

AUGUSTIN C. BOURDEAU: PIONEER SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST PASTOR IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

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Résumé

L'Église adventiste du Septième Jour fit son apparition au Canada dans les Cantons de l'Est au milieu du XIX^e siècle. Le pasteur Augustin C. Bourdeau fut l'un des pionniers de cette congrégation religieuse. Bien qu'il travaillât dans les Cantons de l'Est de façon intermittente à partir de 1850, ce n'est qu'en 1875 que Bourdeau y devint pasteur à temps plein. Sa détermination lui permit, en huit ans, d'établir une base permanente pour l'œuvre des adventistes du Septième Jour au Québec. En plus de fonder quelques églises dont l'église de South Stukely, la plus vieille de cette religion au Canada, il organisa, en 1880, la Fédération des Églises adventistes du Septième Jour du Québec. Bien qu'il eût été le pasteur d'une petite église à la fois marginale et protestante, ses activités pastorales témoignent néanmoins d'un aspect appréciable de la vie religieuse des Cantons de l'Est au XIX^e siècle.

Abstract

The Seventh-day Adventist church in Canada started in the mid-nineteenth century in the Eastern Townships. Among the few pioneer pastors who helped in the formation of its first congregations stands Augustin C. Bourdeau. While Bourdeau served intermittently as a minister in the Eastern Townships in the late 1850s and early 1860s, he began to work full time in the region in 1875. For the following eight years, Bourdeau's work in the Townships laid the basis for a permanent Seventh-day Adventist presence in this area and succeeded in establishing a few more congregations including the South Stukely church and in forming the Quebec Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, their first conference in Canada. Although the pastor of a small and marginal Protestant denomination, Bourdeau's work and activities help us nonetheless to ascertain some aspects of religious life in the Eastern Townships in the nineteenth century.

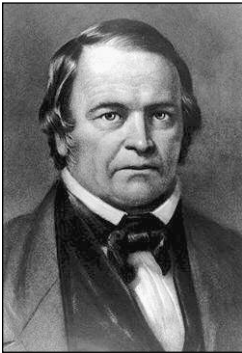
Seventh-day Adventists in Canada celebrated in 2002 the 125th anniversary of the South Stukely Seventh-day Adventist Church, the oldest church of this denomination in the country. This milestone is, to a large extent, a commemoration of the dedication and work of Elder Augustin C. Bourdeau, pioneer Seventh-day Adventist pastor in the Eastern Townships, who founded this church on 30 September 1877. Although the pastor of a small and marginal Protestant denomination, Bourdeau's work and activities help us nonetheless to ascertain some aspects of religious life in the Eastern Townships in the nineteenth century. In this article we will consider his contributions to the establishment of this denomination in Canada.



*Augustin and Charlotte Bourdeau
(photo ca. 1860)*

Source: Archives and Special Collections,
Loma Linda University*

The Millerite Movement



William Miller

Although Seventh-day Adventists view themselves as a continuation of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and consider their doctrinal roots to go all the way back to the early Christian Church, their movement began as such in the mid-nineteenth century in the eastern part of the United States. Their roots in Canada go back to 1835 when William Miller, a Baptist preacher from upstate New York, came for the first time to the Eastern Townships to preach his revivalist message that Jesus would return to this earth around 1843. Miller's fervent preaching emphasized that people should prepare themselves for the end of the world and commit their lives to God. During his visits to the Townships, he preached in area churches and visited his sister, Anna Atwood, who lived at the Outlet. Apart from its strong emphasis on the end of the world, the Millerite doctrine was basically Protestant and evangelical, and was well received by hundreds of people in this area and caused much disruption in religious life and organizations, particularly in Baptist and Methodist churches. The Millerite movement was not a church and never intended to start a new denomination.

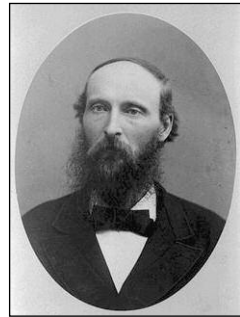
* Same source for all photos

After the movement died out at the end of 1844, however, Adventist denominations slowly grew from it in the Eastern Townships. Two of them still exist; one is the Advent Christian Church with churches in Danville and Beebe Plain, the other is the Seventh-day Adventist Church.¹

Following the end of the movement, groups of Millerites in the Eastern Townships and elsewhere in the northeastern part of the United States began to form Adventist congregations. Doctrinal divergences appeared early among them and, beginning in 1848, a few former Millerite preachers who believed that Saturday is the weekly day of rest began to establish small congregations of Sabbatarian Adventists in the Eastern Townships. These groups grew slowly through the 1850s as itinerant preachers visited the Townships to find new converts.

