

JOURNAL OF EASTERN  
TOWNSHIPS STUDIES

REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES  
CANTONS DE L'EST



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# JOURNAL OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS STUDIES

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## REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS DE L'EST

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# THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS — THE CHANGING TOURIST PRODUCT COMPOSITION

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Jan O. Lundgren  
*McGill University*

## Investigative Background

The tourist development process has been a principal focus of study for social scientists, notably economists, but also sociologists, anthropologists and geographers, during the past 30 years (Brière, Butler, Carlson, Christaller, Clawson, Doxey, Dumazedier, Gray, Graburn, McLaughlin, Krippendorf, Miossec, O'Loughlin, Pearce, Peters, Robinson, V.L. Smith, Turner and Ash, Wolfe, et al.). This is not surprising considering the massive growth of the tourist travel phenomenon, especially after 1950, and the subsequent consequences for participating countries, especially those that have served as major destinations. In 1960 the international tourist travel volume (arrivals) amounted to some 60 million travelers — thirty years later the volume is almost ten times higher — over 500 millions. In order to get the full picture of the phenomenon one must also include domestic, interregional tourist travel, which pushes the combined aggregate (=international plus national-domestic) volume to some two billion tourist travelers annually. We can in a sense, therefore, argue that about over one third of the world's population is a tourist traveler (World Tourist Organisation — WTO Statistics).

If the above figures approximate reality there is little wonder that their relationship to the tourist destinations system can be major and often severe, and that consequently the dynamics of tourism can have profound and often detrimental consequences for the destination environment as a whole (Turner and Ash, 1975), and especially for the elements that constitute its principal attraction(s) — an often geographically definable (tourist) product (S.L.J. Smith, 1994) consumed/used by the tourists during their stay in the destination. Thus, the saying that describes the destruc-

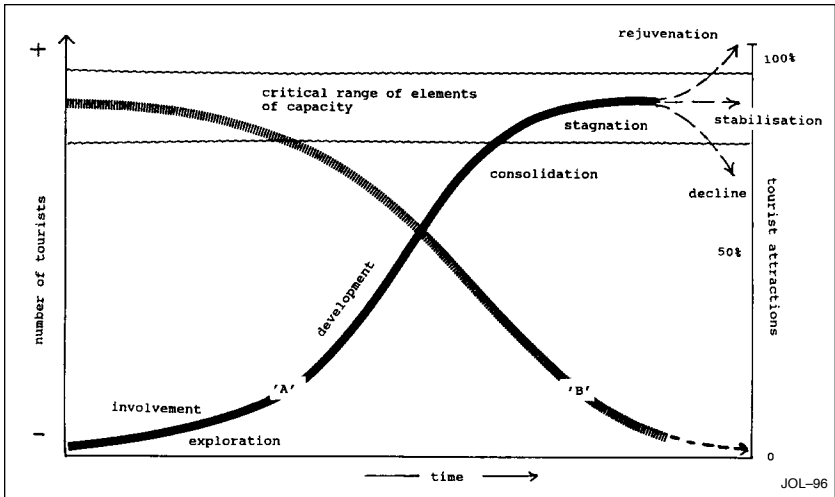


Fig. 1  
 Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution  
 (Modified from Butler, 1980)

tion of tourism through tourism — die Zerstörung der Tourismus durch Tourismus — aptly coined already in the 1970s (Krippendorf, 1975), when tourist travel volumes were much smaller, rings even more true today due to the astounding growth of tourism, at least if measured in terms of tourist visitor volumes at both international and domestic levels.

### Placing the Development Process in a Conceptual Context

The detrimental environmental consequences of the modern tourism development process were recognized already in the early 70s as they started to manifest themselves in different types of destinations, including national parks, popular international resort areas in the Mediterranean, and in really confined Third World island destinations suddenly receiving large tourist influxes (Ambio, 1977, 1981). The conceptualization of the destination area development process and its environmental consequences, however, was brought to the forefront of the tourism debate by Butler (1980) in his stark and revealing interpretation of the workings of the process (Fig. 1). His overall design identifies two principal and opposing trends affecting the tourist destination area: *on one hand*, a “successful” growth in visitor numbers (Fig.1, curve “A” in diagram) — a slow beginning phase followed by a sharp

acceleration, later to level off and stagnate in a manner resembling Rostow's (1961) original stages-of-growth concept or the traditional product life cycle concept borrowed from the marketing and business management literature (Fig. 2, from Kotler and Turner, 1993); *on the other*, an exploitation-of-resources process (Fig. 1, curve "B") by which, over time, first-echelon and prime tourist attractions are exploited, followed by the subsequent consumption of similar but second-rate and third-rate attractions of increasingly marginal quality. Ultimately, the growth process faces diminishing economic and environmental returns, slows down, and grinds to a halt.

Butler's model incorporates numerous aspects common to destination area development dynamics, external as well as internal. The fundamental and inherent notion of "resource depletion" is perhaps the most important feature of his analysis, when viewing the development process against today's tourism debate which revolves around the notion of sustainable tourism, alternative tourism and various forms of "soft tourism" (Smith and Eadington, 1994). Now, we critically evaluate destination area development dynamics and its intricate implications as they relate to questions as to how to prolong the tourist product life cycle or how to diversify the development process by making attractions (=products) sustainable, to the benefit to both visitors and host societies — and not the least to the integrity of the destination area environment with its various attractions and social systems.

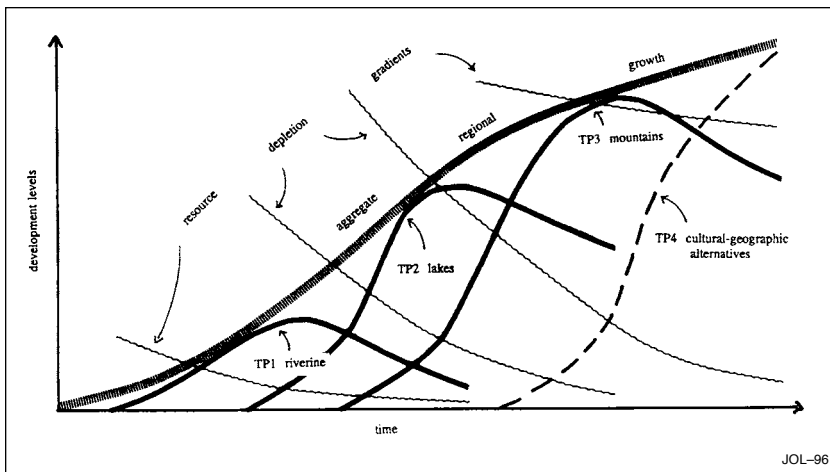


Fig. 2

*Multiple Tourist Product Evolution/Exploitation Cycles*  
(Modified from Kotler and Turner, 1993)

### Product Life Cycles and Their Spatial Consequences

The Butler model can be more stringently linked with the product life cycle concept which recognises that “products” are never developing alone (Kotler and Turner, 1993), but rather come in “bunches.” This can be seen in the contemporary interpretation of product marketing management (Fig. 2). Here the notion of *successive* product development cycles is stressed, in which sometimes the “new product” is generically associated with the used up, “old” product (S.L.J. Smith 1994). Thus, the “cross country ski product” is often grafted on to alpine ski centers as a “new” and complementary product at the time when the downhill development is reaching its zenith and starts to consolidate and eventually to stagnate; or a “summer downhill capacity” is often applied in the form of water slides or mountain biking trails at ski centres in order to attract visitors during the underutilized summer season.

In other cases completely “new” products with no direct locational affinity to products exploited during earlier eras and cycles may also be introduced almost randomly in the tourist region, partly alleviating the impending stagnation stage by virtue of their product attributes and in the process bringing about major locational shifts in a region’s tourist space and subsequent major modifications to the existing tourist travel circulation and, as a consequence, quite radically altering the tourist-derived impacting process. The commoditization of dramatic industrial heritage locales as tourist attractions which can be seen for instance in the case of the Coaticook gorge, or the establishment of cultural institutions — for instance the countryside theatres in Knowlton and North Hatley — or diverse museums with significant local or regional vocation — or the fairly recent but immensely popular excursion attraction in the form of the Dunham vineyards — all represent almost accidental new development locations. They can produce similar locational shift effects as their reliance upon specific landscape resources as attractions is more indirect and sometimes hardly evident: the landscape becomes the backdrop while various human-based features constitute the attraction and the memorable experience. The region’s tourism experiences the emergence of *alternative forms of tourism* through this fairly informal product diversification process that in a conceptual sense resembles the product life cycle succession process so fundamental to innovative product marketing (Kotler and Turner, 1993).

## Objectives

This study focuses upon the tourism development process as it has manifested itself in the southern part of the Eastern Townships tourist region of southern Quebec (Fig. 3). The area investigated incorporates the uplands terrain starting east of the Richelieu River stretching eastward to approximately the Sherbrooke-Coaticook line. The Eastern Townships Autoroute provides a convenient boundary line to the North.

Three objectives have been identified: *first*, to identify the typical geographic (landscape) resource components that have constituted the traditional and active "tourist products" that have carried the regional tourist development process during its successive product phases. We wish to establish to what extent one can relate the predominant tourist resource, its market development and its exploitation according to Butler's product stages, recognizing that, rather than having the observed growth rely upon one particular product, in fact a *succession* of product cycles have been at work. This would then correspond to a typical diversification process involving numerous resource products as suggested in Fig. 2. *Second*, to outline the spatio-economic consequences associated with each of the traditional tourist resources that have played a role in the development process. *Third*, when studying the more

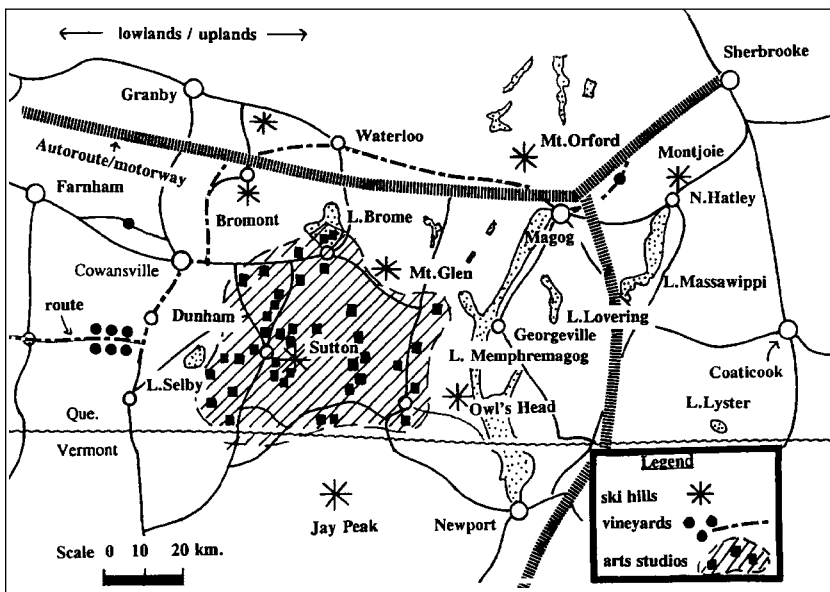


Fig. 3

Eastern Townships Tourist Resources

recent years, to assess the significance of an ongoing diversification process as far as more non-traditional, new tourist attractions are concerned, because the diversification process represents a regional product innovation featuring few connections with the generic, more environmental and resource-dependent traditional set of tourist attractions that brought tourism to the region in the first place some 125 years ago.

The emergence of the “new tourist products” in the form of both cultural and industrial tourist attractions represents not only a new set of tourist products, but also a different kind of tourism impacting upon the region compared to the (tourism) development dynamics of earlier eras. This fairly fundamental break with the traditional tourist resource exploitation signals new dynamics and new development directions often sharply at variance with patterns established by the traditional exploitation process. Thus, new market demand is lured into and diffused around destination settings, in which physical landscape appeal becomes secondary and hardly represents the tourist attraction per se. As we will see, the tourist product is often “people-based,” and sometimes relies upon the reactivation of historical heritage sites.

### **Some Historical Development Characteristics**

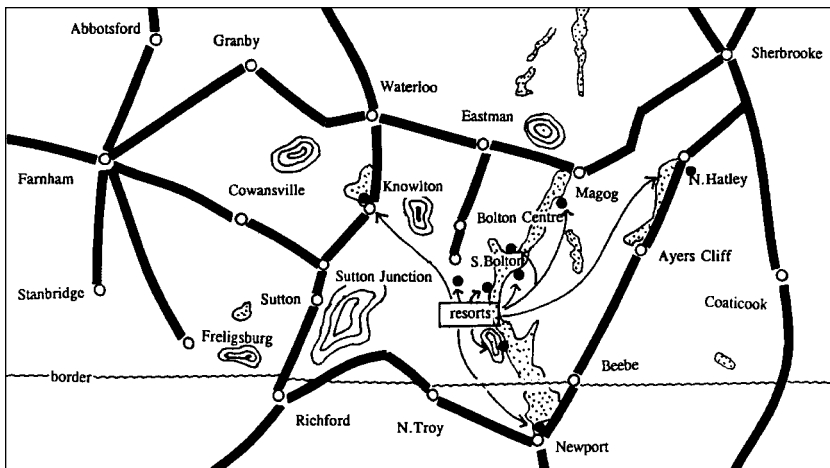
The background to the investigation rests on certain observations that those that have followed the region’s tourist history easily can verify: the traditional bases for the original tourist development have in most cases become more or less fully exploited, in an accelerating tempo, only during the past 10–20 years.

### **Traditional Product Eras — Lake Shores**

Certain types of tourism have carried the development process over long time spans. In fact, they have had very long life cycles (see Fig. 2). Among them, *lakeshore- and lake-based tourism* initiated the Eastern Townships’ tourist trade and constituted, in its various forms, its backbone from an era as early as the 1850s — the Hermitage Club for instance, located a few kilometres south of Magog on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog, was established in 1850 (Brière) — to the present. It is still an important form of tourism in the region, which can be attested by the heavy concentration and continuous row of cottage development (Lake Memphremagog Topographic Map Sheet, 1989) and also commercial accommodation on or near lakeshores (Estrie Regional Tourist

Guide Book, 1994). The triggering factor behind this product development cycle was the vastly improved accessibility as a function of the rapid railway development combined with the opening of the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence River in 1859, which mobilised the Montreal market by making strategic tourist attractions further east easily accessible (Booth, 1982, and Brière, 1967). The railway growth in Canada was just short of phenomenal, as witnessed in track mileage statistics — 1852: 320 km.; 1860: 3,200 km. (Brière). Similarly inter-regional rail expansions in the 1870s came to link southern Quebec more closely to the US-New England market (Meeks, 1986). With the railway-induced regional transborder integration complete well before the turn of the century (see 1884 Railway Access Map), the tourist development forces conveniently converged upon major lakes such as *Brome Lake* and a few years later *Lake Memphremagog* and *Lake Massawippi* as well as the *Mount Orford* lakes, eventually affecting more remote lake bodies such as *Lake Lyster* east of Stanstead on the Vermont border and *Lac Megantic* further east, close to Maine.

In each case where rail access improved, a process of *exploitation encirclement* was initiated as can be seen in the case of Brome Lake from the 1870s (Lake Memphremagog Topographic Map Sheets, 1989). The process worked slowly, however, which can be demonstrated by the fact that the *final* lakeshore exploitation phase was concluded only in the 1980s with two major condominium projects ultimately closing the existing parapublic access gaps to the lakeshore.



1884 Railway Access Map

A similar trend to the one described above can be observed on a much larger scale for *Lake Memphremagog*. Here, following the extension of the railway system to the Canadian and the American ends of the lake in around 1870 (Booth, Meeks), the lake became quickly identified as a major tourist product (Lundgren). With the two convenient access points at Magog, Que. and Newport, Vt, a combination of factors contributed to a vigorous product development: these included convenient and speedy rail services, especially for the Montrealers, which smoothly interfaced the railway stations of the towns with the public wharfs and passenger steamship services, which in turn provided for almost a perfect passenger transfer that took the traveler to strategically located public landings around the lake and only a few minutes' walk up to inviting tourist lodges and pensions with their shady and cooling verandas or to private country properties and summer residences (North Troy Public Library Local History File, North Troy, Vermont); well established shoreline roads, especially along the eastern shore between Magog and Georgeville (Brière) provided alternative forms of access and had in the process produced a continuous shoreline-based summer cottage development already in 1880 (Brière).

During an era that had yet to see the introduction of the automobile, both the approach journey (by rail) and the transfer to other modes of transport (steamship and land-based scheduled horse and buggy services) after arriving into the lake region, the transport function was practically faultless. Thus, the tourists could sojourn in one of the finest and most accessible lake environments second to none in southern Quebec. As well, due to the perception by local landowners, usually farmers owning lakeshore property, that the sale of shoreline property represented "windfall profits" for the seller, the good chances for wealthy Montrealers to acquire lakeshore properties added to the appeal. The region became already at an early stage a fashionable location for English-speaking Montrealers, that could afford such investments. In consequence, the "Allans," the "Molsons" and other wealthy Montreal families (Potton Heritage Association) acquired large lakeshore properties well before 1900. Indeed, the Memphremagog steamship operation was started by the Allan family (North Troy Public Library Local Historical File). Summer residences sprung up over the years and both big and small resort facilities followed, usually located on the lake but sometimes also further inland. Of those rather magnificent enterprises there are no survivors; they

all flourished for a couple of decades but fell, usually victims of carelessness, and burnt. Mountain House at Owl's Head caught fire and so did Potton Springs (Potton Heritage Association). Some of the earlier resorts also provided valuable building materials for new large-scale projects when their market appeal as resorts flagged and brought them to financial ruin. Stories have it that the foundation field stones from Gibraltar House hotel in Austin were used in the foundation works of the St. Benoit Monastery in Austin, when it was constructed in the mid 30s.

The encirclement process for the larger lakes obviously had a longer run before reaching its ultimate conclusion compared with the situation on numerous small lakes, such as Lake Magog, Lake Malaga, or Lake Lyster. Thus, it was only in the 1970s, some 100 years after the lake-based tourist development was initiated, that its "product" cycle was reaching its finale when the final pieces of locally owned lakeshore property were sold for development subdivision and lot sale to interested city people at prices that were second to none outside prime urban areas, Westmount and Outremont.

The final and most recent development phase has featured the typical condominium densification, as we have seen around Brome Lake in the 1980s, but on a greater scale and in more numerous locations around Lake Memphremagog. Massive construction has occurred in the Magog area, both on the lakeshore and in the foothills of Mount Orford provincial park (Nadeau, and Estrie Regional Tourist Guide Books). A substantial condominium project was also launched at Owl's Head ski area in the mid 1980s exploiting two interfacing resources — the fine ski mountain and lakeshore access — all of it more recently complemented with a championship golf course (Owl's Head Development Inc.). Larger, underutilized farm properties with fairly modest lake frontage were equally converted into high density development projects before the alarm bells of conservationists started ringing, as witnessed with the 300 unit les Villas de l'Anse enterprise halfway between Magog and Georgeville. Even "downtown" locations contributed, as can be seen in the Auberge du Village project — and other ventures — near the Outlet location in downtown Magog as well as the townhouse development on the railway embankment in Newport, Vermont. The tourist pressure on the lake as a whole has been increasing rapidly as also convenient lake area hinterlands are increasingly being developed, notably between the City of Magog and Mount Orford, all massively fuelled by the favorable

access situation to lake *and* mountain brought about with the linking of the lake region to Montreal via the Autoroute in 1967.

Beyond the Lake Memphremagog region lakeshore property developments are common as well, a prime example being *Lake Lovering*, which obviously also felt the effect of improved autoroute-and-highway access and now sits only a 1.5 hours' car drive from Montreal. As a consequence, its lakeshore has experienced a massive real estate/development boom, which in the past two decades has practically encircled the whole of the lake completely but has also produced large-scale property subdivision developments *behind* its already developed shore (Lake Memphremagog Topographic Map). The same process is constantly being repeated around practically all lakes in the region with severe consequences as far as public access for the regional resident population to major recreational and tourist resources goes as well as ecological impairment of the natural lakeshore as well as essential environmental elements further inland, but still within the lake drainage basin. Only in cases of extreme remoteness have the types of developments described above not yet resulted in complete encirclements. In some cases government intervention in the form of establishment of provincial parks has contained or blocked the encirclement exploitation, but this has not necessarily affected lake bodies that through advantageous location — and sometimes substantial dimensions — have been principal targets for market forces.

### **Nodal Resources — The Mountain Locales**

The term “nodal resources” is derived from M. Clawson’s classification of recreational lands, in which a differentiation is made between on one hand “user-oriented resources” and on the other “resource-based” recreation areas (Clawson, M. and Knetsch, J.L, 1963). The former usually refers to outdoor recreational terrains and spaces that can be used in a variety and also quite specific ways without necessarily requiring a large areal base, for instance, municipal sports fields or multipurpose parks; for the latter, outstanding attributes of the physical landscape tend to predetermine its specific recreational utility often at the *exclusion* of other forms of recreation. This landscape “specificity” produces a strong “nodality” or geographic demand focus in the form of a spatial convergence of market demand toward the location. Ski hills, for instance, belong to this latter category as do certain beach situations, while canoeable rivers function differently as a function of

their inherent linearity. The region under study demonstrates the above differentiation of the landscape quite markedly, whereby the locations with the ski hill potential can be clearly defined (Land Capability for Recreation. Canada Land Inventory; map sheet. Montreal 31 H. Ottawa, 1971). These same potential sites have subsequently been activated as major ski centers. A few are yet to be activated, but due to the combined effects of the limitations of market demand and poor accessibility they are still undeveloped.

