlements already existed along the 800 miles of coast between Quebec and the Strait of Belle Isle, the Clarke brothers' plans were comprehensive. They included the building of a new town, complete with docking facilities, a railway, a dam and a powerhouse at a site on the Ste Marguerite River, 290 miles downstream from Quebec. The
economic heart of Clarke City, as the town was soon named, would be a large pulp mill, which would supply large amounts of woodpulp to the paper mills of Europe and North America.

It was no coincidence that the Clarkes decided that their future lay in the business of producing and exporting pulp and later in establishing a shipping line. When William, the eldest, and James first visited the Sept-Iles region in their yacht in July 1898, they were on holiday and had put the cares of running their publishing business behind them for a few weeks of summer. But the sight of acres of timber stretching endlessly north from the shores of the St Lawrence was too much to ignore. Next summer, John and George arrived, went and saw what their brothers had seen, and agreed that the prospect demanded action.

The Clarke brothers had developed highly successful publishing careers, which were soon to be put aside after their arrival in the Bay of Sept-Iles persuaded them to consider new and exciting business ventures. In 1901, at a cost of $150,000, James Clarke acquired the hydro-electric rights to the Ste Marguerite River and one hundred acres of land on the west side of the Bay of Sept-Iles. William and James also acquired timber rights from the Province of Quebec.

**Belford, Clarke & Company 1878**

James, the most active of the brothers, had been born in Toronto on February 20, 1852, and joined the Toronto publishing business of Belford Brothers - Charles, Robert, and Alexander - also of Irish descent, in 1875, the same year that the Canadian Copyright Act was passed. A couple of years after Clarke became a member of the firm Charles Belford withdrew and Clarke and Alexander Belford formed Belford, Clarke & Company in 1878. In order to take advantage of the huge American market, they decided to relocate their business from Toronto to Chicago.

Belford, Clarke & Co had great success in Chicago. Its main interest was in the printing and sale of inexpensive sets of the works of authors such as Dickens, Scott, Thackeray and George Eliot, but it profited as well from good sales of books by authors such as Jules Verne and Daniel Defoe, to name just two. The company opened a New York branch in 1879 at 384-386 Broadway, under Robert Belford, and George Clarke soon joined James as a director of Belford, Clarke & Co.

The 1880s were the most important years for the company, with many titles coming under its imprimatur. Opening bookstalls in major department stores, and expanding to most major American cities, just a few years after moving to Chicago the business was said to be turning over a million copies a year and was making profits of about $90,000 annually by the mid-1880s.
Mark Twain vs Belford, Clarke

In the meantime, however, Alexander Belford had become Mark Twain’s enemy number one after re-publishing his "Tom Sawyer" without permission in Toronto in 1872. Belford had flooded the US market with 100,000 of his Canadian copies, thus preventing Twain from being able to make any substantial profit from his own work.

Thus Belford, Clarke & Co's 1880 reprinting of "Mark Twain's Sketches New and Old," first published by the American Publishing Company in 1875, led to a lawsuit, Samuel L Clemens vs Belford, Clarke & Co, which went to court in Chicago in 1882. Clemens claimed his nom de plume of "Mark Twain" was a trademark not to be infringed upon, but the court disagreed in its decision given in January 1883. The final outcome was reported in the "New York Times" in a story headed "Mark Twain Loses a Suit," filed from Chicago under date of January 9, 1883: -

Some time since Samuel L Clemens brought suit in the United States Court against Belford, Clarke & Co, publishers, to restrain them from republishing his works. It appeared in evidence that the books republished were not copyrighted, but Clemens claimed his pseudonym of "Mark Twain" as a trademark. The court in its decision yesterday held that "noms de plume" could not be construed as trademarks and that his failure to copyright left his works open to republication by anyone.

Several years later, on July 1, 1891, the International Copyright Act put an end to such activity. It also brought an end to reprint price wars that had become commonplace in both the United States and Canada.

Belford, Clarke: Fire and the Crisis of 1889

On May 26, 1886, meanwhile, a devastating fire destroyed Belford, Clarke's business house, in the Adams Building at the intersection of Wabash and Congress Streets in downtown Chicago. The fire, headlined in the "Chicago Tribune" as "A Great Blaze of Books," wiped out their inventory, forcing the company to default on deliveries. The fire was said to have cost the company $150,000 and, to compound matters, much of the insurance was never collected.

Three years later, on September 23, 1889, the stores of Belford Clarke at 22 East 18th Street in Manhattan and in Brooklyn were seized by the sheriff's office against a claim for $25,000, which had been assigned by the First National Bank of Chicago to Judge G F Shepard. On September 24, the "Chicago Tribune" reported the story under the heading "A $400,000 Failure" with many subtitles - "Belford, Clarke & Co Closed by the Sheriff - Receiver"
The mammoth publishing house of Belford, Clarke & Co, which has a large establishment here and branches in New York and San Francisco, went to the wall yesterday. Judgements were entered against them in the circuit court for $25,000 in favor of the First National Bank and for $13,000 in favor of S A Maxwell & Co. Attachments were issued but shortly after the place was seized by the sheriff a receiver was appointed by Judge Shepard.

The failure, while a surprise to the general public, had been expected for some time by those who were familiar with the firm's standing. Belford, Clarke & Co started in business here about ten years ago and were perhaps the largest publishing house west of New York. They were extensively engaged in publishing standard works, and in this respect they were one of the largest houses in the United States.

James Newman, of the firm of Moses & Newman, attorneys for several creditors, and also for the receiver, said that three things were responsible for the failure. In 1886 the entire plant was destroyed by fire, causing a net loss to them of over $150,000. The firm promptly resumed business but during the last two years they have suffered heavily by the failures of customers, the collapse of one firm in San Francisco alone losing them about $70,000. In addition to this the competition between eastern and western publishers, particularly of standard works, has been so brisk that the market has been wholly destroyed, so much so that books which two years ago sold for $1 to $1.50 now bring from 25 to 50 cents.

Mr Newman said that in his opinion the assets of the company, consisting of stock, accounts, plates, cuts, dies, copyrights, etc, would amount to about $400,000 and the liabilities to about $350,000 or $400,000. The principal creditors are the Crowe Printing Co, over $150,000; Donohue & Heneberry, $75,000; First National Bank, $30,000; S A Maxwell $13,000. Besides these there are heavy creditors in New York and San Francisco. Mr Newman said that the receiver would continue to publish "Belford's Monthly," which has a subscription list of over 25,000.

At the business office of the defunct firm on Wabash Avenue nothing could be learned as to the causes of the failure. A lawyer for one of the creditors said, however, that Andrew McNally of Rand, McNally & Co, who is Mr Belford's father-in-law, had been backing the firm but that his refusal to further indorse the firm's paper prompted the First National Bank to enter up judgement. The attorney thought that if Mr McNally had not discontinued his support the firm might have pulled
through.

There was scant evidence of any involvement by the Clarkes by this time and some reports had James Clarke leaving the company in 1888, but there was much comment on the role of Alexander Belford, who had developed high level connections in Chicago through marriage. After Andrew McNally made his comment to the "Tribune," largely echoing James Newman's, Belford was interviewed at his home. The "Tribune" story finished under the sub-heading "Mr Belford talks": -

Mr Belford at his residence, No 832 North Park Avenue, talked freely about the failure. He said it was chiefly due to the depreciation in the price of standard works such as those of Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot. During the past year there had been a tremendous cut in that class of goods owing to competition in the east. Books which he last year sold for 27½ cents he had been selling this year for 12 cents. The firm, he said, was a pioneer in the west, and it had to make a field for itself. This it had succeeded in doing, and the firm was making money until 1886, when it was given its first setback by the fire. Since that year there had been other heavy losses.

Mr Belford did not know what the outcome would be, but he hoped that the receiver would be able to effect a settlement so that the firm could resume business.

The original creditors' claims were followed by others, notably one for $34,614 by the Trows Printing & Bookbinding Company in New York, and another for $1,998 from the Burrows Brothers Company of Cleveland, both filed on September 26. In the New York action, Clarke, Belford was described as "a foreign corporation" so although it was now heavily involved in Chicago, it may well have been operating under its original Toronto formation. Much legal action and negotiation followed but within a few weeks agreement was reached to pay creditors 25 cents on the dollar and to bring in new investors. The "New York Times" reported the final outcome on November 1:

An authorized statement is made that Belford, Clarke & Co have settled with their creditors and have formed two new corporations for the purpose of carrying on "Belford's Magazine" and the publishing business of Belford, Clarke & Co. One will be a western corporation and one an eastern corporation. The creditors have nearly all signed a compromise, and Peckham & Tyler, attorneys for G F Shepard and for the First National Bank of Chicago, received orders yesterday to prepare to vacate their attachments in this city and Brooklyn. Their attachments were the largest and first in order of time. The bank's total claims were about $60,000. The other creditors have also made an agreement for settlement.

From what had been the largest publishing house west of New York,

**The American "Encyclopaedia Britannica"**

Belford, Clarke & Co finally got out of the uncopyrighted reprint business. On May 3, 1890, it was announced that Belford, Clarke, along with over sixteen other companies, had sold all their plates of uncopyrighted books to the John W Lovell Publishing Company. In the words of the "New York Times" on the day, "for a long time, the publishers of all kinds of uncopyrighted books have felt that the competition was so destructive that there was very little profit."

Less than two weeks later, on May 16, Belford, Clarke & Co registered a United States copyright for the first American version of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," a publication that dated to 1768. The original British version, as revised by Belford, Clarke, now included many American topics and contained maps supplied by Rand McNally & Co.

The year 1892, however, saw the final break-up of Belford, Clarke & Co, when R S Peale & Company took over the business and was then itself absorbed by the Werner Company. R S Peale and Alexander Belford were among the directors of the new Werner Company, with Belford in charge of its publishing division.

**James Clarke & Company and the "Century Dictionary"**

James Clarke, meanwhile, moved to New York to pursue the "Century Dictionary." Having established James Clarke & Company, in 1893, together with James Solomon Barcus, formerly of the encyclopaedia department of the Werner Co, he formed Clarke, Barcus & Company at 45 Vesey Street. Within a year, they had secured exclusive rights to print and distribute the "Century Dictionary" and the "Century Cyclopedia of Names," which rights passed solely to James Clarke & Co after Barcus formed his own publishing house, J S Barcus & Company, in 1895. James Clarke & Co's offices were at 3, 5 & 7 West 22nd Street, an address that was demolished for the erection of a new ten-storey office building in 1901.

One of the other projects in which Clarke & Co was involved was the fifteen-volume "Beacon Lights of History, the World's Heroes and Masterminds," a series of books based on lectures by Dr John Lord, of which James Clarke & Co published several volumes between 1886 and 1902, most of which have been republished in recent years. It also published "The Life of John Lord" in 1896, within two years of his death.
The "Century Dictionary & Cyclopedia," meanwhile, was an illustrated multi-volume work that had first appeared between 1889 and 1891. Published by the Century Company in New York and produced by Theodore Low de Vinne, America's best-known printer of the day, it was associated with "The Century" magazine, successor to "Scribner's Monthly." More than 200,000 copies of the dictionary were sold and another success confirmed.

Clarke & Co Ltd and the "Encyclopaedia Britannica"

Clarke's method of selling the "Century Dictionary," complete with 10,000 illustrations, encyclopaedia and atlas, and definitions of upwards of 215,000 words, was by popular subscription through newspaper advertising.

Developing on this theme, in 1897 the Clarke brothers, together with American partners Horace Hooper, an associate from Chicago, and Walter Jackson of Boston, acquired the world rights to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" under a ten-year contract with its British owners, Adam & Charles Black of Edinburgh and London. Clarke and Hooper had been involved together in the publishing firms of Hooper, Clarke & Company in Chicago and Clarke, Given & Hooper in New York.