Augustin Bourdeau's conversion to Adventism

One of the most significant events in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Quebec was the conversion in 1856 of two young French Canadians, Augustin Bourdeau (21 years old), and his younger brother, Daniel (20).² Born to French Canadian parents, the Bourdeau brothers were raised in northern Vermont and belonged to a French Baptist Church. It is through the influence of a family member that they heard about the doctrines of a new group of Christians who believed in the imminent second coming of Jesus and in observing Saturday as the weekly day of rest according to their interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the Bible. At first, Augustin and Daniel were very opposed to this idea of Christians observing Saturday as the day of rest. They became convinced, however, as they read about this doctrine and discussed it with other people. Saturday was in fact the true biblical day of rest; Jesus and his disciples keep the same day, and for them, the rest of the Christian world was worshipping on the wrong day.



Daniel Bourdeau

Once convinced of these doctrines, both Augustin and Daniel Bourdeau began to spread their new faith to their relatives and friends, and accompanied Adventist preachers on their itinerant tours in northern Vermont and into the Eastern Townships. The intrinsic motivation that led these Sabbatarian preachers to exert great efforts at converting others, through their numerous lectures

and distribution of tracts, was their belief that a proper observance of God's commandments is necessary to prepare oneself for the imminent return of Christ. Convincing people of the biblical importance and relevance of these two doctrines was the major mission and purpose of a pastor's ministry.³ In spite of opposition, the Bourdeau brothers' efforts were relatively successful and by the end of the 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventists were found in most villages along the border between Canada East and Vermont.⁴ In 1860, these Christians took the name of Seventh-day Adventists.⁵

In the early 1860s, Augustin Bourdeau helped establish four small Seventh-day Adventist congregations in the Eastern Townships. These congregations were located in the townships of Potton, Sutton, Dunham, Westbury, and Eaton.⁶ After a good start in the Eastern Townships, however, the ten-year period between 1865 and 1875 saw very few visits of itinerant Seventh-day Adventist pastors. Congregations were almost forgotten and by 1875, after years of neglect, the work of this new church in the Eastern Townships was dying.⁷

In the summer of 1875, however, church leaders in the United States decided that the time had come for more determined efforts in this province and Augustin Bourdeau was asked to work full time in the Eastern Townships.⁸ Little remained of what he and other pastors had accomplished a decade before and few members were left to support this new initiative. Amid personal setbacks and lack of resources, Bourdeau worked tirelessly. Regrettably, this was pioneering work all over again. During the next eight years, he established a permanent presence of Seventh-day Adventists in the Eastern Townships, organized new churches, and formed the Quebec Conference of Seventh-day Adventists — the first in Canada.

Bible Lectures in Bolton and Waterloo

Bourdeau's renewed efforts in the Eastern Townships began with a series of Bible lectures under a tent in Bolton township on 3 September 1875. With earnest efforts, he hoped "to have an ingathering of souls in my native country — Canada." Right from the beginning the meetings were well attended. "At first," he noted, "some feared that we were a strange sect; but they soon changed their minds about us, and became more and more interested in the truths spoken." To his delight, three ministers of other denominations attended his lectures and appreciated what he had to say.⁹

After nearly six weeks of preaching (a total of forty-one lectures), and with the assistance of his son-in-law, Rodney S. Owen, Bourdeau

could confidently say that twelve people had decided to keep the Sabbath. Through November and December 1875, Bourdeau and Owen continued to hold Bible lectures in a rented hall and visited the homes of interested seekers in Bolton.¹⁰

The success of these meetings was overshadowed by a tragedy that struck the Bourdeau home in late December. The day after Christmas, Mary, his seventeen-year-old daughter, died of “inflammation of the stomach and bowels” (likely appendicitis) at their home in Vermont. Bourdeau’s grief and loss did not diminish his faith as he remarked that his daughter’s confidence “greatly increased our desires and determination to serve the Lord, and prepare for heaven.”¹¹

In spite of this personal setback, Bourdeau returned to Bolton in late January 1876 and continued his lectures in a schoolhouse. As more people acknowledged the relevance of his presentations and were persuaded to follow his teachings, pastors of other denominations in the area began to mount opposition. The opposition intensified later in the spring when the *Waterloo Advertiser* published negative reports of the lectures Bourdeau and Owen had been giving since April, a few kilometres north of West Bolton, in the village of South Stukely. As usual, it was his teaching on the doctrine of the Sabbath that sparked the most antagonism, this time from the Anglican pastor in South Stukely. Despite the opposition, by the end of June, the local paper reported that twenty families had converted to Adventism as a result of his labors in these villages and ten to twelve candidates were preparing for baptism.¹² Later that summer, three other families also accepted their doctrine in South Stukely. By then a small group of Seventh-day Adventists was meeting regularly in West Bolton or South Stukely.¹³

