Quebec’s Eastern Townships

Part 1

A BRIEF HISTORY
OF ITS PEOPLES, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

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The historical Eastern Townships region has greatly evolved over the past few decades. Today, this tourist region that is home to several British and American traditions is divided into several sub-regions such as Estrie (Richmond, Sherbrooke, Stanstead), the Montérégie (Missisquoi, Brome, Shefford), and the Appalachian Uplands (Wolfe, Frontenac, Compton, Megantic).

The topography of the Eastern Townships is represented by the Appalachian Plateau. These borderland mountains sit on the border between the Province of Quebec and American states of Maine and New Hampshire. The summits of Mount Hereford, of Mount Megantic and of Mount Gosford are in this mountain range, making up the tail end of New Hampshire’s White Mountains. On the Vermont side of the border, one finds the Green Mountains, of which the Sutton mountains are the extension.

Six different St-Lawrence River tributaries flow into the Eastern Townships. They are the Chaudière, St-Francis, Bécancour, Nicolet, and Yamaska Rivers, as well as the Richelieu River, flowing through Lake Champlain. Several natural resources are also found on this territory, namely: zinc, asbestos, chrome, copper, lead and silver.

Although today the English-speaking population represents only 5.8% of all Eastern Townships inhabitants, English-speakers played a pioneering role in the development of the Eastern Townships. The Anglophone elite took advantage of various natural resources native to the region and forged relationships with the United States in order to develop the local economy. Moreover, cultural and political relationships with the British Empire left their mark on the region’s institutions.

Massive immigration waves occurred throughout the 19th century and had a considerable impact on the region’s demographic profile. After the arrival of pioneers immigrating from New England, groups from Scotland, Ireland, and England also chose the Eastern Townships as an area where they could settle and develop a township. As the century progressed, the Anglo-Protestant majority lost ground to a growing French-Catholic majority. The 19th century was characterized by major economic, political and social changes. This brief history of the Eastern Townships aims to provide an overview of various themes, events and individuals who had an impact on the development of this region.
MAP OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS
Photo credit: ETRC

Townships
Seigneuries

Horton
Arthabaska
Garthby
Stratford
Price
Coleraine
Lampton
Adstock
Forsyth
Rishbrough
Inverness

Sorel
St-Armand
Sutton
Potton
Dunham
St-Karnd
Watkins
St-Francois
Bolton
Ontario
Skipton
Greenhast
Dunham

Montreal
Granby
Milton
De Ramezay

Halifax
Brampton
Cleveland
York

United States
Canada

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Farnham
Stanbridge
Foucault
Noyan
St-Armand

Brompton
Windsor
Wotton

Somerset
Halifax
Broughton

Nelson
Sium

St-Karnd
Watkins
St-Francois
Bolton
Ontario
Skipton
Greenhast
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QUEBEC’S EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

In 1689, the Franco-British wars began. The various Indigenous groups occupying the territory found themselves at the heart of the conflicts: for 70 years, the Eastern Townships would be the seat of several confrontations.

“An episode, engraved in collective memory, regarding a battle between an Abenaki chief and an Iroquoian chief on the site of the solitary pine in Sherbrooke, is related to these confrontations. Despite the Iroquoian defeat on this occasion, the Mohawks remained powerful enough to destroy, around 1695, the Arsiganentegok [Magog].” (Kesteman, 1998, p. 67). The influx of an Indigenous population as a result of these various conflicts led the government of New France to cede land to Native groups: this marked the beginning of the St. Francis Mission, better known as Odanak.

During the American War of Independence, the Abenakis helped the English monitor the Nicolet, St-Francis and Yamaska Rivers to ward off potential American attacks. However, they remained relatively neutral in these conflicts.

As a result of various wars and exposure to diseases, the Native presence in the Eastern Townships region dwindled to become practically nonexistent. However, up until the turn of the 20th century, one could still observe an Abenaki presence on the territory during hunting and fishing seasons. They could be seen in Cookshire and on the shores of Lake Massawippi until the 1830s. After the land in the region had been cleared, the Abenakis came to favour the Lac Mégantic region, where some would uphold their traditional lifestyle until the 1880s.
The Abenaki name for Sherbrooke is Ktinékétélékoas, which means “Great Forks”;

Arsigantegok is the Abenaki name for Magog;

Owl’s Head Mountain bears the name of an Abenaki chief.
As one passes over the Saint-François Bridge on Terrill Street in Sherbrooke today, a cross is visible as it stands on a small rock island in the middle of the river below. Until 1913, however, it was a solitary pine tree that stretched out from the crevasses of the rock and was long an element of curiosity and legend for residents and visitors to the area. Even as early 1815, when European and American settlement was still in its early stages in this region, surveyor Joseph Bouchette included a reference to the intriguing rock island with the single pine tree in his topographical description of Sherbrooke.

The most well-known narrative associated with the Lone Pine comes from an Abenaki legend recounting a battle in 1692 between an Abenaki tribe and an Iroquoian tribe. Rather than lose many warriors in a large battle, each side agreed to select one warrior to represent their respective tribes. The two warriors then made their way to the rock of the Lone Pine where, as legend states, they chased each other around the rock and the first one overcome by exhaustion was killed by his opponent. In this battle, it was the Abenaki warrior who came out victorious over the Iroquoian warrior.

Another legend concerning the Lone Pine was created and popularized by Oscar Massé in his 1922 novel titled Menâ'sen. In this book, Massé recounts the story of a betrothed couple who had escaped from imprisonment at Saint-François-du-Lac and found their way to Sherbrooke. Tragically, the young woman died in the arms of her fiancé and he buried her on the island, planting a small pine tree in her honour, which grew to be the Lone Pine.

The Lone Pine towered proudly over the St-Francis River until 1913, when it succumbed to a violent storm. After its fall, pieces of its trunk were cut up and sold locally as souvenirs. To commemorate the 400th anniversary of Jacques Cartier’s arrival in Canada, an iron cross was placed on the rock in 1934. In 1983, the island’s official name was designated as La Menâ’sen, coming from the Abenaki words for island and rock.
THE LONE PINE IN THE ST-FRANCIS RIVER NEAR SHERBROOKE FROM 1913.

Photo credit: ETRC / E001 P058-010-07-001-023 Herbert Derrick collection
CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE A DISTINCT CULTURAL IDENTITY. THEIR GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION IS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS. THIS BORDERLAND TERRITORY SERVED AS AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

As such, three different realities played a role in the development of a local cultural identity. Firstly, the Eastern Townships acted as a relay to New England states (Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts). Secondly, the region played a pivotal role in the development of imperial dominance over the territory thanks to the influence of colonial authorities and to immigration from the British Isles. Finally, French-Canadian society would also come to have an impact on local identity. These three, distinct factors related to time and space had a significant impact on the region’s demographic profile, its culture, and its economy.

The Eastern Townships are also known for their unique system of land occupation. Contrary to the French tradition that consisted of building seigneuries and of establishing lands that were subject to seigneurial rights, colonial administration in the area ceded lands in what was called free tenure and full ownership, and these lands became known as townships. Once an individual became owner of the land, he was free to dispose of it as he pleased. This long-established system, dating back to the old American colonies, appealed to Americans, who valued equality and independence. For some time, in the absence of a framework imposed by local authorities, the first American settlers would be self-sufficient by building their own roads and opening their own schools. As for the colonial administration – upper-level leaders and non-elected members of the province’s Executive Council – it would seek to organize this region, which in its view was becoming far too American. To this end, it sought to establish a local gentry, that is, the presence of a small, rural nobility, following the British model, in order to halt the growing Republican mentality among newcomers.

As of the 1840s, the region became more accessible to French-Canadian settlers. The roads were passable, and industrialization, which increased the local demand
for workers, attracted Francophones to the Townships. These individuals were often hired as seasonal workers or as labourers. A mass wave of Francophone settlers in the region considerably changed the local demographic equilibrium. Fairly absent at the beginning of the century, they formed much of the local population one hundred years later. The Eastern Townships were, throughout the 19th century, a region that saw significant immigration and emigration. The various waves of migration (American, British, Scottish, Irish, French-Canadian) contributed to its development. Likewise, it should not be forgotten that there were also several waves of emigration, and many left the area for the American and Canadian West.

Lydia Laberee was born in Quebec in 1803 or 1804, the daughter of Rufus and Olive Laberee. Her first marriage was to Thomas K. Oughtred, who was a teacher and private land agent during his lifetime. The couple lived in Eaton Township, not far from Cookshire, and had three children: Harriet, Susan, and Eliza. Thomas died in 1839 and Lydia remarried a number of years later, in 1852, to John Sawyer.

After her second marriage, Lydia began keeping a diary. Although her entries are usually brief and discuss what some might consider the mundane things of life, her writings cover a variety of subjects and give us a valuable window into life in Eaton during the mid-1800s.

In an entry from 1856 Lydia described how it rained every day through most of the month of August, from the 3rd to the 30th. In fact, so much rain fell that it flooded the fields and carried “large quantities” of hay downstream. According to her July 1st entry in 1868, Canada’s very first Dominion Day had temperatures that climbed into the 30s. In January 1856, Lydia mentioned an outbreak of smallpox in the neighbourhood. She also indicated when relatives and neighbours welcomed a new baby into the world and, likewise, she noted when someone died. Not unlike many diarists of this time period, many of Lydia’s notes related to the weather and farming activities, such as planting, frosts, and harvests. Notably, she consistently jotted down when sugaring began each year, most often around April 1st.
THE DIVISION OF LAND INTO TOWNSHIPS


This constitutional change contrasted with the French and seigneurial systems. From this moment on, new Crown lands were conceded to the population, but only under certain terms. The new territories that were ceded were divided into townships. This was a particular way of delineating a given territory. This system, often used in the British colonies, consisted of dividing the land into squares of 17 km by 17 km. Ceded territories were free of all servitudes, contrary to the seigneurial system. As of 1792, in both Upper and Lower Canada, newly ceded lands would be handed over to landowners.

In the Eastern Townships, the attribution of new land was undertaken through a slow and complex process. As a result, over the first four years, only one township was ceded. To be granted a township, a petition needed to be submitted by a group made up of a leader and of associates. The leader had to have the ability to put forward the necessary funds to survey the plots of land that would be distributed to the associates. The leader also had to commit to the construction of bridges, roads and mills, and needed to attract other settlers. The associates, for their part, committed to clearing and to cultivating the land that had been attributed to them. In exchange, they would be granted ownership of their plot. However, the leader retained the rights to certain parcels of the lands that were ceded to the associates. To obtain a township, a group of associates was required to petition the Executive Council. These petitions were then examined by a special committee within the council: the Land Committee.

When the settlement of the Eastern Townships first began, new lands were reserved for groups of associates only. However, very few plots of land were, in fact, ceded. The administrative burden imposed by the process complicated matters. A new procedure for ceding lands was therefore implemented in 1796. This new procedure was speculative in nature and consisted in ceding lands to individuals rather than to groups. The Executive Council ceded thousands of acres of lands to its own members (public servants, friends). To obtain these lands at no cost, leaders would recruit fictitious associates and would then sell the lands to new buyers. Several landowners had only one goal: to build their fortune through land speculation.
There were several consequences to this manner of ceding property. Firstly, several plots remained unoccupied, their owners absent. Families would then settle without permission on these unoccupied plots of land. Moreover, because several plots of land were obtained with a view to engaging in land speculation, the amount of land that was available to be cleared by real settlers decreased. Settlement of the region therefore proceeded slowly until 1824, when the British American Land Company obtained exclusive rights on the sale of Crown lands in the Eastern Townships.