The partners formed a new company, Clarke & Co Ltd, at 125 High Holborn in London, to undertake this new activity. This association with the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," which had begun with Belford, Clarke's introduction of the American version in 1890, would now blossom.

"The Times" of London as Partners

Almost immediately on acquiring rights to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," James Clarke, together with Horace Hooper, approached "The Times" of London, with the idea of building a popular market for this high-priced 20-volume luxury work. During February and March 1898, they succeeded in convincing "The Times" to build on the success they had had with the "Century Dictionary" in the United States.

Clarke & Co and "The Times" entered into a partnership whereby "The Times" would offer the 10th edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" to its subscribers at a popular price, payable in instalments. The new price would be £14, compared to the £37 demanded in the past, and "The Times" would benefit from a royalty of one guinea per order as well as advertising revenues. Although "The Times" required a guarantee, this was supplied and a contract was signed on March 14, 1898.

Just over a week later, on March 23, for the first time ever, "The Times" carried full-page display advertisements extending the offer not only to its regular readers, but also to non-subscribers. The campaign was
successful enough that "Encyclopaedia Britannica" soon became a household name throughout the English-speaking world. It was here that James and George Clarke, together with their partners and A & C Black and "The Times" made a fortune.


A Change of Direction

By the turn of the century, Clarke & Co Ltd had become influential as well as successful. However, the Clarke brothers, with their developing interests in the Gulf of St Lawrence, sold their shares in the company to Hooper and Jackson in early 1900, for $425,000 in cash plus shares in Hooper's Western Book & Stationery Company, which had originally been formed to distribute the Encyclopaedia Britannica one volume at a time, and Jackson's Standard American Publishing Company. James Clarke, however, retained his interest in James Clarke & Co in New York, which moved to 34 West 33rd Street, and also became a director of the new Broadway Trust Company (1902) and a trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank.

In March 1902, the year after the Clarke brothers acquired rights on the Ste Marguerite and Manitou Rivers, Clarke & Co Ltd was liquidated and two new companies formed, the Hooper & Jackson Ltd in the United Kingdom, and the Encyclopaedia Britannica Company in Chicago. Hooper and Jackson later fell out over their dealings with "The Times" and the association ended when Lord Northcliffe bought "The Times" in 1908.


Jackson, meanwhile, in association with Northcliffe, acquired the American rights to "The Children's Encyclopaedia," which he adapted and published in the United States in 1911 as the twenty-volume "Book of Knowledge," founding the Grolier Society to do so. The American rights to the "Century Dictionary" followed a few years later.

The Clarke brothers, having sold most of their publishing interests, were about to develop the potential of the Quebec North Shore. In exchange for their rights, they had agreed with the Quebec Government to invest substantial sums in the province. James and George were the entrepreneurs,
while William, president of the new company, took charge of building the mill. The first news of this plan appeared in the "New York Times" on September 5, 1901:

American capitalists have undertaken to develop a vast wood pulp industry along the north shore of the Gulf of St Lawrence. Messrs Clarke Brothers of Toronto and New York have recently purchased a timber limit of 500 square miles on the Ste Marguerite River. They have just closed a deal with the Provincial Government whereby they purchased for $15,000 the water powers on the river seven miles from Seven Islands. They propose to build a large pulp mill at Seven Islands, which will be operated by electricity transmitted from the falls. The mill will have a capacity of 150 tons of pulp a day and the company has signed a guarantee to expend $500,000 within two years from next spring, when work will begin. Altogether, about $3,000,000 will be invested.

The company intends to build a railway from Ste Marguerite to Seven Islands. The Bay of Seven Islands forms a deep and commodious harbor and the company will build wharves to accommodate the largest ocean freight service, as the product will be shipped to the European market.

The Clarkes were taking advantage of one of the problems that faced publishers at the time, of obtaining an adequate supply of pulp and paper. This, combined with the wealth of timber on the North Shore, and their view that "the whole of the English fleet could find an anchorage" in the Bay of Sept-Iles, had led to the new project taking shape.

**The North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Company**

On May 15, 1902, while Clarke & Co Ltd was being liquidated, the Canadian parliament passed a special act to incorporate the North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Company, with headquarters at 118 rue St-Pierre in Quebec, offices in New York and Toronto and works at Clarke City. In choosing its name, the company seemed to emulate the style of the Quebec Railway, Light & Power Company, formed at Quebec three years earlier.

The new company, whose officers were given as "president, James Clarke, publisher. New York; first vice-president, William Clarke, contractor, Toronto," would develop a new town site and the entire infrastructure necessary for a new pulp mill. This was only the second pulp mill in Quebec, the first having been built at Chicoutimi in 1898, so raising capital was difficult. It was thus the profits from the Clarke publishing interests that built Clarke City.
On June 24, Fremont Spicer, formerly manager of the export news division of the International Paper Company, was named general manager. Spicer was from upstate New York and had been involved in opening a new pulp mill at Dexter, not far from Lake Ontario, in 1889. One of his first actions with North Shore Power was to call for tenders for “30,000 cubic yards of concrete and excavation at Seven Islands, Quebec,” a call that went out from 7 West 22nd Street and appeared in "Cement & Engineering News" and other publications.

Although fishing, furs and trading would remain, for now at least, the chief industrial activity at Sept-Iles, other companies would soon follow the Clarkees, to open up the North Shore’s first lumber camps at Manicouagan and Pentecôte, further upstream.

Clarke City was built four and a half miles up the eastern bank of the Ste Marguerite River, which has a drainage basin of 3,300 square miles. With a minimum flow of 1,100 cubic feet per second, it had several falls, that on which the Clarke dam and powerhouse were built being fifty-two feet in height. The choice of site was dictated by the presence of the falls as the hydro-electric power source for the planned mill. Woodlands that would supply pulpwood to the mill surrounded the river itself far upstream and also right to its mouth.

Soon, a port site was developed at Pointe-Noire, today a major iron ore and aluminum shipping port on the Bay of Sept-Iles, and a nine-mile railway was built between mill and quay. The railway was intended not only to deliver product to Clarke City Wharf, but also to haul pulpwood from the bay to the mill and to bring in supplies from the dock. In 1902, the North Shore, Power, Railway & Navigation Co purchased two twenty-five-year old Baldwin 0-4-0 steam locomotives, numbers 96 and 97, from the Intercolonial Railway, which kept their old Intercolonial numbers. Delivered to the Intercolonial Railway by Pennsylvania's Baldwin Locomotive Works in 1875, they dated to the beginnings of that road, having entered service a year before the Intercolonial opened its through line from Montreal to Halifax. Two years later it added a third Baldwin, No.4, numbered for the year in which it was acquired. Along with the locomotives, the rolling stock consisted of a number of old flat cars and two wooden third-class combination passenger and freight cars also acquired from the Intercolonial Railway, and also vintage 1870s. Getting the locomotives and their rolling stock to Clarke City was quite an achievement as it had to be done by ship while the port was still being built.

The North Shore, Power, Railway & Navigation Co started work on the port in 1903. The pier was to be 1,325 feet in length, reaching a depth of 48 feet at low water spring tide, and would cost $65,000. In May 1904, the Canadian Department of Public Works agreed to take over, paying for work that had already been done and completing the port as part of the national ports and harbours infrastructure. This work included a 575-foot stone
approach and a 200 by 30-foot crib built to low tide level, completed in 1903 by North Shore's own appointee, the well-known Quebec harbour, dredging and railway contractor Michael Connolly, at a cost below the lowest tender. Connolly had been responsible for various harbour and port contracts at Philadelphia, Saint John and Quebec, as well as managing the North American Transportation Co Ltd, which operated in the Baie-des-Chaleurs and elsewhere.

On May 23, 1903, the "Quebec Daily Mercury" carried an update under the title "Building a City on the Coast of Labrador":

There are only a hundred men at work at Clarke City just now, but the number is to be increased to six hundred within a month. The steam schooner Florence and two others are at present at Seven Islands, unloading cargoes of steel rails, machinery, etc. There is great anxiety all along the coast for the completion of the long wharf, for when this is done, the people of that territory will no longer be isolated from the rest of the world in winter, since it will enable the boat of the North Shore Power, Railway to cross thither from Bic at all periods of the year.

The 133-ton Florence had been built in Quebec in 1883 and was owned by T Tremblay of Chicoutimi. Even though it was nine miles from town, the port was still called Clarke City, or Clarke City wharf, which is how it appeared in steamship schedules. Not until the development of an iron ore shipping dock in the 1960s did it become Pointe-Noire. As well as being rail-served, Clarke City wharf was equipped with a ten-ton crane, which was used at first to unload supplies and equipment and later to load pulpwood to rail cars and export woodpulp to ocean ships. Over the years, the wharf at Clarke City would be damaged in storms and receive the usual repairs. But it served its purpose well, being enlarged almost three decades later, in 1932.

In 1905, three years before the first shipments left the new mill, the North Shore, Power, Railway & Navigation Co purchased 2,289 acres of local land in Arnaud County for what was described as "industrial purposes." By now, it was operating from three locations, with offices at 7 West 22nd Street in New York, at the corner of rue St-Paul and Bell's Lane in Quebec and in Clarke City.

The Loss of the "St Lawrence"

Company lore includes a story of a supply ship that was lost during the building of Clarke City. Edmond Chassé, in his "The Work of Two Generations" about the Clarkes, published in 1936, recorded this loss, but named no ship and gave no date:

A ship loaded with merchandise, and carrying precious documents
together with cheques destined for employees sank while entering the Bay of Sept-Iles. To this unfortunate event and to many unforeseen complications was added the necessity of almost entirely suspending construction work during the winter. This delay added to the cost of the enterprise.

It is hard to know what to make of this story. The "Canadian Register of Wrecks" does not show any loss of an inbound ship in the Bay of Sept-Iles during the years 1902 through 1908, while the mill was being built. A wreck had occurred at the entrance to Sept-Iles earlier, on November 22, 1900, when the 305-ton St Olaf was lost with all hands, but this was before work at Clarke City had even started.

The closest wreck listed in the register was the 433-ton St Lawrence, a ship that went ashore at Pointe aux Anglais in October 1904. As it happens George Clarke and a few friends were on board the St Lawrence, travelling from Clarke City to Quebec on their way back to New York. Louis Garnier mentioned the loss in "Dog Sled to Airplane," his book about life on the North Shore:

On October 9th, a rumour began to go about the village of Pentecôte: the St Lawrence had grounded at Pointe aux Anglais. Questions were asked and everyone scanned the sea in that direction. In the distance, at the end of the point, which stretches nine miles to sea from Pentecôte, one could indeed see the vessel caught amongst huge rocks... against which the waves seemed ready to cast it at any moment.

The St Lawrence was the North Shore mail boat. It had left Pentecôte the day before at 11 o'clock in the evening and, because of a telegram received from Pointe aux Anglais, the captain had directed his vessel towards that locality, which was not one of his regular ports of call. He wished to facilitate the loading of six barrels of cod for two fishermen and tried to get as near the shore as possible. Suddenly, the ship struck the end of the rock and smashed its rudder and three blades of the propeller, thus becoming helpless.