The town of Waterloo, ten kilometres west of South Stukely, was the next place Bourdeau and Owen preached their doctrines. On the first of July, they started a series of lectures under a tent in the public park. This series lasted nearly two months, with eight lectures a week, the *Waterloo Advertiser* carried an advertisement of the meetings for seven weeks and various detailed accounts of the lectures.¹⁴ According to Bourdeau, the tent meetings produced good results. “Scores are convinced that they are hearing the truth.... In giving our lectures, we have endeavored, by the help of the Lord, to ‘preach the word,’ to manifest friendly feeling towards all, and to let Catholics and other denominations alone; and our meetings have been well attended, and we have had no disturbance in or about the tent.” Bourdeau also decided to have some meetings in French to

accommodate the French-speaking population of the area.¹⁵

By the fall of 1876, after working in the Townships for a year, Bourdeau wished to bring to the Eastern Townships his family who had remained in northern Vermont while he worked in Quebec. For the first time, a Seventh-day Adventist minister had his permanent residence in Canada.¹⁶

The South Stukely Church

Bourdeau's efforts in the Eastern Townships since the summer of 1875 resulted in a small but steady growth of the number of believers in his doctrines. By the fall of 1877, the group in West Bolton was ready to organize itself as a church. On Sunday morning, 30 September 1877, "the Sabbath-keepers in Stukely, Bolton, and vicinity assembled together in the stone school-house, near Bro. William Booth, in West Bolton. Bro. Bourdeau dwelt on the subject of organization and church order, after which he invited those who proposed to enter into church order, to stand upon their feet. Several rose; and the names of those who were prepared to enter into church fellowship, were attached to the church covenant."¹⁷ With the organization of this new church, Bourdeau ended a twelve-year period during which no new Seventh-day Adventist church had been organized in the Eastern Townships.

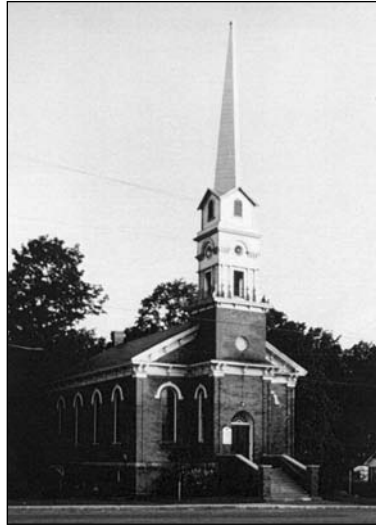
After its organization, the Bolton-Stukely congregation met in the schoolhouse in West Bolton or in members' homes in South Stukely. The need for a house of worship increased as more members joined the congregation. In November 1878, a few members met in South Stukely at the home of Harrison McClary and decided to erect a church. Since it was also their wish to have the Bourdeau family reside among them, Andrew Blake offered to donate a half acre of his land for a house for Bourdeau and another quarter acre on which to build a church. The church members readily agreed to this offer.¹⁸

The members worked first to complete Bourdeau's house. Then, in the spring of 1880, they started the construction of the church in South Stukely which they completed three years later. The community thought well of this new building erected in their town. A correspondent for the *Waterloo Advertiser* commented, "The Saturday Adventists under the management of Mr. Bourdeau are at work on a place of worship. They have selected a very good position, and if Mr. Bourdeau displays as good taste in the ecclesiastical architecture as he did in the residence he built for himself here, his synagogue will reflect honor upon his skill and add much to our village."¹⁹ Things were off to a good start with the South Stukely community.

The Dixville Church

While Bourdeau and Owen were giving various lectures in towns near Waterloo in 1877, they heard the cheering news that a group of Christians in Barford township had begun, earlier that year, to keep the Sabbath after reading Seventh-day Adventist literature someone had sent them from the United States.²⁰ In early August, Rodney and Sarah Owen went to the town of Dixville to meet them and remained there for the next few weeks, visiting people and giving lectures.²¹

The Dixville group grew rapidly. By the end of March 1878, close to forty people were keeping the Sabbath in Barford, and Augustin Bourdeau organized the Barford (Dixville) Church on 23 March 1878, with sixteen members agreeing to the church covenant.²² Earlier in the decade, in 1873, Advent Christians had begun the construction of a church in Dixville which had not yet been completed. Since this Adventist group was not very strong, the Seventh-day Adventists made arrangements to use their chapel and subsequently purchased it. After raising money to complete the construction, the members dedicated the church as the first Seventh-day Adventist church edifice in Canada during the weekend of June 16 and 17, 1878.²³



The South Stukley Church. Source: ETRC.

