THE BELUGA TRIANGLE:

Pour la suite du monde (1962), New Quebec Cinema, and the urban/rural dialectic

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ABSTRACT: One of the most celebrated documentaries to emerge from Quebec during the 1960s was Pierre Perrault and Michel Brault's *cinéma vécu* classic *Pour la suite du monde* (1962). This intimate portrait of life on Île-aux-Coudres, an island in Eastern Quebec that sits in the Saint Lawrence River, is generally understood as a work of salvage ethnography. The filmmakers encouraged the island's inhabitants to take up traditional practices that had long fallen by the wayside and had to be learned from the community's elders: the hunt of the beluga whale. I'd like to reconsider this film as a work that is not only based on a dialectical tension between the city and the country, but also on tensions between three island formations: Île aux Coudres, Montreal, and New York City. The Montreal connection had to do with the project's filmmakers and the studio that produced it, while New York came into play late in the film when a beluga whale was transferred to the New York Aquarium. Among other concerns, the foundational myths of all three islands are based on stories of First Contact between European settlers and Indigenous peoples, and, thus, this aspect of Perrault's film is intensified if we take this approach.

KEYWORDS: documentary film; ethnographic film; *cinéma vécu*; urban-rural dialectic; New Quebec Cinema.

While the New Quebec Cinema of the 1960s and 1970s was primarily an urban cinema, driven in large part by the relocation of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) to the island of Montreal in 1956, one of its defining tensions was that between the country and the city (Handling, 2004). Over and over again, this dialectic manifests itself in films that capture the massive demographic shift from rural to urban that had rocked Quebec society since the early 20th century and increased dramatically after World War II, as well as in films where Montrealers idealise, mythologise and escape to the country.

This first trend—the shift from the rural to the urban—could be seen in a range of fictional films, from Michel Brault's romantic and melancholy *Entre la mer et l'eau douce* (1967), starring a young Geneviève Bujold, to the shock pop of Gilles Groulx's highly experimental *Où êtes-vous donc?* (1969), to Denis Héroux's scandalous *Valérie* (1969), the film that's often credited with launching the so-called Maple Syrup Porn cycle of films. But it could also be found in documentaries from the period, such as Denys Arcand's *On est au coton!* (1970/6), his scathing study of the highly exploitative nature of the textile industry in Quebec. As these names indicate, many of Quebec's leading directors found this topic compelling: all four of these filmmakers were among the most significant to emerge during the early years

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of the New Quebec Cinema, and Arcand in particular would go on to become a director of international stature in the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s.

This second trend—the escape from the city and the return to the land—was less common, but it still played a crucial role in some of the most important Ouebec films of the period, from Gilles Groulx's Le chat dans le sac (1964), where the filmmaker helped to launch the auteurist turn in the New Quebec Cinema of the 1960s, to Ted Kotcheff's The apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz (1974), based on the 1959 novel of the same name by Mordecai Richler. In the case of Le chat dans le sac, the film's journalist protagonist, Claude, finds himself stymied and frustrated in his life in Montreal, with its contentious politics, and in his relationship with Barbara, his anglophone Jewish girlfriend, so he escapes to the country in an attempt to find himself. Significantly, the area he relocates to is the Richelieu River valley, which has strong associations with the Guerre des patriotes of 1837-8, a defining chapter in the struggle between Quebec's French underclass and the Anglophone power structure, and therefore with Québécois nationalism. The gesture is at once nostalgic and in step with a nascent form of political radicalism-famously, the manifesto of the Front de libération du Ouébec (FLO) featured an image of a *patriote* from the uprising of 1837-8 when it was issued during the October Crisis of 1970, a series of terrorist incidents that took place in Montreal and environs and were met with the imposition of martial law, shaking the nation to its core. Ironically, Claude reads about some of the earliest FLQ bomb attacks in Montreal while he's sequestered in the countryside.¹

One of the most celebrated documentaries to emerge from Quebec during this period was Pierre Perrault and Michel Brault's classic *Pour la suite du monde* (1962), and, though it may not be obvious at first glance, it aligns with this second trend: the escape from the city and the return to the land. *Pour la suite du monde* was very well received from the time of its release—we can even say it was acclaimed. It was the very first Canadian film to be entered in competition at the Cannes Film Festival in 1963 and it was a sensation at the Montreal International Film Festival later that same year, where audience members and critics remarked upon the distinctive speech of the islanders, as well as the beauty and honesty of the film's cinematography (Loiselle, 2007). That the film's viewers responded in this manner is noteworthy: Perrault was just beginning to build his reputation as a "cinéaste de la parole"—a filmmaker of the spoken word—while Brault was already Quebec's greatest cinematographer, but someone who was just beginning to get his due as a cameraman *and* director (Clandfield, 2003).