On October 13, after some of the passengers arrived at Quebec, the "Quebec Chronicle" carried their accounts in a story titled "The Wreck of the s.s. St Lawrence":

From the statements given to the reporter, it appears that the St Lawrence left Seven Islands for Quebec... having on board about one hundred passengers and crew from the latter place and other ports further down the river. During the afternoon a heavy sea prevailed but in the evening the storm had somewhat abated, and about 12:10 on Sunday morning the passengers were awakened by a sudden shock as if the ship was passing over rocks. There was a rush made from the staterooms to the deck, and it discovered that the St Lawrence had
been passing over a number of small rocks and when all further
danger appeared to be over the steamer ran into another cluster of
rocks, larger than the first ones, and remained there. The steamer
listed and remained in that position and Captain O Bernier and steward
J A Cartier tried to prevent a panic while orders were given to lower
the boats. The steamer was then about one mile from shore...

In the small hours of that Sunday morning, with the help of local
fishermen, the passengers and crew of the St Lawrence were all landed in
about three hours and taken in by hospitable locals. Unfortunately, the first
lifeboat was taken by a number of labourers returning from Clarke City who
did not return it to the ship, and George Clarke and a number of others had
to assist about fifteen women and children to make their escape in one of the
fishermen's boats.

Although the St Lawrence's cargo of 600 barrels of cod was lost, much
of the passenger's luggage was recovered, and on Tuesday the 11th, the
674-ton CGS Aberdeen, which had been sent down from Quebec, embarked
the shipwrecked party and sailed at 3 pm for the twenty-four hour run to
Quebec. Of her passengers, George Clarke and party, including Miss Craig, a
well-known magazine writer who had been exploring in Labrador, and two
men, all from New York, and a barrister from Dublin, left the Aberdeen in
Rivière-du-Loup to make their way by rail. A press report from Quebec on
October 13 carried news of the Aberdeen's arrival at Quebec on the 12th:

The steamer St Lawrence, of the North Shore Steamship Line, ashore
at English Point, is a total wreck. The steamer Aberdeen ... arrived
here last night with 115 passengers, the crew, mails and luggage, the
St Lawrence having been abandoned altogether. The loss is about
$40,000.

As to Chassé's story about a ship having gone down at the entrance to
the Bay of Sept-Iles, while the St Olaf had, the St Lawrence had been bound
for Quebec, and Pointe aux Anglais is fifty miles upstream from Sept-Iles,
and forty miles above Clarke City. That she was carrying an inbound cargo of
fish and not general cargo for Clarke City also belies his story. And the
mention of cheques adds to the uncertainty, as there was nowhere to cash a
cheque. For years, as in many industrial towns, the payment system in
Clarke City was company tokens that could be exchanged for goods. Could it
have been a question of Chassé, a priest, confusing his saints?

The only other marine casualty during this period appeared in a brief
wire report from Montreal on July 11, 1905: -

A report has reached here that a steamer supposed to be the
Aranmore went on the rocks Sunday night near the Seven Islands in
the St Lawrence gulf. The report says that the Government lighthouse
steamer King Edward sighted the Aranmore early today and took off all
her passengers. The *Aranmore*’s stem was stove in.

The 1,170-ton *Aranmore* was the main North Shore mail ship, introduced that season by Holliday Brothers of Quebec, as a replacement for the *St Lawrence*. And the 355-ton *King Edward*, while she may have been working for the government at the time of this accident, was also owned by the Holliday Brothers. But this was relatively early in the season and the *Aranmore* and her cargo were both salvaged.

In 1904, the *St Lawrence* had been the main North Shore supply ship. Operating every ten days "under contract with the Dominion Government," she was a regular caller at Clarke City. The Clarke City call came right in the middle of her schedule, with ten ports between Quebec and Clarke City and ten more downstream as far as Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. While the original story may have been distorted or embellished upon to make it more interesting, the wreck and fittings of the *St Lawrence* were sold "as is, where is" to merchants.

Certainly, the loss of the *St Lawrence* that October probably did put constraints on shipping to Clarke City for the rest of the 1904 season. To close out the season, the North Shore Steamship Line chartered the 471-ton salvage steamer and sometimes sealer *Havana* from J A Farquhar & Co of Halifax. While of roughly the same size, this wooden-hulled wrecker was a stopgap measure compared to the *St Lawrence* and the even larger *Aranmore* that would replace her.

**Building Clarke City**

William Clarke had moved to Pointe-Noire early in the summer of 1903, at the start of construction phase, and installed himself in a log cabin while he built a home for his family in Clarke City. Irish, Scots, Italians and Scandinavians were brought in to build the new mill. The company learned from problems that arose after a large contingent of manual labourers from Aberdeen complained about their isolation 350 miles from Quebec and the fact that they had to work in the open. These were mainly the result of misleading claims made by emigration agents.

Outside personnel were later used to train a new French-Canadian labour force, a large number of whom came from the Magdalen Islands, as well as from around the Bay of Sept-Îles. The islanders signed on for the full season, returning home by ship at the close of navigation near the end of November.

Clarke City was one of the few settlements on the North Shore located inland from the St Lawrence River, and its railway the first on the North Shore. It preceded by a few years a similar line built between the pulp mill at Clermont and the dock at Pointe-au-Pic, or Murray Bay, ninety miles below.
On May 22, 1906, an advertisement appeared in the "Quebec Telegraph" that might have been of interest to a young man in search of adventure:

Half dozen hustling lads to assist cooks in lumber camps at Clarke City. Steady employment. Wages $20.00 per month and board. North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Company, 15 Bell's Lane, Quebec.

By 1906, company housing, a church and a school had all been completed and the railway was in full operation, as were the lumber camps.

Nearby Sept-Iles

The nearest settlement to Clarke City was Sept-Iles, twelve miles away across the bay, where the industries were fishing, hunting, trading and whaling. Civilization consisted of a Hudson's Bay Company post, an Oblate mission built about fifty years earlier by Père Arnaud, a Montagnais Indian reserve and visits by steam whalers. In Moisie, fourteen miles further east, was a branch of the trading company Charles Robin, Collas & Co Ltd, of Gaspé and Jersey, in the Channel Islands. These had been joined in 1901 by the Revillon Frères Trading Co Ltd, from Paris, who had moved into Canada, establishing at Sept-Iles, and expanding north into Hudson Bay. The population of the area numbered only a few hundred at the turn of the 20th century.

While work at Clarke City was just getting started, Sept-Iles gained prominence by becoming the seat of the Bishop of the Gulf of St Lawrence in 1903. The first bishop, Monseigneur Gustave Blanche, was responsible for the whole of the North Shore between Bersimis and Blanc-Sablon, and would preside over this diocese until his death in 1916. Many years later, when a new general cargo pier was required in the 1950s, it took the name Monseigneur Blanche Wharf. In the meantime, Sept-Iles' first town dock was completed in 1908, just as Clarke City was coming into production.

In 1905, Sept-Iles became a whaling station, the only one ever to operate on the St Lawrence. The west side of the bay, known as Kelly's Bay, became the operating headquarters of the Quebec Steam Whaling Co Ltd, who built a whale rendering plant and a 500-foot dock. Operating with a single whale catcher, the 94-ton Norwegian-built Falken, and a schooner, its seventy-five hands caught sixty-six whales that year, and sold their whale oil in England, whale bone in France, fertilizer in New Brunswick and bonemeal in Ontario. Although it issued a prospectus for $30,000 in shares in 1906, the company eventually went out of business. In June 1910, the Falken became the Canadian Government Lightship No. 18, based on Southeast Shoal in Lake Erie.
In 1911 the Norwegian-Canadian Whaling Co A/S, of Trondheim, Norway, purchased the Quebec company's assets and sent two of its own whale catchers, the 140-ton *Grib* and 114-ton *Lopra*, to Sept-Iles. The *Grib* went aground on Anticosti and the *Lopra* was sold in 1915. After salvaging, the *Grib* became a Canadian Government steamer and later a commercial tug.

The Next Generation of Clarkes

During the construction of the project, the whole William Clarke family, including his wife, Mary Maguire Clarke and four sons and a daughter, moved to Clarke City from Toronto. They arrived safely despite the grounding of their ship en route from Quebec. Although the name of that ship was not recorded, it may have been the *Aranmore*, which grounded at Sept-Iles in July 1905. The four sons, all born in Toronto, would come to play a large part in the family's future endeavours in shipping and trading in the Gulf of St Lawrence but for now they made their home at Clarke City.

William and Mary's eldest son, Frank William, born on June 16, 1887, began work at Clarke City in 1906, at the age of 19. The second, Walter, was born on January 30, 1889; the third, Desmond Arthur, on January 9, 1892; and the youngest, Wilfrid, on July 5, 1896. Their daughter, Hilda Margaret, was born in 1900, and married Lawrence Leonard in Toronto in 1919.

Of the senior Clarke brothers, William, the eldest, took the role of contractor and developer of Clarke City, including the wharf, mill, railway and town site. James and George, who had sold "The Times" on the merits of full-page advertising and circulation premiums, lived in White Plains, New York, and were the prime owners of mill. They retained their interest in publishing, and after the Doubleday Doran merger of 1927 worked from the same building. While the Doubleday family was American, George Doran had moved from Toronto in 1909, but left the merged entity in 1930. The fourth Clarke brother, John, a resident of Toronto, while he visited Sept-Iles, never became involved in the firm and his involvement was indirect.

The New Mill Opens

As no cement was made in Canada at the time the mill and port were built, ships often arrived bringing cement in barrels from Great Britain and steel and construction materials and supplies from the United States to the new Clarke City wharf. Both steam and sail brought cargoes for the new enterprise. The machinery too had to be imported, and the Quebec office looked after contracting and the transport and supply services.

An advertisement looking for actual mill workers appeared in the
"Quebec Telegraph" on September 17, 1907, finally giving the feeling that the work was starting to come to completion:

Wanted. Steady Work - Winter and Summer for 300 men - Mill Workers, Woodsmen, Teamsters, Laborers - Make your home at Clarke City, comfortable houses, best of food, highest wages. Apply NSPR&N Co. Cor St Paul's Street & Bell's Lane, Quebec

Teamsters were the men who could control a team of horses in the bush. With its control over thousands of acres of woodlands, lumber camps had sprung up upstream on the Ste Marguerite River and elsewhere. More camps were opened on the Manitou and Pigou Rivers, to the east of Sept-Îles, and logs were towed up to eighty miles to Clarke City to be loaded onto the railway and brought to the new mill.

It would still be another year, however, before the new pulp mill, the second largest in Canada, began exporting in the autumn of 1908.

The First Shipments

Clarke City's woodpulp production was to be carried to England in ships chartered in for the purpose, with a ship planned for the beginning of each month until December 1, or even January 1, in anticipation of a nine or ten-month shipping season. All the mill's production was consigned at first to the "Daily Chronicle" mill of Edward Lloyd Ltd in Sittingbourne, Kent, which had just installed the fastest paper-making machinery outside of North America.

The first shipment consisted of 5,000 tons and a second soon followed. A wire from Clarke City dated October 23 gave news of the largest export shipment of woodpulp ever made from Canada:

The largest cargo of pulpwood ever sent out of Canada is now being loaded on the steamer Kristiania at Seven Islands for London. It will comprise more than 5,000 tons, the product of the new mill at Clarke City. As the harbor of Seven Islands is well sheltered and easily accessible for at least ten months in the year, arrangements have been made to continue the shipments well into the winter months.

The 2,693-ton Kristiania was a new Norwegian ship that had been engaged to make a number of voyages from Clarke City. She was one of a pair built in Sunderland in 1907 for W Gorrissen of Kristiania, as Oslo was known until 1925.