The renewed growth in Quebec was evident when in September 1878, the two newly organized churches in the Eastern Townships, Bolton-Stukely and Dixville, were received into the Vermont Conference of Seventh-day Adventists which, up to that time, had been responsible for the Eastern Townships region of Quebec. The work of R.S. Owen was also formally recognized when he was ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister.²⁴

Delegates at this session discussed the future of the church in Quebec and wondered whether the churches in the Eastern Townships (which was the only region in Quebec where they had a presence) should form their own conference. The separation of the two sectors occurred later that fall by an action of the General Conference committee, in Battle Creek, Michigan. Augustin Bourdeau was

given the supervision of the Quebec field. It functioned as a mission field under the supervision of the General Conference until it was able to organize itself as a conference two years later.²⁵

The First Camp Meeting

Even though Bourdeau had had relative success in his work thus far, he had greater ideas to accomplish his mission and decided to organize a camp meeting in the town of Magog. In those days, a camp meeting was not only a time of revival for church members, as it is experienced now among some denominations, but it was also a means of evangelism, of sharing with others the particular and unique beliefs of a denomination. By the late nineteenth century, camp meetings had become large gatherings of believers and non-believers and, just like a fair or a circus, drew the attention of hundreds, if not thousands, of interested or curious people, particularly on Sundays. Adventists became particularly good at using these meetings to win new converts.²⁶

Bourdeau published an announcement in the *Waterloo Advertiser* on 1 August 1879, announcing that a Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting would be held in J. J. Webster's grove in Magog, August 21 to 26.²⁷ This was the first Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting in Canada. George Butler, former General Conference president, Alfred S. Hutchins, President of the Vermont Conference, and Augustin Bourdeau were the Seventh-day Adventist ministers in attendance, along with about ninety church members. Elder Charles P. Dow, the Advent Christian Minister in Magog, also attended most of the meetings. The Sunday meetings on August 24 were well attended by the general population and to such a captive audience, the three ministers preached on three of their most important doctrines: conversion, the change of the day of worship from Sabbath to Sunday in early Christian history, and the law of God and the obligation upon all Christians to follow it.²⁸

A Visit from James and Ellen White

Given the success achieved by this first camp meeting, a second one was scheduled for August 1880. The announcement in the local papers underscored the expected visit from church leaders and pioneers, James and Ellen White. For Bourdeau, the Whites' visit was an indication that the work he had accomplished was being noticed and appreciated, and their presence would strengthen the faith of his new church members. Also attending were Daniel Bourdeau and George Butler.

The camp meeting started on Thursday evening, August 12, and by then there were some twenty canvas tents and one big circular pavilion in Webster's grove. On Friday evening, James and Ellen White arrived on the camp ground. Later, in writing to her son Willie, Ellen White said that "when we came upon the ground the meeting was in session, but they gave a loud shout of victory. There was a joyous welcome for us."²⁹ Needless to say, the people were grateful for this visit.

The Sunday meetings were the most attended. Special trains, stagecoaches and boats brought an estimated crowd of 2500 people to the campsite. In the morning, James White, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, preached on their beliefs, and then gave a report on the progress of the Seventh-day Adventist work in the world. The local newspapers reported that "the venerable clergyman is a clear and ready speaker, and with his peculiar impressive manner, and rare courtesy, he wins the respectful attention of his audience." That afternoon, Ellen White spoke on the subject of temperance, a subject that drew lots of attention and good responses. This was a time when many attempts were made to pass prohibition laws and Adventists were strong advocates of such laws.³⁰ She commented in a letter to her children that "There had been a strong effort made to pass the prohibition law, but failed. Their head man said, 'If Mrs. White could have spoken in the cities when a few weeks ago the question was agitated, they would have carried the day.' They said they never heard anything by any speaker equal to that discourse on temperance."³¹ For Bourdeau, such an encouraging response gave credibility to his efforts and hard work. Although marginal, his little group of scattered believers was making an impact upon the Eastern Townships.