Land companies, such as the well-known British American Land Company, were common in the Townships in the 1800s and aimed to encourage the economic development and settlement of the region. Among the various land companies that operated in the Townships was the Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company, which was concentrated in the townships of Marston, Ditton, Clinton and Hampden. The Glasgow Land Company was started in 1873 by four merchants in Glasgow, Scotland who wanted a piece of the overseas investment trend.

Although the Glasgow Land Company’s priority was to exploit mineral and natural resources from the land it acquired in Canada, various circumstances led to its involvement in settlement initiatives. In particular, the company chose a spot on the Lingwick-Hampden border for the construction of a dam and mill on the Salmon River. With the mill came the establishment of what would eventually become Scotstown; buildings to house the labourers and their families, an office and store, a blacksmith shop and a hotel, among others. While the settlement of the village was successful, the company faced a number of challenges in its attempts to make its lumber business profitable.

Amidst a long list of hurdles, Aeneas McMaster was named the Glasgow Company’s new manager in 1875, replacing John Scott. The ETRC preserves a collection of letters from McMaster’s time as manager, which cover a wealth of subjects. Some of them are from new immigrants requesting that McMaster give them opportunities for work and land with the Company, while others are from McMaster’s employees describing some of the difficult conditions faced by the new settlers. Still other letters are from McMaster himself, and testify to the challenges he faced to find markets for his lumber, as well as land conflicts between French-Canadians and immigrants from the British Isles.

Still struggling to make the company financially viable, the Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company sold its operations to the Great Northern Lumber Company in 1903.
Several plots of land were given to British officers and soldiers who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars and in the War of 1812. The best example is that of William Bowman Felton, a British naval officer who received, in 1815, a land concession in the townships of Ascot and Orford.

Felton had great plans to develop the region. Contrary to other speculators, he had his land cleared and set up residence. In 1823, he was elected to the Legislative Council. His actions were profitable for the Sherbrooke region. This developer was a leading figure in the Family Compact. The Family Compact was the informal name given to the rich, conservative, Upper Canadian elite at the turn of the 19th century. This elite governed the colony before the election of a responsible government. As a member of the Legislative Council, Felton proposed several legislative bills that responded to local demands and that favoured the development of the City of Sherbrooke. In 1823, he succeeded in passing a law that created the judicial district of St. Francis, and another, in 1829, that led to the creation of regional counties. Felton and his friends, dubbed the “Felton Clan,” wished to “Britishize” the Eastern Townships. To do so, they maintained political, legal and administrative control of the region. However, political controversies would lead to Felton’s disgrace. He was eventually removed from office, and his lands were claimed anew by the Crown.
UNIDENTIFIED FAMILY, C. 1870s.

Photo credit: ETRC / P998-2016-045-002 Eastern Township Resource Centre Graphic Material collection
The Hyatt family came to the United States from England in the mid-17th century. With the onset of the American Revolution, Abraham Hyatt and his family, then living in Schenectady, NY, supported the Loyalist side. In show of this support, he and two of his sons, Gilbert and Cornelius, enlisted with the King's Loyal Americans.

As with many Americans, the Hyatts' decision to remain loyal to the British crown made them the target of persecution, ridicule, and susceptible to the seizure of land and businesses. Around the late 1770s, Abraham Hyatt, his wife, and his ten children (Gilbert, Cornelius, Abraham, Jacob, Charles, Isaac, Joseph, Anna, Mary, and Merriam) took refuge in the Province of Quebec.

After a proclamation permitting the colonization of the Eastern Townships, Gilbert Hyatt and 204 associates requested the Township of Ascot. In 1792, having obtained authorization to survey the township, Gilbert and many members of his family settled in. It was not until 1803, however, that he and 30 associates received the letters patent for the land. After close to a decade of delays and anticipation, many of the original petitioners were disqualified and still others received less than the usual 1200 acres. Receiving less than he had anticipated, Gilbert Hyatt found himself at a financial loss after having personally funded the surveying of the township and his settlement, along with the settlement of other families, in Ascot.

Gilbert Hyatt recognized the value of topography of the area and established a grist mill at the confluence of the Magog and St. Francis Rivers. The site was originally known as Hyatt’s Mills but was renamed Sherbrooke, after Sir John Sherbrooke, in 1818. Additionally, Gilbert Hyatt held a number of public offices. He was appointed as Justice of the Peace in 1806 and as Commissioner to administer the oath of allegiance to applicants for land in the Township of Ascot in 1808. He died in Sherbrooke on September 17, 1823, at the age of 62.
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**List of Associates of the Township of Ascot, 1796**

Photo credit: ETRC / E001 P004-001 Hyatt Family fonds
MANY BELIEVE THAT THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS WERE DEVELOPED AND SETTLED BY AMERICAN LOYALISTS. IS THIS REALLY THE CASE? IS THIS INFORMATION MYTH OR REALITY? WHAT ROLE DID LOYALISTS TRULY PLAY IN EASTERN TOWNSHIPS HISTORY?

During the American Revolution, several men who remained loyal to the British Empire volunteered for battle. When the treaty ending the American War of Independence was signed in 1783, some Loyalist refugees would come to settle in the Upper Richelieu Valley, at the heart of the unoccupied seigneuries of Noyan, Foucault and St-Armand. The lands were good for clearing, and their geographic location was perfect for commerce with the United States. Some one hundred Loyalist families (500-600 inhabitants) would illegally settle on these lands that the Governor of Lower Canada refused to cede.

In 1791, these families were given new reason to hope. The Constitutional Act organized the concession of Crown lands by dividing them into townships. From this moment on, Loyalists had the right to petition the Crown for plots of land. To be eligible to receive a plot of land, the petitioner needed to demonstrate that he had suffered losses as a result of his loyalty to the British Crown. Moreover, he had to pledge allegiance to the Crown. Then, a leader who had recruited a group of associates had to submit a petition to obtain a township. This petition was examined by the Land Committee.

Despite this, securing land was not so simple. General Haldimand, Governor at the time, was reluctant to cede land to Americans. The state of Vermont was not yet annexed to the United States; the Governor therefore wished to keep the region as a buffer zone between Lower Canada and the United States. Consequently, some Americans who came from New England to settle in the townships did so illegally (they were squatters). However, others would claim to be Loyalists solely in order to secure land. As customs examinations did not yet exist, several Americans also arrived in the region without even knowing that they were in Canada. Most only saw land that was ideal for clearing. Between 1792 and 1812, 20 000 Americans came to the Eastern Townships. How many of these, though, were truly Loyalists? Is it true that Loyalists developed the Eastern Townships? The answer is complex, and its interpretations are many. The region was clearly developed by individuals of American origin. Some were Loyalists, or sons of Loyalists. In the end, Americans played a considerable role in the development of the region, but the context surrounding the Constitutional Act played a far greater role in attracting this so-called Loyalist population to the area.
The beginnings of Clarenceville can be traced back to the late 1700s, about the time of the U.S.' War of Independence, when those loyal to the British crown sought refuge in Canada. Among the early settlers were the Salls, Dericks, Beerworts, Vaughans, and Hawleys, who came to an area that was initially called Christie’s Manor. It officially became Clarenceville in 1845, based on the name of the post office there, which was named for King William IV, who was initially the Duke of Clarence. Renamed in 1989 after the parish, the municipality is now known as St-Georges-de-Clarenceville. The town is located just north of the Canada/US border, in between Misisquoi Bay and the Richelieu River. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Clarenceville served as an important supply centre for the surrounding agricultural communities as well as a customs post. At the turn of the 20th century, it included four churches, a hotel, two cheese factories, a mill, a school, a convent and six stores. A drive through Clarenceville today will find only pieces of the past visible in its present landscapes, small testaments to the thriving village centre that it once was.
AN AMERICAN ACCENT IN THE TOWNSHIPS

SOME AMERICANS (LOYALISTS) LEFT THE UNITED STATES AS AN ACT OF LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH KING, AND OTHERS WERE ATTRACTION BY THE ABUNDANCE AND GRATUITY OF LANDS. THESE SETTLERS CAME FROM NEW ENGLAND STATES (MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, VERMONT AND CONNECTICUT). THEY OFTEN LEFT IN GROUPS, FROM ONE SMALL VILLAGE, OR ACCOMPANIED BY FAMILY AND FRIENDS. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME 200 FAMILIES LEFT THE SMALL VILLAGES OF THE CONNECTICUT OR MERRIMACK VALLEYS ANDヘADED FOR THE STANSTEAD REGION.

Although some Americans, out of loyalty, returned to the United States during the War of 1812-1814, settlement of the region continued after this conflict. A second generation of Americans helped complete the occupation of the townships (1820-1830). Consequently, American know-how had a considerable impact on the region’s economy.

Americans from New England were accustomed from childhood to living and surviving in the woods. They were from a long line of land clearers. Isaac Lawrence was an excellent example of this: at the age of 57, after having cleared lands in Vermont, he came to the wild forests of Shefford Township. Pioneer life was harsh and very dangerous. The dwellings in which pioneers lived often had no floors, no windows and no chimney. Furniture was built on the spot. Perchance, the land was fertile, and the first harvests were plentiful. But danger lurked everywhere, and accidents frequently occurred: several settlers died, crushed or drowned in the rapids and rivers, children would get lost in the woods, etc. Women played an essential role in settler families’ survival and prosperity. They were not only responsible for cooking and housekeeping, they also sewed, weaved, knitted, and cared for the sick. When the men were absent, they took over tending the land.

Within American pioneer society, values of equality and liberty were very important. Being the sons of the American Revolution, these pioneers fervently upheld liberalist ideologies. To the British, however, they were savages, men of the woods. These pioneers liked to drink whisky, and alcoholism was rampant within this community. Acknowledging neither the authority of the State nor the authority of the Church, American pioneers adopted the New England model of organization (educational institutions, municipal politics). By imposing taxes upon themselves, they managed to build roads and schools, in sum, all infrastructures that were necessary for a community to develop and thrive. The population of New England was known to be highly educated.
These pioneers would hold the same attachment to education, and at the beginning of the 1830s, the inhabitants of the Eastern Townships were the most highly educated in all Lower Canada.

Illiteracy was very rare among the Eastern Townships’ English-speaking population. Anglophones of the area were literate and read daily. Various Vermont newspapers circulated within the Eastern Townships. The school system, of American inspiration, respected denominational diversity, much to the displeasure of the British elite, who preferred an educational system that was controlled by the State and by the Anglican Church. There were few Roman Catholics living in the area during this period. The population of the Eastern Townships was largely Protestant, but there were certain rivalries between various denominations. The strong influence of evangelical religions (Methodists, Baptists) rivalled with more traditional Churches, present within the British Isles, such as the Anglican or the Presbyterian Churches.

Settlers arriving from the United States were known for their individualism: they did not feel any attachment to the region. In 1818 alone, 4000 inhabitants of American origin would move away from the Eastern Townships.
The oldest original documents held at the Eastern Townships Resource Centre Archives reflect the region’s American heritage. A deed of sale from 1671 between Charles Brown and his son, John Brown, comes from Essex County in Massachusetts. This particular document is part of a collection from Annie Brown Fergusson, whose family later immigrated to Canada and settled in Windsor in 1806. Consisting largely of land deeds and wills, this collection includes a number of documents from the late 1600s and early 1700s.