The idea of season extension soon proved problematic, however, as when the Kristiania returned just before Christmas in 1908, she was still expected to make for Clarke City. But on replenishing her bunkers at North
Sydney, she instead turned south to pick up a cargo at Baltimore for Tampico. T R McCarthy, the ship's agent in Montreal, told "The Gazette" on January 4, 1909: -

It was originally intended to send the Kristiania to Seven Islands to load a full cargo of woodpulp, but on account of the severe storms which ravaged the gulf during the past few weeks, and the danger of floating fields of ice, it was determined not to take the risk with such a fine new steamer and the project was abandoned, the Kristiania choosing a less hazardous voyage to the south.

The danger of ice damage or being frozen into the Gulf of St Lawrence is one the new mill would have to cope with over the years. Indeed, there are tales of two cargoes one year having to wait out the winter before being shipped.

Three or four years after the Clarke City pulp mill opened, James Clarke also travelled to Anticosti to meet Henri Menier, owner of that island, about building another 100-ton-a-day pulp mill on Anticosti. While nothing ever came of this idea and no mill was ever built on Anticosti, it later became a prime source of pulpwood.

The Cruise of the "Saguenay"

On Thursday, June 20, 1912, during the North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Co's fourth full year of production, James Clarke embarked at Montreal in the 2,777-ton Saguenay, a new Clyde-built steamship that had been delivered the year before to the Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Co Ltd (R&O) of Montreal. He was there to join a cruise to the Gulf of St Lawrence that had been specially arranged by the Montreal Board of Trade.

On her way downriver, the Saguenay called at Murray Bay to inspect the new pulp mill capable of 120 tons of pulp a day that had just been opened at Clermont by the East Canada Power & Pulp Co Ltd. The mill had now been open for three weeks but its railway line had not yet been completed.

But it was Clarke City that made the most impact. "The Gazette" of Montreal reported on the cruise on June 25, after its return, with the multiple headline "Montreal Party saw North Shore - Board of Trade Excursion Much Impressed With Possibilities of Country - Clarke City Pulp Mills": -

With a much greater impression of the possible development of the far north shore of Quebec province than they had ever dreamed of before, a party of about 175 Montrealers returned home yesterday from a trip down the St Lawrence. The journey was made on a special Richelieu & Ontario boat, and included several calls, while the objective point was
the port of Seven Islands, with its inland town of Clarke City, on the Ste Marguerite River, where the excursionists saw an exemplification of the combination of capital with water power and pulpwood for the commercial production of pulp, which gave them an entirely new idea of the possibilities of the far eastern portion of the northern end of Quebec province.

What they saw there was a modern town of a thousand people in a location which a few years ago was a howling wilderness given over to bush and trappers. But within these few years there had been developed Clarke City, a town ... with every modern connection from husky dogs for sleigh purposes to Marconi wireless and a railroad connecting the town and factory with Seven Islands Harbor...

The party travelled on the R&O steamer Saguenay, whose speed and excellent equipment proved all that the party wished for, and the trip was not only made in comfort, but closely on time.

"Our visit was made with the two objects of combining a week-end run with an opportunity of learning some more about the capabilities of the less known north shore portions of Quebec," said Mr James Carruthers yesterday on his return. "While the tour was arranged by the Montreal Board of Trade its success was in no small degree due to the enterprise of the R&O Company, who not only furnished a splendid boat, but made every possible arrangement for the comfort of the passengers."

"The thing which particularly struck us all," said Mr Carruthers, "was the wonderful work being done at Clarke City. To reach this, we stopped at Seven Islands, where there is a wonderful harbor, with plenty of deep water. On arriving there, we were met by officials of the Clarke Company and escorted on a special train on their own road to Clarke City, which is situated some ten miles up the Ste Marguerite River."

"What we met there was simply wonderful. In the midst of a country which a few years ago had nothing but its undeveloped advantages we found a flourishing city with good streets, sewage system, electric lighting and everything that the people could require.

"Back of all this were several things. First, there were two falls on the Ste Marguerite River with the possible development of 50,000 horsepower. Then there was a back country with almost limitless supplies of pulpwood. And as the culminating factor was the energy and capital of the Clarke brothers, Messrs James, George and William Clarke. These three, originally Canadians born in Toronto, had gone to the United States and made money in the publishing business. Having made their capital, they came back to invest it in Canada, and the
evidences we saw were that they had found a good thing both for themselves and the Dominion."...

In fact, it was pointed out that better transportation facilities were all that was needed for the development of the country, which was rich in woodpulp and its natural concomitant, water power, and with better railroad and water service for freight, passengers and mails the future development would inevitably be immense.

"The plant at Clarke City mills," said Mr Carruthers, "was splendid. The whole outfit seemed to work together with mechanical precision from the time the logs were floated down to the mills and pulled out to the time when they were converted into pulp and shipped on the company's rails down to Seven Islands...

"The works were turning out about 150 tons of pulp a day, which was being shipped by water to the International Paper Company at Tonawanda, near Buffalo NY. And in summer the lake boats from Port Colborne come down to Montreal with loads of grain, then run down to Seven Islands, where they get a cargo of pulp and go back to Tonawanda and the lakes for more grain...

"The Clarkes have invested close upon $2,500,000 at Clarke City, and during the past seven years they have shown wonderful pluck, going ahead during the financial troubles of a few years ago, until today they have developed their works to a point where there is every indication for a good return for their invested capital and works. We were accompanied by Mr Parkes, general manager of the International Paper Company, who said that they were much interested in the development, as they could take all the pulp that could be made, and were continually looking for new sources of supply, owing to the continually increasing market for paper caused by the growth of newspaper circulation everywhere."...

Everything was run by the company, even to the hotel, where an excellent luncheon was given the visitors. The meat supply was brought down from Toronto on the hoof and slaughtered at the town, the meat being kept in a cold storage warehouse. All supplies for the employees were sold them by the company at a small advance over actual cost, while they rented their houses and got their electric lighting and other services in the same way.

At Clarke City, the Montreal visitors were entertained to luncheon by the firm, after which the health of Mr James Clarke, the senior member, was proposed by Mr W J White KC, who congratulated them on the wonderful work they had accomplished, and especially that they were Canadians who had made money in the States and come back to invest it in forwarding Canadian industries.
James Carruthers headed the important Montreal grain firm of James Carruthers & Co Ltd, and became the first president of Canada Steamship Lines Ltd when that company was formed in 1913. His remark that better transportation facilities were required for the North Shore would soon be proven out, and his vision that developments there could be immense was about fifty years before its time, but industrial development on the North Shore would indeed see a huge expansion over time.

On her return voyage, the *Saguenay* steamed past the whaling station at Sept-Iles, giving her passengers a view of several whale carcasses awaiting their turn to be rendered into whale oil and fertilizer. From Sept-Iles, the *Saguenay* set course for the Saguenay, to sail past Cape Trinity and Eternity, and for a stop to visit the salmon hatchery at Tadoussac before retracing her course for Quebec and Montreal, where she arrived the following Monday morning. In addition to the 175 passengers from Montreal, the "Quebec Telegraph" reported that 30 had joined and left the ship at Quebec. The nine-mile rail journey to Clarke City must have been interesting as it was also reported that it had been made by "two engines and a number of decorated flat cars."

**Sales to the International Paper Company**

Some time later, in 1913, a November 24 report in the "Quebec Telegraph" indicated that the last downbound vessel of that season from Montreal was bound for Clarke City:

> It is likely that the last vessel to pass down from Montreal will be the steam barge *Carleton*, which will leave that port on the 30th of this month or the first of December. If the weather permits she will go to Clarke City and return to port to winter. Should conditions not permit she will stop here.

The 1,351-ton *Carleton* was one of the ships Carruthers mentioned carrying woodpulp to Tonawanda. A St Lawrence canal type vessel, she had been completed at Greenock, Scotland, in September 1907 for F E Hall & Company of Montreal, a firm that had been established in 1904 by brothers Franklin and William Hall, whose father had formed the Ottawa Forwarding Company in 1890.

Having participated in the pulpwood trade from the St Lawrence south shore to Tonawanda, the *Carleton* was a natural for this trade and a bit of a record setter at that. Indeed, she had wintered over in the Louise Basin at Quebec during the winter before the *Saguenay*’s cruise to Clarke City, having set a close of navigation record by arriving there from Halifax on December 22, 1911. Her master by 1911 was Capt E Groulx and previous to that had been Napoléon Lazure.
The Carleton was also the last ship to transit upbound through the Welland Canal in 1914, locking through on December 12. A report in the North Tonawanda "Evening News," two days later, "Last Vessel With Wood Pulp Arrives," confirmed her role as a regular trader to Clarke City:

The steamer Carleton, a tramp ocean liner, arrived here yesterday morning with the last cargo of baled wood pulp of the season. The vessel carried about 1,900 tons of stock which will be loaded on freight cars and shipped to the plant of the International Paper Company at Niagara Falls. The woodpulp came from Clarke City, Que. As soon as the cargo is discharged the Carleton will go to Port Dalhousie, Ont, for the winter.

During the 1914 season, eight boats came here with wood pulp cargoes for the International Paper Co at Niagara Falls. The stock brought here consisted of 18,000 tons and required about 850 cars to convey it to the Falls. The wood pulp was unloaded from vessels at Smith, Fassett & Company's dock on Little Island.

F E Hall operated a number of these canal-sized steamers and this one seems to have been described as everything from a barge to a liner. She would find her way to Britain during World War I, but would return to Canada in 1921 as the Ignifer, owned by the unrelated George Hall Coal Company of Canada Ltd in Montreal, a predecessor of Hall Corporation of Canada. In 1926, she would pass to Canada Steamship Lines. Although Franklin and William Hall of F E Hall were not related to George Hall, who came from Ogdensburg, New York, they chartered their ships to George Hall and most of them would end up in the George Hall fleet after the First World War.

Although Clarke City usually shipped its product to Britain, it was not unknown for it to go the other way when markets changed, as was indicated by these sales to International Paper and the presence on board the Saguenay in 1912 of their management. Their Niagara Falls mill could produce about 150 tons of newsprint a day.

The Gulf Pulp & Paper Company

On June 12, 1914, an act of the Canadian parliament changed the name of the North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Co to the Gulf Pulp & Paper Company. The company did, however, keep its old cable address of "Northshore." In New York it could now be found at 35 West 32nd Street, a block from James Clarke & Co in 33rd Street, while in Quebec it was at 125 rue St-Pierre, and would later move to 17 rue St-Jacques. Officers were now James Clarke, president; William Clarke, vice-president; George Clarke, secretary-treasurer; and Frank Clarke, general manager.
William had ensured that the next generation worked as lumberjacks and mill hands before entering office work, and served as foremen before becoming managers. However, just as Frank had now become general manager; Walter became assistant manager; Desmond, sales manager; and Wilfrid, purchasing agent. The earlier generation also played its part, however, with George Clarke having been appointed a magistrate for the Saguenay district, which then included Clarke City, in 1908.

At the same time as it changed its name, the company was authorized to carry on its business "without the limits of Canada." Part of the reason for these changes was that the Clarkes had planned to erect a paper mill on another gulf, the Gulf of Mexico, which would have received pulp from Clarke City. However, because of the disruptions caused by the First World War, this project never went ahead.

By 1916, Gulf Pulp & Paper's New York offices were in the Aeolian Building at 33 West 42nd Street, opposite the New York Public Library and Bryant Park and just up the street from Grand Central Station, at 98 rue St-Pierre in Quebec and of course in Clarke City. Clarke City now counted 500 residents, with an increase in the winter months due to the return of the woodsmen. The town had a school, and there were also soon a hospital, a hotel and a general store, all owned by Gulf Pulp & Paper, as well as a company-financed sports club.