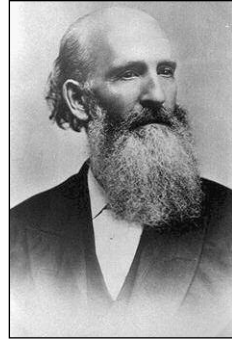


*James and Ellen White
(photo 1864)*

The Organization of the Quebec Conference

Another important event at this camp meeting occurred on Monday afternoon, August 16, when the Adventist believers in Quebec assembled under the leadership of James White to organize their own conference. "On motion, it was voted that we organize a Conference, after the plan of other S. D. Adventist Conferences; also, that it be

called the Seventh-day Adventist Conference of the Province of Quebec."³² The total membership stood at 132, and was distributed in three churches: Westbury-Eaton (organized in 1864), Bolton-Stukely and Dixville, as well as two companies,³³ one at Sutton, and the other at Brome. James and Ellen White, in their closing remarks, encouraged members to be faithful and to support their pastors.³⁴



James White
(photo ca. 1878)

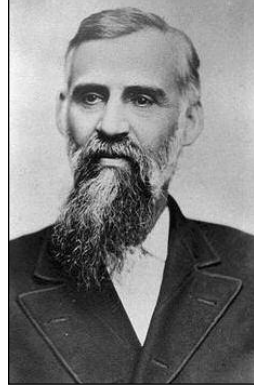
Such a small conference of 132 members could not survive without the support of dedicated lay members. At the time, only Augustin Bourdeau served as full time pastor in the conference and part of his responsibilities was to train lay members to take ownership and responsibility for many church operations in the Conference.³⁵ At the first annual business session of the conference the following year many resolutions adopted by the assembly indicate the extent to which lay members were involved in the work of the Conference. Various committees met to discuss the concerns of the Conference and of two societies formed to support the work of the Conference, the Tract and Missionary Society and the Health and Temperance Society.³⁶ Augustin Bourdeau was named as president of all three organizations but all the other offices were occupied by volunteer lay members.³⁷ In fact, a close look at the Conference officers for the first thirty years (1880–1910) indicates that the operation of the Conference depended upon the volunteer work of lay members. For twenty-six of those years, lay members served as secretary of the Conference and, in a similar manner, lay persons also served as treasurer of the Conference for twenty-four years.³⁸ It is obvious that without the caring support of dedicated lay people, the Conference would not have been able to function to the same extent.³⁹

The South Stukely Church Dedication

After working on the construction of their church for over three years, the South Stukely members completed it in September 1883. This was a special occasion, and a celebration was in order. Earlier that spring, Augustin Bourdeau announced that it would be preferable not to have a camp meeting that year, but instead wait for the dedication of the South Stukely church, and hold the conference session and the annual meetings of the societies at that time.⁴⁰

For the event, Bourdeau sought the presence of both Ellen White and George Butler, who had been reelected president of the Gener-

al Conference after James White's death. Because both were planning to attend the Vermont Conference camp meeting in early September, the church dedication could be held immediately after, he thought.⁴¹ This plan did not fit with Butler, however, who preferred to go on to other camp meetings. Bourdeau decided to attend the Vermont camp meeting and personally plead with Ellen White. In the end, to Bourdeau's disappointment, White and Butler could not go to South Stukely, preferring instead to attend their other scheduled camp meetings.⁴² Bourdeau rescheduled the dedication for October 4 to 8.⁴³



*George I. Butler
(photo 1883)*

For this occasion, a large tent was pitched near the church, and the pastors and members in Vermont were also invited to attend the dedication services. Bourdeau's description of their new church is still adequate after more than one hundred years:

This new building, which is well finished inside and out, has two stories. The first has an entry, and a main room, or chapel, which is seated with good chairs, and is where we hold our meetings. The second story has an entry and stairway, a front room used as a depository for books, a rear room in which to store away tents, boxes, etc. All felt thankful that we had such a house.⁴⁴

Within a year, this new church also became a church school — the first Seventh-day Adventist school in Canada.⁴⁵

Sadness and Grief Again

After moving to South Stukely in 1879, the Bourdeau family enjoyed good community relations with neighbors and other churches. Although a few years earlier, the Anglican Minister in the village had not appreciated the presence of Sabbath-keepers, attitudes progressively changed. Augustin Bourdeau had a pleasant and friendly personality that won over many reticent villagers. When the local Christian community wished to establish a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in December 1880, Bourdeau was elected vice-president. Bourdeau also did not hesitate to lend the conference tents used at camp meetings to the Anglican Church for their Fall Harvest Festival, a gesture that was very much appreciated.⁴⁶

The community truly rallied to support the Bourdeau family during Charlotte's fight with tuberculosis. Soon after the 1881 camp

meeting, Mrs. Bourdeau, who had already been ill for some time, left South Stukely to receive treatments at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, in Michigan. The local paper reported her illness and departure, and the Anglican Church responded by presenting a basket of cakes to Elder Bourdeau as a gesture of friendliness and comfort. The treatments, unfortunately, did not succeed in conquering the disease. Charlotte returned home but got worse and by summer 1883 — everyone knew she would not recover.⁴⁷