The mountain-based tourist development cycle in this region has a long touristic history that precedes downhill skiing. Up till the 1920s the main utility of the mountain locales was associated with summer tourism and fresh air sojourning rather than with winter recreation (Brière, 1966). The phenomenon took on slightly different forms in North America compared with the European Alps because the mountain peaks in the northeastern part of the North American continent only occasionally reach above the tree line and usually lack other European alpine attributes, such as a more rugged above-timberline profile and dramatic peaks, glaciers or for that matter year-round snow cover. Hence hiking was — and is — more confined by substantial forest vegetation cover and require a more systematic trail blazing and consequently affect the mountain environment in a more visible and major way.

The above notwithstanding, the tourist potential of mountains in the region changed with the advent of modern alpine skiing in the early 1930s. As a consequence, already before the second World War, two major alpine ski stations were operating in Quebec — the first being the fully integrated year-round resort, the Chantecler, in the Montreal Laurentians, opened in 1937, followed one year later by Mont Tremblant. In the Eastern Townships, Mount Orford saw its first season of alpine skiing about the same time, but on a less commercial resort scale.

Regionally, the mountain-based development era has lasted almost 60 years — and is still a vigorous “actor” in the region — with a major boom in the 1960s due to the improved accessibility to locales with good ski development potential, without which the necessary market base could not have been mobilized. By 1966, with the Montreal-Magog autoroute practically in place, travel time to the emerging galaxy of prime ski centres had been sharply reduced, securing convenient travel time for their principal market — metropolitan Montreal. Sutton (1959), Glen Mountain (1963), Bromont (1964), Mt. Echo (1964) and Owl’s Head (1965) all

started operations between 1959 and 1965 and they were all a function of the improved autoroute accessibility. The fact that they, in addition, possess very favourable base-to-summit elevation differentials, among skiers referred to as “effective verticals,” that easily outclass the “stations de ski” north of Montreal — with the *exception* of Mt. Tremblant — gives the region an important competitive edge, which has been, and is, hard to beat.

As a consequence of the establishment of the new mountain-based attractions, the ski stations, a different tourist travel pattern and a different form of tourist-derived local impacting emerged. Its principal feature is one of *spatial convergence toward the principal ski locales*. The high level of capital investment for any substantial ski hill development and its concomitant business requirement revolves around the need for large visitor volume levels and equally high day expenditure per visitor. This has radically changed the economic as well as the environmental-related impacting process for mountain-based ski locales: large crowds must constantly be brought in order to provide the minimum revenue level and essential scale economies to operation. Large visitor crowds also impose the need for a diversification of on-site service supply in a variety of ways: larger and more extensive physical facilities at the base of the hill and in the immediate surroundings, larger parking space, a better lift system with an uphill capacity matching the areal dimensions of the hill site and, as a consequence of more usage of slope surfaces as the natural snow coverage becomes less reliable, modern grooming equipment complemented with mobile and expensive snowmaking equipment, a well dimensioned and well equipped base lodge complex plus many other visitor services — ski schools, ski patrols, first aid facilities, equipment rentals, sports boutiques, accommodation and apres-ski services and, not the least, an adequate infrastructure (water, sewage, electricity). The tourist dollars that enter the locale flow via those principal hill-sited visitor services to usually urban-based supply points and, due to the less developed local economic system typical of more rural areas, only to a lesser degree to local supply operators.

The new commercial service system brought into place, with its multitude of operations, functioned as the major, aggregate focus for potential visitors and established itself in a linchpin role in a new and spatially very permanent and stable tourist travel pattern. The pattern has more recently been further reinforced and made more stable by the broadening of the *range* of tourist attractions on or near the hill sites, particularly in the form of summer-based

recreational provisions — golf, tennis, hiking, horseback riding, and in some cases boating. Thus, the *singular* product development cycle based on alpine skiing has seen secondary and multiple forms of product cycles established which has added to and broadened the overall appeal of the destinations, improving their utility and longevity in the eyes of the visitor.

### **The Modern Era, Modern Trends and New Spatial Patterns**

The break with past trends tends to occur in a fairly gradual fashion rather than a revolutionary one, a fact that can be seen in the historical process of more recent times as well as in development processes of past eras. Referring back to Butler's cycle model and the dynamics of product marketing, it is fair to say that toward the end of 1990s the *prime* traditional resource bases for the Eastern Townships tourist development had been fully exploited. The products carrying the development up till then had reached, if not the end of their respective cycles, at least a development level corresponding with Butler's levelling off stage. Hence, any further developments based on the same set of resources would inevitably produce diminishing returns, and would tend to be more marginal overall, both in economic and environmental terms. Thus, they would all bring the development closer to elusive but critical environmental carrying capacity levels. Therefore, if any rejuvenation *à la* Butler et al. would occur it would have to be by the introduction of *new* and different attractions. In other words, *alternative tourism*, or other forms of tourism had to be introduced into the region, by deliberate strategy design or other means. Some of these new "attraction" ventures are discussed below and their regional implications evaluated.

### **Cultural Institutions**

Dating back to the 1870s, museums and other recognised cultural-historical sites have been increasingly prominent in the region. Many of these quite modest facilities have a long and fairly languid development history (Société des musées québécois). However, in recent decades the tempo has accelerated. Due to their location and general orientation these sites cater mostly to a regional market. This means that the net economic benefits for one unit tend to be at the expense of another in the system within the region. Only in certain cases do they attract visitors from extra-regional markets due to their status and overall reputation,

but more often due rather to a favorable location on some major traffic artery. Judging from visitor statistics (Société des musées québécois) the correlation between visitor volume and size of urban location in which the museum is located, is high, which supports the notion proposed above, that the local museums rely upon local markets rather than bringing any visitors from beyond the region. Still, with more aggressive and skilful marketing their role as tourist attractions could be improved, especially if they were to link up with other, more recognised attractions in the same locale. In fact, some have shown signs of moving in this direction. For instance, during the past few years, the Stanstead Historical Society's Museum has actively pursued a promotion and marketing policy with the objective of catching a larger percentage of travelers passing through Quebec's second most frequented border crossing at Rock Island (after the Champlain station west of Lake Champlain) with marked success (Stanstead Historical Society, 1995).

### **Rural-agricultural Attractions**

The rural milieu and landscape with its mix of cultural and natural landscape features have always exerted a strong appeal, especially with the advent of pleasure-driving by car, a habit that developed in the 1950s and 1960s (C.O.R.D. Surveys). The improved access due to the opening of the autoroute in its full length from Montreal to Sherbrooke in 1971 further popularized day excursion travel to scenic areas and quaint towns/villages in the region, with distinct seasonal patterns: *apple blossom* around Freligsburg and Rougemont in the Spring, *apple orchard U-pick* in the Fall, *Fall foliage tours* in the hilly parts toward the Sutton ranges and the Vermont border, *provincial park outings* to Orford during most seasons, *lake visits* to Lake Brome and Memphremagog in the Summer and then, of course, the *ski weekends* and *ski day-trips*.

More recently, during the past ten years, the *vineyard enterprises*, originally started in 1979, and conveniently located in the Dunham area (Fig. 3), have attracted massive visitor numbers — some 50,000 annually according to the operators. The harvest season seems to be most popular, but the area has its charm also in Spring and Summer; diverse services are available most seasons of the year — from guided tours and wine tasting to open markets, food and beverage gift shops, restaurants, picnic grounds, to mention some. Thus, a major, new and partly generic tourist attraction

has sprung up less than an hour's drive from Montreal. The economic impact, although seasonal, is considerable both in terms of employment and the local economic multiplier. The spatial travel pattern produced by the vineyard attractions tends to be rather convergent due to their clustering in the Dunham area, south of Cowansville. By developing additional vineyards, which actually seems to be happening (Estrie Regional Tourist Guide Books editions), the visitor crowd would most likely disperse over a much wider area to the benefit of those adjacent villages featuring some distinct tourist attraction. A fair portion of the vineyard visitors pass through picturesque Stanbridge East, an old milltown village a few kilometres west of Dunham and no doubt the well-run local historical museum in this village has benefited indirectly from the vineyard-bound excursions.

Due to the success of the vineyard as a tourist attraction, the Dunham entrepreneurs have recently prepared promotional material featuring the "Chemin des vignobles du Québec." This linear attraction starts at the plains around the Richelieu River on the latitude of Dunham and travels east, passing a number of vineyards until it reaches the Magog area, and is almost at total variance with other tourist travel flows in the study region.

### **The Dispersed and Individualized Tourist Attraction — The Artist**

Quaint rural areas traditionally exert a strong appeal to the artistic community — as do city milieus with their ambiance and strong cultural traditions. The way in which the artists have emerged as a regional tourist attraction represents an interesting example of how informal and quite unstructured the process of a "tourist product" development can be. The *Tour des Arts* phenomenon is a case in point.

The by now quite systematically organised *Tour des Arts (TDA)* was initiated seven years ago by a motley group of artists — painters, ceramacists, silversmiths, cabinetmakers, artistic printers — living in the Cowansville-Knowlton-Mansonville-Sutton area (Fig. 3). The purpose was, as the name suggests, to "present — and explain" the artists' presence in the region *to local residents* by arranging an "open house" tour program (no entrance fees) during a ten day period in late July each year. It was felt that residents might be curious about the slow but incessant trickle of artists setting up their studios and workshops on often ramshackle and remote farms, or in villages, where properties were for sale as rural

depopulation had depressed the local economy and house prices.

The TDA developed gradually from an "open house" program for local residents to a major tourist attraction through the distribution of an easy-to-read map pamphlet which found sponsorship from the regional business community, especially among businesses located in close proximity to TDA participants. Last year the program registered 42 artists and its diversity had increased further with new participants in weaving, glassmaking, and wooden puzzles design. The fairly convenient size of the territory covered by the TDA group — some 30x30 km. — and its location in a diverse and pleasant landscape featuring an omnipresent rural road network makes visitor travel movements convenient and even provides for some navigational excitement — a discovery/ exploration experience — while driving /or biking from one studio to the next, with stops for snacks and "a bite to eat" in some nearby village.

So, the question may be asked: to what extent has the TDA program functioned as a tourist attraction? According to a survey (Lundgren — in cooperation with the TDA, 1995) the aggregate recorded visitor volume is impressive. For 1994 some 20,000 registered and estimated visitors travelled the TDA system during the ten day "open house" program with an obvious concentration in more conveniently located studios and workshops. The cluster of studio locations in the Knowlton-Sutton-Abercorn corridor fared better than the part of the system located further east, in the Missisquoi Valley between South Bolton and Mansonville. Still, even quite inaccessible locations, as for instance those in the cul-de-sac of the Ruitter Brook Valley, attracted curious visitors.

In terms of economic impact we must again recognise the different impacting process when dealing with this type of individualised and geographically dispersed attraction. Clearly, whatever transactions that take place between visitor and host have little "industrial" linkage but tend largely to disperse into a variety of subsequent retail-associated purchases by the artist enterprise and should therefore have strong local-oriented consumer character. This contrasts sharply with the mountain-based tourist attraction — the ski station. A large number of artists indicated obvious economic benefits from the open house arrangement through direct sales. Others expressed the view that it is all "good public relations," but that the real sales of their works still occur rather via more institutional- and urban-based exhibitions and commercial gallery shows in big cities such as Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec. In both cases, however, a fair portion of the economic multiplier

takes place in the TDA program area.

## Conclusions

The purpose of this investigation was to follow the development process associated with various forms of the tourist product life cycles, with a view towards identifying the cycles during which the traditional resource-based products dominated in shaping tourist travel patterns and impacts. The latter part of the study focused upon the more recent incipient product diversification that represents new product cycles, often in early stages of their respective development.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the study region's reliance upon the "old" products will continue also in future years. Both skiing and lakeshore tourism are major, highly popular forms of tourism with strong and well established market appeal. However, their growth dynamics have already been curtailed because the bulk of their prime resource potentials have by now been used up after decades of active commercial and real estate development. Thus, we can observe that any future regional tourism dynamics will depend upon the *diversification* of the region's tourist appeal, a process that presently is gaining momentum. The product innovations are often a function of individual or group initiatives, be it the enthusiastic artists around Sutton, the diligent vintners in Dunham, or the dedicated museum activists in their various locations, or, which we have not discussed, the successful theatre directors in places such as downtown Knowlton or outside North Hatley. Usually, all these different "entrepreneurs," because that is what they *really are*, succeed in altering the tourist travel flow directions in a manner that is far out of proportion to their modest venture capital investments. Their products are regionally unique, often human-inspired and very much person-related, which seem to catch the market's interest in a very particular, but unglamorous way. In that sense these entrepreneurs are the true tourist product innovators, the real initiators of the successive "small scale" product life cycles, without which — in the long-term and more sustainable way — tourist regions will never survive.

## RESUME

L'évolution du tourisme dans la région des Cantons de l'Est est ici analysée en fonction du développement cyclique de produits, avec un intérêt particulier apporté au lien ayant pu exister, à diverses époques, avec les différentes ressources touristiques exploitables. L'auteur suggère que l'impact du tourisme sur la destination choisie est fonction, d'un côté, des caractéristiques géographiques de chaque produit touristique, et de l'autre, des nouveaux modes et infrastructures de transport. Avec le temps, ce processus de développement spatial a permis à la plus grande portion de l'espace naturel d'être exploitée avec succès par le tourisme, et ce n'est que récemment que les attractions moins dépendantes de l'environnement spatial ont commencé à être développées. Cette dernière phase dans l'évolution de la dynamique touristique entraîne une modification de l'influence des caractéristiques spatiales et redistribue les bienfaits économiques dans des secteurs qui, jusqu'à maintenant, n'avaient que peu profité du phénomène touristique.

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# ST. FRANCIS COLLEGE, THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1854–1860 RICHMOND, CANADA EAST\*

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Esther Healy  
*Melbourne, Quebec*

## Introduction

St. Francis College (1854–1898) played a prominent role on the education scene in Quebec for almost half a century yet its story has become obscured and its history largely forgotten. This educational institution had the distinction of being the first in Canada to be affiliated with the University of McGill College, from 1858 to 1898. At the outset, this non-denominational institution was organized in two departments, a Classical college and a Grammar School. During its lifetime, in addition to the Classical Department and Grammar School, St. Francis College established and managed a Normal School for teacher training, a Commercial Department, and a bilingual Agricultural College, and an Academy.

The site of St. Francis College was the highest point of land overlooking the village of Richmond and St. Francis River for which the College was named.<sup>1</sup> For the sum of \$1200,<sup>2</sup> six acres of land, originally part of the Township of Shipton granted to Elmore Cushing in 1801 was purchased for the College site by the St. Francis College Trustees. This article will attempt to reconstruct the founding of St. Francis College and the first six years of its development. In so doing, consideration will be given to the educational background and early schools of the Shipton settlers prior to 1850. Recalled as well will be the personal enterprise of the Trustees of St. Francis College in the establishment of a Classical College in Richmond, Canada East and the legacy of Reverend Edward Cleveland in his role as educator and principal of St. Francis College.

### **Historical Influences on Education in Shipton Township**

In the beginning, this was the story of a group of determined citizens who valued education for the youth of the area. Schooling was of singular concern for the early settlers from New England where the Puritan tradition prevailed.<sup>3</sup> The American system of education with its values and ideals was inherent in the ideological baggage carried to Shipton by the New England settlers.<sup>4</sup> Accounts about early primitive schools with settlers' wives, preachers or medical doctors as teachers were recounted by historians Cleveland (1858) and Day (1869). Library Associations in Richmond and Danville were established as early as 1815, with books which had been donated by the settlers (Cleveland, 1858). The settlers persevered with whatever means were at their disposal to establish schools and lay a foundation for the education of students who desired a university education.

The pioneers of Shipton relied largely on private initiative for educational matters. In 1801, for example, the first Shipton Township school was opened in the home of Job Cushing. The pupils of this earliest Shipton school were taught by Miss Kimball, later Mrs. George Bernard. They were, for the most part, children of the Cushing family. Family schools were common prior to the building of school-houses. The first school-house in Shipton, known as the Front School of Shipton was built in 1807 near the present St. Anne's Cemetery (Cleveland, 1858, p. 63). It was a log school-house furnished with split basswood planks which were used for benches, desk and floor. The first teacher was Dr. Abraham Silver. No visible evidence of this first school-house of Shipton remains in 1996.<sup>5</sup> However, the Clark School House, commonly known as the Old Stone School House (circa 1820) which is located near Melbourne, endures as a well-maintained local attraction. Such school-houses were crude, lacking in amenities and comfort. A few were constructed of stone, but most were log or framed buildings. Hand-hewn log benches, a plank table and the teacher's desk served as the earliest inside furnishings, with a "closet" outside. Wood for the stove was provided by the parents of the children of the school. The early school-houses served as meeting places for worship and social functions. The Old Stone School House, for example, served four denominations, as each itinerant preacher ministered to his congregation.

### Cleveland School Commission

The Education Act of 1846 called for each municipality to set up one or more common schools for the elementary instruction of youth. The Cleveland School Commission established in 1855<sup>6</sup> by the Governor General of Canada was an interesting case in point. Because St. Francis College was established in the School Municipality of Cleveland, formerly Shipton Township<sup>7</sup>, it is useful to understand the operation of this local school board. A close relationship existed between the Trustees of St. Francis College and the Cleveland School Commissioners. During the lifetime of St. Francis College, the actions of each administration would mesh.

The Cleveland School Commissioners followed the regulations of the Education Act of 1846, amended in 1849 and 1850. Taxpayers elected five commissioners each July, observing the principle that one-third of the commissioners retired each year. The school commissioners had the authority to divide the municipality into school districts and appoint managers for each school district, provide school-houses and qualified teachers for each district, raise money through taxation to an amount at least equal to the government grants and enforce the payment of "head money" or school fees.<sup>8</sup> The limits of the newly formed Cleveland School Municipality were to remain as had been established by the School Commissioners of the former School Municipality of the Township of Shipton (*Minute Book 1, C.S.C. 1855–1891, p. 2*).

School commissioners, teachers and pupils within each school board could be Protestant or Roman Catholic. However, the Education Act of 1846 ensured the rights of minority groups. Dissentients, that is, groups of people with differences in religion from the majority were permitted to withdraw from the control of the school commissioners and elect three trustees of their own. The dissentient trustees would then provide schools for their children, be given their fair share of taxes and grants, and have the same powers and duties of other elected trustees. For example, the school taxes of Joseph Bédard Jr. and Nariisse Noel were annulled without delay when Bédard and Noel gave notice (November 5, 1860) to the Cleveland School Commissioners that they had joined the dissentients. This was the first of many similar agreements which illustrated that the principle of separate schools for minorities was respected.

The teachers of these early schools were judged by their reputations and general education. They were hired for short terms, their

salaries were paid from the head money, and in many cases, free board was offered by the parents. Most of the Cleveland schools were Elementary Schools, but a teacher could instruct Model Grades if his or her education was adequate.<sup>9</sup> The Cleveland School Commissioners made it known in 1860 that they were no longer in favour of teachers boarding at the homes of pupils, and recommended "to the several School Districts that the teacher be allowed to board at one place, and to select his or her own boarding place with a view to the abandonment of the objectionable practice of boarding around" (*Minute Book 1, C.S.C.*, p. 114).

Reverend Edward Cleveland wrote that educational interests of the early settlers in Shipton were begun as soon as circumstances permitted, that they were "cherished and fostered and gradually improved from the first commencement to the present time" (Cleveland, 1858, p. 63). By 1858, twenty-five school-houses had been established within the original Township of Shipton, that is, sixteen in Shipton and nine in Cleveland. In 1861, School Inspector, Mr. H. Hubbard reported that there were sixteen schools in Shipton and ten in Cleveland serving a total of 691 students (*Journal of Education*, 5, 1861, p. 131).

Efforts to establish advanced schools resulted in two academies, one in Danville and the other in Richmond. The Danville Academy which was built in 1854 and opened in 1855 was funded by subscriptions from the local people. The first Board of Trustees consisted of three members: Reverend A.J. Parker, I.W. Stockwell and G.N. Cleveland. By 1859, the number of Trustees had increased to five.<sup>10</sup> Students from this institution could qualify for admission to Canadian or American Colleges, or the teaching profession.<sup>11</sup> In 1859, the *Catalogue* listed ninety-four names of students in attendance. The original building burned in the Danville conflagration of 1882 and was rebuilt in 1890.<sup>12</sup> The Academy continued to serve the Danville area students until Asbestos Danville Shipton High School opened in Danville in 1951.

The first efforts to establish an Academy in Richmond were not long-lived. Twilight's Academy (1847–1849) was located in the first school-house near St. Anne's Cemetery. The records fail to disclose why Reverend Alexander Twilight appeared on the Richmond scene, or why he moved on to Hatley in 1849. Subsequently, in 1852, he was persuaded to return to Brownington, Vermont as Headmaster and minister where he died in 1875.<sup>13</sup>

Why was a place of higher learning sought in Richmond? The

climate of the times was ripe for an institution of higher learning. It was widely believed that the townspeople could support such an institution. Economic and social forces promoted and nurtured it. The 1850s witnessed the development of an important railroad in the Eastern Townships. In 1851, the arrival of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway in Richmond made the prospect for a prosperous business center seem a reality. The advantage of a rail link to Portland, Maine and Montreal, meant that new employment and trade opportunities would follow. The hub of development in Richmond changed from the southern end of the village to the northern section, Janesville, located near the railroad station and yards.<sup>14</sup> This newly developing district in Richmond, complete with a post office, was transformed into a working-class hamlet called Richmond Station. Reverend Edward Cleveland described the prospects for the future of Richmond as “inviting and cheering” (Cleveland, 1858, p. 76). For the town and the surrounding region, the prospects for economic growth seemed endless.

Many families supported the idea of a College. Not only would there be an educational facility for studies beyond the Academy stage, but added bonuses for the town would ensue with the enhancement and promotion of Richmond as a center of learning. Indeed, the College would be largely self-supported with student fees, Trustees donations and patrons’ subscriptions while government grants would prove very difficult to obtain. A prominent group of citizens, including lawyers, clergymen and medical doctors advanced the cause publicly and assisted, initially, with their own funds.