This intimate portrait of life on Île aux Coudres,² an island in Eastern Quebec that sits in the Saint Lawrence River (not unlike Montreal) (Figure 1), and that holds a fabled place in the history of Quebec and the establishment of New France because of its associations with Jacques Cartier, is often understood as an ethnographic documentary, and, more specifically, a work of salvage ethnography. In this sense, *Pour la suite du monde* is part of a history of ethnographic films that date at least as far back as Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922). There, Flaherty famously showed little interest in representing Inuit life as it was being lived circa 1920—the film provides no indication that the Inuit were familiar with modern dwellings, guns, and motorboats. Instead, Flaherty chose to represent the Inuit as largely pre-modern—doing business with fur traders and being familiar with

¹ The FLQ had emerged as one of the most radical groups advocating for a separate and independent Quebec by early 1963. The group detonated its first bomb on March 7, 1963 (Loiselle, 2007).

² I've used the name Île aux Coudres throughout this essay because that's the way it's presented in *Pour la suite du monde*. Today the island is known as Isle-aux-Coudres.

modern trading outposts, but otherwise living according to traditional ways that appeared to be entirely nomadic, entirely self-sufficient, and entirely sustainable, if highly vulnerable.



Figure 1 – Aerial view of Île aux Coudres from Pour la suite du monde (1962).

In the case of *Pour la suite du monde*, the island's inhabitants decided to take up traditional practices that had fallen by the wayside some 40 years earlier: namely, the hunt of the beluga whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*), a practice that had been an important part of the local economy and the local identity since Île aux Coudres was first colonised in the 17^{th} century. The film's title is a little tricky to translate. In some cases, the film was known in English as *Of whales, the moon, and men,* or *The Moontrap,* but a literal translation of the French title would be 'for the rest of the world,' and an actual translation of the phraseology would be something along the lines of 'for future generations' or 'for posterity.' The title refers to the goal of taking up a tradition that had been lost, rescuing it, restoring it, and passing it on to a younger generation. In doing so, a link between the past and the present will have been made possible.

Pour la suite du monde has generally been characterised as a nostalgic and/or romantic film. Indeed, David Clandfield's monograph on Perrault and his work from 2004 refers to him as a master of the "poetic documentary." While the film was acclaimed by most at the time of its release, the film was not without its detractors, and these critics tended to attack the film on socio-political grounds. The film was seen by some as being out of step with Quebec in the early years of the Quiet Revolution (Harcourt, 1984 [1981]). The dominant vision of Quebec at the time was one of rapid modernisation and urbanisation. It was of a province and of a people in the throes of a Great Leap Forward. And as Piers Handling pointed out, "Perrault was constantly accused, by his critics and the younger generation, of presenting an extremely conservative, some would say *passéiste*, version of Quebec" (2004, p. xiv).

My interest in Perrault and his Île aux Coudres cycle (he ended up making three featurelength films about the islands and its people, as well as some other related short films) comes from an unusual direction. My major research project is on Quebec film of the 1960s, but it is quite specifically about 1960s' Montreal as a cinematic city. In other words, how Montreal was represented by a wide variety of films during what has been termed the 'Long Sixties' (1958-1974), but also how film contributed to the understanding of how the city was transforming during a particularly eventful and tumultuous period, and how the city's vibrant film culture contributed to this remarkable transformation.

What does *Pour la suite du monde* have to do with Montreal? Well, the film was a production of the National Film Board of Canada, which had moved its headquarters from Ottawa to Montreal in 1956, an event that helped to launch the New Quebec Cinema by the late 1950s. Its filmmakers were lifelong Montrealers (B. Cornellier and M. Frigon, 2021), and although Perrault in particular is closely associated with places like Île aux Coudres in the east of Quebec and Abitibi in the northwest because of his films, he'd gotten his start in media by working on radio documentaries for Radio-Canada in the mid-1950s (Clandfield, 2003), and he continued to work in radio in the 1960s while he was working on his Île aux Coudres cycle. In fact, in 1965 Perrault produced an ambitious radio documentary about life in Montreal called *J'habite une ville* ('I inhabit this city') (Fraser, 1968). So, even though *Pour la suite du monde* was shot primarily on Île aux Coudres, the argument I'm making is that the film can be considered a Montreal film, at least in part.