On October 20, 1906, while the mill had been under construction, Clarke City had also received a Marconi wireless station, radio call sign CK. This was later changed to MCK, and to VCK in 1912. Dr Guglielmo Marconi had received the first Transatlantic radio message from Cornwall at Signal Hill, St John's, Newfoundland, on December 12, 1901, and the first Gulf wireless station had opened at Belle Isle that October. In 1904, stations had opened at Fame Point on the Gaspé coast, at Heath Point on Anticosti and at Point Amour and Battle Harbour in Labrador. In the same year as Clarke City, stations had also opened at Quebec City, Pointe au Père and Pictou. By 1910, the Allan Line, operating a weekly service between Montreal and Liverpool, was among those whose ships advertised ship-to-shore communication through the Marconi International Marine Communication Co Ltd. Ships equipped with Marconi could usually send and receive messages within about one hundred miles of shore stations and the rates charged by the Allan Line in the Gulf of St Lawrence were as follows:

The Minimum Marconi rate via Clarke City, Fame Point, Heath Point, Whittle Rocks, Point Rich, Point Amour, BelleIsle, Cape Ray, or through the medium of a passing steamer and one of these Stations, is 4s 2d for ten words; each extra word 3d; text only counted; address and signature free; land charges additional; all charges must be prepaid.

In that same year a Marconi message from the high seas led to the arrest of the famous wife-murderer Dr Crippen, en route with his mistress
from Antwerp to Quebec in the 5,440-ton Canadian Pacific liner *Montrose*. Three days out, on July 22, 1910, Capt Henry Kendall, suspicious of a couple travelling under assumed names, sent a radio message to his office in Liverpool and a detective from Scotland Yard was despatched from Liverpool in a fast ship, White Star Line's 14,892-ton *Laurentic*. Overtaking the *Montrose* in the Gulf of St Lawrence and boarding her at Pointe au Père disguised as a pilot, the detective arrested Crippen and he was returned to England in the next liner from Quebec, to be tried and hanged in London that November.

While Clarke City never saw any of these passing liners, the new port had seen plenty of ships bringing in construction materials, as well as the regular mail boat from Quebec. And the cargo ships that now came to load woodpulp for Europe constituted the first important export shipping activity from the Bay of Sept-Iles. From early days, the port had been connected first to the construction site, and then the finished mill, by its railway, which now delivered regular cargoes to Clarke City wharf for export.

The Gulf Pulp & Paper Railway, as it had become, would later add five steam locomotives, some as replacements, as they were needed. These included another ex-Intercolonial locomotive, a 2-6-0 built in the Intercolonial's own shops in 1900, which became Gulf Pulp & Paper No. 20 in 1924, and a Grand Trunk 4-4-0 dating to 1871 called No. 25. A further 0-6-0 was added as No. 28. The last two Gulf Pulp & Paper Railway steam locomotives, 0-6-0's built by Davenport Locomotive Works in Davenport, Iowa, in 1931, were acquired from the Dominion Construction Co Ltd, which had been using them on railway building projects in northern Ontario. Locomotives were equipped with bell-mouthed spark arrester smokestacks, necessary to prevent forest fires. The last two still survive today, No. 38 as a tourist attraction in Pennsylvania and No. 48 on display at Clarke City. Their numbers were again assigned by the year in which they were purchased, No. 38 being acquired in August 1938 and No. 48 in September 1948.

**The French Factor**

Once the immigrant instructors and workers had left Clarke City, the mill and woodlands operations were conducted almost entirely by French-speaking Canadians. This soon became a Clarke tradition, as staff was recruited variously from the Magdalen Islands, the south shore of the St Lawrence and the North Shore.

This precedent would see that when it came time to form the Clarke Steamship Co in 1921, francophones would soon make up some 420 of a total staff of 480. All masters of Clarke ships, as well as nearly all the officers and crew, would be French-Canadians.

And as interesting as the Clarke family's move to Quebec might have
been, three of the four brothers, Frank, Walter and Desmond, took French-speaking wives.

Another important connection at Clarke City was the Irish foremen. Names like Pat Collier, who arrived after the mill was completed and became local manager and a company director and later worked in Quebec as purchasing agent, and James Hanrahan, another local Gulf Pulp & Paper manager who became company secretary and then general manager in Quebec, feature in this role. Like the French, the Irish were Roman Catholics and this was then important in Quebec. Their faith also influenced their support of the social services then provided by the church rather than by the state.

But despite the promotion of French-speaking workers at Clarke City and entirely French-speaking crews on its ships, and their support of the church and the clergy, there would always be an element of criticism of the Clarkes. Over the years, from time to time, French-speaking elements would arise that wanted to usurp Clarke's role in the Gulf of St Lawrence. Often small businesses that wanted to expand but did not always have the wherewithal to do so, they would keep the Clarkes aware of their role in Quebec, and form the core of some of the competition the company would have in later years.

The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co Ltd

While the Clarke brothers were busy developing Clarke City, similar activity was taking place a few hundred miles away in central Newfoundland. Concerned by the same potential pulp and newsprint shortages, the Harmsworth brothers, otherwise known as British press barons Lord Northcliffe and Lord Rothermere, had formed the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co Ltd on January 7, 1905. Northcliffe had founded the "Daily Mail" in 1896 and, with his brother, the "Daily Mirror" in 1903.

Anglo-Newfoundland, with the backing of Amalgamated Press Ltd and Associated Newspapers Ltd, acquired the timber and mineral rights to a large tract of land in Newfoundland and by 1905 work had commenced on woodpulp and newsprint mills at Grand Falls. This site was chosen for its location on the Exploits River, with its potential to produce hydro-electric power for both the mill and its town. In 1908, while this work was under way, Northcliffe also bought "The Times."

A port facility was developed at Botwood, some twenty-five miles to the northeast along the track of the Newfoundland Railway, with two deep-water wharves, one for unloading incoming coal, sulphur, limestone and other mill supplies and one for pulp and paper shipments. Two winter storage warehouses were also built near the port.
Working with the Donaldson Line of Glasgow, London shipbrokers Tatham, Bromage & Co Ltd looked after Anglo-Newfoundland's first voyages with newsprint with the 4,039-ton Kastalia (i) arriving at Botwood on May 6, 1910, to load for London. The 4,272-ton Tritonia (i) arrived ten days later and a regular service was soon established, with the ships returning from London with mill supplies and other shipments for the town, as well as the occasional cargo of coal. The bows of the Tritonia were then strengthened over the winter of 1910-11 to allow for earlier season openings at Botwood.

While the first cargoes were carried by the Donaldson Line, by 1915 the company had formed the Anglo-Newfoundland Steamship Co Ltd to own its own ships, with Donaldson Brothers as managers. Donaldson also opened its own London office in 1916.

Although pulp and paper was his main interest, Lord Northcliffe had another connection with Newfoundland that was more exciting than the manufacture of newsprint for his presses. In 1913, through the "Daily Mail," he had offered a prize of £10,000 for the first aviators to fly across the Atlantic Ocean non stop. While it took a few years, the prize would be won in June 1919 by John Alcock and Arthur Whitten-Brown, who took off from St John's, Newfoundland, in a Vickers Vimy and reached Clifden, near Connemara, Ireland, in sixteen and a half hours. The "Daily Mail" prize was presented to Alcock and Brown by Winston Churchill, British Secretary of State.

The "Amherst"

In 1916, the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co acquired the 138-ton Amherst, a wooden steamer with a hull fastened with copper. Her dimensions were 113 by 18 feet, and she had holds 10½ feet deep. Her compound steam engine was situated aft. Built at Preston, Lancashire, in 1877 for William P Munn, a partner in John Munn & Company of Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, she had been named Lady Glover in honour of the wife of the then Governor of Newfoundland. This little ship already had a long history of thirty-nine years when she came to Clarke City and had even earned a mention in the fourth verse of one version of the folk song "The Emigrant from Newfoundland," about a Newfoundland emigrating to Boston: -

And our grand regatta at Quidi Vidi,
I long to see in my native place,
With the Hawk and Myrtle and the Lady Glover
And the dear old Native in the tradesmen's race.

John Munn & Co had used her to carry passengers, mail and cargo around Conception Bay, calling at Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Cove, Brigus and Bay Roberts, with sailings from Harbour Grace every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. On April 17, 1882, she badly damaged her bows in
Munn had also used her from time to time to tow sailing ships that worked for them. In September 1884, she towed the 143-ton brig *Resolven*, abandoned by her crew under mysterious circumstances, into Harbour Grace, after which John Munn & Co bought the deserted ship at auction.

In June 1885, the *Lady Glover* was awarded the Labrador mail contract, and that November was one of four ships hired to make a relief voyage to Labrador after a violent autumn gale caused havoc on the coast. By July 1887 she was carrying passengers along the Labrador Coast between Battle Harbour and Rigolet, carrying a doctor paid by the government for the benefit of the locals.

In 1889, she was chartered by the Newfoundland Government for use as a fisheries protection cruiser, making eight seizures in the process, and as a lighthouse inspection steamer. On May 20, 1894, she and the 147-ton tug *Vanguard*, also owned by John Munn, were sent to the wreck of a British ship, the 2,969-ton *Calitro*, which had gone aground on a voyage from Sunderland to Baltimore with cement, but the *Lady Glover* broke her rudder in ice and had to be towed back to Harbour Grace.

The *Lady Glover* never seemed to lack for work and was also used to carry fish and to tow larger craft. But the failure of the Union Bank of Newfoundland in the local bank crash of December 1894 took her owners, John Munn & Co, into receivership with it. The *Lady Glover* then joined four much larger steamers, also owned by John Munn & Co, in being sold at auction by the trustees, in her case on August 31, 1895.

The little ship then passed to the St John's Steam Tug Company, which became the Newfoundland Steam Screw Tug Company in 1896, and in that year she took a special "Governor's excursion" to the sealing grounds before starting her Labrador coast season. During 1896, under three different masters, Captains Stevenson, Fox and Dawe, she made a voyage to the west coast of Newfoundland, undertook the Labrador mail contract and loaded machinery at St John's for the new Wabana iron ore mine at Bell Island, Conception Bay, where she would make further trips in subsequent years.

As part of an 1898 contract between the Newfoundland Government and the Reid Newfoundland Railway, the *Lady Glover* went into passenger and cargo service from Lewisporte to outports on Notre Dame Bay, as one of eight coastal boats covered by a subsidy of $91,080 a year. Six of these, including the *Lady Glover*, whose share was $6,390, were for the bay services, connecting with the railway, one was for the Labrador coast and one for a new ferry service between Port aux Basques and North Sydney, Nova Scotia. As a much larger ship, Reid's new 439-ton *Clyde*, was to replace the *Lady Glover* in 1900, she was sold to new owners in Nova Scotia at the end of 1899.
Late in 1906 she was sold to the Magdalen Islands Development Co Ltd, a company that had been formed in Montreal that June with a capital of $2 million. One of the main aims of the new company was to modernize the fisheries of the Magdalen Islands by acquiring a fleet of motor boats with which to collect the catches from the old-style fishing smacks which undertook this fishery. They also intended to develop the islands' gypsum deposits. The company's chief asset was the ownership of the Magdalen Islands and their mineral and fishing rights.

On October 1, 1907, the St John's "Daily News" carried a story on the now thirty-year old Amherst, a ship with which Newfoundland had long been familiar:

The old Lady Glover, formerly in service here, is now being renovated and refitted at Sydney; having a new topsides built, new boiler, and her machinery overhauled. This is the third topsides the little steamer has had on the original bottom, which must have been a remarkably good one. When finished, she will run between Prince Edward Island and the Magdalens. She is now named the Amherst.