The desire for a college existed in Richmond in the 1850s. Native sons had been sent to universities far away. Their forbears had established schools when and where there were sufficient students. An academy (Danville) was in existence. In Richmond, the next step on the education continuum would be a college.

### **The Corporation of Saint Francis College**

The *Charter* of St. Francis College was enacted by Parliament in Great Britain on December 18, 1854, namely, *An Act To Incorporate Saint Francis College at Richmond, Township of Shipton in the District of Saint Francis*.<sup>15</sup> This *Charter*, which has remained unchanged for more than a century, stipulated the education of youth on liberal and non-sectarian principles and specified the membership and duties of the Corporation.

The Corporation of St. Francis College consisted of nine

trustees, the professors of the College and the subscribers to the Corporation. The *Charter* specified that one-third of the trustees must retire annually by lot. Annual elections of the trustees were to be decided by a majority of votes of the members of the Corporation. Instructions were given for the appointment and removal from office of the President, the executive officers and the professors.

The powers of St. Francis College were established to: make By-laws consistent with the laws of Quebec with no exclusive sectarian character; contract, sue and implead in the courts of Quebec; and buy and sell property necessary for the college with the provision that all such property be used exclusively for the advancement of education at St. Francis College and its affiliated schools. With the consent of the trustees and the advisement of the Governor of Lower Canada, the College and affiliates could become Normal Schools for teacher training and would be subject to the rules of the Department of Education. It was the duty of the Corporation to make available to the Governor of Lower Canada an annual statement of affairs concerning the names of the trustees and professors, number of students, courses of study, property assets and financial situation.

At the first recorded meeting of the St. Francis College Trustees which was held on February 10, 1855, officers of the Corporation and the Building Committee were elected: President, R.N. Webber, M.D.; Vice President, Thomas Tait; Secretary, William Brooke and Treasurer, Mr. G.K. Foster. The five remaining Trustees were Mr. C.B. Cleveland, Mr. W.H. Webb, Job Adams, Udolphus Aylmer (Lord Aylmer) and Mr. Thomas Steele. The Building Committee included Messers G.K. Foster, C.B. Cleveland, W.H. Webb, Lord Aylmer and Levi Cleveland (*Minute Book. S.F.C. 1855-1886*, p. 1-2). They, with others, played important roles in the shaping of Richmond's future by promoting the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway and helping to establish such institutions as the County Seat of Government, the Court House, the Eastern Township's Bank and St. Francis College.

Also, at the February 10, 1855 meeting two by-laws were adopted unanimously: the first by-law specified the meeting place, quorum, and duties of the president; the second by-law established four professorships, namely English and Classical Literature, Mathematics, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy and History. Reverend Daniel Falloon, D.D. of Melbourne was the first appointee to the Chair of Natural Philosophy and History.

Reverend Falloon, by the terms of the *Charter* became a Trustee and played a prominent role in the selection of the first principal, Reverend John Irwin of Boston. Principal Irwin accepted the offer at \$600.00 per annum with associated duties of Professor of English and Classical Literature and Housemaster in charge of the boarders. In the autumn of 1855, the remaining professorships were filled. Mr. Edmund R. Davies was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Master of the Grammar School for one year at a salary of \$450.00 per annum. Dr. R. N. Webber was appointed Chair of Chemistry (*Minute Book, S.F.C. 1855–1886*, p. 9).

The Trustees lost no time in making application to the Department of Education through Mr. Marcus Child, District Inspector, that the College Grammar School be declared a Normal School for the purpose of granting teaching diplomas. The Department of Education concurred with this request in the spring of 1855. The *Minute Book* of St. Francis College Corporation stipulated that the Education students were to be taught the subjects of the Grammar School together with the methods of imparting instruction to the young. In 1858, it is interesting to note that the School Commissioners of Cleveland requested the Faculty of St. Francis College act as a Board of Examiners for teacher certification. The commissioners resolved that no teacher be employed unless he or she had earned a certificate of qualification from St. Francis College or other legal Board of Examiners (*Minute Book 1, C.S.C. 1855–1891*, p. 29).

The St. Francis College Corporation *Minutes* of January 11, 1856 revealed the first report of the College to the audit office of the Department of Education. Included were the names of the Trustees and the officers of the Corporation, the Principal and four professors, the number of students enrolled (thirty-two in the first year) and the purpose of the College, designated as “the design of the founders.” This statement of purpose had three thrusts: a College which would give an English-Classical education similar to that of the best provincial colleges, a Grammar School for the preparation of collegiate courses which would provide an education of a more practical nature with subjects such as Mathematics, the Sciences, Natural Philosophy, Civil Engineering, and a Normal School for the preparation of teachers for instruction in Elementary, Model Schools and Academies.

The principle of religious autonomy was emphasized in the *Charter of St. Francis College*. An education based on non-sectarian principles demonstrated foresight on the part of the Trustees to

attract students of diverse religious backgrounds. It was also in keeping with the dual nature of Richmond, namely, a Protestant and Roman Catholic community. St. Francis College was not alone in the concept of religious freedom. In the revision of the *Charter of McGill University* in 1852 (Frost, 1980, p. 153), the Governors of McGill College opted for a university which would be unprejudiced in religious affiliation. Similarly, the St. Francis College Trustees, knowing that the nearby colleges were of distinct religious nature<sup>16</sup> demonstrated initiative in founding a college in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada which would appeal to various religious groups. Indication that the non-sectarian principle existed at St. Francis College was evident in the 1867 report of the graduation ceremony. The classification of one hundred twelve students according to religion was as follows: "Church of England, one-fourth; Church of Scotland, one-fifth; Congregational, one-seventh; Canadian Presbyterian, one-eighth; Roman Catholic, one-ninth; and the remainder from several other denominations" (*Journal of Education*, 11, 1867, p. 89).

The financial statement of the 1856 Report by the St. Francis College Trustees to the Department of Education showed that funds were derived from three sources: subscriptions solicited from the private sector, student tuition fees, and government. The record of St. Francis College Trustees revealed that the expenditures in 1855 totalled \$5,211, tuition fees amounted to \$300 and the government grant was \$1,200 (*Minute Book. S.F.C.*, p. 13). The remainder of the funding was derived from private subscriptions. It should be noted that the faculty and Trustees gave financial assistance to support the College. In June 1856, for example, Professor R.N. Webber loaned the Trustees \$100.00 and, in lieu of payment, became a sponsor of a student scholarship for a full Collegiate course of four years. With the expectation that the local community would support the College financially (for example, 70% of the expenditures in the first year of operation) the necessity of private funding was evident.

It is not known why two of the professorships changed in July of 1856. Principal Irwin and Professor Davies were replaced by Reverend Edward Cleveland who became Principal, Professor of Mathematics and Master of the Grammar School and Mr. E. Chapman of Lennoxville who became Professor of English and Classical Literature (*Minute Book. S.F.C.*, p. 20, 24).

## The Legacy of Reverend Edward Cleveland

Reverend Edward Cleveland of Barton, Vermont<sup>17</sup> was offered the principalship of St. Francis College for a salary of \$450.00 per annum with rooms at the College and an acre of land for a garden. His duties included the supervision and care of the boarders at the college. During his principalship (1856–1860), he worked tirelessly for the College and the educational community. He was a man of experience, initiative and ambition who consolidated the earliest efforts concerning the founding of St. Francis College.

### By-laws — 1857

A major task, in this respect was Cleveland's re-writing of the by-laws in 1857 (*Minute Book. S.F.C.*, 1855–1886, p. 29–38). This revision put into print the practices of the Trustees within the terms of the *Charter of St. Francis College* and brought about two important changes: namely, the increase to fifteen in the number of Trustees, and the appointment of an Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, a group of three Trustees, one of whom was the principal was to take charge of the College buildings, audit the books, transact the ordinary business and make an annual report to the Corporation.

The code of by-laws had two main sections: by-laws pertaining to the Corporation, and by-laws concerning the College. With respect to the Corporation, Cleveland reiterated the practices regarding the Annual Meeting of the subscribers and the Corporation: namely, the meeting place, the quorum, the election of Trustees and the Executive. Concerning the College, Cleveland was specific about its organization and government. He divided the College into three departments: a Classical Department which required a four-year course of study, that is, Junior Freshmen, Senior Freshmen, Junior Sophister, Senior Sophister; a Scientific Department which demanded a three-year course including Junior, Middle and Senior years; and a Preparatory Department or Grammar School. No student was to be admitted to the Freshman class of the Classical Department until he had completed his fourteenth year of schooling and had passed Latin and Greek translations.<sup>18</sup>

Each year was divided into three terms. The Annual Commencement was to be held on the third Wednesday of July. After a holiday of six weeks, the Fall Term would begin and continue until the Wednesday before Christmas, usually sixteen

weeks. Following a two-week Christmas vacation, the Winter Term would extend over the next thirteen weeks, with a two-week break at the end of that time. The Spring or Third Term would then ensue and continue until the Annual Commencement in July.

The government of the College was vested in the Faculty of the College. The Faculty had the power to arrange the courses of study, set the examinations, establish the end of the Fall and Spring Terms and select the books or authors to be used. These procedures came into question later when the McGill University affiliation required that its academic practices be met.

The tuition fees for each department were set as follows:

Classical Department	\$32.00 per year
Scientific Department	\$24.00 per year
Preparatory Department	\$16.00 for English
	\$ 4.00 for Latin and Greek
	\$4.00 for French

Advance payment of tuition was required for each term. The board in the College including room, fuel, lights, washing cabinet furniture was calculated at \$100.00 to \$112.00 yearly depending on accommodation.

In the section of the by-laws referring to the duties of the students, Cleveland was rigid and puritanical by modern standards. Outlined in twelve sections, the rules for the students prohibited disrupting others by singing and playing musical instruments. They were forbidden to resort to profanity, obscenity, falsehoods, turbulent moods, quarrelling, whispering, reading books other than those pertaining to the lesson, breaking and entering students' rooms and molesting students in any way. They were not to idle their time at stores, taverns and shops. Their rooms were to be accessible to the Principal, professors and tutors who could enter them with violence if resisted. Students were liable for damages to the College and other students' property. Permission was mandatory for out-of-town visits or trips by the boarders who resided at the College or in the village. A student who felt he was unjustly treated could appeal to the Faculty for a hearing, and if no satisfaction was obtained, a second appeal could be made to the Corporation. The punishments were censure, suspension or expulsion depending on the severity of the offence. Above all, the student was to be diligent and faithful in his studies.

### Affiliation with the University of McGill College

Reverend Cleveland sought to bring about the affiliation of St. Francis College with McGill College. His presence at deliberations concerning affiliation was entered into the record of the Corporation of McGill University and in the *Minute Book* of the St. Francis College Corporation. Affiliation of St. Francis College with McGill College had been sought from the outset of the plans for the College. It was believed that the stature of the College would be enhanced if the stringent requirements imposed by the Governors of McGill College could be attained. Affiliation with the University of McGill College would not only attract local students but those from a distance as well.

The first recorded mention of affiliation between the two institutions appeared in the *Minute Book of the Corporation of McGill University Governors* on May 6, 1857 (p. 46–48). On that date, a resolution by the McGill Governors gave Mr. Christopher Dunkin, Governor, and Sir William Dawson, Principal, permission to confer with the committee from St. Francis College, to report the expediency of such affiliation and the terms by which it could take place. It was two months later when the first notes of the McGill College affiliation were recorded by the Trustees of St. Francis College at which time Principal Cleveland and Mr. W.C. Baynes would “concert measures” with the McGill Committee for affiliation (*Minute Book S.F.C.*, 1855–1886, p. 28). On October 13, 1858 word of mutual agreement between the McGill and St. Francis negotiators was recorded in each of their respective minute books. McGill College set the following terms: examinations would be predicated by the courses of study at McGill, the method of examination for degrees would be left open until more experience at the College had been gained, the Faculty of St. Francis College would be represented on the McGill College Board of Examiners and a system of cooperation be found for the “assimilation” of the courses between the two institutions. On November 11, 1858 a letter of acceptance from the Secretary Registrar of McGill College was received by St. Francis College.

The formal resolution was recorded thus:

“Christopher Dunkin, Esquire moved that the resolution for affiliation of St. Francis College with the University of McGill College, as adopted by the Corporation, be accepted by this Board, and that the St. Francis College be and that it hereby is, an Affiliate College of this Institution” (*Minute Book S.F.C.*, 1855–1886, p. 47).

The McGill Corporation motion was carried unanimously by the Trustees of St. Francis College.

The question concerning examinations for degree purposes was clarified two years later, November 10, 1860 in a letter from McGill Principal Dawson to Dr. Falloon, St. Francis College Principal, (Cleveland's successor) in which Dr. Dawson insisted that examinations for degrees were to be written and passed at McGill College but all other examinations would be written at St. Francis College including those for matriculation (*Minute Book S.F.C.*, 1855–1886, p. 76). From time to time, the Governors of McGill College attended the St. Francis College Corporation meetings in Richmond and similarly, the Principal of St. Francis College participated in the McGill Corporation meetings in Montreal. This affiliation was to continue until 1898, with a three-year interruption, 1875–1878 when the College became a Grammar School under the name Saint Francis College Grammar School.

### **St. Francis District Teachers Association**

Reverend Cleveland's concern for the betterment of teachers saw fruition in organizations, the successors of which endure to this day. Notably, he was instrumental in organizing one of the first teachers' associations in the province. Known as the St. Francis District Teachers' Association, it included all educators in the Judicial District of St. Francis. At the founding convention in Sherbrooke on June 9, 1858 Cleveland was elected the first President. Immediately, he set up a committee to draft recommendations for a Constitution and By-laws (*Journal of Education*, 2, 1858, p. 8). Cleveland advocated the formation of a provincial teachers' association in order that teachers be kept abreast of educational developments and to raise the stature of the teaching profession.<sup>19</sup>

Principal Cleveland's resignation on June 8, 1860 because of failing health was accepted regretfully by the Trustees with an expression of their high regard for his "assiduity and attention to the interests of the College" (*Minute Book S.F.C.*, 1855–1886, p. 63).

Cleveland's legacy to the Richmond area citizens and the educational community was considerable. Not only had he set in motion the machinery to govern and administer the College, he had become a protagonist for educators in the Eastern Townships and the province. Cleveland left his mark at Richmond not only as a noted educator and Principal of St. Francis College, but also as a

historian of the area. His booklet, *A Sketch of the Early Settlement and History of Shipton, Canada East* (1858) gave important information about the early social history of Shipton and the first fifty years of development.

### Conclusion

In six years, 1854–1860, a remarkable series of decisions had been made by the Trustees in order to establish St. Francis College. They bore full responsibility for the funding, construction, staffing, administration and academic requirements of the fledgling College. Courageous initiatives included the principle of religious autonomy, private funding and affiliation with the University of McGill College, the first of several colleges and schools in Canada and abroad to affiliate. In addition, St. Francis College was reaching out to the surrounding communities in a leadership role. The result of the Trustees efforts, from their vantage point, was that a sound foundation for higher learning had been laid.

### RESUME

Les premiers colonisateurs du canton de Shipton (comté de Richmond), et leurs descendants, dépendaient en grande partie de l'entreprise privée lorsque venait le temps de s'occuper de l'éducation des enfants, coutume qu'ils tenaient de leur Nouvelle-Angleterre natale. Cette dépendance fut un facteur primordial dans l'établissement, le développement et la disparition du Département d'études classiques du Collège St. Francis.

Cet article se concentre sur l'initiative, la ténacité et l'indépendance de ces premiers colonisateurs pour l'obtention de services éducatifs avant 1850, et sur l'esprit d'entreprise des citoyens de Richmond durant les six premières années d'opération de cette institution (1854–1860). Ces années de formation furent les témoins de l'érection des bâtiments du collège, de l'établissement de quatre chaires professorales, ainsi que des problèmes inhérents au recrutement de professeurs, à l'augmentation progressive du nombre d'étudiants, et aux incertitudes liées au financement. Ces premières années correspondent également au mandat du Principal Edward Cleveland (1856–1860), qui consolida les efforts des fondateurs et travailla sans relâche pour le collège et le milieu scolaire.

## NOTES

- \* This article is derived from *St. Francis College. A Legacy of Private Initiative in the Formation, Development and Decline of a Classical College, 1854–1898*. M. Ed. Thesis, 1992, Graduate School of Education, Bishop's University. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance, encouragement and skilled council of Dr. Derek Booth, thesis advisor and Dr. Duffie Van Balkolm, thesis supervisor of Bishop's University. Richmond County Historical Society published an amended form of this work, *St. Francis College. The Legacy of a Classical College. 1854–1898* in September, 1995.
- 1 St Francis College, built of brick 75' x 40', four stories high, consisted of classrooms, private apartments for the principal and his family and rooms for the students boarding. (*1861 Census for Cleveland, Canada East*. Lennoxville: Bishop's University Archives (Old Library, McGreer Hall) Reel C-1313.)  
Two successive buildings have occupied the site of the original St. Francis College which burned in 1882. The second College building was constructed in 1882–1883. It was torn down and rebuilt in 1942 as St. Francis College High School. This building, with additions, remains in 1996 and has become St. Francis Elementary School.
- 2 Deed of sale to the Corporation of St. Francis College from Mr. Thomas Tait, April 30, 1855. (Sherbrooke: Archives national du Quebec, I.R. 500212 microfiches.)
- 3 In 1642 an Act was passed in Massachusetts to ensure that the young could read the Bible and "understand the capital laws of the country." (Percival. *Across The Years*. 1946, p. 14.)
- 4 The issue of American versus British influences in the education system of Canada East is a source of debate among educational historians. However, the employment of American teachers in Eastern Townships schools and the widespread use of American textbooks were discouraged by educational authorities in the mid-nineteenth century. (*Journal of Education*, 1, 1857, p. 239; *Journal of Education*, 12, 1868, p. 75.) For background information see Anne Drummond "From Autonomous Academy to Public 'High School'. Quebec English Protestant Education, 1828–1889," M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1986.
- 5 The Front School of Shipton, or The School House in District No.1 was sold in public auction by the Cleveland School Commissioners in 1874. It was first offered for sale in 1859 pending permission from the Superintendent of Education. The new model school for boys and girls was completed in 1874. (*Minute Book 1. Cleveland School Commission (C.S.C.)*, 1855–1891, p. 34, 157.)

- 6 On August 24, 1855 the Governor General of Canada declared the establishment of the Scholastic Municipality of the Township of Cleveland. Present at the initial meeting of the Cleveland School Commissioners were five commissioners appointed by the Governor General: Richard Norris Webber, M.D.; Samuel Wintle; Edward E. Cleeve; William Healy and William Stewart. Dr. Webber was unanimously elected Chairman and Alexander Gorrie was appointed Secretary. (*Minute Book 1. C.S.C., 1855–1891, p. 1*).
- 7 The Townships of Shipton and Cleveland were incorporated May 30, 1855 (*Statutes of the Province of Canada, 18 Vic. Cap 33*). According to this act, the Municipality of the Township of Cleveland (Ranges 9 to 15) was detached from the original Township of Shipton. The newly created municipality of the Township of Shipton included Ranges 1 to 8.
- 8 The parents of children who attended school subscribed a certain amount per child as ‘head money’ from which the teachers’ salaries were paid. In addition, the Education Act of 1846 required that school boards levy taxes. (*Minute Book 1. C.S.C., 1855–1891, p. 31*).
- 9 “The Old and New Protestant Grades. The New Grading,” *Educational Record. V. 35, 1915, p. 157*).

<b>Old Nomenclature</b>	<b>New Nomenclature</b>
Primary	Grade I
1 <sup>st</sup> Elementary	Grade II
2 <sup>nd</sup> Elementary	Grade III
3 <sup>rd</sup> Elementary	Grade IV
4 <sup>th</sup> Elementary	Grade V
1 <sup>st</sup> Model	Grade VI
2 <sup>nd</sup> Model	Grade VII
3 <sup>rd</sup> Model	Grade VIII
1 <sup>st</sup> Academy	Grade IX
2 <sup>nd</sup> Academy	Grade X
3 <sup>rd</sup> Academy	Grade XI

- 10 *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Danville Academy. Danville, C.E. 1858–9, p. 3–4.*
- 11 Likely choices of Colleges were Yale, Dartmouth, University of Vermont and McGill Normal School.
- 12 Richmond County Historical Society (R.C.H.S.). *The Tread of Pioneers. Annals of Richmond County and Vicinity.* 1968, p. 160.
- 13 Alexander Twilight is thought to have been the first black American to graduate from an American College at Middlebury College in Middlebury, Vermont. (Hileman, Gregor. “The Iron-

willed Black Schoolmaster and his Granite Academy," *Middlebury College Newsletter 2*, 1974, p. 31–32).