The fact that the inhabitants of Île aux Coudres decided to resume the beluga hunt in 1962 nearly 40 years after the industry had collapsed was no accident. The film's opening shot is a scrolling title that reads as follows:

Until 1924, the people of Île aux Coudres used to set a trap for beluga whales on the River Saint Lawrence. **At the . of the filmmakers**, the islanders revived the trap in 1962 in order to keep its memory alive. [my emphasis]

In other words, the beluga hunt, the entire documentary, was a result of an intervention into life on the island on the part of these filmmakers from Montreal (Mackenzie, 2004). An experiment was being carried out—one that was at once sociological and cinematic—and as David Clandfield has argued, "the risks were enormous" (Clandfield, 2004, pp. 18-19; Clandfield, 1984). Brault's expertise was in a new approach to documentary known as cinéma direct, which combined the use of lightweight, responsive cameras with mobile sound equipment—microphones, booms, and recorders—in order to pursue the ideal of synchronised image and sound, and the honesty and spontaneity that such an approach makes possible (Loiselle, 2007). As Brault himself once explained:

With the right equipment, people go about their normal business and they end up forgetting about you. That's Pour la suite du monde. (Clandfield, 2004, p. 18).

As this quote suggests, Brault managed to convince Perrault to throw all caution into the formidable winds of Île aux Coudres and to embrace the direct cinema approach. In order to realise this goal, they needed one more collaborator: Marcel Carrière, the talented soundman who had worked with Brault before on projects like *Les Raquetteurs* (1958) and *Wrestling* (1961). There were still no guarantees. There was no guarantee that their film crew would be there to chance upon pivotal moments, pivotal conversations, pivotal actions. There was also no guarantee that the revival of the beluga hunt would actually succeed. And it wasn't clear what would actually be done with the beluga if it did succeed.

In what follows, I'd like to briefly reconsider *Pour la suite du monde* as a work that is not only based on a dialectical tension between the city and the country, but also between three

island formations, one rural and two urban: Île aux Coudres, Montreal, and New York City. The Montreal connection, I've explained already, at least partially. New York, on the other hand, comes into play late in the film, after the beluga hunt has proven successful and the transfer of the whale to the New York Aquarium at Coney Island prompts a road trip to Manhattan and Long Island. Perrault understood Montreal as an island and he recognised that its bridges were critical to its existence. He also understood Montreal as part of an archipelago—quite rightly, as Montreal is part of a group of islands that includes Île Perrot, Île Bizard, Île des Soeurs, Île Ste-Hélene, the Îles-de-Boucherville, and others.³ Here, these three island groupings, this 'Beluga Triangle,' (Figure 2) formed an imaginary archipelago linked by imaginary bridges.

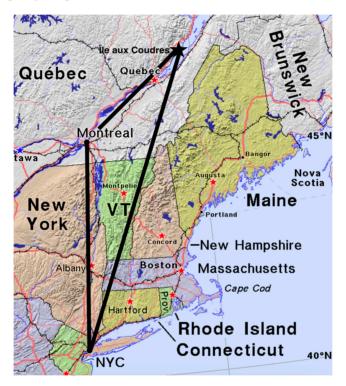


Figure 2 – The Beluga Triangle (Ian.Macky.net, public domain, annotated by the author).

Pour la suite du monde's portrait of life on Île aux Coudres is seasonal ande, it is also rich and captivating. The film begins in the late fall, right before the onset of winter, right before life on the island becomes truly insular, and the film quickly begins to address wintertime as a period when the island's farmers, sailors, and fisherman adjust to the season and take on a different set of pastimes. Buoys are removed from the river. Boats are put up in dry dock. And with most of the island's men now more present than they might be at other times of the year, discussions can be had at events like the Auction for Departed Souls and the Formidable Moon, which combines Catholic beliefs with pagan ones. It is here that the

³ This group of islands is known as the Hochelaga Archipelago after the name of the Iroquois village that existed on what is now the Island of Montreal when Jacques Cartier and his men first arrived in 1535 during his second expedition.