Another document dates from 1783. It is a passport issued by Sir Frederick Haldimand, then Captain-General of Quebec, for the safe passage of John Savage and his brother from Quebec City to what was known as the “Loyal Blockhouse” on Lake Champlain. The purpose of the trip was apparently to bring their family effects to the Blockhouse. An American Loyalist, Savage fought for the British during the Revolutionary War and received a letters patent for Shefford Township in 1801. Savage remains a prominent figure in Townships history and is recognized for his contributions to the development of Shefford, in part by opening roads and organizing religious services. He also remained active in the militia as Captain of the 2nd Battalion of the Eastern Townships Militia.
FREDERICK HALDIMAND,
CAPTAIN-GENERAL and Governor in Chief of the
Province of Quebec and Territories thereon de-
pending, &c.
GENERAL and Commander in Chief of his Majesty’s
Forces in said Province, and the Frontiers thereof,
&c. &c. &c.

To all Officers Civil and Military whom it may concern.

PERMIT the Bearer hereof, John Savage
and his Brother

to pass from hence to Corunna Point to carry his
Arms, without let or hindrance, behaving as becometh. This
Passport to be in force until the business of it
shall be accomplished.

GIVEN at Quebec 23 Aug. 1783.

Fred. Haldimand

By His Excellency’s Command,

R Matheus.

A PASSPORT SIGNED BY QUEBEC GOVERNOR, F. HALDIMAND, FOR JOHN SAVAGE, AN AMERICAN LOYALIST, FROM 1783.

Photo credit: ETRC / E001 P028-001 John Savage fonds
DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY, THE FRENCH-CANADIAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE MADE UP MOST OF LOWER CANADA’S LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The French-Canadian majority would first form the Canadian Party, which would become the Patriot Party. Both Councils, Legislative and Executive, were those that truly held power and were controlled, at the time, by Anglophone merchants and senior officials. The French-Canadian majority systematically blocked all requests to develop the Eastern Townships. For this reason, failing to obtain political support, pioneers of American origins turned their political affairs over to the prominent English-speakers of Montreal and Quebec who dominated the Legislative Council. Eastern Townships citizens indeed wanted speculative, unoccupied properties to be taxed and new electoral districts to be created. In 1822, the St. Francis District was created, and Sherbrooke was chosen to be the county seat. John Fletcher was named judge of the Provincial Court for the St. Francis District. This marked the beginning of administrative organization in the Eastern Townships. The City of Sherbrooke became the new regional hub. Fletcher, like Felton, was widely criticized, and local citizens of American origins circulated several petitions against him. In 1829, the electoral map was redrawn, and five new ridings were created: Drummond, Shefford, Sherbrooke, Stanstead and Missisquoi.

The first local elections took place in 1829. In order to have the right to vote, an individual had to be aged 21 years or more, had to own property and had to pledge allegiance to the British Crown. Single women and widows were authorized to vote, except in the elections of 1849. The vote was public, which gave rise to several conflicts and even brawls intended to prevent partisans from voting. The first elected officials for the Stanstead County were Marcus Child and Ebenezer Peck. Samuel Brooks was elected in Sherbrooke.
Several ideologies shared the public space in Lower Canada. Firstly, liberalism advocated freedom of the press, civil rights, economic rights, etc. This ideology was at the heart of the American Revolution. On the other hand, conservatism promoted traditional values and was opposed to all forms of change. The British Party represented this ideology and valued British imperialism. Lastly, the Patriot Party was opposed to imperialism and defended liberalist ideals. As such, a new group in favour of democracy and institutional reforms in Lower Canada began to bourgeon in the Eastern Townships. This group would uphold liberal and reformist values. Its members were mostly citizens of American origins. This group, dubbed Reformists, wished to end the British senior officials’ monopoly on the region. Their adversaries, Tories, were in favour of the constitution; hence they were known as constitutionals. Throughout the Eastern Townships, a network of constitutionals was formed to promote a land development project that would contribute to “Britishizing” the region.
In 1824, a land development company was founded in order to settle and develop Upper Canada. This company, founded by John Galt, was called the Canada Land Company.

Galt also wished to create a similar institution that would contribute to the development of the Eastern Townships. Associates who promoted this project had ties to the British administration. John Galt and Edward Ellice were co-founders of this group. Because it wished to invest significant capital to favour the settlement of British immigrants in the Eastern Townships, thus changing the demographic face of Lower Canada, this group would succeed in controlling local opinion and in seeing this project come to fruition. The Patriot Party, which counted several citizens of American origins among its ranks, was opposed to this project.

In 1833, Samuel Brooks, an American merchant and former candidate for the British Tories, was sent to London with a petition in favour of the creation of the establishment of a land development company. In 1834, the British American Land Company (BALC) was established and granted 343,995 hectares of land in the Eastern Townships. Between 1834 and 1837, the BALC would widely promote the area. It praised the beauty of the landscape and of the hilly terrain. Advertisements boasting the region’s proximity to the cities of Montreal and Quebec were circulated. Some also claimed that the region had escaped the cholera epidemic. When settlement began, individuals purchased land for profit. The company, as agreed, built roads, bridges and mills.

Starting in 1840, a new character began to have a significant impact on the region’s development. Alexander Galt, son of John Galt, became a local administrator for the BALC. In his view, it was imperative to attract American and Canadian settlers, as they were the ones who best adapted to the modest conditions of the Eastern Townships territory. The company also allowed individuals to spread their payments over time, and accepted in kind reimbursement of tardy payments. Between 1844 and 1855, the company invested in the development of mills, industrial manufacturing plants and railways. The purpose was to make the Eastern Townships region more accessible and attractive to investors and immigrants. In 1852, the BALC successfully convinced the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway to pass through the City of Sherbrooke rather than through Stanstead. From this moment on, Sherbrooke’s elite became a united group that dominated the political, social and economic landscapes. The British American Land Company was active until 1950, but most land plots were sold prior to 1910.
Over the years, as the Eastern Townships was settled and as the population shifted, the names of many towns and villages have changed with time. Cowansville was once known as Nelsonville, Ayer’s Cliff as Ayer’s Flat (even earlier, it was Langmaid’s Flat), and Bishopton was once Bishop’s Crossing. Also notably, up until the early 1900s, the town of Bury was known by the name of Robinson. The origins of Bury’s original name are still somewhat unclear, but it has been argued that it was first named Robinson in the 1830s after a gentleman who was working with the British American Land Company. The town of Robinson was founded in 1839 with the establishment of a post office by that name. Although the Township of Bury was officially opened for settlement in 1803, it was not until the British American Land Company became involved that settlers began to immigrate to the area. Lemuel Pope and Thomas Stokes were among the first settlers in what would become the village of Robinson. Both the Pope and Stokes families left their mark on the town’s industries through the establishment of sawmills, a general store, a carriage factory, etc.

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In 1870s, the International Railway constructed a rail line through Robinson, which eventually became part of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The train station built at Robinson was known as the Bury station and it is believed that this was the beginning of the end for “Robinson”. By 1911, the town was officially renamed Bury.
THE TURN OF THE 19TH CENTURY WAS MARKED BY VERY SLOW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. COMMUNICATION CHANNELS WERE LACKING AND ACCESS TO FOREIGN MARKETS WAS IMPOSSIBLE.

Moreover, local economic development was impeded by the fact that immigrants were reluctant to settle on the territory. Sound knowledge of agriculture and the settlement of fertile lands nonetheless contributed to a bountiful crop production. Regional agriculture in the Eastern Townships was unique in terms of its output. Indeed, the boom in capitalist livestock farming had a positive impact on agricultural outputs.

William Felton owned a vast property and hired day labourers. His domain, which made up what is today known as Sherbrooke’s Old North, contained mills and sawmills. During Napoleon’s 1806 continental blockade of Europe, England could no longer meet its demands for lumber in Europe. This led to the rapid development of the lumber industry in the colony. The use of hydraulic energy was also widespread in the Eastern Townships.
BREWRIES AND DISTILLERIES: A REGIONAL EXPERTISE

In 1837, two British immigrants, T. Austin and G. Slack, joined forces to open the Lennoxville Brewery. An impressive number of distilleries were located in the region.

This industry transformed surplus productions of potatoes into alcohol and sold its production of white whisky on the Montreal market. Alcohol became a form of currency. For example, William Felton sold a Sherbrooke tavern in exchange for 4,000 gallons of whisky. Alcohol was considered by many to be a dietary supplement, a remedy for several illnesses and a beverage far less toxic for a person’s health than well water. However, prior to 1840, various obstacles hindered local outputs. Access to urban markets in Lower Canada (Quebec, Montreal, Trois-Rivières) was difficult, and transportation costs were high. Moreover, the Eastern Townships population had poor access to capital and to credit, which had a negative impact on the development of a regional economy. It was only with the advent of means of transportation (railways, roads) and of industrialization that the Eastern Townships became a major economic hub in Canada.
TURBULENCE AND POLITICAL TENSIONS

In Lower Canada, the years that preceded the Patriots’ rebellion were characterized by conflicts between English- and French-Canadians.

In the Eastern Townships, however, this conflict materialized between American Reformists and Conservatives (also referred to as Constitutionalists or Tories) who adhered to the imperial intent to “Britishize” the Townships. The Anglophone community of the Missisquoi and Stanstead counties was very divided. This duality lay between those individuals who agreed to an alliance with the Patriots and those who were opposed. Between 1834 and 1837, these counties were among the most active and the most divided in Lower Canada. Anglophone Reformists defended a policy that guaranteed rights to the majority. The constitutionalists, on the other hand, wished to prevent French-Canadians from acquiring greater political power. They were also opposed to any changes to the Constitution.

The Reformists believed that the uninhabited lands of the Eastern Townships ought to belong to the population of the province and not to the British American Land Company. Turning several of these lots over to the company was a sign, in their opinion, of the British government meddling in the colony’s domestic affairs.

SALE OF LAND IN THE TOWNSHIPS OF BURY AND NEWPORT TO JAMES A. FRASER, SIGNED BY RICHARD WILLIAM HENeker, COMMISSIONER OF BALC, AUGUST 11, 1860.

Photo credit: ETRC / P997-001-02-001-006 Eastern Townships Resource Centre Textual Records collection
MARCUS CHILD, DEPUTY FOR STANSTEAD, APPROVED OF THE 92 RESOLUTIONS. HERE IS AN AERIAL VIEW OF STANSTEAD LOOKING WEST FROM STANSTEAD COLLEGE, C. 1910.

Photo credit: ETRC / POS8-010-08-004-015 Herbert Derick collection
92 RESOLUTIONS

In 1834, the Patriot Manifesto was debated in the House. The 92 Resolutions of the Patriot Party called for, among other things, ministerial responsibility, the elimination of abusive privileges conferred to members of the Executive Board, the repeal of British tenure in the Townships, and the control of public funds. Sherbrooke deputy Bartholomew Gugy disagreed with Louis-Joseph Papineau during these debates. For the constitutionalists, the 92 Resolutions represented a call to anarchy and to revolution. On the other hand, Stanstead deputy Marcus Child approved the manifesto’s contents and officially self-identified as a Reformist.

A new election was held in 1834 and six Tory deputies along with three Reformist deputies were elected in the various Eastern Townships counties. Elsewhere in the province, all Patriot deputies won their elections. When the Patriot Party radicalized, however, Eastern Townships Reformists refused to support their cause any further. The Patriot Party was opposed, among other things, to the construction of roads and railways that would serve to develop the Eastern Townships. The Party also wished to remove economic power from the hands of Anglophone merchants and to hinder the development of large businesses.

Moreover, it hoped to reestablish the Paris custom as well as the seigneurial system in the region. In this regard, local political posture changed, and several Reformists decided to join ranks with the Tories. In 1835 and 1836, the Tories controlled the regional press and, in so doing, succeeded in controlling local opinion.