- 14 Janesville was reputedly named for Jane Mulvena of Richmond Station. She inherited her father's farm (John Mulvena) which was located near the railyards, and from where she sold lots to rail workers at very low prices. (Mulvena, Henry. *Mulvena Papers*. 1993, p. 27).
- 15 *Statutes of Canada*. 18 Vic. Cap. 55, 1854, p. 227–228.
- 16 Off the island of Montreal, the closest English-speaking institutions of higher learning were the University of Bishop's College (Church of England), Morrin College (Presbyterian), and later, in 1874, Stanstead College (Wesleyan Methodist).
- 17 Rev. Edward Cleveland was born in Shipton in 1804. He was educated at Yale College (University) 1828–1832, and Yale Theological Seminary, 1834–1835. He was ordained as a Congregational minister in 1836. With the exception of his four years in Richmond, Canada East, he spent his life preaching and teaching in New England and the American West. He died at Burlington, Coffey Co., Kansas in 1886. (*The Genealogy of Cleveland and Cleaveland Families. Vol 1*, 1899.)
- 18 St. Francis College was the domain for young men. In an era when Victorian attitudes prevailed, higher education was considered unnecessary and harmful to the health of women. An interesting aspect of the Cleveland legacy at St. Francis College was his advocacy of university education for women. In 1872, twelve years after his resignation from St. Francis College, Cleveland was invited to champion the cause at the College. It was to his credit together with the unanimous support of the Trustees of St. Francis College that a Ladies Department complete with a female principal was established at the College in 1872. For reasons not cited, the Ladies Department was discontinued the following year. (*Minute Book S.F.C.*, 1855–1886, p. 179, 231.)
- 19 In 1864 the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Québec (PAPT) was inaugurated with the following local associations in attendance: St. Francis District Teachers Association, Bedford Association, Huntington and Lachute Association, Montreal Association and Québec Association. (*Journal of Education*, 8, p. 89–90.)

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# GROWING UP IN THE TOWNSHIPS: ANECDOTES AND RECOLLECTIONS

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Jean O'Neil

*(Paper presented as the 1995 Annual Fall Lecture of the Eastern Townships Research Centre/Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est)*

First of all, I owe you some warning.

I started speaking English when I was five years old. It was simply a matter of neighbourhood and the learning was perfectly smooth.

But I left the neighbourhood and the city of Sherbrooke at the age of 21 and, as a journalist or an information officer for various government agencies, I never worked in English, except in some emergencies when no one else was available to speak with Anglophones, namely with the reporters of *The Gazette*, when I was at the Office de la langue française.

For these reasons, my conversation in English is not what I would like it to be. I probably read in English more than I do in French and I can also write, but not to my satisfaction. I was comforted, recently, to hear that even Pierre Elliott Trudeau had someone to write his speeches in English. Lucky man! The lecture today is my own translation of a text written and published just a few years ago. I'm absolutely sure that I didn't always pick the right word, nor have I always arranged the sentences correctly.

Another point. When it comes to a formal conversation, I hesitate a lot and I'm never sure of my words, except the four letter ones. I often misplace the accent and my pronunciation of the vowel "i" is an excruciating experience, but I usually find solace in listening to the radio where I hear "faïnaince" as often as "faynannce."

I must also admit that I did not keep up with evolution. With my neighbours, we left our games at noon for dinner, whereas today, it would be for lunch. On rainy days, we would listen to some records, but over the years, they have become discs. We were very attentive to the hockey "skedule," which is now a "shedule." On a field trip some years ago, a PhD in physics told me that it was now being taught in "shool" and a friend of mine added that

a Francophone should never, never complain about the difficulties of English pronunciation.

A last point. I accepted rather blindly to come and lecture here today. After I had accepted, Madame Saumier sent me some documents issued by the Research Centre. I was amazed by the quality of the information and I said to myself: "You stupid fool, you won't be saying anything these people don't already know!" I'm still sure of that and I feel very sheepish, but I committed myself and here I am. If it's too dull, don't listen. You can even doze, I won't look.

All this to apologize and to implore mercy, for which, in advance, je vous remercie beaucoup.

\* \* \*

Once there was a man.

And once there was a woman.

They loved each other in some ways.

They already had three sons when a fourth one came along.

They took good care of him and, after some years, he puttered around the house, looking at what the world was about.

There were worms and ants on the ground, and plenty of grass. When he sat on the lawn to look about, he could see people playing golf in front of the house, cows in far away pastures, birds, of course, and a cat and a dog. At ages 3 and 4, he had been operated for hernias and that kept him from following his brothers in their exploration of the world. But it forced him to look at it closer than they did and he was soon fascinated by the way the cat caught the bird, by the process of bloom in the flower bed, by the bracelets he could make with dandelion stems, by how close to him a toad would jump if he stood still, and so on.

The next summer, he was allowed to ramble more freely and he took advantage of it.

Of course, this toddler was me.

We lived on a little farm, on Prospect Road, one kilometre past the city limit.

There was a ditch that started its course in a wet hollow of our own field and, as it passed behind the barn, it was already deep enough for a couple of ducks to swim on it, and I spent some time there, looking for frogs and tadpoles that I tried to keep alive in a glass jar.

Then, one day, I had the idea of following the ditch. It went

through our property into the old rugby field and then, it crossed the road into the golf course. In the spring, with my brothers and neighbours, we'd pack the culvert hard with snow and, before our parents would notice and run to sabotage our work with the help of Mr Hubbard, McLean and Bradley, we had flooded the road leading to the city.

After crossing the road, the ditch entered the golf course, became a brook, and that is where, mostly, it made my education. There were more frogs and tadpoles but there were also crayfish that swam backwards, snakes that I'd put in my pocket, skunks and raccoons, a nice variety of trees, birds, butterflies and wild-flowers. There was also an abundance of crabapples and chokecherries to munch on throughout the exploration and the games.

The brook also introduced me to geography because, after entering onto fairway number 10, it crossed the whole golf course in diagonal to come out only after circling green number 3. On its way, I learned about hills and vales, pools, ponds, marshes and swamps. When I followed it out of the golf course, it took me into the farm of Mr. Grime, amidst lush hay fields and, over Beckett Road, it entered a forest where it offered itself a few nice falls and belly flops before approaching the river rather lazily, since the river was in no hurry either.

So lazy was the river indeed, between Lennoxville and Bromptonville, that every spring, instead of carrying off the ice, she would pile it up here and there along the banks and the islands, causing huge floods and much nuisance in the main streets of my city, which was Sherbrooke, of course.

The river was the St. Francis but the brook had no name. In the back of the barn, it was simply the ditch. On the golf course, it was the brook, but when a player's ball fell in it, it became a ditch again. Past Beckett Road, it was rather like a creek and that's all.

By following it on the golf course, I came to meet with the most influential people of the city. They were the Peabodies, the McCreaes, the O'Donnells, the Holthams, the Kerridges, and there were also les Delongchamps, les Lagassé, les Turmel, les Nadeau, les Leblanc, and so on. These people were often invited to tournaments in Lennoxville, Waterville, North Hatley, Mount Orford, you name it. I suppose they were satisfied with their caddies, for they took us along, and you can imagine how pleased we were to discover parts of the Eastern Townships in that fashion.

I also came to meet with youngsters of my age who, like me,

were caddies, lugging bags and shagging balls for our first pocket money. So I also learned about money. And what scrambles between francophones and anglophones in the caddy shack when it was closed, playful wars with slingshots! The glass wouldn't stay in the windows of the shack for long and the authorities soon forgot about that, just as, years later, other authorities would have to forget about the Meech Lake accords.

After some time, from the middle of our field to the bank of the river, I knew everything about that brook and my curiosity shifted elsewhere. My first long haul excursion was a somewhat 7 kilometre walk with my brothers, to the Key Brook where we enjoyed a swim in the pool below the falls and a picnic on the rock balcony above.

I was also fascinated by the steeple of Saint-Elie d'Orford that stood quite far away when we went over the hill of the Flanders' farm to pick blueberries. One day, there was a forest fire in Saint-Elie and we could see the smoke billow high above the church. I decided I wanted to see that and I went. But I found out that Saint-Elie was 16 kilometres away and, after having walked eight, I turned back, making a detour by the third range to have a close look at the fox cages on the Breckenridge farm. I then reached home cutting through the woods of the Smith farm.

I explored these woods intensely and came to know them like the back of my hand, identifying trees, birds nests, plants, fox holes, and trying to catch skunks and raccoons.

East of Sherbrooke, I also explored the Dorman Brook that ran at the bottom of the hill of Beauvoir. If my parents had had less children and more money, I would have done most of this in a car or on bike and I wouldn't have seen so much, but I didn't even have a bike, so I walked.

I must have been sixteen when I had my first bike and that would lengthen considerably the range of my curiosity. North Hatley, Capleton, Katevale, Ayer's Cliff, Magog, Huntingville, Johnville, Waterville and many other towns and villages often saw me, or us, pedal our way along. I was often alone to walk, but I mostly always had company to pedal. Of course, I was going to the Séminaire Saint-Charles by then, I was also a Boy Scout, and I had friends who enjoyed rolling over the country as much as I did.

The year after, my neighbour and friend Bruce started to drive his father's car now and then and I thought I was entering a museum when we drove further than Magog, where I discovered the hamlets of Millington, Austin, Knowlton Landing and Vale

Perkins as well as those of Georgeville, Fitch Bay, and Graniteville, on both sides of the great Memphremagog.

On the mailboxes along the roads, there were no Nadeau amongst the Bryants, nor any Leblanc amongst the Sargents. It was rather a long unilingual litany of English names such as Brill, Peasley, Hanson, Lewis, Channel, Travor, Peabody, and so on.

Back home, I jumped on an old map of The National Topographic Series to look at the roads we had travelled and, sure enough, a lot of those names were also on the map, such as Channel Bay, Bryant's Landing, Peasley Corner, the hamlet of Brill et cetera.

That is how I discovered the Loyalists, of whom I'm supposed to talk about today. You can already see that I do not speak as an official historian, geographer or lecturer. No, I was simply intrigued by these people who had settled in such beautiful landscapes and I kind of loved and pitied their last descendants, often poor, in houses often old, scattered around what remained of their meeting house.

After the maps, the books came to my rescue to tell me the story of this strange country and of its no less strange founders. These books are *Pioneers of the Eastern Townships*, by Mrs C.M. Day, *Beautiful Waters*, by William B. Bullock, *Les Cantons de l'Est*, by l'abbé Albert Gravel, and more lately *De Ktiné à Sherbrooke*, by Monseigneur Maurice O'Bready, but, most of all, *Nicholas Austin the Quaker... and the Township of Bolton*, by Harry B. Shufelt. And if their history really interests you, you don't want to miss the book by a geographer from Grenoble who came to teach at the Université Laval, Raoul Blanchard, who simply entitled his book *Les Cantons de l'Est*.

\* \* \*

We shall skip the geological eras and most of the prehistorical ones when the first human beings ventured in the Appalachian forest after the glacier melted away. That could have been some 12 000 years ago. But if we look back just a thousand years ago, in the year 995, there was important traffic on the waterways of our region. All we have retained is the name of these waterways. Just to name a few, there are Missisquoi, Tomifobia, Massawippi, Yamaska, Coaticook, Watopeka, Megantic and, of course, Memphremagog.

It is a constant of human history that, when he knows them,

man accepts the name of the places where he only passes, whereas he always changes the name of the places where he settles. It is true for Alexander the Great who conquered the Middle East and it is true for the Europeans who colonized America. Even Jacques-Cartier accepted the toponyms when he knew them, such as Saguenay, Stadacone and Hochelaga. But the fort he built and where he spent the winter below Stadacone was called Sainte-Croix. If so many lakes and rivers of the Townships have kept the Indian name, it is simply that the French settlers were only passing through. They left very few toponyms in the Townships, the main ones being the rivers Richelieu, Chaudière and Saint-François, simply because these were the highways to go and make war with New England. So the French kept the Indian toponyms of the other rivers, mainly as references to complete their maps, maps that were important to win the war.

But they lost on the *Plaines d'Abraham* in 1759 and most of the French gentry returned home to powder their wigs. The Treaty of Paris, 1763, confirmed the British hegemony in North America.

Today, this North America is still mainly anglophone but we tend to forget rather often that the British hegemony lasted a mere 20 years. Only 20 years. For 150 years, Britain fought to destroy the *Nouvelle-France* and bring the whole of North America under its flag. Its success lasted from 1763 to 1783, when the Peace of Versailles recognized the independence of the United States, unilaterally proclaimed in 1776. Britain then lost what it cherished the most, its American colonies and kept what it cared for the least, *Nouvelle-France*.

Let's also consider that these 20 years were no leisure. They were years of vivid discussions, tensions, troubles and war. Twenty years are a good chunk in the life of an individual, but it is a trifle in the life of a nation, although it can get on the nerves of everyone. We can think of what is going on in our own home, where the question of the Constitution and the project of sovereignty have by now generated nothing but endless and painful debates. We might as well admit, just between ourselves, since this is no political meeting, that mudslinging, revolution or war, whether in France, in the United States, in Russia, in Iraq, in Rwanda, in Bosnia, or even here, always brings an equal part of discontent and satisfaction. And when the dust of the squabble has set, when we ascertain the results, when we count the dead, the wounded, the desperate and the disgusted, we can only wonder if the massacre was worth the turmoil.

In the United States, the Independence made a huge pile of discontented people who wanted to stay under the authority of the British Crown for legions of reasons.

Now, on the very simple geographical point of view, with its chains of mountains moving northward, its lakes and rivers, with its flora and its fauna, with its climate, the territory that we now call the Eastern Townships was nothing but a natural extension of the territory that we call New England. And vice versa. Even today, whether you're going skiing in Stowe or attending the Tanglewood Musical Festival, you need a customs officer and different road signs to realize that you're entering a different country.

In 1783, those who were unhappy with the Independence knew that very well and they simply asked for permission to go and live a little further north, like one who wants to pull up and adjust his pants after a fight, when he lost it.

In most cases, these people had very good reasons to move for, with gun in hands, they had had their responsibility in the war of Independence. A fine case is Benedict Arnold. Arnold is this great general who headed 100,000 men up the Connecticut River into the swamps of Maine, and those of Canada, to arrive at Lake Mégantic, and, by way of the Chaudière River, reach Lévis and lay siege to Québec. Not on a fine summer day, but during the winter of 1775–1776. Then, in October 1777, it is he who definitively washed out the British army at the battle of Saratoga. Later named commander of Philadelphia, he was accused of using his authority for the good of his own purse and the Congress of Pennsylvania urged George Washington to reprimand him. Washington did so very reluctantly and very mildly, but that was too much for the great Benedict Arnold and he started passing information to the British army. Later, named at West Point, New York, he was caught with his trousers down and very narrowly escaped to rejoin the British army. He died in London, a very poor man, in 1801.

Now, that is a national case, but we must imagine the same story at every level: in cities, in counties, in villages, in hamlets and in neighbourhoods. What Nicholas Austin had done in his village of Middleton, New Hampshire, is, for one thing, that he tipped off the governor, John Wentwood, to run away in the night, because the Patriots were plotting to surround his house and make him a prisoner. Wentwood did just that and scrambled as far as England but, more lucky than Arnold, he came back as governor of Nova Scotia.

Austin did stay in his village for quite a while after, even occu-

pying high offices. But he was loyal to the king and he was not at ease with the new republic. His best friends had gone to Canada and he felt like going there too, many other friends urging him to do so, since they were eager to follow him. So they came to the Eastern Townships.

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The words *Eastern Townships*, later translated to *Cantons de l'Est*, are worth a few explanations before we look at the settlement of the Loyalists.

Under the French régime, the grants of land were generally made in long strips perpendicular to the main rivers, the Saint Lawrence, the Richelieu and the Ottawa. At the cession of Nouvelle-France, the cadastre resembled a huge and intact cod skeleton, the head being the gulf; the spine, the river, and the bones, each grant. The pattern was the same along the Richelieu and the Ottawa.

When the new regime started making grants of land, it chose the English pattern, dividing the land in squares, the townships, and then in rectangles within the squares. So, in this part of the country, the cadastre resembles a chessboard.

Most people complain of a false label since these townships are north of the United States and south of Québec, the capital city of the new colony. But again, we must remember that the names are usually given by those who stay, not by those who look on and pass by.

Rivers were the highways of these days, and there were three highways between Lower Canada and the States: the Chaudière, the Saint-François and the Richelieu. The main highway was evidently the Richelieu which makes a beeline from Sorel to New York across Lake Champlain. The Saint-François is not a bad one, though tortuous, but if you're coming from New Hampshire, you won't make the detour by the Richelieu. The Chaudière is an awful one, but if you're coming from Maine, you don't have that much choice.

The first Loyalists, and the main core, arrived by the Richelieu. Knowing that the land was already granted all the way down, they very simply entered the Baie Missisquoi, last extension of Lake Champlain, and they camped there, waiting for their grants on the giant chessboard that lay east of the Bay. Hence the name *Eastern Townships*.

The historian Maurice O'Bready speaks of "a legion of protesters parked at the Baie Missisquoi in 1787, and tired of proclaiming a loyalism for which the governor of Québec didn't seem to care much."

Now if, to the name of Baie Missisquoi, I add the name of Philip Ruiter, one of the main leaders of these Loyalists, you will guess immediately where these people were parked and you will understand at once the origin of the name Philipsburgh.

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Did I say that the number of Loyalists that settled in these townships was somewhere around 10,000? The figure is again from Maurice O'Bready, historian of the city of Sherbrooke. The figure is rather small, compared to those who invaded Ontario and Nova Scotia, but it was a shock wave in proportion with the natural growth of the French-Canadian population at the time. Especially if you consider the number of people who decided to return to France after the capitulation. Historians Lacoursière, Vaugeois and Provencher make an estimate of 4,000, half soldiers, half civilians.

This explains why the newcomers made such an imprint on this part of the country, some of which we will now glimpse.

Morals, first. In the Eastern Townships of my youth, the anglo-phones had the very bad reputation of not believing in the Pope, nor in the Virgin Mary. They didn't mind, either, eating meat on Friday. It was also a subject of mockery that they often had as many dogs as they had children. Now, this was not taught to us. It was just hearsay. The truth is that they were no more and no less religious than us, but, before us, they had rid themselves of a religious authority a little too authoritative.

If one reads the correspondence and the chronicles of the last years of Nouvelle-France, one finds that the war was lost by night in the fashionable circles of Paris and Québec, rather than by day on the Plains of Abraham.

On the very contrary, the Loyalists who invaded the Townships were, for the most part, descendants of the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* who had fled England and vivid corruption in 1620. Protestants of all denominations, a majority, if not the totality of those who settled in Bolton with Nicholas Austin, were Quakers. They suffered no authority other than the Bible itself, and the interpretation they made of it together at their Sunday meetings.

Their life was voluntarily austere and the education of their children would make you quake today. Their life was just as exciting as a bowl of oatmeal, now sold under their name. Just remember the smile of the beribboned quaker on the box and be sure that this smile, and the oatmeal itself, was the highest form of happiness for these protestants of very strict observance.

This great reserve is observable in their settlements, where they built modest meeting houses here and there atop a hill or at one of the numerous crossroads, like precious white pebbles in the middle of the landscape. There are many left, but even more have disappeared, fire taking care of them or the community itself tearing them down before disappearing.

I spoke of their religion in the first place because it has forged their character with the trademark of strictness. Strictness being no less important for the catholics of the last century, the two communities never mixed. If a marriage occurred now and then, most of the time, it would be denied by both communities and the newlyweds would go and make a living elsewhere. That is, most probably, what made the Loyalists disappear from the Eastern Townships, since they were as prolific as the French Canadians.

But the French Canadians, a little crowded on the shores of the St. Lawrence, invaded the Townships in the second half of the last century, at a time when the Loyalists were at their peak. Overnumbered by immigration rather than by natural growth, the Loyalists of third and fourth generation gradually took the road for Ontario, or returned to the United States, as well as French Canadians, because the burgeoning industrial society absorbed manpower at a rhythm unknown here.

If you enjoy an oxymoron, those who stayed were those who were well off; those who had succeeded in trade or industry and those, unique in every family, who inherited the family property.

Hence a popular saying that the English were rich because they had fewer children. The truth brings a strange correction to that saying: the poor and their children had to go and live elsewhere.

And there is also the language in which you're going to earn a living. My neighbours, the Pépins, the Gagnons, the Beauchers, the Langlois, all live in Québec, mostly around Sherbrooke or in cities where jobs or superior studies attracted them. To my knowledge, my English neighbours are mostly all out of Québec, like the Bradleys. Evelyn followed her husband to Frobisher Bay, Mostyn lives in St. Catharines, Jimmy is a bank manager in Nassau, and

Malcolm is a pianist in Toronto. My good friend Bruce, with whom I discovered the Loyalists, still lives in Sherbrooke.

Those who stayed in the Eastern Townships often regroup in small communities like Sawyerville and Bury, not to mention Lennoxville, where they can share common cultural and social needs, even if they don't form a majority. It is mostly true for towns like Knowlton, Cowansville and Farnham, some of their strongholds.

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But I'm sending them away before they even got here. Let's have a look at that, for their settlement was a model of its kind. In a way, it was since they had no enemies on the territory.

The most important resistance would come from the land itself, but it was no greater than that offered by the hillsides of New Hampshire and Vermont, where they came from. The worst was simply to start over again.

Today, it is easy for us to look back and to see everything with the eyes of happiness. We can then imagine a kind of monastic Middle Ages. I'm even tempted to add that, by settling on the shores of the Memphremagog in 1912, on the very farm of Nicholas Austin, the Benedictins came to assume and maintain the tradition of the Loyalist Quakers, a tradition that wants you to take root and to provide for yourself with ingenuity and discipline. Like the Benedictins, the quakers arrived in large number, all together.

The French, on the contrary, had arrived on the shores of the St. Lawrence in small groups, exhausted by the hardships of the crossing on the worst ships available. Over 150 years, all the intendants of Nouvelle-France constantly asked the king to send more settlers.

Today, still, it seems as if the Loyalists had all arrived on the same day and had done everything at the same time, from Stanbridge to Woburn and from Acton Vale to East Hereford, exactly as in the film of Sergio Leone, *Once upon a time in the West*.

The men came first, mostly in summer, paddling up the rivers and marking the portages. They hastened to fell trees on their lot, to make a clearing and to build a log cabin. They proceeded another summer, if necessary. In the fall, they would go back to fetch their wives, their children, the tools, the garments, the crockery, and some food. The long journey had to be done in win-

ter, on the snow and the ice, in sleighs pulled by teams of oxen and, of course, there had to be a sleigh full of hay and oats. On their arrival, if it hadn't been done, they had to build a stable for the oxen, although oxen and horses were often used to heat the log cabin. Early in the spring, now that the oxen were there, they would plow part of the clearing and do the first sowings.