Kinik: The Beluga Triangle

first discussions of reviving the beluga hunt take place. The leader of this endeavour is the merchant Léopold Tremblay—his position in the community is doubly important because he is the son of Alexis Tremblay, the community's patriarch, its resident historian, and one of its strongest links to the lost tradition. The other major links to the lost tradition are Louis Harvey, a farmer and expert storyteller who goes by the nickname 'Grand Louis', and Abel Harvey, a captain who was the last one to lead the beluga hunt in the 1920s. There's some scepticism from the Older Generation over whether the Younger Generation has the right stuff to revive the tradition, but mostly there's enthusiasm that the beluga hunt will once again take place. Grand Louis, in particular, seems to reminisce about the beluga hunt, and look forward to the new edition, almost as if it was an aphrodisiac. In any case, winter is when much of the preparation for the hunt takes place. The practice involves building a massive "moon trap that confuses the belugas and that catches them when the tide disappears quickly on certain momentous days. In a later short film, Le Beau plaisir (1968), Perrault used animation in order to better explain how the system works (Figure 3). This trap consists primarily of 3,000 judiciously placed saplings that have been selected and carved specifically for this task. And many of the film's most poetic scenes involve this "moon trap"—how the exact placements of the saplings had to be rediscovered, how the trap was built, how it was tended, and how it actually succeeded in catching a beluga (Figure 4).

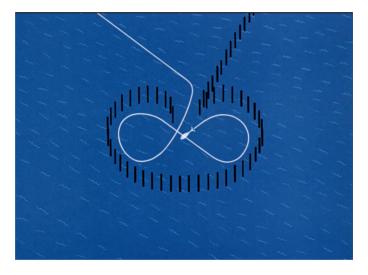


Figure 3 - The moontrap of Île aux Coudres as represented in Le Beau plaisir (1968).



Figure 4 – Léopold wades out to inspect the Beluga whale in Pour la suite du monde (1962).

But the film's portrait of rural life includes a variety of other activities, some of which have no connection to the beluga hunt, and others which are only loosely connected. There are scenes of the river boaters and freight ship operators, especially those who continued to proudly use traditional wooden schooners that were locally built much as they had been for centuries. There are numerous scenes having to do with farming and animal husbandry. There are scenes involving a sawmill, and a crucial scene involving a blacksmith who's been hired to build a harpoon—the first time a new one has been commissioned in decades. There are numerous social occasions, including auctions, dances, meetings, and church services, both within the island's churches and outside, when the church must bless the beluga hunt, for instance. And perhaps most strikingly, there are the carnivalesque antics of Mi-Carême—mid-Lent—when mummers fan out across the island provoking a Dionysian respite from the strictures of Lent, as well as a Dionysian interlude in *Pour la suite du monde*, with Brault's handheld camerawork being used to great effect to capture the spontaneity and irreverence of the proceedings.

The film's portrait of New York City is short, but very direct. After successfully catching a beluga whale, Léopold finds an interested buyer: the New York Aquarium. He approaches his father to see if he'd be game to accompany him as he transports the whale to New York City, and what ensues is a journey that Alexis later describes as "the most beautiful trip of my life." The sequence is highly elliptical—one moment the truck is leaving Île aux Coudres, and the very next moment it is inside the Holland Tunnel, passing underneath the Hudson River, and emerging into Lower Manhattan, the southernmost part of the island, where we glimpse Trinity Church, the Woolworth Building, the Singer Building, and other icons of the area. Then the truck continues on its way to its final destination, and once again, suddenly, elliptically, there we are, on Long Island, directly in front of the New York Aquarium's Coney Island location. The film cuts back to Île aux Coudres, where Alexis is now recounting his adventures to Abel. He tells him about New York's wealth, about its immense skyscrapers, and his experience of a big city restaurant. Then, as if in a flashback, we return to the aquarium, where a large crew is hauling the beluga toward the water on a stretcher, as Alexis and Léopold oversee the operation. The whale is released into the water, and he swims off to get acquainted with his new friends-two belugas from Alaska. After a

photo op with Alexis, Léopold, and Carleton Ray, the director of the aquarium, with Ray trying to express his gratitude as best he can, in the most horrendous broken French, the final shots from New York are of Alexis and Léopold inside the underwater observation area of the aquarium, watching the belugas frolic in the tank one last time as the sounds of beluga play on the soundtrack. The chirping and singing of the belugas would seem to be diegetic, but, in fact, as the film's closing credits make clear, they were recorded hundreds of miles away in Massachusetts, by William E. Schevill of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution.