1837-1838 REBELLION

When the crisis reached its apogee in fall 1837, constitutionalists created a volunteer-based militia to defend the government against rebellion. They called upon American and British inhabitants of the region to join forces. During these difficult times, after the battles in St-Denis and in St-Charles-sur-Richelieu, Loyalist forces were organized in order to protect the region against further attacks. A few skirmishes did occur in the neighbouring counties of Vermont, but these attacks were led on American soil. In the Eastern Townships, martial law was declared, and the authorities had the right to arrest Reformists solely as a preventative measure. Chief Reformists Marcus Child and Silas Dickerson fled to the United States. Eastern Townships Reformists were called upon to pledge allegiance to the Queen, but several preferred exile. Until 1839, several arrests took place in the area. Prisoners were incarcerated at the Sherbrooke Prison, but none were sentenced. The Reformist movement was now effectively silenced, and Tory leaders controlled the region’s political activity.
UNTIL 1839, REFORMISTS IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS WERE INCARCERATED IN SHERBROOKE JAIL. THESE POLITICAL REFORMERS FOUND THEMSELVES LOCKED UP ALONGSIDE SHERBROOKE’S PETTY CRIMINALS. IN 1836, ON THE EVE OF THE 1837-38 REBELLIONS, A TEACHER NAMED MABEL WAS TRAVELLING THROUGH THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS WHEN SHE NOTED IN HER DIARY THAT ONE MR. GARDNER WAS BEING HELD IN SHERBROOKE JAIL FOR “HORSE STEALING.”

Photo credit: ETRC / P997-010-01-001 Eastern Townships Resource Centre Textual Records collection
At the national scale, the press served political ideologies (liberalism, conservatism). The periodical entitled *Le Canadien*, founded in 1806, defended liberal ideas as well as the interests of the Canadian population.

On the other hand, *The Quebec Mercury*, founded in 1805, defended the political interests of British merchants and represented more conservative ideas. At the regional scale, the press in the Eastern Townships also saw a renewed fervor around the 1820s. Newspapers contributed to promoting the ideas of various influential groups in the region. The duality of opinions that existed in the Townships at this time was, first and foremost, an ideological issue rather than a linguistic one. On one hand, some presses defended reformist and liberal ideas. These would, for some time, rally themselves to the cause of the Patriots. On the other hand, other presses defended conservative ideas and were particularly opposed to the Patriots.
ST. FRANCIS COURRIER AND SHERBROOKE GAZETTE AND THE MISSISKOI POST

The St. Francis Courrier and Sherbrooke Gazette was founded in 1831 by the Calvin brothers and by Daniel Telford, American journalists and printers. At the outset, this periodical was meant to be relatively neutral, but with the rise of the British American Land Company, the brothers decided to take sides and to voice their opposition to this project. They favoured Reformist views and supported the Patriot Party. The Missiskoui Post, founded in 1834, was the first newspaper to be printed in the Montérégie area. It also adhered to Reformist values.
BRITISH COLONIST AND ST. FRANCIS GAZETTE

Founded in 1823 by Silas Dickerson, the periodical *The British Colonist* was opposed to high-level British civil servants and to their conservative convictions. Several politically-flavoured articles on the situation in the local area were published under a pseudonym. In 1826, *British Colonist* and *St. Francis Gazette* presses published a pamphlet that was opposed to British gentry. Its author was Elmer Cushing, an American living in Richmond.

This was the first book published in the Eastern Townships. Below is an excerpt:

*The British consider themselves to be a category of beings superior to those who inhabit this country. They justify their superiority by birth, by the fact that they are native to Europe! They qualify our manners, our customs and our clothing as ridiculous and despicable. But they require our obedience and our subservience to all their customs, however absurd they may seem.*

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**AN APPEAL**

addressed to a candid Public;

**AND TO THE FEELINGS OF THOSE**

whose upright sentiments and discerning minds enable them to

"Weigh it in the balance of the Sanctuary"

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**BY ELMER CUSHING, ESQUIRE**

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wherein is displayed the singular

**HISTORY OF THE AUTHOR;**

together with that of

**THE OTHER AMERICANS**

settled in the province of

**LOWER CANADA**

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"Then let me hope indulgence still to share;"
"If my merit, greater be my care;"
"The hard task, that task you’ll kindly feel,"
"And, for desert, accept unwearied zeal."
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"Yet prompt to stay his country’s fail,"
"The stormy city’s war he’ll join;"
"When thou, and truth, and freedom call;"
"For freedom’s voice, and truths, are thine."
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**STANSTEAD:**

Printed for the Author, by S. H. Dickerson

1826.
Periodicals that would come to control local opinion were also founded by those who identified as Conservatives. In 1834, the presses that were already issuing the British Colonist began to publish the Farmer's Advocate and Townships Gazette. This newspaper defended merchants’ rights and underscored the benefits that the BALC represented for the Eastern Townships. The publication was funded by merchants and land companies. In 1835, the Missiskoui Standard, another anti-Reform newspaper, began to be published in Philipsburg.

Bishop’s University’s Old Library holds a copy of Elmer Cushing’s pamphlet published in 1826 by The British Colonist. Moreover, several newspapers printed in the Eastern Townships at this time are available on microfilm.
Silas Dickerson, born in New Jersey in 1799, apprenticed as a printer in Kingston, Upper Canada. In 1823, he settled in Stanstead and founded the first local newspaper: *The British Colonist* and *St. Francis Gazette*. The publication of each issue, however, was a challenge for Dickerson: the newspaper never succeeded in generating profits. Furthermore, distribution of the newspaper in rural areas proved difficult. Its subscribers were largely the local population of American origins, who had little means to pay for a subscription to the paper. Due to financial woes, printing of *The British Colonist* and *St. Francis Gazette* ceased in 1834.

Financial troubles notwithstanding, Dickerson faced several other challenges. In 1826, he hired local correspondents to contribute to his newspaper. Several op-eds harshly criticized Judge Fletcher’s seemingly arbitrary decisions. In response to this, the judge abused his judicial function and had the journalists of the British Colonist arrested. Between 1824 and 1826, Silas Dickerson was arrested four times. In 1829, claiming freedom of the press, Dickerson spoke out against Fletcher at the House of Assembly and demanded justice. Although the House concluded that the judge had indeed abused his power, Fletcher kept his position and no sanctions were imposed.

The various attacks and oppressions held against Dickerson attracted the sympathy of locals, convincing him to run in the 1829 elections. Although he was not elected, he remained on the political scene and provided Reformist Stanstead deputy Marcus Child with a public platform. In 1834, Dickerson and Reformist Francis Evans became increasingly sympathetic to the Patriots’ cause and openly supported the 92 Resolutions. In the same year, Dickerson seemed buried in debt and his newspaper was sold to a group of renowned Sherbrooke Conservatives. Ironically, the *British Colonist* presses would be used to publish the conservative *Farmer’s Advocate and Townships Gazette*.

Despite the loss of his newspaper, Dickerson remained active on the political scene. As President of the Stanstead district’s Reformist Association, he organized a rally to celebrate Marcus Child’s and John Grannis’ election, to which Louis-Joseph Papineau was invited. It was during this event that local support to the Reformist cause began to falter. Indeed, by declaring on this occasion that the seigneurial regime would be implemented in the Eastern Townships, Papineau lost his local supporters. It is also worth noting that his Party systematically blocked all requests for a budget dedicated to the development of the region. During the 1837 elections, the Eastern Townships remained uninvolved in the events linked to the Patriot Rebellions. Dickerson fled to the United States in the turbulent years that followed. He returned in the 1850s and became the first mayor of the municipality of Stanstead in 1857.

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**THE CONSERVATIVE FARMER’S ADVOCATE FAVOURED THE INTERESTS OF THE TOWNSHIPS’ WEALTHY MERCHANTS, BUT IT WAS ALSO A SPACE FOR SMALL ARTISANS TO PROMOTE THEIR CRAFTS. IN 1834, T. TAYLOR POSTED AN ADVERTISEMENT IN THE FARMER’S ADVOCATE FOR HIS CLOCK AND WATCH-MAKING BUSINESS IN SHERBROOKE.**

Photo credit: ETRC / P997-005-07-D013 Eastern Townships Resource Centre Textual Records collection
Until the 1830s, the Eastern Townships struggled because the area was poorly linked to markets in Montreal, Quebec City and the United States, developing the local economy remained a very difficult undertaking.

Problems related to transportation did nothing to encourage immigrants to come settle in the region. The regional area was not well integrated. Industrialization and the development of capitalism allowed the Eastern Townships to reach out to new markets. With the development of the railway, the economy came to grow around several sectors such as the lumber, mining, dairy and manufacturing industries. Because these industries needed workers, this led to urbanization. The improvement of roads also gave better access to towns and villages, which fostered the development of a municipal system.

Furthermore, the arrival of financial institutions facilitated economic exchange within the region. The City of Sherbrooke came to be an economic hub, and the Eastern Townships became home to industrial towns with working-class and bourgeois cultures.
Walking down the main streets of any number of Townships' towns – Coaticook, Rock Island, Danville, or Granby – passersby can find themselves taken in by the commanding neo-classical and second empire architectural styles of the buildings that once served as branches of the Eastern Townships Bank. Apart from the dramatic and almost intimidating nature of these buildings, the E.T. Bank played a meaningful role in the lives of the local population as it served farmers, artisans, and businessmen alike.

From the moment of its establishment in 1859, the Eastern Townships Bank was to be a bank supported by the people of the Townships and that served the people of the Townships. In fact, in 1863, 89% of the E.T. Bank’s capital was held by Townshippers. The presence of a regional bank and the access to loans meant that local businessmen and entrepreneurs were able to get their businesses off the ground. One small example of this was James H. Smith of Sutton, who received a loan from the Eastern Townships Bank so that he could become a dealer of carriages, harnesses, farming implements, wagons, and cream separators. In addition to small businesses, the E.T. Bank invested in many of the large industries emerging in the Townships in the latter part of the 19th century, such as Jenckes Machine Shop in Coaticook, Royal Paper Mills in East Angus, and Paton Manufacturing Company in Sherbrooke. The E.T. Bank had gone from a head office and two agencies in 1859 to 61 branches and 31 agencies in a span of 50 years. In addition to its more notable branches, the Eastern Townships Bank had a presence in a great many towns and villages throughout the region, including Roxton Falls, East Broughton, and Upton, which afforded smaller communities access to local banking services. Beyond its practical involvement in the financial affairs of the region, the E.T. Bank displayed its Townships roots on its money and stock certificates; they bore farming and mining scenes as well as recognizable landscapes such as the iconic Lake Memphremagog steamer, the Lady of the Lake, and the Magog River Gorge in Sherbrooke.

The Eastern Townships Bank continued to grow into the early years of the 20th century but as shareholders from outside the region increased (by 1912, 64% of the Bank’s capital was held by those outside the Townships) and with increased competition from the major national banks, the directors of the Eastern Townships Bank elected to sell to the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1912. Even though over 100 years have passed since its absorption into the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Eastern Townships Bank continues to live on in the landscapes of the Eastern Townships. In the words of C.C. Colby: “[…] let us hope that the Eastern Townships Bank will never forget its years of youth amid the noble and beloved hills of the Eastern Townships!”
1854  Grand Trunk (Richmond, Danville, Arthabaska, Princeville, Lévis)
1870  Massawippi Valley Railway (Sherbrooke, Stanstead, Derby, Boston)
1870  St. Francis and Megantic International Railway (Bury, Scottstown, Megantic)
1874  Québec Central
1887  Shortline (Montreal, Sherbrooke)
1892-1910  Orford Montain Railway (Eastman, Valcourt, Kingsbury, Windsor)
The Orford Mountain Railway Company received its railway charter in 1888 with the aim to establish a railway between Eastman and Lawrenceville in Brome County, and was intended as a local line chiefly dedicated to encourage the development of the forest and mineral industries in that area. This railway venture was headed by Judge Samuel Willard Foster, who had long had an interest in railway development in the Townships and approached his leading role with enthusiasm.