Community work was also urgent, mainly to cut the roads through the forest and throw the bridges on the numerous brooks, not to mention the building of the meeting house. When there was spare time, everyone started to build a real house.

Not everyone would farm, of course. Some of them were mill-rights and their job was to build sawmills and gristmills. In no time, the Eastern Townships became one of the most industrialized territories in Lower Canada. This may sound surprising and it deserves a second look.

Before we began the habit of travelling to Florida every winter, we really knew but one aspect of the United States, that of the North. But, from 1776 to 1860, from Independence to Secession, there were really two Americas, so different from each other, so irreconcilable one with the other that they went to war.

The most opulent, the most civilized, if one can say, was that of the South, with great estates, domains, plantations, lords, masters and great life. It was more or less a Roman society, based on slavery. The slave was a helot and the master, a pacha.

The American of the North, on the contrary, was mostly a very active laborer since he had no slaves to do the job for him. New England, condemned to manual labor by a tradition and a religion that forbade slavery, and, faced with the competition of the South who lavished in the abundance, became an unbelievable nursery of inventors. They would invent all that could be invented to simplify and accelerate the work. And the Yankees, such was their name, created, in some way, the civilization of the machine: ploughs, harrows, mowers, threshing machines and, you name it, up to the zipper and the sewing machine.

The abolition of slavery was proclaimed by politicians of the North and we like to think that this was to serve a humanitarian cause. Go and take a good look at the descendants of the old landowners in the Deep South and you might learn that the abolition of the slavery was an economic measure taken by the North to dominate the South.

We shall not settle the debate today, if you don't mind, but we will come back to our Townships to look at the work of our 10 000

Loyalists. No doubt, these people are Americans from the North. The landscape is ebullient with frenzy. In this humpy country, the waterfalls are numerous and there is not one brook that is not dammed up to run a carding mill, a gristmill or a sawmill. These mills are the basis of the economy and we see them everywhere. The best known are those of Gilbert Hyatt, at Hyatt's Mills for sure, on the Magog River, where it dives to the Saint-François but, truly, there are mills everywhere. The villages and hamlets are simply identified by the name of their owner. Hyatt's Mills, Baldwin's Mills, Kinnear's Mills, Denison Mills, the list could be very long. It varies here and there with a linguistic coquetry, as in Millington, formerly Thompson's Mills, where the notion of mill does without the name of the owner.

The newcomers were also quick in identifying the mineral riches and opening the ground to pull out copper and gold at Ascot, copper at Eastman, and I will let you guess what they found at Marbleton and at Graniteville.

I would like to mark two discoveries of considerable economic importance made during the nineteenth century, the copper at Dillonton, near Eastman, and the sulphurous waters at Potton Springs. At Dillonton, the copper laid on open ground and its extraction became profitable during the American Civil War. The ore was exported to the States, not for patriotism, but for the dollar. At the same time, sulphurous springs were discovered on the slopes of Peevy Mountain. They were soon declared miraculous for all ills and diseases. A hotel was built to host the enthusiasts and a railway to bring them there. Dillonton and Potton were just a few miles away along the Missisquoi River, so the trains that brought the Americans to the spa went back with copper ore for their war industry.

Fire, vogue and lack of necessity have shattered the whole complex, and nowadays, you can hardly find any trace of it amidst the alders and the raspberries, always the first to show up when the forest is coming back.

In less than fifty years, all the Eastern Townships were conquered and the places were generally identified by the name of the owner or of the resident, as in Peasley or Saxby Corner, Place Mountain, Brill Forest, Adamsville, Johnville, Mansonville, Moes River, Ayer's Cliff and Kingsey Falls, unless the name came directly from England, as in Ascot, Hatley and Orford. Some instances are touching, like that of Sally's Pond. Sally was the daughter of Nicholas Austin.

One then remembers that the French, more pious, or more hypocritical, used the name of the saints to honour their landowners, as in Saint-Constant for Constant LeMarchand, or Saint-Charles for Charles de Montmagny.

At the end of the last century, the simplicity of name giving gave way to the pomp of politics. For the sake of a governor, of a king, of a prime minister or of a queen, Sherbrooke overtook Hyatt's Mills, Georgeville tossed away Copp's Ferry and Disraeli and Victoriaville appeared on the map.

And now a precision. The Loyalists of the first hour were soon joined by people who weren't loyalist but who were very happy to settle on land that the British Crown granted so easily or sold for very little. The anglophone heritage of the Townships has many origins. It has gained with the arrival of immigrants from Scotland, Ireland and even England. The mother of my neighbours came from Wales and had Gwendolyne as given name. The name and given name of my friend Bruce MacLean speak eloquently of a Scottish descent. His mother was of French descent and spoke a perfect French. I have a great grandfather who was an offspring of the kings of Ireland in the Middle Ages, another one who was an offspring of Louis Hébert, the first French settler in Québec, and so on.

All this to say that the Eastern Townships were a melting-pot like nowhere else in Canada, a crucible where tolerance is probably like nowhere else in Canada. During a century and a half, the mayors of Sherbrooke have been, in alternance, a francophone and an anglophone. The tradition was abandoned in the fifties because the realities of demography could no longer support it.

The anglophones of the Townships also initiated another industry most important nowadays, tourism. Tourism, being an effect of the growth of populations, we may not have needed the anglophones to invent it, but they were first on the spot and they invented it.

The children of the first settlers would naturally go West to Montreal or Toronto for higher studies or for the establishment of their career. But they remembered how beautiful the country where they grew up was, they would brag about it and they would eventually come back now and then. In such a way that, in the last century, lake Memphremagog became one of the most elegant summer resorts in North America. The high class of Montreal liked to hobnob in princely estates along its shores. Princely indeed. In 1870, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur was the guest of Sir Hugh

Allan and Miss Allan at Belmere Point. Allan was the owner of the Allan Line, a fleet of transatlantic steamers, some of which, miniaturized, sailed the visitors on the lake at the foot of Mount Owl's Head and Sugarloaf. Gossip says that an offspring of the British Crown was born at Belmere Point nine months later, but honest people like you and I do not listen to gossip.

Painter Cornelius Krieghoff, who needed money and knew how to make it, came along and made many paintings of the lake, of the mountains, paintings that he would later sell for good cash in Montréal and Toronto.

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And now, I will briefly introduce four characters, amidst so many others, who have illustrated the history of the Eastern Townships and who, I think, are very representative of our history.

First of all, Friend Nicholas Austin, Quaker, from Middleton New Hampshire. He was first evicted from the Society of Friends for having married Phebe Chesley, who was not a member of the Society. But I love the rules of this society. First you do what you want. Second, you are "disowned" from being a member. Third, you retrieve. Fourth, you are forgiven, and fifth, everything is honey and roses.

Austin started roaming around Memphremagog in 1782 and one of his grandsons said that he made "no less than eighteen trips to Quebec on foot" to sustain his petitions for land. Confident of being granted two townships, he first settled in Potton, near the actual landing of Vale Perkins. He was ousted from there and sent to the next township north, in Bolton, where he settled in the bay that bears his name.

The little amazing detail in this story is that Austin travelled on foot. He was 57 years old when he definitively settled on the shores of the Memphremagog, with his wife and seven children, during the winter 1793–1794. His baby, John, was not four years old.

It must have been quite a trip, by our standards anyway. His son, Nicholas II, who was not yet ten years old, later told that they came with three sleighs, pulled by six oxen. The old man remembered having slept nine nights in the woods, only after having left Vermont. We can imagine what had preceded, something like five hundred kilometres through mountains and forests. Austin, who

wasn't a poor man, had servants to help him along.

Austin was what we'd call today a damn heckler, a pain in the... neck. Even once in Bolton, he kept walking to Quebec and to Missisquoi Bay, always on foot, to claim land and proclaim his rights. Everything was due to him and he wrote so many petitions that he should rightly be regarded as the first professional writer of the Eastern Townships.

His stubbornness was his worst deficiency and his greatest quality. Leader of his associates, he established them on tracts of land along the lake and their names are now those of mountains, bays, brooks, ponds and crossroads of Bolton. But these establishments were made in such confusion that notaries still swear at him when they try to make the title deeds coincide with the fences.

Austin died in 1821 at the age of 84 or 85. His wife Phebe, who had lived in the high society of Middleton, accepted the solitude and wilderness of Bolton without ever getting used to it. She was 47 when she arrived. She died in 1841 at the age of 95, mentally ill for several years.

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Most lecturers come along with slides, videos, music and what-nots, and I'm sure you'd have loved it today, but I will redeem myself with a short word about the inventor of radio. I bet you don't know who he is, where he was born and where he taught during his last year in Canada. Well, let's stay on the farm of Nicholas Austin.

His name is Reginald Aubrey Fessenden. He was born in 1866 at Peasley Corner, which became East Bolton and is now Austin, one kilometre away from the abbey of Saint-Benoît-du-Lac. And though his family moved to Fergus, Ontario, when he was five years old, he came back to the Townships later, to teach at Bishop's, where his father had studied.

Very early, Fessenden was interested with the works of Alexander Graham Bell and it was on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1906 that he transmitted his first radio program, from Brant Rock Massachusetts. Altogether director and producer, he read passages from the Bible, he sang and he played the violin.

Later, he asked for subsidies from the government of his country, Canada, to improve on his invention, but the subsidies were granted to an Italian by the name of Marconi. It seems that Fessenden would have some 500 patents to his name, but the rest

of his life was very modestly devoted to obtaining the recognition of his main invention, radio, by the courts of justice. When Canada entered war in 1914, he offered his services to the Canadian government, who declined the offer. Finally a decision of the court made him a millionaire at once, but he died in Bermuda in 1932, exhausted and voluntarily ignored. It was not until 1983 that a modest monument was erected in his honour in Austin.

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This kind of despising by a country for its native son is not unique to Canada, but it was repeated, tragically, in recent years, and in the same surroundings. This time, the victim was an engineer from North Bay, Ontario, son and husband of French Canadian women, who was leading scientific research for McGill University in the hills of Highwater. His name: Gerald Vincent Bull.

He was the number one international expert in ballistics but, instead of shooting on people of other countries, he shot sounding shells into the stratosphere. The Guinness Book of World Records still grants him the record of altitude for an upward shot of 400,000 feet, 122 kilometres, made in 1968. His achievements were made at such a low cost that they endangered the great space oriented American societies.

Under pressure from the USA, the Canadian authorities put an axe in his research budgets, and then, he was accused of selling war material to South Africa during the war with Angola. He most probably did, but, most also, he probably did it at the request of the United States who, despite an embargo on arms towards South Africa, did not want to see the Cuban troops win the war with Angola. He was accused, by the same United States, *after* Angola lost the war. He pleaded guilty because he had no money and no time for a long trial.

He was jailed and, once out of there, he went to live in Europe, still the number one designer in artillery, still dreaming about putting objects in orbit by shot instead of by rockets.

Of all people, it was Saddam Hussein who bought his dream. Now, during the First World War, the German army had installed some giant canons in the forest of Crépy, some 115 kilometres north-east of Paris, and they shot on Paris from there, just like shooting from Sherbrooke into Missisquoi Bay. At first, they had

great success, but when the French Air Force discovered the origin of the shelling, the forest of Crépy was so heavily bombed that, all in all, the famous *Paris Kanonen* killed more Germans than French.

Gerald Bull is the only man who ever published a thorough study on the *Paris Kanonen*. Not in the inner pages of some scientific magazine. A full color book with calculations, diagrams, illustrations of his own work, et cetera. And he wrote that such a canon could never be used as a weapon because it was much too conspicuous. Yet, when he started building one for Saddam Hussein, who wanted a little space program of his own, all the ghosts were set loose in the United States and in Israël. Despite what Bull himself had written, this canon was presumed to be aimed at Israël, and, on March the 22<sup>nd</sup> 1990, Gerald Bull was assassinated at the door of his apartment in Brussels, most probably by the secret service of Israël.

During all that time, his great canons have rusted peacefully amidst the raspberries and the aspen in the hills of Highwater. They have now been sent back to the foundries and the beavers have taken over the arrangement of the site.

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For me, Memphremagog is one of the dear spots of the Eastern Townships, but let's go East to Compton and I don't know why this countryside should seem less attractive. Maybe because I know it less. Still, the landscapes that undulate between the Moes and Coaticook Rivers have a softness that can bring tears to a poet's eye.

You are hereby invited to Compton in the year 1900 and, if you please, we will enter the general store of Jean-Baptiste-Moïse Saint-Laurent.

While you are browsing amidst the rolls of fabric, the sacks of grain or the farm tools of that time, I will read to you a page of the historian Marcel Bellavance, published by Parks Canada in 1982. Incidentally, the young man, 18 years old, that you will see walking through the store is called Louis. He is a student at the séminaire de Sherbrooke and is actually on holidays. In 48 years, he will become Prime Minister of Canada. But listen to Marcel Bellavance.

At the turn of the century, the village of Compton sustained profound changes that completely modified its personality. These years corresponded with the beginning of the

sojourn of the Saint-Laurent family in Compton. In 1878, Jean-Baptiste Moïse-Saint-Laurent leaves Sherbrooke for Compton. There, he will tend a general store until his death in 1915 ; during these years, the village will change altogether.

Indeed, the year 1850, marked the end of the British immigration in this region and the beginning of what Raoul Blanchard called "le flot français", the French wave. [...] At the birth of Louis Saint-Laurent, February the first 1882, the French Canadians had already taken the majority in the Eastern Townships, except in many townships of the south-east, Compton for one, where the anglophones still formed nearly 80 per cent of the population.

The French community lacked organization. Still in 1893, there were no more than two catholic schools in the parish, of which, one in the village near the church. No more than 40 children resorted to them, the others preferring to go to the mixed or to the protestant school. Dorilla Têtu, the teacher, an intelligent and competent woman, gave nevertheless a teaching of quality and Louis Saint-Laurent, in 1896, easily passed the admission examination at the Sherbrooke seminary.

At that time, few children would pursue secondary studies or even go to the university. Only the rich farmers or the top class could afford that [...]

So Louis Saint-Laurent grew up in an English village. From Sherbrooke, and then from Québec however, he witnessed the passage of Compton to a French village in the first years of this century.

The coexistence of two cultures in Compton is pure legend. In 1900, the Eastern Townships were already secured to the French Canadians since a few decades. In Compton, this happened within a few years. The two cultures were never side by side long enough to influence singularly one another. They just passed each other on the road of history like two cars traveling in contrary directions.

Witness of the French Canadian expansion in the Eastern Townships and in Compton, Louis Saint-Laurent grew up with the feeling that no serious danger could hamper the French Canadian vitality in Canada.

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Speaking about Fessenden a few minutes ago, I told you that he died exhausted and ignored. We cannot count out those who died exhausted and ignored after having cleared, organized and occu-

ped this part of our country. All of them didn't die in Bermuda and many rest in modest cemeteries that offer some of the nicest, the warmest stops on the roads of my youth. Today, I know how much I owe them, because, even if they did it without planning, they prepared me for a dichotomy that I had not foreseen.

When I was playing, in English, with my neighbours, while studying in French at the Séminaire Saint-Charles, I was far from suspecting that this part of my country, with its daily bilingualism, would become the ideal proposed to a whole nation, a utopian ideal maybe, but an ideal all the same. Today, this ideal does not offer the happiest prospects, as in Prospect Road, but I will not discuss that point. I simply want to point that the bilingual society called in question, even before it was proposed to the whole of Canada, was the daily lot of my youth. And I now know that, at that time, I was living what Alphonse Daudet has so nicely described in his short story *La dernière classe*, the story of a young Alsatian who understands nothing about the Franco-German wars and wonders why he is citizen of this country tonight and citizen of the other one in the morrow.

Of course, we were surrounded by anglophones, but one of the greatest French language poets of this century, Alfred DesRochers, worked at *La Tribune* with my father.

I did not yet know that, in the factories, the foremen were anglophones and the workmen francophones, but it doesn't very much change the fact that there must be foremen and workmen.

In short, I learned these contradictions at an age when the world was beautiful anyhow, and when I took long walks with old man Hubbard, who showed me how to hunt, how to single out the edible mushrooms, I was kind of sad to be studying while it would have been so easy to walk and run over hill and dale during a whole lifetime.

I did however walk and run over hill and dale as much as possible and, doing so, I learned a lot from the Loyalists and from the French Canadians that followed them, reciting the litany of the saints throughout the landscape.

There is no ideal country. Countries are in perpetual transformation, but the landscapes remember longer than we do those who have passed through them. And the Eastern Townships have kept a vivid souvenir of these Loyalists, who were maybe not that loyal but who, by pursuing their ideal, created a country where it was very pleasant to grow up.

# MAIS OÙ EST DONC PASSÉ JEAN NICOLET? WHERE IN THE WORLD IS JEAN NICOLET?

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Jacques Gagnon

*Collège de Sherbrooke*

## Introduction

Jean Nicolet ([1598?]-1642) a laissé son nom à une rivière, une ville, une circonscription et un diocèse du Québec. Le nom de la rivière a aussi été attribué au lac qui est à sa source, et au gisement d'amiante qui jouxte une de ses branches inférieures. C'est ainsi que le toponyme s'est transporté jusqu'au coeur des Cantons de l'Est, dont la dénomination était d'abord anglophone après avoir été amérindienne.

Jean Nicolet lui-même a sans doute visité l'embouchure de la rivière qui porte son nom puisqu'il résidait aux Trois-Rivières, de l'autre côté du lac Saint-Pierre. C'est d'ailleurs sa notoriété aux Trois-Rivières qui explique qu'on ait baptisé une rivière en son honneur. Habitant le poste depuis sa fondation en 1634, Nicolet y était interprète en langues algonquine et huronne, et commis de traite pour la compagnie des Cent-Associés. Il s'y était fixé après avoir passé une quinzaine d'années en territoires indiens, sur l'Outaouais, au lac Nipissing et dans le bassin des Grands Lacs.

Mais il n'a jamais exploré le lac Michigan comme le veut la légende tenace qui auréole sa biographie. Il s'est plutôt rendu jusqu'au lac Supérieur, sans doute en 1633-1634, pour aider les Hurons à rétablir la paix avec les Ouinipigous. C'est de cette expédition que date la fameuse anecdote nous montrant Nicolet, vêtu d'une riche robe chinoise parsemée de fleurs et d'oiseaux, qui décharge ses pistolets devant une foule d'Indiens aussi apeurés qu'émerveillés.

Le but de notre article est triple. Nous avons d'abord voulu rappeler comment s'était construite l'erreur historique qui a fait de Nicolet le découvreur du lac Michigan et des Winnebagos du Wisconsin. Nous avons ensuite décrit le rétablissement graduel de la vérité sur l'expédition de Nicolet, au lac Supérieur chez les



Photographie : Hank Lefevre, Éditions Robert Laffont

*Statue de Nicolet à Green Bay, Wisconsin, érigée en 1951 grâce à une collecte de fond des écoliers de l'État.*

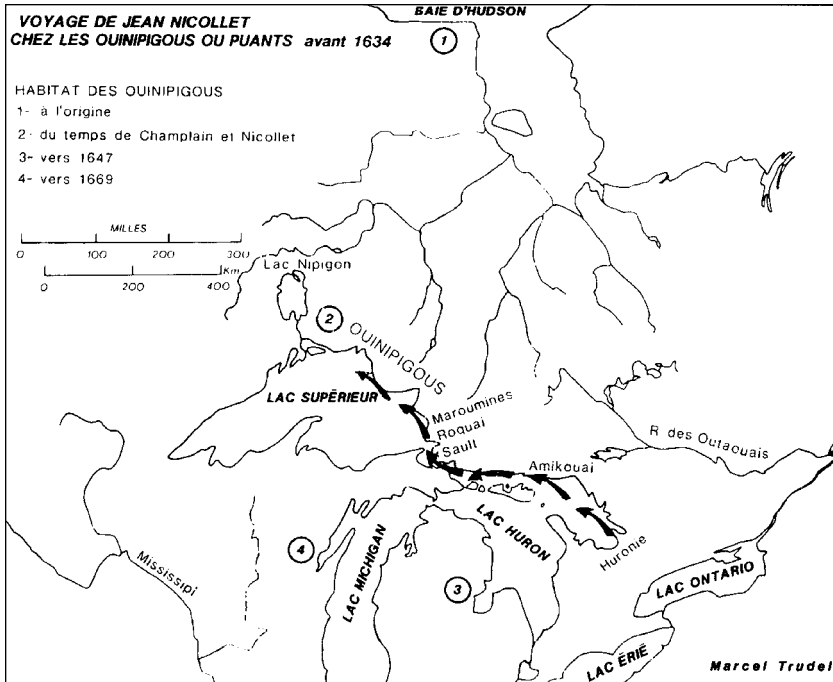
Ouinipigous de l'Ontario. Nous avons enfin vérifié si la thèse "révisionniste" était maintenant partagée par une partie significative des auteurs de manuels historiques et d'ouvrages de référence.

Le présent travail est le résultat de cette triple recherche. Notre premier point réfère au texte original de la *Relation* de 1640 du père jésuite Paul Le Jeune, et à la traduction fantaisiste qu'en a faite l'historien américain John Gilmory Shea en 1852. Notre deuxième point résume les arguments apportés entre 1946 et 1980 pour revenir à une interprétation correcte de l'expédition de Nicolet. Notre troisième point constate le retard un peu surprenant de la littérature actuelle face aux dernières découvertes sur Nicolet. Enfin, notre conclusion s'interroge sur ce qui restera de Nicolet quand la vérité historique sera communément acceptée....