The film's Montreal content was considerably more subtle. There's one direct reference to Montreal late in the film, after the trip to New York, when Alexis tells Abel that although New York City was phenomenal, in terms of its streets, he prefers Montreal. Then there's Brault's poetic renderings of freighter traffic along the Saint Lawrence River, the largest of which point to the fact that the Saint Lawrence Seaway had just been completed in 1959that this waterway connects the innermost regions of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Coast, the Atlantic Ocean, and beyond, as well as the port of Montreal, which was still one of North America's largest transshipment centres at the time (port-montreal.com). But perhaps most significantly, there's a short but important sequence that occurs during the mid-Lent portion of the film, just before the mummers arrive at Louis Harvey's place. It's a Saturday Night and the household has tuned in to La Soirée du hockey on Radio-Canada (the French version of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Hockey Night in Canada) where the Montreal Canadiens are playing Bobby Hull and the Chicago Black Hawks in Montreal within the hallowed spaces of the Forum. There's drama onscreen, as Hull, 'the Golden Jet,' leads a charge on Montreal's goal with Jacques Plante, the Canadiens' talented goaltender, thwarting his advance, but the real drama has to do with nationalism and linguistic politics, with the conversation in the living room addressing the unfair officiating toward the Canadiens and how these injustices are a manifestation of the National Hockey League's Anglophone power structure. This scene took place just a few years after the 'Richard Riots' of 1955, when the perception of unfair officiating towards Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard, the star forward and future Hall of Famer who was the Canadiens' biggest star and a veritable hero of Quebec, set off some of the biggest riots in Montreal in decades.⁴ There's also a discussion of hockey as Ouebec's national sport, and therefore about hockey and Ouebec nationalism in the era where French-Canadian identity was beginning to transform into a new Québécois identity, one which was increasingly declaring the Québécois people to be "masters in their own home" (Dickinson and Young, 1993, p. 306). Though just a fleeting moment in Pour la suite du monde, this scene aligns the film with others that addressed hockey, politics, and national identity during this period: most notably Hubert Aquin's Le Sport et les hommes (1961) and Gilles Groulx's Un jeu si simple (1964).⁵ Finally, it must be noted that this scene involves the 'Habs'—les habitants, as they were known, the beloved Montreal Canadiens, who got their nickname (basically 'country folk' or even 'peasants') because so many of their greats had been drawn from Quebec's rural regions-being watched by actual *habitants* in rural Quebec. Aquin and Groulx had alluded to the way the sight of the Canadiens on Radio-Canada's long-running La Soirée du hockey was a unifying force in Ouebec-Pour la suite du monde actually demonstrates this fact, connecting Quebec's metropolis, Montreal, with its hinterlands live and in real time (Figure 6).

⁴ Richard was still the star of the Canadiens in 1962 when *Pour la suite du monde* was shot. In fact, he can be seen onscreen in this sequence briefly.

⁵ The English version of Aquin's film is called *Of sport and men*, while Groulx's film is known as *Such a simple game*.



Figure 6 – Watching La Soirée du hockey in Pour la suite du monde (1962).

Finally, it's important to point out that the reestablishment of the beluga hunt on Île aux Coudres was not without its controversies. Specifically, there was the issue of who invented this ingenious form of fishing. Here, we encounter a split in the community that runs largely along generational lines, and it plays out most dramatically in the scene at the blacksmith's shop. The younger generation, represented by Léopold, exhibits a more nationalistic attitude, one that's attached to French patrimony: it's the French colonisers who introduced this tradition to Île aux Coudres. According to this line of argument, these early settlers were fishermen back home in Brittany and Normandy. They had similar practices. It is these early French settlers that established this tradition. The older generation, represented primarily by Alexis, insists that it was the indigenous people of the region who taught this form of fishing to the colonisers. Thus, in reviving the beluga hunt, the community is reviving a tradition that *preceded* the establishment of New France in the early 16th century. It is the indigenous people who inhabited the region who are the geniuses of the beluga hunt-and that's the term that Alexis uses repeatedly: "geniuses." How can Alexis be so sure? Because he's actually read the history books. Because he's actually read Jacques Cartier's logbook from the expeditions that resulted in the founding of New France, unlike his son. Alexis actually gets one of his grandkids to run inside and fetch his copy of Cartier's diary and he reads the relevant passages to his sceptical son (Figure 7). Thus, one of the issues that runs through this film is that of competing histories of Île aux Coudres, but also of the absence of indigenous peoples, the displacement of indigenous populations by the ancestors of the community, and the unwillingness to come to terms with the trauma of First Contact. And if Alexis comes across as the wiser of the Tremblays, the more enlightened of the two, and the one whose views are privileged by Perrault, it must be noted that throughout this discussion and other similar ones elsewhere in the film, the term that's used for these absent indigenous populations at every occasion, with only one exception,⁶ because this was the term that was commonly used in Quebec at the time, especially among its rural populations, is sauvages: "savages," or, if you wanted to be more charitable,