The January 1908 edition of "Railway & Marine World" gave some further details on the Amherst's conversion:

The steamship Amherst, which has been remodelled and supplied with new machinery, has passed inspection, but it is stated will not go into service until the spring. She will be berthed at Halifax or Louisburg for the winter.

The new owners had renamed her Amherst after one of the Magdalen Islands, whose port is called Havre-Aubert, and used her for general trading in connection with their cold storage business and also for exploration for manganese in the islands. The island for which she was named took its name from the British general, Jeffrey Amherst, who had won Louisbourg in 1758 and had directed the capture of Montreal in 1760.

In 1907, the Amherst was acquired by J R Hyde, of Montreal, who had been involved in the original business, which went into liquidation in the spring of 1910. In early 1911, the business was taken over by the newly-formed Eastern Canada Fisheries Ltd of Montreal, which acquired twenty motor fishing vessels and a number of steam trawlers in England and also took on the Amherst for supply work.

In 1912, the Amherst became the property of W H Batt, a Charlottetown contractor who in 1915 was awarded a contract to remove the wreck of the 122-ton ferry Elfin, which had burnt out at Charlottetown in October 1906. Under all these owners she had continued to carry the same name.
When the Clarkes acquired her in 1916, they too retained the name *Amherst*, appointing Capt John Hearn, latterly of the Quebec Steamship Co Ltd, and Holliday Brothers before that, as her master. Hearn was probably quite familiar with the little steamer, as he was a native of Harbour Grace, where she had been owned until twenty years previously as the *Lady Glover*. And as so many Gulf Pulp & Paper mill workers came from the Magdalens, the name *Amherst* was quite familiar to them.

Gulf Pulp & Paper acquired the *Amherst* primarily to tow pulpwood booms around the Clarke City area. However, because of a shortage of shipping, and because she did have some cargo capacity, she was also used from time to time, according to some sources right up until 1923, to bring in supplies for Clarke City.

Thus, the little wooden *Amherst*, a ship with a lot of history despite her small size, became the first commercial vessel to be owned by the Clarke family. She was owned by the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co and never formed part of the Clarke Steamship Co, but she would survive for sixteen more years, until finally being sold for breaking up. Her port of registry was still Charlottetown when her registry was closed on November 26, 1929.

On May 26, 1917, a year after the *Amherst* was acquired, an unusual scientific mission set off from Clarke City when expedition leader Clyde Todd, of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh, American biologist Claus Murie, Chicago businessman Alfred Marshall, and five native guides set off on a 700-mile overland canoe trip across Labrador to reach Fort Chimo, on the Atlantic coast, by way of the Hamilton River. Paddling north on the Ste Marguerite River, they eventually had to go east to take the Moisie River north, passing through Lakes Menihek and Petitsikapau to reach Fort Chimo on August 22. There they remained for several weeks, not boarding the steamer back to Montreal until October 6. During the expedition, many bird specimens were collected for the Carnegie Museum, as they had been in previous treks to Hudson Bay and the Far North in 1914 and 1915.

Two years later, the little *Amherst* performed an interesting voyage, the basic details of which were recorded in the April 1919 issue of "Canadian Railway & Marine World" under the heading "Exploration of Quebec Hinterland":

The steamship *Amherst*, bearing the first group of explorers for the penetration of the interior of Ungava, left Quebec April 8 for the north shore of the Gulf of St Lawrence, whence they will proceed inland. It is said that this party is working in the interests of a British syndicate which has obtained charters from the Quebec Legislature for the building of two lines of railway - the Quebec and Ungava Ry, and the St Felicien and Ungava Ry, and is applying to the Dominion Government for the incorporation of a railway company with the title of the North Route.
Judging from the date of this voyage, it must have been the *Amherst*'s first trip to Clarke City after laying over at Quebec for the winter of 1918-19. Quite what these railways might have intended to carry is not clear, but there was of course already the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co's short line railway at Clarke City. The idea of the Quebec & Ungava Railway was to complete a line between somewhere near Sept-Iles and Hudson Bay by way of Lake Menihek, a route that only canoes had taken. But the St Felicien & Ungava Railway was an ever wilder scheme to connect Lac St Jean with Lake Mistassini and then on to Lake Petitsikapau in the wilderness of Labrador. Almost thirty years earlier, in 1890, there had been talk about spanning the Saguenay River at Tadoussac with a railcar ferry. This was an era when Canadians were mad about railway building, something that would soon result in the government having to take over all the bankrupt lines under the umbrella of Canadian National Railways. While these particular lines were never built, forty years later work would commence on railways that would bring Labrador iron ore to the Gulf of St Lawrence and the world.

The *Amherst* was not the only vessel to be owned by the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, however. In August 1917, the company bought the 71-ton *Edouard G*, a wooden-hulled tug that had been built at Sorel in 1914. She had originally worked for the North Shore Power, Railway & Navigation Co under contract from the Sincennes-McNaughton Line Ltd of Montreal and her first job for Gulf Pulp & Paper was a $700 contract for a week's work for the Federal Government.

As the *Edouard G* was completing her first season with Gulf Pulp & Paper, a Canada Steamship Lines vessel that came to collect a cargo of woodpulp from Clarke City got herself into trouble. Under command of a local master who had been engaged to take the lakes vessel from Quebec to Clarke City and back, the 2,359-ton *The Iroquois* went aground in snow flurries on Hare Island Shoal near Cap Saumon on November 27, 1917, while on her return to Quebec. Built in Toronto in 1902, *The Iroquois* had been taken over with the fleet of the Toronto-based St Lawrence & Chicago Navigation Co Ltd the year before. By 1918, she was trading in French waters, although she would return to a Great Lakes career that would see her trading under a number of names until 1966.

**Birth of a Future Company President**

On December 18, 1917, Stanley Desmond Clarke, the first of two sons of Desmond, was born in Quebec, where Desmond was working from the offices of the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co. Stanley would attend Quebec High School, Loyola College, Royal Military College and Queen's University, from where he would graduate as a mechanical engineer.

His younger brother Brock, also born at Quebec, would become an
important Montreal-based lawyer and Queen's Counsel, in the firm of Ogilvy, Montgomery, Renault, Clarke, Kirkpatrick, Hannon & Howard - later Ogilvy, Cope, Porteous, Montgomery, Renault, Clarke & Kirkpatrick and now Ogilvy Renault - while his sister Rosemary would grow up to marry Charles Rathgeb, chairman of Comstock International in Toronto.

The Ontario Paper Company at Shelter Bay

After the Gulf Pulp & Paper Company had been in production for a few years, the "Chicago Tribune" followed the Clarkes to the North Shore, when Col Robert R McCormick arrived in search of pulpwood for the new newsprint mill of his Ontario Paper Co Ltd at Thorold, Ontario. Travelling in the 348-ton Anticosti coaster Savoy, McCormick's party landed at the mouth of the Rivière aux Rochers on October 16, 1915, and decided that Shelter Bay would make a good site and a better name than Rocky River.

This site, about twenty-five miles upstream from Clarke City, was to become an Ontario Paper Co pulpwood town. A pier was begun in 1918, and the first shipments left for Thorold in 1920. Within five years, the town's population rose to 800, and for over four decades it would supply the Thorold mill. The biggest annual social event became the annual baseball game between Clarke City and Shelter Bay. When pulpwood shipping ended in 1962, the town would become known as Port-Cartier Ouest, a suburb of that iron ore and grain transhipment port. Meanwhile, as the first shipments left Shelter Bay in 1920, Ontario Paper purchased the Franquelin Lumber & Pulpwood Co Ltd, as a further source of pulpwood some eighty miles upriver.

The Ontario Paper Co had set up a shipping subsidiary, the Ontario Transportation & Pulp Company, in Thorold in 1914. For two years this company chartered the 1,452-ton steamer Honoreva, which could carry 840 cords of pulpwood per voyage from Anticosti, where it first obtained pulpwood, to Thorold. In 1916, however, it purchased the 1,659-ton canal steamer Toiler, which could carry 1,000 cords. Ontario Transportation & Pulp Co became better known after 1928 as the Quebec & Ontario Transportation Co Ltd.

The Clarkes and the Ontario Paper Co would have close ties over the years, first through logging rights on the Quebec North Shore from 1926, but more importantly, through a local shipping company in the Lower St Lawrence from 1929. This relationship would grow closer during the development of a new paper mill for the Ontario Paper at Baie Comeau.

The Clarkes Sell Gulf Pulp & Paper

After a dozen years of operating at Clarke City, a 28-year-old Desmond Clarke, on one of his winter sales visits to the UK, caught Cunard
Line's 19,524-ton Carmania at New York and arrived at Liverpool on February 8, 1920. While in London, Desmond endeavoured to meet Lord Rothermere. What better buyer of woodpulp from Clarke City? Rothermere already owned the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co's pulp and paper mill in Newfoundland, but he was worried about a potential Scandinavian pulp shortage. Seeking an additional supply, he presented Desmond with an offer to purchase Gulf Pulp & Paper. Desmond caught the 23,876-ton White Star liner Baltic back from Liverpool to New York, where he arrived on April 1 to discuss the offer with James and George Clarke.

After a further visit to England, Desmond left Southampton on May 26 in the 17,540-ton Lapland, a ship of the Red Star Line, of Antwerp, bound once more for New York. Although the navigation season had now opened to Quebec, he sailed to New York in order to consult with James and George on his way home, arriving at New York on June 6.

The family was loath to part with an enterprise in which they had invested two decades of their lives. But in August they finally accepted Rothermere's offer, on condition that the Clarke management team remained in place under the new Rothermere ownership. On September 1, 1920, the sale was announced and although no price was published, local reports indicated that it was in the range of several million dollars.

Thus in 1920, at age 33, Frank Clarke became president of the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, a firm with assured markets within the newspaper empires of Lord Rothermere and Lord Northcliffe. The new owners of Gulf Pulp & Paper were the same Amalgamated Press and Associated Newspapers that owned Anglo-Newfoundland Development.

The "Lake Elwin's" Maiden Voyage From Clarke City

While negotiations were under way and the mill was still under Clarke ownership, the 2,674-ton US-flag Lake Elwin took on a cargo of woodpulp at the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co dock, leaving Clarke City on Saturday, July 3, 1920, bound for New York. Within a couple of days she had run into trouble when she grounded off Cape Breton Island just after leaving the Strait of Canso. On July 7, "The Gazette" carried the details in a Canadian Press story from Halifax headed "Lake Elwin In No Danger; Will Be Refloated":

The United States Shipping Board steamer Lake Elwin, Captain Beverley, which struck an uncharted submerged rock six miles off Eddy Point on Monday afternoon and was beached at Sandy Point, just inside of Eddy Point, is in no danger and will likely be refloated...

Captain Nye, head of the United States Shipping Board office here, gave out a statement tonight to the effect that the ship was not exposed to storms or sea, and was lying on a level, sandy bottom.
The Lake Elwin is a new ship, of the lake boat type, and was launched at Ecorse in January. She registers 4,050 tons deadweight. The Shipping Board had taken delivery of her and she was on a passage from the Great Lakes to New York. En route, she stopped at Clarke City, Que, where 15,562 bales of woodpulp were loaded for New York.

The steamer left Clarke City at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, proceeding down the river through the Strait of Canso safely. On Monday afternoon, as she was steaming along, six miles off Eddy Point, she struck a rock, which penetrated the hull under Number One hold. This hold immediately filled with water and she was beached at Sandy Point, inside of Eddy Point...

Her forward hold is full of water and the forward deck is awash. The engine room and after holds are light and dry. The after decks are above water. The fires were not put out and steam is being kept on the boilers, while the crew are remaining in board. To refloat the ship it will be necessary to remove the woodpulp from the forward hold, pump out the water and seal the hold in the hull.