As mentioned previously, when Augustin Bourdeau attended the Vermont camp meeting in early September 1883, he invited Ellen White to come to the South Stukely church dedication. At that time, he shared with her the news of his wife's poor health. Her illness may have been another reason why he wished for White and Butler to come to the dedication. Having known the Bourdeaus for many years, White wished she could go but unable to visit she wrote a short letter to Charlotte encouraging her to put her trust in God and in the hope of the resurrection.⁴⁸

As expected, Charlotte's situation deteriorated until she died at home at the age of forty-seven on 27 November 1883, six weeks after the South Stukely church dedication. The *Waterloo Advertiser* expressed the community's sorrow: "It is with much regret that we record the death of Mrs. Bourdeau... after a long and lingering illness. She was much respected and her decease cast a gloom over the whole community." The funeral was held two days later at the Bordoville Seventh-day Adventist Church, near Enosburg, Vermont, where she was interred.⁴⁹

Soon after his wife's death, Bourdeau relinquished the presidency of the Quebec Conference and joined his brother Daniel on the European continent. As Bourdeau left the South Stukely community, the *Waterloo Advertiser* paid him a special farewell tribute and wished him success as a missionary in Europe. Clearly, the community had appreciated his ministry in their midst.⁵⁰

After Augustin Bourdeau left, his son-in-law, Rodney Owen, became the Conference president for nine years and built on the work began by Bourdeau. In 1888, Bourdeau returned to the Eastern Townships to help Owen in his work for two years and organized other churches in Fitch Bay, Way's Mills and South Bolton. In 1899, he returned again to help start the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Montreal. He came back for one last visit in 1914. He died the following year at the age of 81 and was buried in Battle Creek, Michigan.

Today, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada owes much

to Augustin Bourdeau. He was the first Seventh-day Adventist pastor to reside in Canada, and the president of the first conference in Canada. This pioneer French Canadian pastor was dedicated to see the success of his church in the Eastern Townships of Quebec and worked hard and long hours, often at personal sacrifices, away from his family. Bourdeau's influence is still felt in the churches he helped establish and the South Stukely church remains a memorial to his dedication and vision.

ENDNOTES

1. A third denomination, the Evangelical Adventist Church, died out in the early twentieth century. I have chronicled the history and impact of the Millerite movement in the Eastern Townships in the article "'The World Turned Upside Down': Millerism in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, 1835–1845," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, 11, Fall 1997: 39–59.
2. Augustin was born on 7 March 1834 in St. Armand, Quebec. Daniel was born on 28 December 1835 in Bordoville, Vermont. Their parents, Augustin Bourdeau (b. 12 July 1808) and Sarah A. Bourdeau (b. 8 April 1813) were born in Canada but reared in northern Vermont.
3. Our main source of information about early Sabbatarian Adventists, and for all other Adventists for that matter, is the periodicals they published. These journals provided their followers not only with doctrinal teaching but also served as means of communication between them as the editors readily published their subscribers' letters and reports of activities. Many such letters and reports came from the Eastern Townships. For Sabbatarian Adventists the denomination's journal was the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (or *Review and Herald* as commonly referred to) published from Rochester, New York (1852–1855) and Battle Creek, Michigan (1855–1903). (All references to Seventh-day Adventist documents in this article can be found at the Center for Adventist Research at the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.)
4. See, for example, letter of Daniel Bourdeau to Uriah Smith, *Review and Herald*, January 27, 1859, 77; letter of A. S. Hutchins to Uriah Smith, *Review and Herald*, March, 31 1859, 149; D. T. Bourdeau, "Meetings in Vt." *Review and Herald*, July 21, 1859, 72.
5. I recommend George R. Knight's *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999) for more information on the history and beliefs of this denomination.