⁶ The only exception that I can find is when Alexis, quoting Jacques Cartier, refers to the region's indigenous populations as "Bohemians."

"heathens." Somewhat more politely, English translations of the film use the term "Indians" instead. As I mentioned earlier, the risks of this project were enormous. This issue of language was just one example.



Figure 7 – Alexis reads from Cartier's logbook in Pour la suite du monde (1962).

One last thought on this aspect of the film. While Île aux Coudres, Montreal, and New York didn't share a lot in common circa 1962, aside from this film, the creation myths of all three places were strikingly similar. After First Contact came First *Contract*—negotiations, or the lack thereof, that resulted in the dramatic displacement of indigenous populations, and the colonising of these island regions by European settlers. The most famous of these real estate deals, of course, was Manhattan, the fabled "twenty-four dollar island."⁷ But the popular narratives of all three regularly presented the disappearance (or virtual disappearance) of indigenous populations as part of the process of colonisation in an unproblematic manner, even when indigenous communities continued to persist in these regions.

In the end, *Pour la suite du monde* wasn't designed to heighten tensions between the urban and the rural, it was meant to resolve them. The urban and the rural, humankind and nature, could be brought into harmony through this *cinéma vécu*⁸ project, they could learn from each other, and Quebec in the throes of the Quiet Revolution might actually benefit from this reconciliation. It might temper its mad rush to modernise. It might learn from its traditions, including those of its indigenous peoples. Perrault, in particular, continued

⁷ When Robert Flaherty made a highly uncharacteristic city symphony of New York, he called it *Twenty-Four Dollar Island* (1927). The title was ironic. The film's introduction commented on how a village had been transformed into a megalopolis in a relatively short period time, with Flaherty's compositions emphasising the absurdity of modern Manhattan's culture of congestion.

⁸ *Cinéma vécu* translates as "lived cinema." It refers to Perrault's unusual approach to documentary on this project, which combined Brault's expertise in *cinéma direct*, with Perrault's attention to the spoken word as delivered by non-actors in everyday circumstances (Harcourt, 1984). This approach aimed to "[tell] a story by filming the 'lived,' the 'vécu" (Loiselle, 2007).

Pour la suite du monde is frequently cited as a 1963 release, but the Office National du Film du Canada lists it as a 1962 release, and the film is clearly copyrighted as a 1962 film in its closing seconds.

to forward such a vision in his films for decades. Though he was one of the most celebrated Québécois directors of his time, it's not clear the mainstream of Quebec society was really listening to this auteur of *la parole*, this auteur of the spoken word.

Sixty years later, *Pour la suite du monde* remains a crucial work in the history of documentary, a key film in the development of the New Quebec Cinema, and a shining example of how rich the topic of islands and audiovisual media can be. It's a film that addresses island life, *insular life*, and the very nature of insularity, as well as the importance of bridges, tunnels, and ferries—and their absence—to these places and spaces. It's a film that depicts the extreme seasonality of life on islands in certain regions and climates. It's a film that brings up the concept of the archipelago—both real and *imagined*—in ways that are both provocative and productive. It's a film that subtly encourages the comparative study of island cultures. But perhaps most importantly, it's a film whose formal innovations in the realms of cinematography, sound, editing, and *mise-en-scène* push the issue of aesthetics and how audiovisual media represent islands to the fore (Clandfield, 1984, p. 144), especially when filmmakers and other artists resist conventions, formulas, and clichés and strive to develop techniques, approaches, and methods that are sensitive to the particularities of island life in all its forms, natural and man-made, rural and urban.

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