### **Nicolet au lac Michigan : création d'une légende**

En 1640, les Jésuites de Nouvelle-France, déjà bien implantés à l'est du lac Huron, reçoivent une invitation des Algonquins à se rendre jusqu'au Sault Ste-Marie, à l'embouchure du lac Supérieur. Pour planifier cette mission, ils se renseignent auprès d'un grand ami qui a déjà exploré la région vers 1633-1634 : Jean Nicolet, maintenant commis de la compagnie des Cent-Associés aux Trois-Rivières. Mais laissons la parole au père Le Jeune dans sa *Relation* de 1640. Après avoir décrit les tribus du lac Huron, le père Le Jeune en arrive aux tribus du lac Supérieur, passé le Sault Ste-Marie, à partir de Whitefish Bay :

*Au delà de ce Sault on trouve le petit lac, sur les bords duquel du côté du Nord sont les Roquai. Au Nord de ceux-cy sont les Mantoue, ces peuples ne naviguent guiere, vivans des fruits de la terre. Passant ce plus petit lac, on entre dans la seconde mer douce, sur les rives de laquelle sont les Maroumine; plus avant encore sur les mesmes rives habitent les Ouinipigou, peuples sédentaires qui*



Carte de Marcel Trudel — *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, vol. III,

*La seigneurie des Cent-Associés*, tome 2, *La société*, Montréal, Fides, 1983, p. 219.

*sont en grand nombre [...] Mais je diray en passant que nous avons de grandes probabilités, qu'on peut descendre par le second grand lac des Hurons, et par les peuples que nous avons nommés dans cette mer qu'il cherchoit, le sieur Nicolet qui a le plus avant pénétré dedans ces pays si esloignés, m'a assuré que s'il eust vogué trois jours plus avant sur un grand fleuve qui sort de ce lac, qu'il auroit trouvé la mer, or j'ay de fortes conjectures que c'est la mer qui respond au nord de la nouvelle Mexique [...]* (Première partie, chap. X, p. 34–36).

En 1852, l'historien new-yorkais et catholique John Gilmary Shea, ancien élève des Jésuites de Montréal, publie son premier ouvrage d'importance : *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. Voulant savoir si Marquette et Jolliet avaient eu des prédécesseurs dans la région, il a relu la *Relation* de 1640 du père Le Jeune et estimé que le nom des Quinipigou ressemblait étrangement à celui de Winnebagos. Or, cette tribu était déjà installée dans la région de Green Bay, à l'embouchure de la rivière Fox, au temps de Marquette et Jolliet, vers 1673. Il n'en fallait pas plus à Shea pour écrire :

*As early as 1639, the adventurous and noble hearted sieur Nicolet, the interpreter of the colony, had struck west of the Hurons, and, reaching the last limits of the Algonquins, found himself among the Ouinipigou (Winnebagoes) [...] With these Nicolet entered into friendly relations and exploring Green bay, ascended Fox river to his portage, and embarked on a river, flowing west [...] It is certain then, that to Nicolet is due the credit of having been the first to reach the waters of the Mississippi (p. XX-XXI).*

L'essentiel de cette thèse sera retenu jusqu'en 1946! Tout au plus les historiens successifs, autant américains que canadiens, raffineront-ils les détails de cette supposée expédition. Par exemple, on reculera la date de l'expédition de 1639 à 1634 et on contestera que Nicolet ait réellement vu le Mississippi. Mais pendant un siècle la légende de Nicolet au lac Michigan ne fera que croître et embellir.

### **Nicolet au lac Supérieur : reconstitution des faits**

À notre connaissance, c'est un chercheur du Minnesota, État voisin du Wisconsin, qui fut le premier en 1946 à réfuter le mythe de l'exploration du lac Michigan et du Wisconsin par Jean Nicolet. Dans la revue *Minnesota History* de septembre 1946, Clifford P. Wilson proposait une relecture de la *Relation* de 1640 pour situer l'exploration de Nicolet à l'embouchure du lac Supérieur (Whitefish Bay) et sur sa rive sud, dans la péninsule supérieure du Michigan. Il postulait ensuite que les tribus rencontrées par Nicolet étaient nomades (Roquai, Mantoue, Maroumine, Ouinipigou) et qu'elles avaient déménagé du sud du lac Supérieur vers l'ouest du lac Michigan dans les quatorze années suivant l'expédition de Nicolet (1634). Enfin, il réitérait la thèse de Shea qui assimilait les Ouinipigous ou Puants aux Winnebagos.

En 1966, un chercheur du Michigan, autre État voisin du Wisconsin, revenait à la charge avec des corrections et des arguments nouveaux dans la revue *Michigan History*. Harry Dever y développait sa thèse en trois points :

1. Le surnom donné à Nicolet par les Ouinipigous est un terme algonquin : *Manitou Iriniou*. Les Ouinipigous sont donc de la famille algonquienne et ne peuvent être confondus avec les Winnebagos de la famille sioux;
2. La description détaillée du voyage de Nicolet par le jésuite Le Jeune montre bien que celui-ci a exploré le lac Supérieur et non le lac Michigan;

3. Le nom des Ouinipigous ne leur vient pas du terme *eau salée* mais du terme *eau puante* qui désigne leur lieu de résidence, le lac des Puants que Dever situe à l'est du lac Supérieur, soit l'actuel lac Wenebegan.

En 1980, Marcel Trudel, éminent spécialiste de la Nouvelle-France, reprenait certains éléments de Dever et en ajoutait d'autres de son cru dans la *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*. Son argumentation se présentait en six points :

1. On ne peut dater le voyage de Nicolet avec exactitude mais il faut éliminer toute la période 1634–1642, et en particulier les années 1634–1635, retenues depuis les travaux de Benjamin Sulte au siècle dernier;
2. On ne peut savoir avec exactitude de qui Nicolet a reçu son ordre de mission, mais il faut opter pour le grand Conseil des Hurons plutôt que pour Champlain;
3. Une seule direction doit être retenue : le lac Supérieur;
4. Les Ouinipigous ne peuvent être que des Algonquiens du lac Supérieur ;
5. En se basant sur les Relations des Jésuites de 1636 à 1670–1671, il est possible que les Ouinipigous soient originaires de la mer du Nord (Baie James) puis qu'ils aient habité la région du lac Supérieur au temps de Nicolet, ensuite la péninsule inférieure du Michigan vers 1647, et enfin la Baie Verte du Wisconsin vers 1669;
6. On ne saura jamais jusqu'où Nicolet s'est rendu pour rencontrer les Ouinipigous mais il faut supposer qu'il a pu aller jusqu'au lac Nipigon, au nord du lac Supérieur.<sup>1</sup>

Par ailleurs, ni Trudel, ni Dever ne font allusion à la contribution de Wilson dans la revue *Minnesota History* de 1946. Il s'agit pourtant de la première démystification importante de l'expédition de Nicolet, et ses intuitions sont remarquables.

### État de la question entre 1981 et 1995

On peut comprendre que les thèses de Wilson et de Dever, publiées dans de petites revues historiques du Midwest, n'aient pas eu un public de lecteurs très nombreux, en particulier au Québec francophone. Il est toutefois plus surprenant que celle de Marcel Trudel soit elle aussi restée lettre morte. Pour le démontrer, nous avons procédé à une revue aussi complète que nos moyens le permettaient de la littérature contemporaine sur le sujet. Nous

avons constitué notre corpus documentaire à partir des bibliothèques de la Ville de Sherbrooke, du Collège de Sherbrooke, de l'Université de Sherbrooke et de la Commission scolaire catholique de Sherbrooke. Sans être exhaustive, cette collection d'ouvrages constitue sans doute un échantillon représentatif de la production récente sur Nicolet. Pour en faciliter la lecture, nous avons distingué les différents types de production (atlas, dictionnaires, encyclopédies, manuels et autres livres) et classé chaque groupe par ordre chronologique.

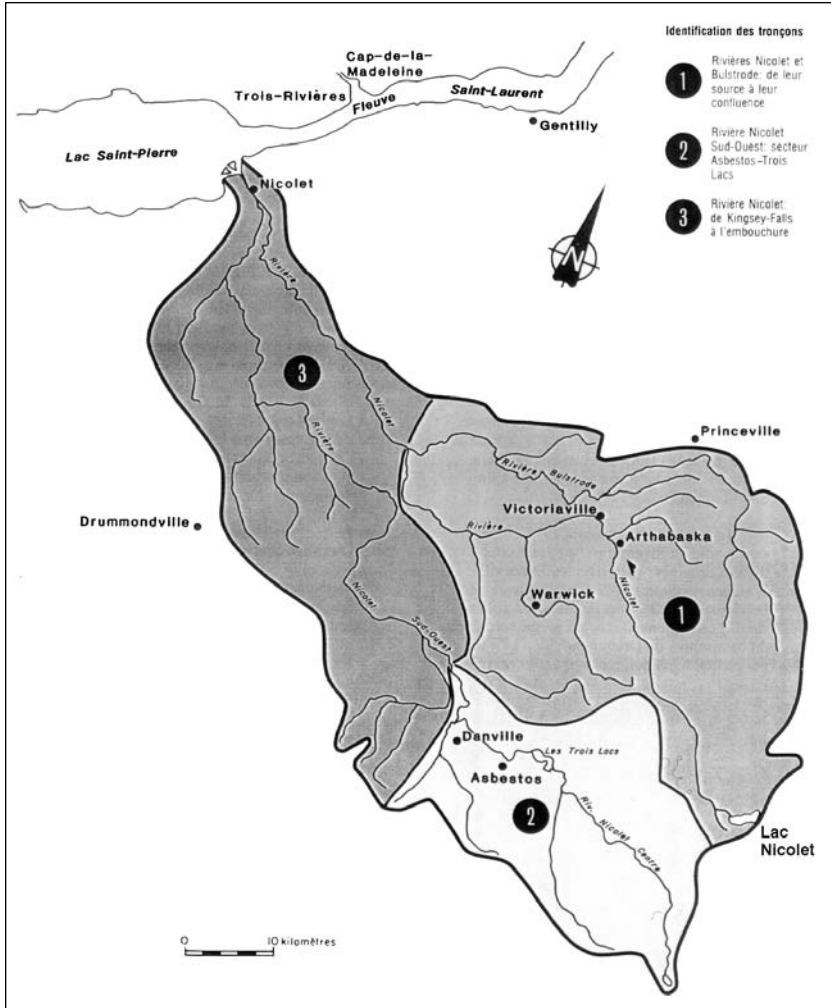
En bref, mis à part Trudel, seuls deux auteurs récents situent l'expédition de Nicolet dans le lac Supérieur. Onze volumes continuent à parler de Nicolet au lac Michigan... et cinq autres ignorent tout simplement le personnage.

Il en est de même pour les trois dictionnaires spécialisés, les quatre atlas historiques et les cinq encyclopédies générales que nous avons pu consulter : tous continuent à placer l'expédition de Nicolet dans le lac Michigan. Et finalement, aucun changement non plus pour la minute télévisée sur Jean Nicolet, réalisée en 1994 sous la direction de Robert Guy Scully!

Va pour le retard des ouvrages étrangers à se mettre à jour sur Jean Nicolet. Après tout, celui-ci n'est pas leur principal sujet de préoccupation, et les atlas, encyclopédies et dictionnaires français ou américains doivent fonctionner à partir de leur propre fonds de documentation, lequel n'inclut pas nécessairement un abonnement à la *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*... Mais la lenteur des ouvrages canadiens et québécois à s'ajuster est plus difficile à justifier. L'hypothèse que nous formulons à cet égard est que la plupart d'entre eux s'inspirent encore de la biographie de Nicolet par Jean Hamelin parue dans le premier volume du *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada* (1966, p. 527-529). Cet article constitue le dernier résumé important de la thèse traditionnelle sur Nicolet. Bien que Jean Hamelin soit personnellement conscient du caractère dépassé de son article,<sup>2</sup> son avis ne semble pas encore partagé par beaucoup d'auteurs canadiens et québécois.

## Conclusion

La principale découverte que nous avons faite en effectuant ces recherches, c'est la lenteur de la communauté historique à accepter la thèse du voyage de Jean Nicolet au lac Supérieur, malgré l'ancienneté de cette thèse déjà cinquantenaire et la notoriété de son actuel défenseur, Marcel Trudel, professeur émérite de l'université d'Ottawa.



“Bassin de la rivière Nicolet”

*Sauver la Nicolet*, Québec, ministère de l'Environnement, 1985, p. 8.

Mais un jour ou l'autre, la vérité scientifique triomphera, et que restera-t-il alors de Jean Nicolet, personnage historique? Jusqu'ici, c'est l'État du Wisconsin, croyant avoir Nicolet comme découvreur, qui lui a rendu le plus souvent hommage sous forme de plaques de bronze, de tableaux et même d'une statue en pied à Green Bay, érigée grâce à une collecte de fonds des élèves des écoles de l'État. Mais quand ces oeuvres d'art seront tombées en poussière, on ne les remplacera sûrement pas; que garderons-nous alors de Jean Nicolet?

Ce sera sans doute la toponymie de la rive sud du lac Saint-Pierre avec sa ville, sa circonscription et son diocèse de Nicolet, ainsi que celle des Cantons de l'Est avec sa rivière, son lac et son gisement d'amiante. Son nom pourra disparaître des futurs livres d'histoire parce qu'il a exploré le lac Supérieur plutôt que le lac Michigan. Mais il restera gravé dans la géographie du Québec méridional où il a passé les neuf dernières années de sa vie aventureuse.

## ABSTRACT

The article recounts how the historical error occurred which named Nicolet as the discoverer of Lake Michigan and the Winnebagos in Wisconsin; how the historical truth on Nicolet's expedition at the Ouinipigous from the Lake Superior region in Ontario was gradually restored; and finally verify if the revisionist approach has been adopted by a significant number of authors of textbooks and reference books.

## NOTES

- 1 Il s'est glissé une erreur inexplicable dans les textes de Trudel au sujet du décès de Nicolet, daté de novembre 1642 plutôt que de la fin octobre de la même année. Voir l'article de 1980, p. 186 et note 14 de la même page ainsi que le volume de 1983, p. 218.
- 2 "Je n'ai rien conservé sur Nicolet. Cet article d'ailleurs serait à réécrire complètement : il a mal vieilli ayant au départ été écrit à partir d'une documentation incomplète et mal interprétée, je crois." (Jean Hamelin dans une note envoyée à l'auteur de cet article à l'été 1995).

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# POURQUOI CE CHEF-D'OEUVRE D'OZIAS LEDUC À SHERBROOKE?

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**Antoine Sirois**

*Université de Sherbrooke*

En conclusion d'un article paru dans *La Tribune* de Sherbrooke, le 27 juin 1955, à l'occasion du décès d'Ozias Leduc, Louis-C. O'Neil se montrait perplexe sur la présence de cet artiste à Sherbrooke : "Pour nous, écrivait-il, il resterait une curiosité à satisfaire : dans quelles circonstances Ozias Leduc fut-il envoyé à Sherbrooke pour exécuter son oeuvre artistique à l'archevêché?"<sup>1</sup>

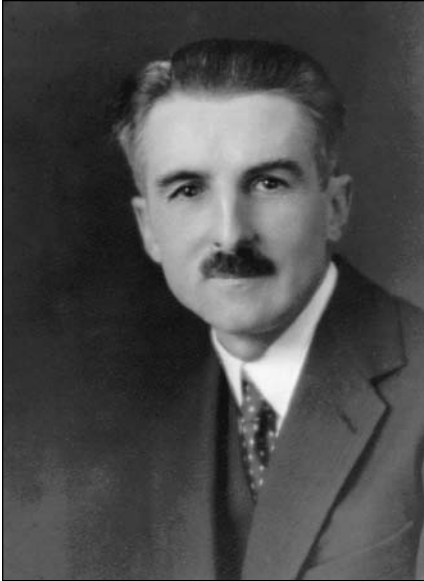
L'historien de l'art Laurier Lacroix a répondu en grande partie à la question en 1973, dans un substantiel mémoire de maîtrise intitulé : "La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke."<sup>2</sup> Il y établit de façon méticuleuse la genèse et le déroulement du projet et en propose une interprétation. Il inclut, en annexe à son étude, le "Journal d'Ozias Leduc : le premier séjour à Sherbrooke," où l'artiste consigne ses rencontres à Sherbrooke et le cheminement de la première étape de sa création du 3 avril 1922 au 14 janvier 1923. Une longue interruption suivra, et l'achèvement de l'oeuvre ne se fera qu'en octobre 1933.

À partir des notes du journal de l'artiste, ne pourrions-nous pas pousser plus loin la démarche de Laurier Lacroix et gagner l'arrière-plan sherbrookoïse du chef-d'oeuvre d'Ozias Leduc en retraçant les principaux intervenants du milieu ainsi que les facteurs socio-économiques qui ont pu contribuer à la réalisation du projet?

## **Principaux intervenants**

### ***Louis-N. Audet, architecte***

L'architecte Audet occupe une place éminente dans l'architecture religieuse au Québec et au Canada, ainsi que dans l'architecture scolaire et hospitalière. Né en 1881, à Lambton, à la frange externe du diocèse de Sherbrooke, il fait ses études classiques au Collège de Lévis et poursuit sa formation d'architecte



Louis N. Audet  
(Photo par Nakash)

par apprentissage, comme c'est l'usage à l'époque, dans le bureau des architectes sherbrookois J.-B. Verret et Wilfrid Grégoire. Après avoir subi avec succès les examens de l'Association des architectes de la Province de Québec en 1907, il est reçu dans la profession. Sous la raison sociale *Audet et Charbonneau*, il exerce d'abord à Montréal puis à Sherbrooke où il déménage en 1916. Plus tard, il formera une autre association avec Denis Tremblay et son fils Jean-Paul.

Sa carrière, qui s'étend sur plus de 60 ans, est prestigieuse. Il devient "agrégé" de l'Institut royal d'architecture du Canada en 1937, président de l'Association des architectes de la Province de Québec en 1948, vice-président de l'Institut royal d'architecture en 1952. Il reçoit la médaille de mérite de l'Association provinciale en 1951 et plusieurs honneurs religieux. Son nom est attaché à d'imposantes constructions, comme la basilique Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, les cathédrales de Moncton, Bathurst, Valleyfield, Saint-Paul (Alberta) et Sherbrooke. Il est l'architecte de plus de 50 églises, auxquelles s'ajoutent des hôpitaux, dont l'Hôtel-Dieu, et des institutions d'enseignement, dont le Mont-Notre-Dame. Il se retire à l'âge de 88 ans et décède à 90 ans, en 1971. Comme architecte, il s'intègre dans une tradition, mais il demeure ouvert à la modernité et soucieux du caractère distinctif de la construction au pays. Il tient compte du climat, des moeurs, des conditions économiques et des matériaux.<sup>3</sup> Son ouverture, il l'entretient par ses lectures et par de nombreux voyages en Europe et aux États-Unis. Il s'éclaire ainsi des oeuvres du passé comme de celles de ses contemporains.

Louis-N. Audet joue un rôle majeur dans la construction de la cathédrale de Sherbrooke (1917), de l'évêché (1918) et de la chapelle que décore Ozias Leduc. Rappelons brièvement ce qu'écrit Laurier Lacroix sur la longue amitié qui lie l'architecte et l'artiste.<sup>4</sup>

Audet rencontre Leduc pour la première fois en 1911, quand il accompagne l'abbé F.-N. Séguin de la paroisse Saint-Edmond de Coaticook, qui désire retenir les services du peintre pour décorer son église, ce dont celui-ci convient.<sup>5</sup> Audet obtient à nouveau le concours d'Ozias Leduc en 1916, pour l'église du Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile-End de Montréal. En 1917, il propose à Leduc de préparer les cartons pour les vitraux de la chapelle Pauline,<sup>6</sup> le soubassement de la future cathédrale.<sup>7</sup> Enfin, Audet relance de nouveau Leduc en 1921, pour la décoration de la chapelle privée de l'évêché, comme porte-parole de Mgr LaRocque, dont il a, d'ailleurs, guidé le choix. Lorsque l'évêque de Sherbrooke s'adresse à lui, dès 1914, d'abord pour sa cathédrale et son évêché,<sup>8</sup> il recourt aux services d'un architecte prometteur, dont l'autorité s'étendra à tout le pays.

### *Mgr Paul LaRocque*

Quand Mgr Paul LaRocque succède en 1893 à Mgr Antoine Racine, comme deuxième évêque du diocèse, il arrive couronné d'une certaine auréole. Il appartient à une famille qui compte deux autres évêques et il est curé à la cathédrale de Saint-Hyacinthe. Il est né à Sainte-Marie-de-Monnoir en 1846. Il fait des études classiques aux séminaires de Saint-Hyacinthe et de Sainte-Thérèse et, à Rome, il obtient un doctorat en théologie et un doctorat en droit canonique des universités de la Minerve et de l'Apollinaire. Il maîtrise quatre langues, le français, l'anglais, l'italien et l'espagnol, dernière langue qu'il a apprise au cours de son ministère auprès des Cubains, à Key West, en Floride.

Mgr LaRocque est un homme de santé fragile : on l'a ordonné tôt, de peur qu'il ne meure,<sup>9</sup> et on lui a d'abord



*Mgr Paul LaRocque*

*Fonds Archevêché de Sherbrooke, (ANA 1.001)  
Services des archives de l'Archidiocèse de Sherbrooke.*

assigné un ministère sous un ciel plus clément. Doué d'une volonté et d'une énergie remarquables, il n'en réussit pas moins une carrière apostolique et une oeuvre de bâtisseur jusqu'à l'âge de 80 ans, dont 33 d'épiscopat.