6. The names of these original congregations were formed by combining the names of the townships where the members resided. They were the Troy-Potton church with members residing in Troy, Vt. and Potton, C.E., and the Richford-Sutton church with members from East Richford, Vt and Sutton, C.E. A third church was the Westbury-Eaton church and a fourth one the Sutton-Dunham church. For a number of years before that, there had already been a congregation in Melbourne.
7. Various factors account for these years of neglect. Among the major ones are a lack of financial resources to support the work of itinerant pastors in the Eastern Townships and the emigration of church members to the United States, an emigration encouraged by Bourdeau and others. This situation led to the disbanding of the Troy-Potton and Sutton-Dunham churches in the mid-1860s. I have chronicled in more details this situation in the upcoming publication "The Challenge of Rural Adventism."
8. The minutes of the Vermont Conference session for 1875 do not include the usual resolutions voted by the delegates (see A.S. Hutchins and C.W. Stone, "Report of Vt. Conference," *Review and Herald*, September 9, 1875, 79). The minutes of the General Conference session for 1875 are also silent on this. It is my guess that an action referring to Bourdeau's work in the Eastern Townships was voted at the Vermont Conference session since the work of Seventh-day Adventists in Quebec (which was limited to the Eastern Townships at the time) was under its responsibility.
9. A.C. Bourdeau, "Bolton, P.Q." *Review and Herald*, September 23, 1875, 95; A. C. Bourdeau, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, September 30, 1875, 102.
10. The money to pay for this rented hall most likely came from offerings of people attending the lectures and from church members in Vermont.
11. "Obituary Notices" [Mary L. Bourdeau], *Review and Herald*, January 20, 1876, 23.
12. "South Stukely" and "Eastern Townships News," *Waterloo Advertiser*, May 12, 1876; "West Bolton," *Waterloo Advertiser*, June 30, 1876.
13. A.C. Bourdeau and R.S. Owen, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, July 13, 1876, 22.
14. "Religious Lectures!" *Waterloo Advertiser*, June 30, 1876. Bourdeau provided short accounts of the lectures in the issues of June 7, 14 and 21, under the heading "Tent Meetings."
15. A.C. Bourdeau, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, August 10, 1876, 54.

16. A.C. Bourdeau and R.S. Owen, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, October 5, 1876, 110; A. C. Bourdeau, "Vermont and Canada," *Review and Herald*, December 7, 1876, 182.
17. "Records of the Stukely and Bolton Church," 1-3. The church covenant read: "We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together, as a church, taking the name, Seventh-day Adventists, covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ." Sixteen names are listed as charter members: Henry and Julia Beerwort, Horace, Melissa and Abigail McClary, Elizabeth E. Thomas, Betsey Booth [her husband, William, joined the church on November 3], Andrew and Jane Blake, Harrison McClary, John H. and Betsey A. Hammond, Charity Bradley, George Hill, and Augustin C. and Charlotte A. Bourdeau. The church members then proceeded to elect John Hammond as elder and Betsey Hammond as church clerk. The titles of Brother (Bro.) and Sister (Sr.) were often used in those days. An ordained pastor was usually called Elder (never Reverend) and sometimes Brother.
18. "Records of the Stukely and Bolton Church," 6.
19. "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, March 26, 1880.
20. R.S. Owen, "Barnston, P.Q." *Review and Herald*, December 20, 1877, 195.
21. A.C. Bourdeau, "A Cheering Report," *Review and Herald*, August 30, 1877, 77.
22. A.C. Bourdeau, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, April 11, 1878, 118.
23. "Appointments," *Review and Herald*, May 30, 1878, 176; S.N. Haskell, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, July 4, 1878, 15. For some reasons, the Dixville church had lost much of its vibrancy by the early 1900s. The congregation was disbanded, and the church sold in 1916. Some members of the congregation joined the Waterville church, which also inherited the Dixville church pews and pulpit.
24. A.S. Hutchins and C.E. Powell, "Vermont Conference," *Review and Herald*, October 17, 1878, 125. S.H. Haskell, member of the General Conference committee, already had recommended this action during his visit earlier in June (S.H. Haskell, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, July 4, 1878, 15).
25. A.S. Hutchins and C. E. Powell, "Vermont Conference," *Review and Herald*, October 17, 1878, 125; General Conference Session Minutes, October 9, 1878.
26. Large Adventist gatherings were nothing new in the Eastern Townships. Advent Christians and Evangelical Adventists already held yearly camp meetings that drew thousands of people. In

1878 alone, four major Adventist events occurred in the Townships. While Evangelical Adventists held their conference session at Fitch Bay (June 12 to 16), Advent Christians held three camp meetings, two at Beebe Plain (June 22 to 30 and September 17 to 22), and one at Magog (August 31 to September 9). On Sunday, June 30, over 9000 people attended the camp meeting in Beebe Plain. Such large crowds give evidence that Adventism was well known and thriving. In fact, the 1881 census records indicate that there were over 4000 people that year who declared themselves Adventists in the Eastern Townships (*Census of Canada, 1880–1881* [Ottawa: Maclean & Co., 1882], volume 1, 160). That figure includes all Adventists: Advent Christians and Evangelical Adventists were the largest groups. Seventh-day Adventists numbered between 100 and 200 members.