A contract was duly awarded to the Atlantic Salvage Company, which removed about 30,000 bales of woodpulp and freed the Lake Elwin on July 12, after which she went to the Clyde Steamship Company of New York for a couple of years before being sold Italian. But the incident showed the importance of marine insurance for both ship and cargo. And it also confirmed that while the main thrust of Clarke City's exports was towards the UK, cargoes were still being shipped to the United States.

Clarke City in the 1920s

A few years after the sale of the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, Edgar Rochette gave a good overview of Clarke City as it was in 1926, in his book "Notes sur la Côte-Nord" : -

Clarke City is situated nine miles into the mainland interior and it is linked to the sea by a railway line that runs down onto the dock called Clarke City wharf, in the Bay of Sept-Iles. Stable population, about five hundred souls, with a population increase by winter, because of lumber camps, of about six hundred people.

This is the domain of the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, and everything belongs to them. There is no civil municipality or school board. There are nevertheless church and presbytery and the present priest is the Rev Father Louis M Cantin. There is a school with three classes, two French classes and an English class. This school is under the control of the Franciscan Sisters of Marie de Baie-St-Paul. There is also a hospital
placed under the control of three Sisters, as well as a doctor employed
and paid by the company.

Clarke City is a type of model small city, arranged specially to suit the
managers and personnel of the company and all the working
population that lives wholly on salaries based on the profit of the
company.

A large hotel welcomes, apart from company workers, all travellers. An
important store, managed by the company, sells to all the inhabitants
all the necessities of life. The city is even provided with a water mains
system and an electricity service that is at the disposal of all
inhabitants of the city free of charge. To promote sports of all kinds
and to interest this population, the company has put at the disposal of
the public an extensive club with reading room, billiards hall, dance
hall, smoking room, cinema theatre, etc. On a large playing field, all
the workers are able to amuse themselves after their workday playing
baseball, soccer, tennis, etc.

The Clarke City mill produces mechanical wood pulp. Its capacity is
about a hundred and sixty tons a day. About a hundred and
twenty-five men are employed in the shops and the outside services
need one hundred more workers. Wood-cutting employs on average
five hundred lumberjacks.

By now Clarke City was of course a regular call of the Clarke
Steamship Co, and, although today known as Pointe-Noire, it is still an
important port. In the export pulp trade of the time, the mill production
would have been enough to send out about a 4,000-ton cargo each month,
more if winter production was accumulated.

New Clarke Companies

After the sale of Gulf Pulp & Paper, Frank and Walter remained with
the company but the remaining two brothers branched out into new
enterprises of their own. Frank meanwhile became not only president of Gulf
Pulp & Paper, in 1920, but also a director of the Anglo-Newfoundland
Development Co, in 1921.

Desmond, having retained the supply and transportation role for
Clarke City, founded the Clarke Trading Co Ltd at Quebec on September 20,
1920, within a month of the mill having been sold, with a capitalization of
$100,000, soon increased to $1 million. Negotiations with Lord Rothermere
saw the Clarke Trading Co become purchasing agents for the Gulf Pulp &
Paper Co, a role the company would perform for decades to come.

Meanwhile, based on his knowledge of purchasing, 24-year-old Wilfrid
incorporated another new trading firm, Labrador Fisheries Ltd, on May 25, 1921. Its initial capital of $50,000 would be increased to $200,000 a year later. Wilfrid became president of this firm, opening its first store at Sept-Iles that same year.

Some background on the Montagnais Indians, now known as Innu, with whom Clarke Trading and Labrador Fisheries had their first dealings, appeared in an article, "Cruising the Gulf of St Lawrence" by R S Kennedy, in "Travel" magazine in June 1933:

When we slide cautiously up to the old pier at Seven Islands we are at the gateway of the Stone Age. On the shores of this huge bay at the entrance to which the seven craggy islands stand guard, lies a little Indian village.

It is just like most other Indian villages dotted over other parts of North America, yet it is a direct link between the present and pre-historic times. For these Montagnais Indians, in spite of silk stockings and gaudy neckties, live most of their lives exactly as their forefathers lived for untold generations. When September comes ... the whole population, except the invalids and the very aged, takes to its canoes and starts the arduous annual journey up the Moisie River towards the almost unknown inland plateau of Labrador. Paddling and portaging for many weeks they make their way to their hunting grounds, which are closer to the Hudson Strait than to the St Lawrence. Except that bows and arrows have been exchanged for fire-arms, stone tools for steel, and clay utensils for iron, they spend the long semi-Arctic winter hunting and trapping exactly as their tribe had done since long before the dawn of history.

The Montagnais are a distinct tribe of the great Algonquin race which formerly occupied a more extended area than any other race in North America, and included the Blackfeet and Cheyennes of the eastern slopes of the Rockies, the Crees and Chippewas of the plains, the Micmacs of Nova Scotia and nearly all the other tribes which were driven back by the early settlements of the French, Dutch and English on the Atlantic coast. Deadly enemies of the Iroquois, the Montagnais were driven north of the St Lawrence by this warlike tribe, and in turn displaced the Eskimo from Southern Labrador.

Today the hunting grounds of the tribe comprise practically all the inland part of the Labrador Peninsula. But each family has its own private hunting grounds, which are held inviolate by all the other families, although there are no written laws or surveyed boundaries and no penalties for violation. But tradition and custom are here, as elsewhere, even stronger than a code.

A family's hunting ground is large, and usually a sort of rotation is
practised so that only a third of it will be used each year. Thus in two
years out of three the fur animals of any district can breed and
increase undisturbed.

All members of the family have their own work to do once the winter
quarters have been established. The men hunt and trap, going out for
long journeys along the watercourses. The women and children collect
wood, make snowshoes and moccasins, cure and pack the skins, repair
the canoes and do the hundred and one other things necessitated by
isolation in a snowbound hut under the Arctic frosts of the north.

When fur trapping ends with the bear hunt in May, preparations for the
journey out to civilization are begun, and June ... ends with the
hunting ground vacated. By August ... the village of Seven Islands is
re-populated, trading has been completed at the posts of the Hudson
Bay Company and the Clarke Trading Company in the village, and the
Montagnais have a little respite to sit about on ramshackle porches
clad in shabby, gaudy city clothes.

Thus, in beginning to trade with the natives, did the Clarke family
begin its diversification away from pulp and paper, not only into shipping and
supply, but also into the fur trade and fisheries.

**Anglo-Canadian Pulp & Paper Mills**

Before long, Frank Clarke was back visiting Lord Rothermere in
London, the result of which was a close association between the Clarkes and
Rothermere in Quebec Paper Mills Ltd, a company formed in late 1924 to
build a paper mill at Quebec. As with Gulf Pulp & Paper, Rothermere would
own the company while the Clarkes would play an important role in
managing it.

Although Rothermere sold "The Times" in 1922, he needed a reliable
newsprint supply for the "Daily Mirror" and this new mill, which was to be
erected on the banks of the St Charles River, was to be the answer.
Reorganized as Anglo-Canadian Pulp & Paper Mills in 1925, a wire report
from Montreal dated May 13 carried the news of the decision to go ahead: -

The plans of Anglo-Canadian Pulp & Paper Mills Limited, with respect
to the erection of a paper mill in the neighbourhood of Quebec City
have progressed to a stage where it has been definitely decided to
proceed with the necessary preliminary work this year.

Frank W Clarke, who represents the Rothermere interests in Canada,
has just returned from England. On being interviewed today, he stated
that the projected plant will be self-contained, manufacturing under
the same roof its own ground wood and sulphites, as well as paper.
The plant will have a capacity of 400 tons of newsprint per day, and will probably give employment to about one thousand men.

The board of directors of the company includes, in addition to Lord Rothermere and Mr Frank W Clarke, Sir Herbert Holt, the Hon Smeaton White and Mr R C McMichael KC of Montreal, and E A Sursham of London, England.

Frank was a busy man, and had also been elected president of the Canadian Pulp & Paper Association in 1925. Meanwhile, construction was started in November 1926 on the Quebec mill, which would be able to produce 125,000 tons of newsprint a year. The new paper mill, which would employ 600 men on site and 2,000 in the woods, would be opened in record time, at the end of 1927.

Remaining president of Gulf Pulp & Paper, Frank also became a vice president of Anglo-Canadian, to which firm Walter moved from Gulf Pulp & Paper in 1926. Walter became a director of Anglo-Canadian and would remain with them for twenty-five years. Frank's interests would eventually move him into the sale and shipping of Anglo-Canadian's newsprint to the United States.

**The Quebec Logging Corporation**

On October 12, 1926, Anglo-Canadian and Ontario Paper formed a company known as the Quebec Logging Corporation, with a capital of $1,000,000, to run joint logging operations on the Manicouagan River, on which both companies held rights. Frank Clarke became president of this firm, while Arthur Schmon, general manager for Ontario Paper in Quebec, became vice president. Anglo-Canadian's intention was to ship pulpwood to its mills at Quebec, while Ontario Paper would use it locally and build a new mill at Baie Comeau to produce woodpulp for its newsprint mill at Thorold.

In this way, Anglo-Canadian and Ontario Paper together financed the first section of wharf at a new site at Baie Comeau in 1929. Carl Wiegman recounted the beginnings of this story over the winter of 1924-25 in his book "Trees to News," from Ontario Paper's point of view:

The next step was to convince Frank Clarke and the Anglo-Canadian company that Baie Comeau was the best wharf site and to persuade Anglo-Canadian to share the expense of building it.

The Canadian Government, wishing to encourage the development of the North Shore, agreed to pay one third of the cost... The Ontario Paper Company agreed to assume all the cost of a railroad from the Baie Comeau wharf to the proposed mill site and to pay one third of the cost of the wharf. Anglo-Canadian consented to pay the remaining
third of the wharf-building expense.

The Quebec Logging Corporation, subsidiary of the two paper companies, was to pay for building a flume to carry pulpwood from the river to the mill and wharf.

The Ontario Paper Co half of this venture would eventually see a paper mill built at Baie Comeau rather than the pulp mill that was originally envisaged. It began logging on the Manicouagan, where its woodlands operation eventually covered 4,900 miles in addition to smaller holdings at Shelter Bay and Franquelin.

When Anglo-Canadian opened in 1927, however, it took its wood from the Montmorency River near Quebec, and later still obtained it from Forestville, and not from the Manicouagan, the rights to which it would sell to Ontario Paper in 1945.

Anglo-Canadian would expand further in April 1937 by buying a twenty-year-old sulphite woodpulp mill at Chandler, Quebec, renaming it the Gaspesia Sulphite Co Ltd. The "New York Times," one of the mill's biggest customers, with purchases of between 120,000 and 200,000 tons per year, would take a 49 per cent interest in the mill in 1960.

Labrador Fisheries

From its first store at Sept-Iles in 1921, Labrador Fisheries went on to establish outlets at Rivière-au-Tonnerre and Havre-St-Pierre in 1926, and at Longue Pointe de Mingan in 1927. Havre-St-Pierre, with a population of 1,300, became the most important post. This four-store operation lasted for some time, with the company sending traders out along the North Shore. The store system generally worked well for Clarke, although during the 1930s they would end up writing off $50,000 of debts that customers were unable to pay because of the Depression.

What it was like to work for Labrador Fisheries was recounted in an article written by Archie Wright, later Clarke's purchasing manager and general manager of subsidiary Quebec Newfoundland Equipment Ltd. Entitled "From Seal Oil and Sable to Molasses and Mercurys," it appeared in the February 1975 issue of "Clarke News":

During the 1920s and 30s the company, in addition to operating a number of steamship services in the Gulf of St Lawrence, was involved in trading operations along the North Shore of the St Lawrence River and in Newfoundland through a number of subsidiary companies.