Although surveying and construction on the Orford Mountain Railway’s initial line began in the summer of 1889, it was not until October 1891 that the first inaugural OMR train made its way from Eastman to Lawrenceville. By the spring of 1893, the OMR line had been extended to Kingsbury and ran regular service from Kingsbury to Eastman, where it connected with the Canadian Pacific. At the time, the trip took one hour and 45 minutes. Over the following 15 years, a branch of the OMR was built to reach Stukely Lake (then called Bonnallie Lake). The line was extended north and then along the St. Francis River to Windsor Mills as well as south to Mansonville. The decisions of the OMR’s extensions was determined largely by the potential of lumber freight since forest products, such as logs, pulp wood and sawn timber, formed the bulk of its shipments. In particular, the sawmills of Williamson and Crombie in Kingsbury were the railway’s biggest client.

Unfortunately, the forest industry along the OMR was not enough to keep this small, independent railway in the black and by 1909, the situation had become acute. This financial crisis led to the decision to lease the OMR to Canadian Pacific Railway in 1910. While the CPR did fulfill plans to extend the line to North Troy in Vermont, the line continued to struggle financially. Finally, it was the closure of the sawmills in Kingsbury in 1928 that led to the gradual abandonment of the OMR tracks over the following 37 years.
The construction of different railway lines would allow for the discovery and the exploitation of various natural resources (wood, asbestos, copper). Channels of communication contributed to developing new markets and new energies. On one hand, the economy was characterized by the exploitation of natural resources; on the other, by the specialization of the manufacturing industry.

Just as the British American Land Company (BALC) had been involved in the development of roads and railways giving access to the Eastern Townships, it was also a significant actor in local industrialization and the exploitation of the Magog River. Several other actors such as Hale, Bowen, Brooks and Galt also played a meaningful role in establishing industries along the Magog River. In 1845, Sherbrooke Cotton opened its doors. Alexander Galt, BALC Commissioner, participated in the organization of this mechanized cotton plant. In 1852, William Brooks’ manufacturing plant, located in Sherbrooke, was the first to mechanically produce paper. As of 1842, the wool industry would appear in the region under the leadership of Adam Lomas, a British man who combined American and British techniques. During the American Civil War, paper was in high demand. This provided the impetus required for the development of a paper factory in Windsor, a strategic location that was easily accessible thanks to the Grand Trunk Railway and where the waters of the Watopeka River could be favourably exploited. In 1866, a paper mill was created in Windsor. It specialized in the production of fine paper destined to the newspaper and printing industries. Its chemical process for soda pulping was the first of its kind in Canada. In 1873, the mill became a shareholding company, the Canada Papers.

Although several manufacturing plants located in Sherbrooke and its surroundings would eventually become mechanized and integrate new technologies, some others stayed true to traditional production methods. The establishment of the Eastern Townships Bank in Sherbrooke in 1859 helped strengthen the economic levers of the business class, largely associated with the British American Land Company.
Windsor’s long pulp and paper history began in 1864 when William Angus and Thomas Logan, proprietors of Angus, Logan & Co., constructed the first mill on the banks of the confluence of the Watopeka and St. Francis Rivers. The water power created by the falls made this a prime location for a mill. The timing for a pulp mill was ideal as the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 had resulted in a dramatic increase in the demand for newspapers. Another factor was the Grand Trunk Railway line, which passed through the village and made the export of the pulp and paper products simple. The mill at Windsor, also known as the Watopeka mill or the Vieux-Moulin, was the first chemical wood-pulp mill in Canada. Initially, the pulp produced in Windsor was sent to Sherbrooke to be finished into paper products. As the company quickly expanded, however, a second mill was built in Windsor in 1866. This second mill produced paper products, such as newspaper and wrapping paper, and eliminated the need to transfer the pulp to Sherbrooke. In the early days, about 20 women and children were included among the company’s approximately 100 employees.

In 1873, Angus, Logan & Co. became the Canada Paper Company. The Springfield mill, the company’s third mill, was built in 1883 just upriver on the Watopeka and required the construction of a dam to regulate the water flow. Notably, the Canada Paper Co. was operating four mills in Windsor by 1899 and employed between 500 and 600 people.

Having survived numerous fires and economic downturns and adapted to various technological advances, the Canada Paper Company celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1959. Shortly thereafter, in 1961, Domtar Ltd. took control of the Canada Paper Company and built a new mill in Windsor in 1987. Impressively, the Watopeka mill was only demolished in 1990, after 126 years of production. Domtar continues to operate the Windsor mill as one of its eight locations across Canada.
THE 19TH CENTURY WAS A CRITICAL MOMENT FOR AGRICULTURE IN LOWER CANADA. SINCE 1792, NEW REGIONS HAD OPENED FOR SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, AGRICULTURE IN THE NEW TOWNSHIPS EVOLVED DIFFERENTLY THAN IT DID IN THE OLD SEIGNEURIES.

Encouraged by preferential rates on wheat (Corn Laws), the colonies tended to produce a surplus of wheat to be exported to the Empire. As a result, Lower Canada went through a significant agricultural crisis in the 1830s. Harvests in the seigneuries were poor for several reasons: the land was overused, outdated farming methods were still being used, and adverse weather conditions made agricultural activities very difficult. As such, Lower Canada needed to import wheat from Upper Canada just to meet its population's needs. This agricultural crisis did not affect the Eastern Townships, however, where harvests remained abundant. Nevertheless, Eastern Townships farmers were unable to ship wheat to markets in Lower Canada due to poor road conditions. The Eastern Townships stood out from the rest of Lower Canada by its impressive agricultural output in the 19th century.

In 1820, farmers began to gather within various agricultural associations. Bovine and sheep breeding rapidly took off. Various breeds of cows and sheep were imported from New England and from England. Lands were used for pasture, to produce various cereals (wheat, buckwheat, oats) and for subsistence farming (potatoes, fruit, vegetables, squash). Part of the land was also used to plant orchards or maple groves. In 1830, 5000 of the 5800 families living in the area were farming families. Some arrived only with a view to engaging in subsistence farming, whereas others produced a surplus. Women and girls generally tended the garden, milked the cows and churned the butter, and men cleared the land and worked in the fields.

Elsewhere in Quebec the shift towards dairy farming occurred in the 1870s, but the Eastern Townships began specializing in this sector much earlier. Breeding dairy cattle required much less land. Thus, agricultural output on dairy farms was less severely affected by adverse meteorological conditions than it was for wheat production. In the 1830s, several local farms produced their own milk and dairy products (cheese, butter, cream). Starting in the 1850s, dairy products were sold on urban markets. The development of the railway and the circulation of buggies that could keep dairy products cool enabled the distribution of these products to various markets across Quebec and in the United States. In 1865, the first industrial cheese plant was inaugurated in Dunham. The Eastern Townships became a pioneer region for the milk and cheese industry in Quebec.
Starting in the latter part of the 19th century, Quebec agriculture experienced a rapid rise in dairying. As a result, butteries and cheese factories began to spring up, particularly around the towns and railways as farmers and businessmen wanted in on this profitable new industry. Notably, Quebec’s first cheese factory, established in 1865, was located in the Eastern Townships, in Dunham.

At this time, Quebec agronomists and politicians sought to encourage the province’s dairy industry. In 1875, the Minister of Agriculture wrote in his report that “the importance of developing this industry, which should become a national one, cannot be overemphasized.” Impressively, Quebec’s number of butter and cheese factories exploded in the last decades of the 19th century, going from 162 in 1886 to 1992 factories in 1900. Even Townships newspapers show evidence of the importance of the cheese industry to the local economy.

On May 8, 1890, the Barnston correspondent to the Stanstead Journal wrote that “Mr. Wilkins is getting ready to run three cheese factories this summer. One at the Corner, one at Corlis Mills, and one at Baldwin’s Mills.” Later in 1890, another correspondent indicated his preference for the lucrative cheese industry when he wrote “it is estimated that the 7 factories in Barnston will bring in about $25000, that is better than butter could do.”
DURING THE TURBULENT YEARS MARKED BY REBELLION WITHIN THE COLONY, THE POLITICS OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIP SHIFTED. THE BRITISH PARTY (THE TORIES) WAS THE ONLY PARTY PRESENT IN THE REGION. THE REFORMIST GROUP LOST ITS PRESS, AND ITS LEADER AND SEVERAL MEMBERS WERE FORCED TO FLEE TO THE UNITED STATES IN EXILE.

After the Patriot Rebellions’ defeat, Lord Durham proposed two solutions: uniting the two colonies to accelerate the assimilation of Francophones and establishing a responsible government to meet Reformists’ demands. Only the first of these proposals would be adopted. This marked the advent of the United Canada. The constitution allowed for the union of Upper and Lower Canada in such a way that French-Canadians became a minority community. The Eastern part of the territory (Quebec) remained mostly French-speaking, whereas the Western part (Ontario) maintained its Anglophone majority. These two sections of the territory, Eastern Canada and Western Canada, boasted the same number of elected officials (42 each) in the House of Assembly. However, French-Canadians were present in far greater numbers than English-Canadians.

The Act of Union also stipulated that English would become the country’s only official language. This was very favourable to the English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships, who suddenly found itself in a position of political majority. A new regional county also appeared along with this constitution: the City of Sherbrooke. This county included the towns of Sherbrooke and Lennoxville. As a result, Sherbrooke held the same political weight as Montreal, Quebec City or Trois-Rivières. With this new constitution, elected officials in the Eastern Townships could pass laws affecting local development (railways, banks) with much greater ease.

In the 1841 elections, each county was entitled to one member of Parliament. The electoral map was redrawn in such a way as to favour the Tories. Moreover, polling stations were placed in villages with an Anglophone majority. These elections turned violent. Two political parties were represented: The Conservative Party, made up of members of the British Party (Tories), and the Liberal Party, made up of an alliance of Reformists. Residents of the Town of Sherbrooke elected Edward Hale, who, along with English-speaking deputies from Montreal, would form an alliance with the Conservative Party. In the region, only Stanstead County elected a Reformist deputy: Marcus Child.
My last letter to you was a very hurried one, and I literally ran the Post by but a few minutes, and I have since received yours of 13th giving me accounts which make me more and more long to be at home and I can hardly credit all the wonderful progress that my Cookanow has made. I shall have no objection to your having paradise-like keepers made up of each of the children as you like—particularly, being Lord Cookanow if you can get him to sit still. I am almost late to look after a Pans for Jack now but went to take a walk after dinner in the rain finding nothing there to suit me. I was all day shopping—bought Groceries, Crochet, Knives, Blenders &c. & Indian rubbets but have lost the rest to procure and shall have plenty to do tomorrow in that same way. I went to look at the also in the rain but found that they were all at Headon Bank, he having gone out on horseback, the day before. They have had bad rainy weather since they were there, and it continues so damp and stormy that I doubt if Anne will venture on her drive until the weather is fair on account of her Rheumatism. I drove out on Thursday to see Mr. Stanley but did not find her.
RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Reformists in Western and in Eastern Canada found common ground in the goal of establishing a responsible government. According to this reform, members of the Executive Council would be named from the party holding the majority at the House of Assembly and would be responsible for their administration. If they lost the confidence of the House, members of the Executive would be obliged to resign. Therefore, with the advent of a responsible government, decisions would be made by a council of ministers (Executive Council). The ministers would be officials elected by the population, and not chosen by the Governor.

The British Party opposed this proposal but did not neglect to defend the economic interests of the Eastern Townships, particularly with regards to industrial projects and to the development of railroads. The Reformists of the United Canadas, on the other hand, formed an alliance to secure ministerial accountability.