27. "Camp Meeting," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 1, 1879 and "Memphremagog Camp Meeting," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 7, 1879.
28. George I. Butler, "Camp-meeting at Magog, P.Q." *Review and Herald*, September 4, 1879, 85.
29. Ellen G. White, Letter 42, 1880 (To "Dear Children, Willie and Mary," 22 September 1880), published in Ellen G. White, *Manuscript Releases: From the Files of the Letters and Manuscripts Written by Ellen G. White* (Silver Spring, MD: E. G. White Estate, 1990), 5: 58–60. Two detailed and identical accounts of the camp meeting were published in local papers: "The Seventh-Day Adventist Camp-Meeting at Magog," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 27, 1880, and "Magog," *Stanstead Journal*, September 2, 1880.
30. "The Seventh-Day Adventist Camp-Meeting at Magog," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 27, 1880, and "Magog," *Stanstead Journal*, September 2, 1880.
31. Ellen G. White, Letter 39, 1880 (To "Dear Children," 19 August 1880, published in *Manuscript Releases*, 5: 57–58). A few weeks later, she again referred to the Quebec camp meeting in another letter to her son Willie. This time, she gave more details of her travel and activities in Magog and how she felt God had wanted her to go to this camp meeting in spite of a severe cold (Ellen G. White, Letter 42, 1880 [To "Dear Children, Willie and Mary," 22 September 1880], published in *Manuscript Releases*, volume 5: 58–60).
32. James White and D.T. Bourdeau, "Organization of the S.D.A. Conference of the Province of Quebec," *Review and Herald*, 2 September 1880, 173.
33. A company was a group of believers too small, or relatively too new in the faith, to be organized as a church.

34. The delegates elected Augustin Bourdeau, president, Daniel Bourdeau, secretary and Andrew Blake, a lay member from South Stukely, treasurer (James White and D.T. Bourdeau, "Organization of the S.D.A. Conference of the Province of Quebec," *Review and Herald*, September 2, 1880, 173).
35. Owen was a pastor in Vermont and Daniel Bourdeau was also employed by the Vermont Conference and worked in Quebec as funds were available to sustain him and his family.
36. These two societies were formed to support the work of the Conference. The Tract and Missionary Society promoted the distribution of doctrinal tracts by lay members, while the Health and Temperance Society encouraged temperance and other good health practices.
37. Carrie E. Cushing, from the Dixville church, was elected secretary of the Conference and Andrew Blake (South Stukely) was elected treasurer. John Claxton (Westbury-Eaton) was elected to serve on the executive committee with Cushing and Blake. The committee responsible for the physical preparations of the camp meeting was made up of Horace McClary (South Stukely), C.P. Terrill (Dixville) and James Buchanan (Sutton). The Tract and Missionary Society elected C.P. Terrill as vice-president and Mary L. Cushing as secretary and treasurer. For its part, the Health and Temperance Society elected Carrie E. Cushing as secretary and treasurer.
38. Women also served in these positions of leadership. For twelve of those thirty years, a woman occupied the responsibility of secretary of the Conference, and for nine years the function of treasurer.
39. A. C. Bourdeau and D. T. Bourdeau, "Quebec Conference," *Review and Herald*, September 13, 1881, 187; A. C. Bourdeau and Carrie E. Cushing, "Quebec Health and Temperance Association," *Review and Herald*, September 13, 1881, 187; A. C. Bourdeau and Mary L. Cushing, "Quebec Tract Society," *Review and Herald*, September 13, 1881, 188.
40. A.C. Bourdeau, "To the Brethren in Canada," *Review and Herald*, April 17, 1883, 256.
41. A.C. Bourdeau, "Appointments," *Review and Herald*, August 28, 1883, 559.
42. See Ellen G. White, Letter W-26, 1883 (To "Dear Children, Willie and Mary," 3 September 1883), unpublished letter.
43. A.C. Bourdeau, "Meeting in Canada," *Review and Herald*, September 18, 1883, 605.
44. A.C. Bourdeau, "The Annual Meeting of Canada," *Review and Herald*, October 23, 1883, 667.

45. The school operated from 1884 to 1909 and again from 1916 to 1924. Its first teacher was Mary Cushing from Dixville (J. Ernest Monteith, *The Lord Is My Shepherd: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada* [College Heights, AB: Parkland Color-Press, 1983]: 173–174).
46. “South Stukely,” *Waterloo Advertiser*, December 24, 1880; “South Stukely,” *Waterloo Advertiser*, October 13, 1882.
47. “South Stukely,” *Waterloo Advertiser*, September 16, 1881, October 7, 1881 and August 24, 1883.
48. Ellen G. White, Letter B-28, 1883 (To Mrs. A. C. Bourdeau, 3 September 1883), unpublished letter.
49. “South Stukely,” *Waterloo Advertiser*, November 30, 1883; “Obituary Notices” [Charlotte Bourdeau], *Review and Herald*, December 18, 1883, 797.
50. “South Stukely,” *Waterloo Advertiser*, March 21, 1884.