Quand Mgr Paul Larocque arrive à Sherbrooke, il prend en main un diocèse encore jeune, érigé en 1874. À son décès, le nombre des fidèles est passé de 60 000 à 100 000 et on compte 37 paroisses de plus. Il a accueilli de nombreuses communautés religieuses, qui fondent des maisons d'enseignement et des institutions hospitalières. L'évêque disposant alors d'un grand pouvoir spirituel et civil, c'est sous son égide que le séminaire est reconstruit après être passé au feu, que le vieux Mont-Notre-Dame est remplacé par un bâtiment moderne, que l'École normale pour filles est fondée et que l'hôpital Saint-Vincent-de-Paul est érigé, pour ne citer que quelques exemples.

Dans une nécrologie de Mgr LaRocque, Mgr P.-J.-A. Lefebvre écrit que "deux années d'études à Rome ainsi que de fréquents voyages dans les grands centres d'Europe et d'Amérique lui avaient fait des goûts d'artiste; il aimait le beau sous toutes ses formes [...]."<sup>10</sup> Mgr LaRocque a lui-même fière allure, comme le remarque Ozias Leduc dans son journal : "Mgr est un bel évêque, il est vraiment imposant, avec quelque chose de paternel, en ses habits de pourpre et d'or."<sup>11</sup> On lui prête un air digne et même seigneurial. On comprend donc qu'un tel personnage ait songé à doter sa ville d'un palais épiscopal qu'on compare à un château de la Loire et d'une chapelle que l'on identifie à la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris. À l'abbé Élie Auclair, l'évêque confie : "Le bon Dieu m'avait donné un rocher superbe [...]. J'ai cru qu'il convenait d'y asseoir un palais épiscopal qui fût vraiment beau. D'ailleurs, à mon âge, ce n'est sûrement pas pour moi que je l'ai bâti. C'est pour Dieu et pour l'Église."<sup>12</sup> Époque triomphaliste! Il avait prévu depuis longtemps ces constructions, car il avait instauré en 1904 le paiement par toutes les paroisses de "cinq pour cent sur le revenu des bancs pour l'oeuvre de la cathédrale."<sup>13</sup> Il était appuyé d'un bon économiste, le chanoine Joseph-Louis-Philippe Pilette, en poste de 1918 à 1940, dont *L'Obituaire* souligne ainsi les états de service : "Il acheva de payer la chapelle Pauline et l'évêché de Sherbrooke."<sup>14</sup> Ce chanoine a agi plusieurs fois comme représentant de l'évêque auprès de Leduc.

Après avoir jeté en 1918 les solides assises de sa cathédrale, Mgr LaRocque emménage à l'évêché le 13 septembre 1919.<sup>15</sup> Dans sa description du nouveau bâtiment, l'architecte Audet précise : "Du

salon, l'on peut passer à la chapelle de l'évêché toute claire et d'une délicatesse gracieuse. Sur les murs, des faisceaux de colonnettes et à la voûte, de gracieuses nervures. L'on nous dit que Mgr l'Évêque destine cette chapelle à recevoir une décoration picturale dans le genre de celle du Moyen Âge."<sup>16</sup> En 1921, Audet fera appel à Ozias Leduc au nom de l'évêque : "Ce dernier a une décoration à faire et on a pensé à vous."<sup>17</sup> Les trois principaux intervenants sont enfin réunis pour conduire à terme le projet de décoration de la chapelle.

### **Contexte socio-économique**

D'autres facteurs favorables à la réalisation de grandes entreprises se pointaient-ils à la même époque? Nous pouvons en relever quelques-uns, dont l'économie, le milieu éducatif et le climat culturel.

#### ***Économie***

Comme tous les pays, le Québec connaît, de 1896 à 1929, une phase de prospérité sans précédent,<sup>18</sup> ce qui lui permet un "optimisme croissant." Après une brève récession, la guerre de 1914–1918 relance la production, stimule l'industrie. Sherbrooke était entrée pour de bon dans l'ère industrielle depuis la décennie 1880–1890. On voit éclore, entre 1890 et 1920, une zone de grosse industrie mécanique, puis textile. La population s'accroît et la Reine des Cantons de l'Est compte 23 515 habitants en 1921, dont 70,9% francophones qui fournissent une main-d'oeuvre laborieuse. L'abondance d'eau et d'électricité, un réseau ferroviaire développé, un dynamique milieu d'affaires anglo-saxon, autant d'éléments propices au progrès de la région.<sup>19</sup>

#### ***Éducation***

L'éducation joue aussi un rôle important dans le développement de la région et celle-ci est assez bien pourvue en ce domaine. Depuis 1843, les anglophones jouissent d'une université, le Bishop's College, auquel s'ajoute, en 1874, le King's Hall pour les jeunes filles. Les francophones, arrivés dans une troisième vague de colonisation, ne tardent pas à ériger leurs propres institutions où se formeront leurs élites, comme le Mont-Notre-Dame fondé en 1857, le Séminaire, en 1875, l'École normale de filles, en 1922. En plus d'offrir un enseignement régulier, ces institutions cultivent le goût des arts, soit par un studio d'arts

graphiques et mécaniques au Mont-Notre-Dame, soit par l'enseignement de la musique dans la même institution et au Séminaire. Ce dernier met l'accent sur la bibliothèque en littérature et en sciences humaines et il développe un musée dans le but de donner une formation générale. Tous ces éléments mis en place posent les bases de l'essor artistique et littéraire des années 1920.

### *Arts et lettres*

Les années 1920 constituent effectivement une période d'effervescence à Sherbrooke, dans les arts et, de façon particulière, en musique. Une salle exceptionnelle, construite en 1901, le *Clement Theatre*,<sup>20</sup> qui prendra le nom de *His Majesty's* en 1911, reçoit régulièrement, sous sa haute nef, des troupes de comédie musicale américaines et de grands artistes comme Albani (1903, 1906), Sarah Bernhardt (1917) et des troupes françaises de théâtre. Mais la ville n'accueille pas seulement, elle produit. Déjà, au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, elle comptait des chœurs, une harmonie et, au début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, un orchestre symphonique. En 1910 se forme le Choeur de la Cathédrale, qui ne se limite pas au culte; il se donne aussi en concert profane. Comme le souligne *La vie musicale à Sherbrooke, 1820–1989*, il réunit "presque tous les chanteurs et musiciens de Sherbrooke."<sup>21</sup> Il offre, en 1919, le concert d'inauguration de la chapelle Pauline, avec la "Messe solennelle de Sainte-Cécile" de Gounod. Quand il présente en 1921 l'opéra "Hérodiade" de Massenet, il réunit 150 choristes et un orchestre de 30 musiciens. C'est cette même année que naît l'Union musicale qui regroupe tous les fervents de l'art de la ville, autour des Codère, Bachand, Bradley et Shea, et "demeure au coeur de la vie musicale à Sherbrooke pendant quarante ans."<sup>22</sup> Son but : la culture du goût et la diffusion de l'art musical et de la littérature française.<sup>23</sup> On lui doit des productions d'une ampleur exceptionnelle : opéras, opérettes, oratorios, cantates, grâce à des chœurs, solistes et directeurs en provenance de la région même. Les LaRocque, Audet et Leduc élaborent donc leur projet et le réalisent dans une certaine connivence avec le milieu culturel ambiant.

Dans son journal, Ozias Leduc note lui-même la bonne musique et le chant qu'il entend à la cathédrale, le jour de Pâques, le 16 avril 1922. Le 5 du même mois, il consignait qu'il avait assisté à la projection du film "La lumière éternelle" (vie du Christ), présenté, selon *La Tribune* de l'époque, au Cinéma Casino, l'un des trois cinémas de la ville.<sup>24</sup> Cette salle offre, à sa dernière représentation,

le Choeur de la cathédrale dans “Les sept paroles du Christ” de Dubois. En ces mêmes jours d’avril 1922, Leduc aurait pu contempler la renommée Pavlova, avec sa troupe de quarante danseurs et son orchestre de 30 musiciens,<sup>25</sup> qui se produit au *His Majesty’s*, ou encore entendre Charles Marchand, l’interprète bien connu de la chanson folklorique, dans une autre salle.

C’est dans ces mêmes années 1920 que naît le “Mouvement littéraire des Cantons de l’Est,” dont un fort noyau loge à *La Tribune*, autour d’Alfred DesRochers. Le journal *La Tribune*, fondé en 1910, coexiste à ce moment avec un bihebdomadaire, *Le Progrès de l’Est* (1883–1924), et les deux concourent à la diffusion de la vie culturelle.

En ce qui touche à la formation dans les arts visuels, on en est encore au balbutiement partout au Québec.<sup>26</sup> À l’instar de Montréal, Sherbrooke possède son Conseil des arts et manufactures, fondé en 1872. Bien que l’objectif de cette institution soit de perfectionner les jeunes apprentis par divers cours pratiques, il s’avère que le cours de dessin à main levée sert aussi à ceux qui s’orientent vers la création artistique. Plusieurs peintres de l’époque y font leur apprentissage.<sup>27</sup> C’est à cette école de Sherbrooke qu’en 1922–1923 l’assistant d’Ozias Leduc, Paul-Émile Borduas, âgé alors de 16 ans, reçoit les rudiments du dessin de madame Marie Sagala. Cette dame lui donne, en plus, des cours privés. La *Sherbrooke Library and Art Association* dispose à ce moment d’une petite salle de spectacle qui sert aussi de galerie d’art et expose des peintres canadiens de grande réputation. Ses activités se poursuivent jusqu’en 1928.

Durant son séjour à Sherbrooke, Leduc note l’existence de deux importants amateurs de livres d’art : l’architecte Audet lui-même, dont la bibliothèque comprend plusieurs centaines de volumes que Leduc feuillette lors de ses visites chez lui; et l’abbé Léon Marcotte, professeur au Séminaire, dont la collection abondante, avec maintes reliures de luxe, a été réunie au cours de nombreux voyages en Europe.<sup>28</sup>

Nous sommes à même de constater que la réalisation à Sherbrooke d’une oeuvre d’art exceptionnelle relève d’abord de la synergie de trois personnalités remarquables, chacune dans son domaine, qui se rejoignent, à une même époque, dans un même goût de l’art. Nous pouvons aussi identifier une effervescence, à la même période, dans les domaines économique, social et culturel, de nature à soutenir et à favoriser des projets d’envergure. Les quelques notes qu’Ozias Leduc a confiées quotidiennement à son

journal nous ont permis de rappeler un moment fort de la vie culturelle sherbrookoise, dont la fécondité se prolonge encore de nos jours.

## NOTES

- 1 L'évêché est devenu archevêché en 1951.
- 2 Laurier Lacroix, "La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke," mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Montréal, 1973, 379 p.
- 3 Voir Claude Bergeron, *L'Architecture des églises au Québec*, Québec, P.U.L., 1987.
- 4 Voir le mémoire de Laurier Lacroix ainsi que son article dans le *Bulletin* de la Galerie nationale du Canada : "La chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbrooke : quelques dessins préparatoires d'Ozias Leduc," no 30, 1977, p. 3-18.
- 5 Leduc exécute son contrat à Coaticook en 1911, mais rien ne subsiste de l'oeuvre à la suite de restaurations effectuées en 1964. Note 1, p. 25, du mémoire de Lacroix.
- 6 Ne pas confondre la chapelle Pauline, dénommée ainsi en l'honneur du saint patron de l'évêque, qui est le soubassement de la cathédrale, avec la chapelle privée de l'évêque, logée dans l'évêché et que décore Leduc. Le soubassement se prête déjà au culte à cause de son ampleur et de sa finition. L'achèvement de la cathédrale ne sera entrepris qu'en 1956.
- 7 Les vitraux seront réalisés en 1919.
- 8 Voir Louis-N. Audet, "Cathédrale et évêché de Sherbrooke," texte inédit, gracieuseté de l'architecte Jean-Paul Audet; Mgr Paul LaRocque, "Circulaire au clergé," 2 janvier 1920, pour une description complète de l'évêché.
- 9 *La Tribune* du 21 août 1926 rapporte, à la page 3, les propos du docteur Ledoux, médecin traitant au moment du décès. Selon lui, Mgr LaRocque était atteint d'une maladie qui minait ses forces et l'empêchait de récupérer. Elle l'avait terrassé dans les dernières années de son épiscopat et cloué à un lit de souffrance. Leduc relève, dans son journal, l'état malade de l'évêque.
- 10 Mgr P.J.A. Lefebvre, "Mgr Paul-Stanislas LaRocque," *Annuaire du Séminaire Saint-Charles-Borromée*, 1926-1927, p. 352.
- 11 "Journal d'Ozias Leduc," 14 mai 1922.
- 12 Abbé Élie Auclair, membre de la Société royale du Canada, *Mgr Paul LaRocque*, [s.l.] , 1930, p. 19. Le grand vicaire Dufresne avait eu la sagesse d'acheter, en 1883, de la Compagnie des terres, deux acres de terrain, voisinant l'ancienne cathédrale, sur ce qu'on

- appelait Flag-Staff Hill.
- 13 "Circulaire du clergé," vol. 2, no 65, 4 août 1904, p. 226.
  - 14 *Obituaire du clergé, 1874–1993*, Archidiocèse de Sherbrooke, [s.d.]. L'abbé Émile Gervais fait remarquer, dans le *Messenger de St-Michel de Sherbrooke* du 17 octobre 1920, que les constructions de la chapelle Pauline et de l'évêché ont pu se faire à un prix relativement bas, en raison de l'achat de presque tous les matériaux aux prix d'avant-guerre. Selon deux lettres du 21 octobre 1914, conservées au Service des archives de l'Archidiocèse de Sherbrooke, adressées par Louis-N. Audet à Mgr H.O. Chalifoux, évêque auxiliaire de Sherbrooke, l'architecte a été approché en 1914. Il fait, en 1919, le croquis d'une construction qui ressemble à Notre-Dame-de-Paris. Aucun document ne nous indique pourquoi l'oeuvre n'a pas été achevée au complet immédiatement. On peut croire qu'on a manqué d'argent.
  - 15 Il logeait, depuis 5 ans, comme pensionnaire, au couvent des Petites-Soeurs-de-la-Sainte-Famille, rue Marquette.
  - 16 Louis-N.Audet, "Cathédrale et évêché de Sherbrooke," p. 5.
  - 17 Laurier Lacroix, "La chapelle de l'Évêché de Sherbrooke : quelques dessins préparatoires d'Ozias Leduc," p. 3.
  - 18 Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher et Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. De la Confédération à la crise (1867–1929)*. Montréal, Boréal Express, 1979.
  - 19 Voir Jean-Marie Roy, "De Hyatt's Mills au Sherbrooke métropolitain. Essai de géographie historique et politique," *Sherbrooke*, Romain Paquette, dir., Sherbrooke, Les Éditions Sherbrooke, 1979, p. 14, 15, 16; La Société d'histoire des Cantons de l'Est, *Guide historique du Vieux Sherbrooke*, Sherbrooke, 1985, p. 103.
  - 20 Voir Antoine Sirois, "Le dynamisme culturel de Sherbrooke et de sa région des origines à 1950," *À l'ombre de DesRochers*, J. Bonenfant, J. Boynard-Frot, R. Giguère, A. Sirois, dir., La Tribune-Les Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1985, p. 18; Jonathan Rittenhouse, "Building a Theatre: Sherbrooke and its Opera House," *Histoire du théâtre au Canada*, vol. 11, no 1, printemps 1990, p. 71–84. *Le Progrès de Sherbrooke* répartit ainsi les places du théâtre : 364 places d'orchestre, 338, de balcon, 300, de galerie ou amphithéâtre et 40 sièges de loge, au total, 1042 places, "Notes locales," 3 novembre 1911, p. 3.
  - 21 La Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke, *La Vie musicale à Sherbrooke, 1820-1989*, 1989, p. 49. On trouvera aussi dans cet ouvrage des références au *His Majesty's*.
  - 22 *La Vie musicale à Sherbrooke*, p. 53.

- 23 *Union musicale de Sherbrooke* (40<sup>e</sup> anniversaire), Sherbrooke, 1961, p. 3.
- 24 Le Casino, le Premier et le *His Majesty's* qui présentait aussi des films. L'un des films projetés, au même moment, était une production de Mack Sennett, un des quatre grands du cinéma comique muet américain. Il était né à Richmond, près de Sherbrooke.
- 25 Anna Pavlova (1882–1931) a été partenaire de Nijinski dans les Ballets russes de Diaghilev.
- 26 L'École des beaux-arts est fondée à Québec en 1921 et à Montréal en 1922. Des organismes privés, comme la Art Association of Montreal (1860), donnaient des cours.
- 27 À Sherbrooke, on relève parmi les inscrits au registre, conservé à l'Université Bishop's, les noms de Paul Gagné, Thérèse Lecomte, Marcel Gingras qui se distingueront dans les arts visuels à Sherbrooke.
- 28 Claude Pelletier, ancien bibliothécaire au Séminaire, a pu apprécier les collections d'Audet et de Marcotte. Celle-ci repose toujours dans la bibliothèque de l'institution.

# LE JOURNAL DE SHERBROOKE D'OZIAS LEDUC

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Ozias Leduc

Introduction préparée par

**Laurier Lacroix**

*Université du Québec à Montréal*

## Introduction

Au début des années 1920, à la mi-cinquantaine, le peintre Ozias Leduc (Saint-Hilaire, 1864 – Saint-Hyacinthe, 1955) a déjà pris des habitudes de documenter et d'archiver les pièces se rapportant à ses différentes activités. On ne connaît pas les raisons qui ont poussé Leduc à devenir en quelque sorte son propre historien, à garder la trace de ses faits et gestes. Ces documents lui servaient, en tant que contracteur, à faire le bilan d'un projet. Mais l'artiste est très intéressé par l'histoire, et sans doute est-il de plus en plus conscient de la place qu'il occupe dans l'histoire culturelle et picturale du Québec. Toujours est-il qu'il conserve la correspondance qu'il reçoit et les brouillons de lettres; ses commandes font chacune l'objet d'un dossier où il accumule les notes de travail, les croquis, les pochoirs, les feuilles de temps, la photographie des tableaux terminés, etc.<sup>1</sup> Il n'est donc pas étonnant de constater que Leduc entreprend de rédiger un journal du déroulement du chantier de la décoration de la chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbrooke. Comme il l'affirme à plusieurs reprises, cette commande revêt pour lui une importance capitale,<sup>2</sup> et le souci de conserver la trace des différentes étapes de la réalisation de ce projet atteste d'une autre façon son intérêt pour le décor de Sherbrooke.

Du 3 avril 1922 au 14 janvier 1923, Leduc tient un journal aide-mémoire de ses activités quotidiennes et de ses recherches en vue de la réalisation de la première étape de la décoration de la chapelle du palais épiscopal.<sup>3</sup> Ce document est unique parce qu'il permet de suivre pas à pas l'évolution de sa pensée, au fur et à mesure que les travaux avancent. Il s'agit pour l'artiste, au cours de

ce premier volet de la décoration, de concevoir et de réaliser tous les motifs décoratifs de la chapelle et de mettre au point le programme iconographique des tableaux.

Le *Journal* est riche en informations de toutes sortes sur les activités de Leduc. Au cours de ces neuf mois, il est occupé à de nombreux autres projets;<sup>4</sup> environ une fois par mois Leduc se rend à Saint-Hilaire pour s'occuper de l'entretien de son verger et de son lopin de terre, et participer aux réunions de la Commission scolaire dont il est l'un des commissaires.<sup>5</sup> Il y note le courrier important, les rencontres intéressantes,<sup>6</sup> quelques lectures ainsi que ses sorties de spectacle.<sup>7</sup> On le sent à l'affût des phénomènes naturels,<sup>8</sup> on le suit, observateur et méditatif, lors de ses déambulations dans la ville de Sherbrooke et les environs.<sup>9</sup> Tous ces aspects ajoutent une dimension importante à ces annotations de travail, et permettent de connaître ses intérêts et comprendre l'organisation de son temps. Peu de remarques à caractère personnel, si ce n'est au passage des commentaires d'ordre esthétique.<sup>10</sup> Les références aux visites de ses amis sont souvent muettes quant au sujet de leur conversation. Ici encore, comme dans la majorité de la documentation conservée, on ne retrouve nulle mention de son épouse, Marie-Louise Lebrun, qui est demeurée à Saint-Hilaire.

À la demande de Mgr Paul LaRocque et de l'architecte Louis-N. Audet, Leduc s'était rendu une première fois à Sherbrooke le 8 juin 1921, afin de discuter du projet de décoration. Des échanges d'informations et de propositions suivent, et précèdent l'arrivée de Leduc à Sherbrooke.<sup>11</sup> Les vitraux portant sur les Mystères du Rosaire sont déjà en place et ils orientent le choix des sujets de la décoration. Il est convenu qu'il s'agira de scènes mettant en évidence l'importance de la Vierge dans la foi chrétienne, soit Marie co-rédemptrice.

La chapelle néo-gothique est rythmée par l'arc triomphal. Celui-ci distingue la nef du chœur, lequel est peu profond et dont les murs sont découpés par les trois grandes verrières. Les murs de la nef sont divisés par une colonne engagée déterminant ainsi quatre surfaces assez grandes pour recevoir les tableaux. Il s'agit dans un premier temps de constituer un décor dans l'esprit de celui de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, afin de recevoir les quatre toiles.

Les étapes de la décoration de la chapelle sont décrites précisément, et le *Journal* rend compte des nombreuses étapes préalables à la réalisation des tableaux et de la réflexion nécessaire à l'élaboration du choix spécifique des sujets. Ce travail sur place

permet à l'artiste de confronter ses idées avec la réalité physique du lieu. Il note le 10 avril 1922 : «En imprimant mes murs, je cherche ma décoration défaisant et refaisant le projet soumis à l'évêque l'automne dernier.»