This explains why the English-speaking electorate of the Eastern Townships found itself divided anew between Reformist and Conservative ideas during the 1848 elections. At this time, the party represented by the British Tories dwindled down to five MPs, four of whom were from the Eastern Townships. They would find themselves in the opposition as a minority within the House of Assembly. In 1848, the alliance formed between Reformists Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine (Eastern Canada) and Robert Baldwin (Western Canada) would lead to ministerial accountability.

THE ANNEXATIONIST MOVEMENT

In 1849, Baldwin-Lafontaine’s Reformist government passed the Rebellion Losses Bill that would compensate individuals for the losses incurred in Lower Canada during the Rebellions. This led to a crisis within the population of the United Canadas. Anglophones were opposed to this bill which, in their view, seemed to favour those who had been rebels. Furthermore, certain Tories were outraged by the advent of responsible government (an event that resulted in a loss of power for this group) and by the annulment of Great Britain’s preferential tariffs for Canadian wheat. In 1849, a movement began to form in Montreal aiming to separate Canada from Great-Britain by annexing the country to the United States. This movement, which would come to be known as the Annexationist Movement, was quite popular in the Eastern Townships. A propaganda campaign in favour of annexation with the United States was organized in the region. Even British deputy Alexander Galt, who was nonetheless considered to be moderate, was sympathetic to the idea. Annexationist candidate John S. Sandborn, originally from the United States, was re-elected in Sherbrooke County in 1851, and this marked a new resurgence of reformist ideas in the region.
THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT BROUGHT TOGETHER REFORMERS FROM CANADA WEST AND CANADA EAST IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. LOCALLY, FUNCTIONS OF STATE WERE CARRIED OUT IN PLACES SUCH AS THE OLD CITY HALL OF SHERBROOKE, PICTURED HERE IN 1859.

Photo credit: ETRC / P998-050-063-024 Eastern Townships Resource Center Graphic Material collection
The influx of French-Canadians to the Eastern Townships began to worry the region’s English-speaking inhabitants. The project that aimed to unite the British colonies of North America into a single dominion made the Anglophone population of the Eastern Townships fearful of becoming landlocked in a province with a French-Catholic majority.

Anglophones feared they would lose their political power and their educational rights. Alexander Galt, Sherbrooke Member of Parliament, was an important figure in Canadian Confederation. When the British North America Act was signed in 1867, he succeeded in securing a constitutional guarantee for Anglo-Protestants’ educational rights. Anglophones in the Eastern Townships maintained their level of influence on the federal political scene even though French-Canadians formed the local majority.

Canadian Confederation was signed in 1867 and included, at that time, four provinces: Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Several factors explain how the country was created. Firstly, the demographic imbalance between the two sections of the United Canadas and their ideological differences in the House made it difficult to govern this political unit (1841-1867). Moreover, the cessation of the treaty of reciprocity with the United States led to a decrease in exportations, and the deficits incurred by the cost of building roads dug the government deeper into debt.

During the first few decades of Confederation, the Eastern Townships region remained politically divided between the reds (the Liberals) and the blues (Conservatives). There was nonetheless significant support for the Conservative Party and for John A. Macdonald’s national policy. This policy was favourable to the Eastern Townships’ industrial interests, where tariff protection and the development of a transcontinental railroad proved highly favourable. The French-Canadian elite also supported the Conservatives.
In the late 1800s, Canadians began to organize more widespread celebrations of Dominion Day to celebrate Canada’s confederation in 1867. However, because many Canadians saw themselves as British, rather than Canadian, it was not until into the 20th century that the holiday’s popularity began to grow and official celebrations were held.

The first official proposal to rename Dominion Day Canada Day was brought before the House of Commons in 1946 but the bill did not make it through Senate. It was not until 1982 that the name officially became Canada Day.

Dominion Day, and later Canada Day, was the date set for a number of important events, such as the first national radio network hookup by the Canadian National Railway (1927), the inauguration of the CBC’s cross-country television broadcast (1958), the flooding of the Saint Lawrence Seaway (1958), the first colour television transmission in Canada (1966) and the establishment of “O Canada” as the country’s national anthem (1980).
ALEXANDER GALT'S INFLUENCE IS HIGHLY NOTICEABLE WHEN ONE EXPLORES THE SHERBROOKE AREA, WHERE HE HAS BEEN IMMORTALIZED IN THE CITY'S EFFORTS IN TOPONYMY.

The City of Sherbrooke has a boulevard named Galt, and the local English-language secondary school located in Lennoxville is named Alexander Galt Regional High School. But why was this man of Scottish origin, raised in England, so influential in the region? In order to understand this individual’s impact, his actions must be studied according to regional and national perspectives.

ALEXANDER GALT

A REGIONAL FIGURE

Like many of his contemporaries (ex. John Henry Pope, Charles C. Colby and Samuel Brooks), Alexander Galt played a significant role in shifting the political and economic landscapes of the Eastern Townships, shifts that led to the emergence of a local bourgeoisie and its involvement in the development of the railroad. This contribution helped to break the Eastern Townships’ isolation.

Between 1844 and 1854, Galt led the region’s industrial development. He contributed to the industrialization of the area as an active member of the BALC. In this capacity, he took part in several projects such as the construction of dams along the Magog River, leasing industrial plots of land, granting loans for the construction of manufactures and factories and promoting local manufacturing plants (the Lomas wool manufacture, the Hale flour mill, the Brooks paper mill). Moreover, under the banner of the BALC, Galt managed a sawmill and participated in the creation of Sherbrooke’s cotton plant, the first of its kind in Canada. He also invested his personal fortune into various speculative ventures such as the copper mines located in Ascot and in Ives as well as in the Commercial Bank of Canada. In sum, Alexander Galt was a major actor of the local manufacturing, railway, land development, mining and banking sectors.

Following the troubled 1837-1838 period, Galt penned a report proposing several solutions for the British American Land Company’s economic recovery. With a view to further developing the region, Galt suggested opening the territory to American immigration and to individuals born on Canadian territory. Galt also succeeded in integrating the local business community and in participating actively in Sherbrooke’s development as an urban and industrial hub.
Alexander Galt’s legacy in Sherbrooke is reflected by the high school and street (pictured here in 1907) that are named for him.

Photo credit: ETRC / P078-201
Andrew Sangster fonds

Alexander Galt contributed to the development of a local bourgeoisie in the Eastern Townships. Pictured here are a group of Sherbrooke businessmen, c. 1860s.

Photo credit: ETRC / P006-010-001-009 Minnie Hallowell Bowen fonds
A NATIONAL FIGURE

Following Samuel Brooks’ death in 1849, Alexander Galt took his first steps in the political arena. Unopposed at the elections, he was elected as an independent. However, he was obliged to resign in 1850 as a result of his support for the Annexationist movement and of his involvement in the development of the railway. Upon his return during the elections of the 1853, he submitted several reform projects for consideration by the House. For example, he proposed the abolishment of the seigneurial regime, the secularization of clergy land reserves, elections by secret ballots and the separation of church and state. Given his contribution to the development of the railway, he was the object of numerous accusations of collusion by other members of the House during the inquiry on the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway.

As of 1857, Galt’s role in the House changed. He was first nominated by the Governor, Edmund Walker Head, for the position of Prime Minister of United Canada. Although he refused to run for this position, fearing he would not have the support of the House, he nonetheless proposed a coalition between the Liberal George-Étienne Cartier and the Conservative John A. Macdonald. In so doing, Galt became one of the pillars of this new government and was named Inspector General of Canada. The Sherbrooke Gazette, which had provided him with a platform since 1849, openly opposed this nomination. In a meeting of the House held in 1858, Galt proposed that the British Government be asked to create a federal union of the North American colonies. This suggestion was adopted, and thus began the negotiations between the colonies and London for the creation of a sovereign dominion. During these years, Alexander Galt worked hard to reform Canadian banks’ commercial practices and to protect the interests of businesses within the colony.

In Sherbrooke on November 23, 1864, Galt gave a speech that was relayed by the various local newspapers. In this speech, Galt defended the interests of Anglo-Protestants and declared that he was concerned by the increasing influence wielded by the Catholic clergy in the Eastern Townships. It is worth recalling that the proportion of Francophones in the Eastern Townships had been rising steadily since 1840. In his speech, Galt spoke in favour of the Dominion of Canada and of an educational system that would allow the Anglophone minority in Eastern Canada to have its own schools.

However, when Galt found himself unable to pass his bill on the educational rights of Anglo-Protestants in 1866, he resigned from government. Because he had participated in the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, he was nonetheless invited to London in 1867 to contribute to the text that would become the British North America Act. In this sense, he played an important role in the creation of Canada as we know it. He succeeded in passing Article 80, which protected the limits of Eastern Townships counties with an Anglophone majority, and Article 93 which guaranteed the Anglo-Protestant minority’s rights with regards to education.

Between 1867 and 1872, Galt returned to the political scene. At the outset of the new Federation, he was named the Dominion’s Minister of Finance. He would later be named Canada’s first high commissioner to London. However, his numerous fallouts with Prime Minister Macdonald over the latter’s policies led him to abandon politics for good in 1872. During the years that followed, Galt and his son participated in the development of Alberta by contributing to the development of the railway in this province and by founding the city of Lethbridge. Today, Alexander Galt’s name is a familiar one throughout the country. He contributed to the development of Sherbrooke and of the Eastern Townships, but also to the development of a national identity. He was one of the major players of the 19th century.
WHEN THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT WAS SIGNED IN 1867 ALEXANDER GALT SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED FOR RIGHTS TO EDUCATION FOR ANGLO-PROTESTANTS. PICTURED HERE IS THE TOWNSHIPS’ CLARENCEVILLE ACADEMY, ALSO KNOWN AS THE MODEL SCHOOL, FROM C. 1905.

Photo credit: ETRC / POS8-010-05-001-002 Herbert Derick collection
AS EARLY AS THE 18TH CENTURY, THERE WAS AN IRISH PRESENCE IN NEW FRANCE, WITH IRISHMEN JOINING THE MILITARY RANKS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE KING OF FRANCE. DURING THE WAR OF 1812-1814, THEY ARRIVED IN THE PROVINCE AS BRITISH SOLDIERS.

Several remained after this war. A military colony was established in Drummondville to protect the territory in the event of an attack on the St. Francis River. In 1850, approximately 50 Irish veterans and their families settled there. However, the difficult weather conditions, the poor soil quality and a massive fire that destroyed the village in 1826 led most members of this community to move further south along the St. Francis River.

William Mountain, a Protestant, Irish veteran, was one of the individuals who left Drummondville. After having invested time and effort, he was forced to acknowledge that the quality of the soil was too poor. He and his family left their land in Grantham and settled, without permission, on Crown lands near the St. Francis River. After submitting several petitions and requests to the government, he finally succeeding in securing ownership of the land he had been occupying for the past few years. As a result of the proximity of the land to the river and of the construction of an inn, several other Irish families would settle on what would come to be known as Durham Township. Today, this township bears the name of the towns of l’Avenir and of Ulverton.

John Mulvena was the first Irish pioneer in the Eastern Townships. The Irish often sent a young member of the family to prepare the land. As such, Mulvena arrived in America in 1807 and became employed by a major landowner in Ascot. During these years, he would explore the territory and make it all the way to Shipton Township, where several Americans had already settled. Because it was so difficult to obtain land in the Eastern Townships, it would take 31 years before Mulvena succeeded in purchasing a lot and bringing his family out to Shipton.