Company ships outbound, carried supplies to the merchants in the tiny communities scattered along the coast, bringing back to Quebec and
Montreal for sale, fresh, frozen, salted and canned fish; cranberries, seal skins, cod liver oil, seal oil, fur and other products of the area which were used to settle accounts...

During this period, 1936 to be exact, I had just turned 20, and had been with the Hudson’s Bay Company in the fur trade for about three years and was interested in broadening my horizons. The Clarke organization seemed to be the right milieu.

I was hired, and during the first few winters with the company, travelled along the North Shore and the Quebec Labrador coast by various means, including dog team, mail boats and small fishing craft, and later, by commercial snowmobile, and in the first single engined F41 de Havilland aircraft that carried the mail to these isolated areas in the wintertime. You paid your cash fare on a windy airstrip to the flight engineer and took your place on top of the softest mailbag. My occupation was buying raw fur from the trappers and merchants, and from the Indians living and hunting in the area.

During the summer months I looked after the company's commercial fishing operations. This included the purchase of large quantities of fresh Atlantic salmon and halibut, which was frozen and shipped to England. Many of these halibut weighed between 500 and 600 pounds each. They were in great demand by the "fish and chip" shops all over England. I also purchased dry and salted codfish for export to southern Europe and the West Indies, and many other varieties of fish, including mackerel, smelts, sea trout, plaice, herring, lobster and scallops.

Some unusual events stand out in my memory of those days. The large amounts of cash I had to carry with me...cheques were not accepted by the hunters in those places. I carried up to $30,000 on occasion; I even had a thousand dollar bill at one time. I’ve never seen one since. At that time I was buying mink, marten and otter. Lynx, fisher and beaver. Wolf, wolverine and muskrats, red foxes, silver, cross, white and blue. Weasels, black bear and even squirrels. I paid up to $90.00 for extra dark and extra large martens (sables) and as low as a nickel for squirrels. I even bought the occasional black house cat for a quarter. It was used to trim women's overshoes at that time.

The results of this trade were all carried in Clarke ships on the return leg of their voyages from Montreal and Quebec to the North Shore.

**Labrador Fisheries as Shipowners**

Although not related to its main business, Labrador Fisheries would play the role of shipowner twice. The first time would be between 1922 and 1928, when the Clarke steamer *Labrador* was registered under its ownership
while operating for the Clarke Steamship Co. The reason for this was one of liability in case of collision, and in the early years a different company owned each of the Clarke ships.

Later, in the Second World War, Labrador Fisheries would become a shipowner for a second time, with the purchase of the 25-ton auxiliary schooner *Sonata*, 44 by 13 feet, which it renamed *North Shore*. Built at Belliveau Cove, Nova Scotia, this small schooner was needed to trade up and down the Lower North Shore in the absence of other transport and, other than a launch used as a ferry at Quebec, would be the smallest commercial vessel ever owned by any of the Clarke companies. She was disposed of when conditions returned to normal at the end of the war.

**The Clarke Trading Company**

The Clarke Trading Co, founded to supply the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co at Clarke City, soon fell under the responsibility of Wilfrid Clarke, who also headed up Labrador Fisheries. By 1931, in addition to acting as purchasing agents for Gulf Pulp & Paper, the company's Quebec letterhead identified them as "General Merchants and Exporters - Flour, Feed, Hay, Oats and Groceries."

The company had also followed the Clarke Steamship Co and started to expand into Newfoundland, with a base at Corner Brook and eventually Stephenville as well. Indeed, the Clarke Trading Co (Newfoundland) Ltd at Corner Brook would still be doing business there at the end of the 20th century, although no longer under Clarke family control.

On December 3, 1969, almost fifty years after it was founded, leave was finally requested of the Minister of Consumer & Corporate Affairs, to surrender the charter of the original Clarke Trading Co Ltd.

**The North Shore Construction Company**

One last non-shipping activity was the North Shore Construction Co Ltd, founded in 1935, and active in the construction of wharves, roads, airports, and other installations along the Quebec North Shore and elsewhere. By the late 1940s, La Compagnie de Construction de la Cote Nord Ltée, as it was also known, was located in Suite 307 of the Castle Building, 1410 Stanley Street, at the corner of St Catherine Street, in Montreal.

Some of its airport jobs included Gander, Bagotville, Matane, Baie Comeau, Quebec, Val d'Or and the runway at Montreal's Dorval. Its last important port construction project was the first attempt at development of the new port of Gros-Cacouna, near Rivière-du-Loup, in the early 1960s, as well as construction and repairs at Matane, Sept-Iles and other Quebec ports.
and Newfoundland harbours such as Bonavista, Clarenville and Twillingate.

In later years, North Shore Construction, though not an Ontario company, was also successful in obtaining contracts to build stretches of Ontario's Macdonald-Cartier Freeway (Highway 401), between Kingston and the Quebec/Ontario border, at Prescott, Brockville and other locales.

By the time of the Gros-Cacouna project the company was know as North Shore Construction Ltd. Sometimes also called the construction division of the Clarke Steamship Co, the company was eventually wound up and the Clarke's withdrew from the construction business.

The Pulp & Paper Business

Anglo-Canadian Pulp & Paper Mills went into the shipping business on its own account after the Second World War, with a subsidiary called the St Charles Transportation Co Ltd. Named for the St Lawrence tributary on which the mill stood and where its ships unloaded, this company operated a fleet of dedicated pulpwod carriers that shuttled wood from Forestville, a town that Anglo-Canadian founded, to the mill at Quebec. In 1945, Anglo-Canadian had traded its rights on the Manicouagan River for similar rights at Bersimis, where it had 2,958 square miles of woodlands. As Anglo-Canadian's in-house industrial carrier, St Charles Transportation had no association with the Clarke Steamship Co. Only once or twice would Clarke ever use its ships, which were essentially dedicated to the carriage of pulpwod in bulk, and then only for single trips for large and heavy loads when no suitable ship was available.

Back in Clarke City, operations would carry on for sixty years, with the company exporting woodpulp from its dock at Clarke City. Gulf Pulp & Paper's woodlands operations by now included 927 square miles of forest lands on the Ste Marguerite River. Fifty years after the Gulf Pulp & Paper mill opened, the Sept-Iles Chamber of Commerce gave us a brief view in its factual guide "Sept-Iles," published in 1959:

The bay has been the anchorage for ocean-going vessels waiting to load at Pointe-Noire since 1908. Stands of timber stretch inland on the coastal plain and for hundreds of miles in the rough country of the Laurentian Upland. Chances for the future expansion of the pulp and paper industry have been greatly increased by the extension and improvement of roads in the area.

Since the advent of the Marguerite Dam, the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co of Clarke City have doubled their output of ground wood pulp... The power dam on the [Ste] Marguerite River came into operation at the beginning of 1954 ... with an installed capacity of 22,000 hp.
The Gulf Power Company's new hydro-electric power dam, half owned by the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, would remain for many years to come to supply power for Sept-Iles. And in later years, a company called Hydromega would build an entirely new hydro-electric dam, Ste Marguerite I, on the site of the old Clarke City dam. Costing $15.5 million, it was commissioned in December 1993. A second larger dam, Ste Marguerite IB, fifty miles further upstream, would follow in 2003.

By 1963, the Gulf Pulp & Paper Railway, no longer being able to obtain good steam coal, converted to diesel, acquiring three 1950s-built 70-ton General Electric diesel locomotives from other owners. Two of these, units 63 and 64, were purchased quite conveniently from the Quebec North Shore & Labrador Railway, one of them in exchange for steam locomotive number 48. That unit would be put on display at Sept-Iles station along with a QNS&L unit that had been used in the building of the Labrador railway. The third diesel, unit 65, came all the way from the West Coast, from the Pacific Great Eastern Railway in British Columbia. By this time, the construction of the Arnaud Railway had linked the Gulf Pulp & Paper line with the Quebec North Shore & Labrador Railway. Of the diesels, number 64 ultimately found its way to Anglo-Canadian Pulp & Paper Mills at Quebec in 1971.

Control of Anglo-Canadian itself went in late 1960 to the Reed Group of Great Britain, in which Amalgamated Press had a large stake. Reed also took control of Imperial Paper Mills Ltd of Gravesend, which had been part of Amalgamated Press and acted as groundwood pulp agents for the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co, in which it now controlled two-thirds of the shares.

Three new pulp-making machines were installed in the summer of 1962 and a new building erected to house them, while 26 older machines were retired. Indeed, that March, reports indicated that Gulf Pulp & Paper anticipated shipping about 20 per cent more product in 1962, loading some 95,000 tons of pulp to nineteen ships, compared to sixteen the year before.

But on July 4, 1967, after six decades in operation, Reed announced that the Gulf Pulp & Paper Co mill was to close. A strike on May 5 and wage demands that were far too high to support what was now a marginal operation, combined with poor market conditions for mechanical woodpulp, brought the business to an end. The wind-down took until December while workers looked for new jobs. Hotel and restaurants were sold at auction. Reed's books for 1967 would show a loss of $5,540,000 from the closure of the Clarke City mill.

Over two days, starting on June 26, 1968, Commercial Industrial Auctioneers of Downsview, Ontario, came to town to auction off $6.2 million worth of plant and equipment, $1.7 million of which had only been purchased in 1965 and had operated for only a few months. That same year, the railway line was sold to the Quebec North Shore & Labrador Railway. Land, homes and the hospital were all sold, and eventually, in 1970, just as Shelter Bay
had become a suburb of Port-Cartier, Clarke City and nearby Pointe-Noire became suburbs of Sept-Iles.

On December 31, 1971, Gulf Pulp & Paper surrendered its remaining property in Clarke City to Les Immeubles Arnaud Ltée of Quebec to dispose of what was left. Meanwhile, the largest industry in the area was now Wabush Mines Ltd, who had built the Arnaud Railway and a new dock at Pointe-Noire for the shipment of Labrador iron ore.

While Clarke City was for all intents and purposes now closed, it had been the site of the first important industrial development on the Quebec North Shore. Its precedent would be followed not only by the pulp and paper industry but also by those involved with the iron ore, titanium, grain and aluminum trades, which would eventually be served by a well-developed system of ports, highways, railways and ferries. Before that, however, would come a major contribution from the Clarke family to shipping, not only from Montreal and Quebec to the Gulf of St Lawrence, but also from Miami and further afield.

Sept-Iles, on whose bay Clarke City was built, came to be Canada's second largest port, and the largest in Quebec, surpassed only by Vancouver in the tonnage it handled. More than a century after Clarke City wharf first opened, a new two-berth 1,500-foot multi-user dock facility was built on pilings on the very site the old Gulf Pulp & Paper Co had used to export cargoes of newsprint to Europe. This time though, the new facility was built to serve the expanding mining industry of the North Shore and Labrador, with a capacity to handle 50 million tons of iron ore per year.

At Quebec, Reed Paper Ltd was formed in 1972 to consolidate the group's North American holdings and in 1988 Anglo-Canadian became part of the Daishowa Group of Japan. Falling briefly under Enron ownership before that organization's messy demise in 2001, the Quebec mill was acquired by associates of Brant-Allen Industries Inc in 2004. Operating today as Papiers Stadacona Ltée, it has an annual capacity of 515,000 tons of newsprint, directory paper and paperboard, four times what it had when it first opened. It remains the surviving operation from the original Clarke City venture of 1902.

The time has now come to look at the shipping operations that preceded the Clarke Steamship Co, both in the Gulf of St Lawrence and Newfoundland and in southern waters.