From the moment the BALC began playing an active role in the development of the region, Irish immigration spiked. The economic recession as well as the poor soil quality in Ireland led many families to flee to America. As of 1845, the Irish Potato Famine led to a significant increase in Irish immigration. Thousands of Irish crossed the Atlantic, and several died before arrival. Starting in 1848, the distribution of
free plots of land and the development of the railway would attract Irish settlers to the region. At the turn of the 1850s, over 7,000 individuals of Irish origin had settled in the Eastern Townships. After passing through Quebec City, several would settle along Craig Road as well as in Inverness, Leeds and Shipton (Richmond). The latter were able to find work, although they remained poor. In 1852, 11% of the Eastern Townships population was of Irish origin. They were the first Catholic inhabitants of the area. The massive wave of Irish immigrants to the Eastern Townships was followed by the arrival of French-Canadians in the region. Because of their shared religion, the two groups often intermarried. The sense of belonging of the Irish community was manifest in the St. Patrick Societies, present in both Richmond and Sherbrooke.

DID YOU KNOW...

**MCCAMMON'S GENERAL STORE, INVERNESS**

Both natives of Ireland, James McCammon and Margaret Hall were married in Leeds in 1858 and had two children: Maria, in 1861, and John, in 1863. The McCammons made their mark on the economic history of the village of Inverness. Early on, James worked to provide for his family as a farmer and shoemaker but, by 1881, he had established himself as a hotel keeper, which he did until his death in 1901. John McCammon, James and Margaret’s only son, married Mary Ann Whyte in 1887. In 1884, John set up his general store in Inverness, providing a wide variety of goods such as sugar, seed for crops, rice, boots, parasols, textiles, and, eventually, gas to the people of the area. Together, John and Mary Ann had seven children, six surviving to adulthood: John W., Margaret A., James H. (died as a baby), George D., Alexander M., Andrew D., and Harriet M. The McCammon General Store remained in the family following John and Mary Ann’s deaths in 1941, until Andrew McCammon sold it to Ernest Perreault in the mid-1940s. In the 1950s, the Fradette family purchased the store from Perreault and turned it into a grocery store.
ON NOVEMBER 6, 1838, 200 GAELIC-SPEAKING SCOTS ARRIVED IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS. MOST CAME FROM THE ISLE OF LEWIS, AN ISLAND OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES ARCHIPELAGO LOCATED NORTH WEST OF SCOTLAND.

The population of this island lived in a rural setting on lands that belonged to the island’s major landowners. They grew potatoes, their main dietary staple. Throughout the 1830s, the major landowners rented their lands out to sheep breeders, a much more profitable venture for them. In so doing, potato farmers chose to move to other parts of Scotland or fled to North America. The difficult conditions they had known on the Isle of Lewis prepared these pioneers well for the harsh conditions they would encounter in the Townships. Those who could afford to purchase land would settle in Lingwick Township. Gould was the first village to welcome these Gaelic Scots. Others would settle in Nova Scotia and in Ontario.

James Ross, the most influential member of the Scottish community, arrived in Quebec in 1829. In 1845, he settled in Gould where he opened a general store. He held the positions of postmaster, mayor and Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia. In 1867, he was elected Member of the Legislative Assembly for Compton County. Between 1838 and 1888, many Scots who arrived in Canada would settle in the Winslow, Whitten, Marston, and Hampden Townships. During these years, several French-Canadians also moved to these townships. These two groups, however, are not the only ones who wished to reap the benefits of this area. John Henry Pope, an important political figure, wished to exploit the region’s resources and develop a railway. In 1870, he founded the St. Francis and Megantic International Railway in collaboration with some Sherbrooke businessmen. In 1879, Lac Mégantic’s urban and industrial centre emerged. The Scottish community was not particularly interested in the logging industry or in the development of the railway. Several would settle in Mégantic in order to engage in commercial activities. This did not stop Mégantic from quickly becoming a mainly Francophone town.

The Scots from the Isle of Lewis were nearly all of Presbyterian faith. Their churches were very sober, devoid of music and decoration. In a social events called a Ceilidh, Scots would gather around a fire, listen to stories and sing traditional tunes; some would even recite poetry. Known as bards, these Gaelic poets enjoyed a strong presence in the Eastern Townships. Finlay McRitchie and Oscar Dhu were two such bards.

Until the turn of the twentieth century, the Gaelic language remained widely spoken in families of the Eastern Townships. Some 3000 Gaelic-speakers lived in the area at this time. However, this population suffered a significant demographic decline and English slowly took over. The Gaelic language is no longer spoken today in the Eastern Townships.
Settled by Scottish immigrants in the mid-1800s, the Presbyterian churches of Scotstown and Gould held on to the Gaelic-speaking roots of their ancestors until well into the 1900s. Bringing their Gaelic Bibles with them when they immigrated, it was only natural that the first church services were held in Gaelic. In Gould, the first services of the Chalmers Presbyterian Church were organized in 1845 and the first church was built in 1849. The church building was later replaced by a larger one in 1892. When the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches of Canada chose to unite in 1925 to form the United Church, some members of Chalmers were not ready to join the Union and amalgamated with Chalmers United Church.

In Scotstown, the first meetings of St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church were organized in 1876 and the church was built in 1881-1882. Similar to Chalmers, when St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church joined the Union in 1925, some members preferred to remain Presbyterian and established St. Paul’s Presbyterian Church in Scotstown as a result. The church building was built in 1926-1927. Here, congregants were able to hold onto the tradition of Gaelic services even longer than in Lingwick. The services at St. Paul’s alternated between English and Gaelic, at first weekly, and then (by 1933) on a monthly basis until Gaelic services were abandoned entirely in the mid-1950s.
AN INTERESTING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS IS THE COMPLETE REVERSAL OF LINGUISTIC MAJORITIES OVER THE 1880s. THE LOCAL POPULATION WENT FROM AN ANGLOPHONE MAJORITY TO A FRANCOPHONE MAJORITY DURING THIS PERIOD.

First, French-Canadians came to settle in rural areas uninhabited by Anglophones. These townships were not as fertile, and roads were either in very poor condition or non-existent. This demographic change occurred over the time span of approximately one century.

With the 1830s came a small number of French-Canadians who decided to settle in certain townships such as Kingsey, Stukely, Wotton and Weedon. By 1844, 15% of the Eastern Townships population was French-speaking. Contrary to the Anglophone rural environment that was divided into municipalities that were the size of an entire township, townships occupied by the Francophone community were divided into several smaller municipal parishes (for example, Windsor Township was divided into Saint-Georges and Saint-Claude). Land occupation also differed between the two communities. Anglophone townships developed following American traditions, where houses were built far from the main roads and were generally spread out over the territory. In townships with a Francophone population, houses were built very close to the roads and neighbours lived near one another. The parish developed around the church, and the roads corresponded to ranges, as can be observed in Weedon and in Saint-Camille.

Between 1850 and 1880, French-Canadians began arriving in the region in great numbers. The railway enabled the settlement of new pioneers. Economically, this was a period of industrialization and urbanization in the Eastern Townships. High demand for non-specialized workers attracted French-Canadians to industrial cities such as Magog and Sherbrooke, mirroring...
a similar phenomenon that occurred south of the border in New England. As a result of this migration, a Catholic archdiocese was created in Sherbrooke in 1874, enabling the establishment of a Catholic school system. In 1881, 55% of the Eastern Townships population was Francophone. During the same period, many Anglophones of American origin emigrated to the Canadian and American West.

Between the 1880s and the 1920s, cities and towns developed alongside railways and industries. Cities came to have a Francophone majority whereas the Anglophone communities tended to remain in more rural areas. The French-Canadian population was constantly on the move. Families would move from one industrial city to another, following available jobs. Nonetheless, Francophones came to represent 75% of the population during this period. At the same time, French-Canadians’ sense of belonging in the province began to be keenly felt. The hanging of Louis Riel (1885), the effervescence of certain politicians such as Honoré Mercier (1885-1892) and Wilfrid Laurier (1896-1911) as well as a general opposition to British imperialism led to a series of demands on behalf of the Francophone population with regards to their position on the social and political landscapes.

Throughout the 19th century, the Francophone community evolved from being totally absent from the Eastern Townships landscape to making up the majority of the region’s population. This transformation occurred mainly in cities, and Anglo-Protestant clusters remained present along the Canadian-American border and in the areas surrounding the cities. This demographic change led, in 1874, to a translation of the English term “Eastern Townships” to Cantons-de-l’Est by Antoine Gérin-Lajoie.
POLITICAL TENSIONS AND AN “AGREEMENT OF GOOD WILL”

IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS, SOME COUNTIES WERE HOME TO A FRENCH-CANADIAN MAJORITY. WHEN A NEW ELECTION WAS CALLED, THE CHOICE OF CANDIDATES LED TO HEATED DEBATES. IN COUNTIES WHERE THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING AND FRENCH-SPEAKING POPULATIONS WERE PROPORTIONAL, AN AGREEMENT OF GOOD WILL WAS STRUCK BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS.

The provincial deputy was a Francophone, and the federal deputy, Anglophone. This was the case in Richmond and in Sherbrooke. However, in other counties, Anglophone candidates were elected at both levels of government. The agreement of good will worked reasonably well, but following Louis Riel’s hanging sentence, the Conservative Party lost a large part of its French-Canadian supporters. French-Canadians then turned to the Liberal Party, thus putting an end to the agreement of good will. Thus, electoral habits in the Eastern Townships changed considerably in the 1890s.

By the end of the 19th century, the schism that divided Anglophones who identified with American values and Anglophones who remained proudly loyal to the British Empire lessened somewhat in the Eastern Townships. Ethnic belonging remained important among Anglophones of British origin (including the Scottish, the Irish and the English). In the Eastern Townships, disagreements now occurred between Anglo-Protestants and French-Catholics. There were several bones of contention between the two communities. Firstly, the feeling of belonging to the British Empire was not as keenly felt among the French-Catholics. During the Boer Wars or the First World War, Anglophones felt called to action. They were loyal to the British Empire and wished to take part in the war effort. French-Canadians, on the other hand, identified more with their nation (the province of Quebec) and with the Catholic Church. They did not feel compelled to take part in the wars of the Empire.

Anglo-Protestants were generally in favour of the privatization of services (such as electricity, gas and water), and were opposed to French-Canadians’ ideals of municipalization. The Anglo-Protestant community was very active within various charity organizations, temperance movements and women’s associations (Women’s Institutes). This was in contrast with the Catholic view, according to which women must dedicate themselves to motherhood or to religious service. The period spanning from 1880 to 1940 saw several feminist political, social and educational movements flourish.
2017 marked the 120th anniversary of the official inauguration of the Sherbrooke Protestant Hospital, which had its beginnings rooted nearly a decade earlier, in 1887. The impetus for the hospital was two-fold: Chiefly, fast-growing cities, such as Sherbrooke in the 1860s and 1870s, with their closely-populated neighbourhoods and lack of city-wide sanitation, were especially good places for contagious disease epidemics, such as smallpox and typhoid fever. The establishment of hospitals allowed for the treatment and quarantine of infected people. Secondly, and more specifically, the prominent Sherbrooke businessman Richard W. Heneker felt strongly that the Protestants of the area should contribute to the health care of their fellow brethren with the establishment of a hospital.

These things came together so that by 1887, the general public sentiment was in support of a Protestant hospital to complement the work being done by the Catholic Hospice du Sacré-Coeur. A site for this new hospital was chosen, consisting of 13.8 acres overlooking the St. Francis River on Pine Street (later Park Ave. and now rue du CEGEP), and fundraising began in earnest. However, it was not until Heneker himself gifted over half of the funds necessary that the hospital Corporation could finally purchase the property.

The Sherbrooke Protestant Hospital was officially incorporated in 1888 but it would be seven years before the building was completed and yet another year before it was officially opened. After nine long years, the grand opening was met with excitement as long-time supporters gathered on the hospital lawn on July 8th, 1896 to see how their work had finally come to fruition.

The original hospital consisted of two wards, with a capacity of 14 patients, an operating room, a nurses’ and servants’ quarters, dining room, electricity, hot and cold water, bathrooms, and a modern laundry. The first doctors of the hospital were A. Norreys Worthington, Frederick J. Austin, W.D. Smith, and William A. Farwell. Notwithstanding its name, the governors emphasized that the Sherbrooke Protestant Hospital would serve the people of all the Townships, regardless of their religion.

The hospital governors spoke with pride of the public contributions and generosity that were the source of the vast majority of the funds, totalling $2,826, needed to bring the hospital into being. In the following years, fees paid by patients covered only one third of the expenses and, so, it was a continual exercise through private donations and philanthropic organizations to keep the hospital in good financial standing.

For 18 years, this first hospital building served the population until the region’s needs outgrew its capacity. In 1914, a new hospital was inaugurated as the Sherbrooke Hospital, again largely the result of donations and special gifts. This building was followed by a third and final building in 1951, built on Argyle Avenue.
How did Canadians perceive themselves? What role did they wish to play on the international scene? What relationships did they wish to maintain with Great Britain and with the United States? One thing is certain: two ideological and political concepts evolved side by side throughout the 19th century. Indeed, both imperialism and nationalism rose within the Canadian elite.

At the turn of the century, the Anglophone population increasingly wished to see Canadians set themselves apart from the United States all while maintaining strong ties to the British Empire. In so doing, they were adopting both nationalist and imperialist ideologies. When painting a picture of the Eastern Townships’ social history, it is difficult to portray a homogenous society during this period. Some rural environments were traditionally English-speaking, whereas others were almost entirely French-Canadian. Within urban centers, both groups coexisted, but the American influence was strongly felt, be it within local institutions or in local businesses. Members of the English-speaking community gathered within different associations according to their respective backgrounds: the British formed the St. George Society, the Irish regrouped within the St. Patrick Society, and the Scottish adhered to the St. Andrew’s Society.
The Orange Lodge has its origins in Northern Ireland in 1796 with the founding of the Orange Order by Protestants. In the decades leading up to this point, however, there had been building conflict and violence between Protestants and Catholics, which had largely stemmed from land disputes in County Armagh, Ireland. This conflict led up to the Battle of the Diamond, in September 1795, when the Protestant Peep o’ Day Boys and the Catholic Defenders gathered for a fight and ended with the Defenders suffering a significant number of losses.

Following this battle, the Orange Order was established to replace the less formal Peep o’ Day Boys group. The order was named for King William of Orange, who had defeated the Catholic King James in the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 in a struggle for the English, Scottish and Irish thrones. The Orange parade, the Orangemen’s annual celebration, is held on or around July 12th in commemoration of King William’s triumph.

The Orange Lodge came to the Eastern Townships through Irish settlers and the first lodge was established in Megantic County in 1832. Many other lodges were founded throughout other counties such as Compton, Sherbrooke, and Richmond. While much of the religious discord was left in the old country, the Orange Lodge brought with it fraternal support for the new settlers as well as the Orange parade and picnic. Originally held locally on range roads, it was gradually consolidated with the growing ease of transportation and, since the early 1900s, it has been held in Inverness Township.

The Orange picnic was a very special occasion for most families, especially when breaks from the farm work during the summer months were rare. Included among the festivities were races and a competition of musical groups – who practiced for weeks beforehand and would likewise ‘serenade’ neighbours as they played on their way to the picnic.
IN THE 19TH CENTURY, THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN FAMILIES OF BRITISH ORIGIN WAS BASED ON VICTORIAN (QUEEN VICTORIA) IDEALS. TO OCCUPY THEIR TIME AND TO ENHANCE THEIR MARRIAGE PROSPECTS, GIRLS WERE INTRODUCED TO THE ARTS, TO MUSIC AND TO FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

The purpose of their education was to allow them to be better mothers and wives, and to contribute to the creation of a pleasant domestic environment for their families. Within Anglo-Protestant society, several efforts towards social cohesion were undertaken. Women’s associations were part of these. Some charity organizations advocated for votes for women, others helped widows, children, the poor, etc. Minnie Bowen, an eminent woman within the Anglophone community, actively took part in several philanthropic, patriotic, literary and religious organizations (the Women’s Auxiliary Missionary Society, the Sherbrooke Patriotic Association, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the Women’s Conservative Association, the Canadian Authors’ Association, and the Sherbrooke Choral Society).

Minnie Hallowell Bowen was born in Sherbrooke on February 4th, 1861, to lawyer John Hallowell and his wife, Helen Maria Clark. In 1890, she married Cecil Hale Bowen, son of George Frederick Bowen. She wrote and published six books and booklets of poetry; she also contributed literary texts to various newspapers and periodicals. She died in Quebec City in 1942.
MINNIE H. BOWEN, C. 1880s.

Photo credit: ETRC / P006-003-005-002 Minnie Hallowell Bowen fonds
FOR 175 YEARS, BISHOP’S UNIVERSITY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE REACH AND INFLUENCE OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS.

Welcoming students from all over the world, this university is one of the oldest in Canada. Located in Lennoxville, its campus consists of 24 buildings housing three distinct faculties (the Faculty of Arts and Science, the School of Education and the Williams School of Business).

In the 1840s, Reverend Lucius Doolittle, an Anglican minister based in Sherbrooke-Lennoxville, dreamed of a liberal arts college. Originally from the United States, Doolittle was well familiar with this type of small-scale institution that specialized in the mastery of language arts (grammar, dialectics, rhetoric) and in the power of numbers (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy). To make this dream come true, the reverend convinced the bishop of the Anglican diocese of Quebec, Reverend George Mountain, to establish a theological college in Lennoxville, located in the Ascot township and in the St. Francis District. Bishop’s College was founded in 1843, in honour of Bishop Mountain. In its first year, the institution welcomed only ten students. For most local families, registering their children in this institution was too expensive. In 1853, Bishop’s College obtained Queen Victoria’s Royal University Charter. The institution’s principal at the time was Jasper H. Nicolls. The charter conferred upon the institution the right to issue bachelor’s, master’s, and doctoral degrees. Lengthy debates held at the National Assembly were required in order to obtain this status. Deputy Edward Hale worked very hard to rally Baldwin and Lafontaine to his cause.

The teaching institution was first meant to train Anglican clergy. The education offered within its walls was the classical type: Latin, Greek, ancient history, philosophy, and mathematics were taught. This university, hailing from a liberal, Anglo-Saxon tradition, aimed to educate men. In 1871, Bishop’s University established a Faculty of Medicine in Montreal. With the graduation of Octavia Grace Ritchie from its Medical Faculty in 1891, Bishop’s became the first university to grant a woman a medical degree in the province of Quebec. Since 1905, this faculty has been linked to McGill University.
The first building built on the Bishop’s University campus was the one currently known as McGreer Hall, named after Reverend A. H. McGreer, University Principal between 1922 and 1947. Built in the British architectural style, McGreer Hall houses the Eastern Townships Resource Centre (ETRC). The Old Library, built in 1909, makes available the Eastern Townships Collection of the Bishop’s University Library. Adjacent to this pavilion is St. Mark’s Chapel, built in 1857. Bishop Mountain had this chapel built in the Gothic Revival architectural style, greatly influenced by the British Tudor period. Located at the confluence of the St. Francis and Massawippi Rivers, the Bishop’s University campus spans 500 acres of land. Several students hailing from coast to coast, and indeed from all over the world, study in this British-inspired institution. In 1967, in honour of the centenary of Canadian Confederation, Centennial Theatre was built. Still today, Centennial Theatre is local hub for a variety of cultural events.
GLOSSARY

CAPITALISM
Economic ideology that favours a market economy based on the principles of supply and demand. Means of production, the accumulation of capital and profit are at the core of this economic regime.

CEILIDH
A Scottish social gathering. Men would gather around a fire, tell stories, recall anecdotes related to immigration, and sing traditional songs. Meanwhile, women would engage in quilting or would bake buckwheat pancakes.

CHÂTEAU CLIQUE
A group of wealthy families in Lower Canada at the turn of the 19th century. They were the Lower Canadian equivalent of Upper Canada’s “Family Compact”. These families were known on the electoral scene as the Parti bureaucrate (“Bureaucratic Party,” also known as the “British Party” or the “Tory Party”).

CONSERVATISM
Political ideology that is committed to traditional values and generally opposed to change and progress.

DEMOCRATIZATION
The introduction of a democratic system.

GENTLEMAN FARMER
Wealthy individual living in a rural area, living on a property and farming the land without having to work physically.

GENTRY
Lesser nobility in a rural sector.

IMPERIALISM
In Canada, partisan movement that aimed to maintain or to reinforce the links with the Empire. An imperial nation controls one or several other nations, as was the case with the British Empire. This domination may be of political or institutional nature and is generally associated with colonialism.

INDUSTRIALIZATION
Phase of great change in economic and social activities resting on general mechanization and a significant increase in factory work.

LAND SPECULATION
Seeking to profit financially or politically from the ownership of a lot of land.

LIBERALISM
Ideology that supports freedom of the press, civil rights, economic freedom, etc. This doctrine allows several political parties to run for election, and citizens to vote for the party that will represent them.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY/ RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT
Principle by which Ministers (Executive Council), intermediaries between the Crown and the communities they represent, are responsible for their decisions and for their actions. A Minister who loses the confidence of the House must resign. Granted in 1848 in the United Canadas, ministerial responsibility made parliamentarism and democracy possible.
NATIONALISM
In Canada and in Quebec, partisan movement that sought greater power for the nation, often at the expense of others. School of thought that promotes or defends the interests of a nation, that is, a group of individuals sharing various common characteristics (ethnicity, language, culture, etc.).

REFORMISM
Ideology that consists of seeking to impose changes (reforms) on political, economic and social policies. This is achieved through recourse to legal and institutional procedures, for example, by passing new laws.

SQUATTERS
Name given to individuals who illegally occupied a territory. These were most often Americans from New England.

TEMPERANCE
Wariness with regards to the sale of alcohol that can go as far as a willingness to impose the prohibition of alcohol.

TORIES
Name given to Conservatives, and generally attributed to English political parties.

TOWNSHIPS
Geographical delineation of a territory. This technique consisted in dividing a territory into square lots and was frequently used in British colonies. The ceded lots were free of any servitudes, contrary to the seigneurie model. Starting in 1792, new lots of land in Lower Canada and Upper Canada were signed over to property owners.
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Since 1982, the Eastern Townships Resource Centre (ETRC) has been a recognized organization for the study of the Eastern Townships of Quebec. While its Archives Department concentrates on the acquisition of private archives related to the English-speaking community, the Centre’s mission, mandate and ongoing activities are meant to be inclusive of all communities present in the Eastern Townships.

Preserving and Promoting the Region’s History

Accredited by Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, the ETRC Archives acquires, processes, preserves and gives access to archival fonds and collections that illustrate the development of the Eastern Townships’ English-speaking community. Thousands of documents such as diaries, letters, minute books, photographs, postcards, maps, plans and audio-visual material are made available to researchers. Assistance is also provided to genealogists tracing their family roots. The ETRC promotes the Townships’ rich and unique history through public lectures, colloquia, and exhibitions. The Centre offers educational materials for teachers and its own publication, the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies (JETS)*. As a long-standing and proud member of the Bishop’s community, the ETRC creates bridges between Bishop’s and the surrounding communities.