Dès le 4 avril 1922, Leduc s'occupe de faire monter les échafaudages qui lui permettront d'atteindre facilement les surfaces des murs et de la voûte. Le lendemain, il s'applique à mesurer précisément les quatre panneaux où seront accrochés les tableaux. Une première couche de préparation, faite d'huile de lin bouilli et d'ocre jaune, est appliquée sur tous les murs (5–10 avril). Cela fait ressortir les fissures qu'il faut combler afin de rendre les surfaces lisses. Déjà, le 11 avril, Leduc affirme: «Ai déterminé un plan d'ensemble pour la décoration de ma chapelle ou s'allierait à la richesse, la simplicité.»

L'étape suivante consiste à appliquer le bleu de Prusse sur la voûte de la chapelle (12 avril). Cet essai est suivi par celui d'une autre couleur (13–15, 19–22 avril, 5 mai) faite d'ocre jaune, de terre d'ombre et de blanc de plomb; «ce n'est pas beau» conclut-il. Profitant d'un séjour à Montréal (4 mai), Leduc se procure certains matériaux nécessaires à l'avancement des travaux (or, bronze et bleu d'outremer).

Les annotations datées des 8 et 9 mai, qui portent sur la symbolique du décor, sont particulièrement intéressantes. L'ambiance de la voûte de la nef suggérerait, par la disposition irrégulière des étoiles, l'état psychologique de l'humanité suite à la faute originelle. Laissant là cette partie, l'artiste passe à la voûte du chœur (10–16 mai). Il s'agit cette fois d'un rosier mystique, symbole de la Vierge. Leduc semble vouloir faire tout avancer à la fois; le 23 mai, il trace un croquis d'ensemble pour les panneaux des murs de la chapelle et, à partir du 27, il s'occupe de l'ornementation de l'arc du chœur : un lis et un rosier alterneront sur l'arc triomphal. Il se remémore le conseil suivant : «Tenir bien enveloppé doux et parfaitement hamonique». Fin mai, il s'attaque à l'espace placé immédiatement autour et en-dessous des tableaux. Comme on le constate, l'architecture de la chapelle est subdivisée afin que le décor peint puisse s'y intégrer agréablement.

À la reprise des travaux, le 10 juin, Leduc entreprend de finaliser le choix de couleurs et d'exécuter les pochoirs qui seront transposés sur les différentes parties architecturales. Le travail va passer de sa phase conceptuelle à sa réalisation, avec l'arrivée, le 19 juin, de Paul-Émile Borduas «qui désire s'initier à la pratique du décor.» Ce dernier se mettra immédiatement à la tâche en posant

le vert des feuilles du Rosier mystique de la voûte du chœur.<sup>12</sup>

Pendant ce temps (26–30 juin, 3, 14 juillet), Leduc colle la toile sur les murs de la chapelle au-dessous de l'emplacement et en bordure des futurs tableaux. Il réalise ensuite les pochoirs des motifs décoratifs qui seront placés sur les nervures de la voûte du chœur et de la nef. Les mois de juillet et août sont consacrés à finaliser le choix des couleurs et les formes des différentes bandes décoratives qui orneront les nervures des arcs de la voûte, les colonnettes des colonnes engagées du chœur, et le boudin de l'encadrement des fenêtres. En tout, vingt-six motifs seront dessinés pour occuper et caractériser les divers emplacements. Les murs du chœur sont complétés par des parchemins portant les litanies de la Vierge (30, 31 août, 7 septembre).

En septembre, ce sont surtout les motifs décoratifs autour des tableaux qui occupent Leduc. Le 12 septembre, il profite de la visite de l'architecte Audet pour lui soumettre l'idée de décorer le mur arrière d'un arbre de Jessé, inscrivant la généalogie de la Vierge dans le décor. En octobre, il revient à son idée de départ et donne la «dernière couche de bleu dans la grande voute [...] Bleu d'outremer, bleu de Prusse, Terre Ombre brûlée Ochre jaune, et blanc.» (2 octobre). Il complète également la coloration de la base des colonnes. Le 28 octobre, l'artiste entreprend de poser les étoiles d'or de la voûte de la nef. Elles sont placées régulièrement, et leur fonction est d'unifier l'ensemble. Toutes les parties du chantier sont maintenant entreprises. L'artiste, ayant une vue d'ensemble, les travaux des mois de novembre à janvier, puis ceux qui auront lieu jusqu'en mai 1923, consisteront en divers travaux de finition et de retouches, décrits de façon plus sommaire dans le *Journal*.

Une dernière mention, en date du 17 mai 1926, se rapporte aux travaux de Sherbrooke. Leduc y rapporte la visite du procureur Philippe Pilette et de l'abbé Lemay, à qui il montre la *Crucifixion* qui est en chantier, ainsi que les croquis des trois autres tableaux. «Ces messieurs me parurent très intéressés» conclut-il.

Leur intérêt devra se maintenir encore quelques années, car ce n'est qu'en septembre 1931 que Leduc retournera à Sherbrooke pour compléter et installer les toiles, et peindre *L'Arbre de Jessé* directement sur le mur arrière de la chapelle. La réalisation du *Portrait de Monseigneur Ozias Gagnon* (complété en 1933) mettra un terme à la collaboration de Leduc avec l'évêché de Sherbrooke.<sup>13</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Les archives d'Ozias Leduc sont conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale du Québec (MSS 327). Elles ont été classées et inventoriées par Monique Lanthier dans le cadre de la préparation de l'exposition *Ozias Leduc Une œuvre d'amour et de rêve* organisée par le Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal et le Musée du Québec en 1996. Je la remercie sincèrement de sa collaboration, ainsi que Marthe Lacroix qui a transcrit le *Journal* de Leduc. Plusieurs lettres complètent les informations sur le chantier de Sherbrooke (MSS 327/6/6–327/7/4; 327/8/28–327/8/38)
  - 2 Voir, entre autres, les lettres de Leduc à l'architecte Audet en date du 24 avril 1924 (MSS 327/8/30) et du 7 février 1927 (MSS 327/8/33).
  - 3 Le *Journal* est conservé dans le fonds Ozias-Leduc de la BNQ (MSS 327/3/9). Il s'agit d'un carnet à couverture rouge comprenant 56 feuilles (112 pages) et mesurant 15,4 x 9,2 cm. 99 pages comportent des annotations. Les 64 premières pages, qui concernent la commande de Sherbrooke, portent sur la période allant jusqu'au 14 janvier 1923. Par la suite, Leduc a irrégulièrement noté dans ce même calepin différents événements importants entre le 13 juin 1924 et le 25 juin 1935. On y retrouve des références aux travaux exécutés pour la chapelle du couvent des Dames du Sacré-Cœur de Halifax (20 octobre 1924-8 janvier 1925) ainsi que pour celles du couvent des sœurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie de Saint-Hilaire (26 juin 1926-fin août 1926). Les décors des églises de Sainte-Geneviève de Pierrefonds (3 mars 1926 – 23 août 1927; Alfred Nantel, curé; Adélard Trépanier, contracteur-peintre), Saint-Michel de Rougemont (25 juin 1935), le chemin de croix de l'église de Farnham retouché par Borduas (27 août 1926) et pour d'autres projets non réalisés (chapelle des sœurs du Bon Pasteur, Halifax; église du Sacré-Cœur de Montréal) sont également présentés. La réalisation des illustrations de *La Campagne canadienne* d'Adélard Dugré, s.j. (28 mai 1925, 17 mai 1926) et la couverture du livre d'Olivier Maurault p.s.s., *La Paroisse* (8 mars 1929), sont également documentées. À la date du 8 octobre 1927, Leduc note le passage à Montréal du peintre français Maurice Denis qui visite le baptistère de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal, que Leduc est en train de décorer, et celui de l'église du Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile-End, complété en 1919.
- Leduc note à l'occasion la présence de certains visiteurs de marque à son atelier, dont les visites du graveur Ivan Jobin (août 1929), du peintre Robert Pilot (2 octobre 1929), et d'Olivier Maurault qui, en 1928 et 1929, accompagne les prédicateurs du

carême à l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal.

- 4 Leduc doit, entre autres, retoucher le portrait de l'Honorable Joseph-Napoléon Francœur (27 avril au 3 mai); concevoir deux tableaux (*Résurrection de Lazare* et *Nativité*) pour compléter la décoration de l'église Saint-Raphaël de l'Île Bizard (11, 25 juin, 16 juillet) (projet non réalisé); exécuter différents motifs et emblèmes à la demande de Vigor Rho (17 mai – 3 juin), et également terminer l'ex-libris de son ami Yves-Tessier Lavigne (à partir du 2 juillet). Le 1<sup>er</sup> juin il conçoit un vitrail pour la maison d'un artiste ayant pour sujet : *La Lumière dominante*.  
Leduc profite de ses temps libres pour donner des leçons à Borduas (6 août, 15, 29 octobre, 1<sup>er</sup>, 12 novembre 1922, 14 janvier 1923).
- 5 Les déplacements de l'année 1922 semblent fidèlement notés. Leduc est absent de Sherbrooke du 22 avril au 5 mai; du 3 au 9 juin; du 8 au 14 juillet; du 12 au 22 août; du 19 au 25 septembre; du 21 au 27 octobre; du 2 au 7 novembre; du 2 au 6 décembre et du 23 décembre au 8 janvier 1923. La première phase de travail à Sherbrooke prend fin en mai 1923, car son courrier lui est adressé à cette adresse jusqu'à ce moment. Les feuilles de temps de Borduas se terminent le 31 mars 1923 (MSS 327, 327/2/29). Il aura donc assisté Leduc pour la plus grande partie de l'exécution des travaux.
- 6 Au cours de l'été 1922, pendant ses séjours à Saint-Hilaire, Leduc rencontre régulièrement son ami l'écrivain et psychiatre Guillaume Lahaise. Le sculpteur Henri Hébert se rend à Sherbrooke le 4 août visite Leduc; les 12 et 20 août, ce dernier rencontre le peintre-verrier et décorateur Guido Nincheri qui passe l'été à Saint-Hilaire; le 23 août Leduc visite le séminaire Saint-Charles et y rencontre l'abbé Léon Marcotte.
- 7 Leduc visionne le film controversé *La Lumière éternelle* (5 avril) et, pendant son séjour à Québec, *Einstein et l'Univers*. Il assiste au concert des frères Cherniavsky. Il utilise abondamment la bibliothèque de l'architecte Audet (ex. : 23 mai, 31 juillet). Il lit, entre autres, le roman historique d'Oscar Massé, *Mena'sen*.
- 8 La chambre 320, qu'il occupe à l'évêché, est orientée du côté ouest et offre une excellente vue. Leduc note, par exemple, la pluie, le orages, les arcs-en-ciel, le brouillard et la neige (7 mai, 3, 18, 22 et 27 juin, 22 juillet, 7 août, 8, 19 octobre 1922, 8 janvier 1923).
- 9 Aux promenades qu'il prend la peine de noter (5 avril, 21, 28 mai, 2 juillet, 6 août, 1<sup>er</sup>, 15, 29 octobre), il faut ajouter les excursions dans les environs (Montjoie – 16 juillet; East Angus).

- 10 Entre autres, lors de sa visite du décor de Charles Huot à l'Assemblée nationale.
- 11 Leduc avait réalisé précédemment les cartons des trois vitraux qui ornent la chapelle Pauline, au sous-sol de la cathédrale actuelle. Pour une présentation plus complète de la genèse et du développement de cette décoration, voir mon mémoire : «La décoration religieuse d'Ozias Leduc à l'évêché de Sherbrooke», Université de Montréal, 1973 et «La Chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbrooke: quelques dessins préparatoires d'Ozias Leduc», *Bulletin 30*, Galerie nationale du Canada, 1977, p. 3-18. La correspondance échangée principalement entre l'architecte Audet, le procureur Pilette, le photographe Paul Gagné et Leduc complète et précise l'information contenue dans le *Journal*.
- 12 Pour une présentation des rapports entre Leduc et Borduas à cette époque, voir Françoise Le Gris, «Chronologie des relations entre Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas», dans *Ozias Leduc et Paul-Émile Borduas*, Conférences J.-A. de Sève, Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 101-103; François-Marc Gagnon, *Paul-Émile Borduas Biographie critique et analyse de l'œuvre*, Montréal, Fides, 1978, p. 1-24.
- 13 Voir la notice d'Arlene Gehmacher dans *Ozias Leduc Une œuvre d'amour et de rêve*, cat. expo. Montréal, Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 1996, p. 228-234.



## Journal d'Ozias Leduc : 1922–1937\*

SYMBOLES : ♦ — changement de page

**caractères gras** — notes d'Ozias Leduc en marge

\* Sont publiés ici seulement les passages du journal d'Ozias Leduc qui se rapportent à son premier séjour à Sherbrooke. Le texte a été transcrit tel qu'il est dans le journal, en respectant l'orthographe et la grammaire d'Ozias Leduc.

### 1922

- Avril 3 1922 — Arrivée a Sherbrooke. Décoration chapelle de l'évêché. Entrevue avec Mr. Pilette ptre procureur. Reçu par Mgr Laroque bien malade, On m'instale a l'évêché au 3me, chambre 320 — deux fenêtres centrales façade ouest, — beaucoup de soleil. On s'entend avec menuisiers pour échafaudages dans la chapelle. Visite a l'architecte Audet.
- Avril 4 — Montage complet de l'échafaudage. Visite de l'architecte Audet a la chapelle et discussion à ma chambre, en présence de l'abbé Pilette, sur mon ♦ projet de décoration — entente. J'achète premiers matériaux. J'apprends a l'heure du souper que l'église du Sacré-Coeur de Montréal est incendiée. Petite veillée au bureau Audet. Je feuillette quelques livres d'art. Tout le monde du bureau travaille en chantant — combinaison de voix des plus cocasse. Ca m'embête a la fin. je reviens a ma chambre.
- 5 avril — Une bonne marche ce matin, travail a la chapelle, mesure et relevé de détails des quatre grands panneaux ou seront ♦ les tableaux. A 3 heures commencé a appliquer de l'huile de lin bouillie aditionnée d'ocre jaune sur la surface des voutes. Vu, au Cinéma, "La Lumière éternell" dont on parle tant. On dirait un musée de cire en mouvement. Je suis reste jusqu'à la fin; mais je fus ravi de voir le Christ soulevé vers le ciel, d'ou il reviendra pour juger le "Cinéma" et ses nouveaux boureaux.
- 6 avril — Travaillé toute la journée à la Chapelle continuation d'impression ♦ de la voute et du mur du choeur. L'Hon J.N. Francoeur Président de l'Assemblée législative, me fait savoir, par une aimable lettre qu'il se trouve beaucoup trop agé dans son portrait. Il parait que tout le monde le trouve aussi même des connaisseurs. On le rajeunira plus tard.

- 7 et 8 avril — Continuation des couches d'impression, voutes, arcs doubleaux, colonnettes et colonnes engagées.
- 9 — Dimanche 8hrs Messe basse des petits enfants, garçons et filles — Instruction ♦ du curé de la Cathédrale (**Chapelle Pauline**) Mr. Simard. Assister aux offices religieux de la semaine sainte et donner, en outre des cinq sous pour sa place de basse, autant que possible a Mgr Forbes pour ses mission de l'Ouganda. Sa voix est sonore et porte loin sous les voutes surbaissées, exécutées en béton armé, revetu de briques.
- 10 avril — Encore une journée d'impression. Visite d'un Mr Bonin entrepreneur masson, constructeur des fondations de la Cathédrale, ou Chapelle Pauline, au [dessus] ♦ de laquelle s'elevera au [dessus] l'edifice entier et aussi constructeur de l'Evêché. Ce Monsieur m'a rappeler qu'il avait habité autrefois à St Hilaire. Il a bien connu mes frères, surtout Origène. En imprimant mes murs, je cherche ma décoration défaisant et refaisant le projet soumis à l'évêque l'automne dernier.
- 11 avril — Arrêté l'impression en attendant que lon raccommode les murs. Mon pot de couleur renversé aussi bien, que le plus fort des aprentis. Mastic dans toutes les petites fissures. Ai déterminé ♦ un plan d'ensemble pour la décoration de ma chapelle, ou s'allierait a la richesse, la simplicité.
- 12 avril — Pluie toute la journée. Commencement d'une couche de bleu de prusse a la voute de la chapelle.
- 13, 14, 15 avril — Semaine sainte offices bons, Mgr Forbes officie pontificalement, remplaçant Mgr Laroque malade. Ai terminé le bleu. Commencé (**le 17**) une autre teinte a l'huile, composée d'ocre jaune, de terre dombre crue et de blanc de ♦ plomb, sur les autres parties de la voute et sur les colonnes Ce n'est pas beau.
- 16 avril — Jour de Pâques Messe de 9hrs. conférence de Mgr Forbes. Grande Messe a partir du Credo Bonne musique et chant sous la direction du notaire Jobin (**ou Bégin**), maître de chapelle.
- 17 avril — ai fait et commencé le posage de cette teinte décrite plus haut.
- 18 avril — Continuation de la deuxième couche d'impression.

Rencontré Mgr Laroque hors de sa chambre, passablement ré  
 ◆ tabli. Il s'est cru obligé de m'adresser de bonnes et pater-  
 nelles (**paroles**). Visite, a la chapelle, de l'architecte L.N.  
 Audet. Il parlait pour Ste Anne de Beaupré avec un plan a  
 soumettre aux Revds. Pere Redemptoristes, pour la recon-  
 struction de la Basilique, incendiée dernièrement. Son projet  
 est d'un aspect gothique très élancé a grandes lignes assen-  
 dantes, et richement orné. De plus il paraît, répondre aux exi-  
 gences de notre climat et ferait bien, en notre granit, sur la  
 verdure de la haute falaise de Beaupré. Ce projet devrait etre  
 réalisé. ◆

19 avril — Continue couche d'impression, murs du choeur, Arc tri-  
 omphal. Retourné carte d'admission au Diner des artistes des  
 intellectuels et de leurs amis, en l'honneur de l'Hon Athanase  
 David Sec, de la Province, en reconnaissance de ce que ce  
 Mons. a fait, jusqu'ici, pour les Beaux-Arts et la Littérature. Le  
 prix par tête est fixé a \$3.50 dit le prospectus, et il ajoute que  
 des personnages éminents y assisteront, que le \_ banquet sera  
 unique en son genre. Les discours seront brefs, au nombre de  
 quatre seulement, de plus il y aura un concert. Ce qui est  
 tout-a-fait nouveau dit-on. Le tout se passera à l'Hotel de la  
 Place Viger le 13 mai 1922. Il y aura toujours des charlatans  
 ou des personnes manquant totalement de goût et de discrétion.

20-21-22 — Continué seconde couche d'impression. Quitté le 22 a  
 3 hrs après-midi pour Saint-Hilaire. ◆

[...]

— 4 mai — Matinée a Montréal pour achat, or bronze bleu d'out-  
 remer pour la chapelle de l'évêché de Sherbro(oke).

— 5 mai — retour a Sherbrooke ◆ Continue, (**et termine**) la deux-  
 ième couche d'impression, du choeur des voutes et des  
 colonnes.

6 mai — Mastique, pluie.

— 7 — Dimanche. Pluie et soleil arc-en-ciel. Lecture, lettres écrites  
 Messe 9 hrs, vêpres et mois de Marie 7 hrs p.m.

- 8-9 mai — Commencé a chercher le décor de la voute de ma chapelle. Signification de ce décor, disposition, dessin, couleur. Fond bleu profond, semé de croissants et d'étoiles d'or. En certains points, ces croissants et ces étoiles de différentes grandeurs ♦ jetés confusément sur le bleu, apparence de voie lactée. Un chaos qui peu a peu progresse et s'ardonne en un semi régulièrement disposé. Symboliserait l'état de confusion et de trouble ou furent Adam et Eve, apres leur chute. Etat malheureux, en suprême contradiction aux saintes diciplines, qui a voulu l'avènement de la Vierge Corédemptrice, ou resplendissent, comme en de symétriques ordonnances, la toute puissance misericordieuse (**du Maître**) et sa Justice divine. ♦
- 10-11 mai — Cherche le décor de la voute du choeur. Commence a dessiner en place un rosier mystyque, fleurs blanches centrées d'or. Les feuilles vertes devront se détacher, plus tôt par leur couleur que par leur ton, du fond bleu de la voute. Ces panneaux seront entourés d'une petite bordure semée de lis s'ouvrant a demi Le fond de cette bordure sera vert, en rappel des feuilles du rosier En outre, deux filets blancs relieront les lis. ♦
- 12-13 — Continue le dessin du rosier. Reçu une lettre me mentionnant une visite, du Dr. Ernt. Choquette, a mon atelier a S.Hilaire. Il me suggérerait d'entrer en pourparlers avec le Président de la Chambres des Commune, au sujet de son portrait pour la Galerie des Orateurs a Ottawa. Il était sous l'impression même, que l'Hon Rodolphe Lemieux était déjà en communication avec moi a ce propos. J'ai écrit au Président, quoique je trouve bien lourds la charge de faire de tels portraits. ♦
- 14 mai — Sa Grandeur Mgr Paul Laroque a fait ce soir a 7 hrs a la Chapelle Pauline, l'ouverture de sa visite pastorale. Mgr. est un bel évêque, il est vraiment imposant, avec quelque chose de paternel, en ses habits de pourpre et d'or.
- Un peu de peinture cet après midi a regratter un petit portrait de l'hon. J.N. Francoeur, ça finira! mais cela sera toujours mauvais.
- 15-16 — Finis de dessiner le rosier a la voute du choeur. Etudié une bande pour les panneaux de la grande voute. ♦

17 mai — Une demande de prix par Vigor Rho de Winnipeg, pour un petit travail. On s'entends le 18 par telegraphes et je ferai au rabais deux anges et une colombe.

18.19.20 — préparation toile, croquis pour les deux anges, dessine un ange grandeur d'exécution.

20 — ébauche du 1er ange, croquis d'ensemble pour les panneaux des murs de la chapelle.

Audet m'a passer depuis quelques jours le consciencieux ouvrage de P. Gélis-Didot et H. Laffillée sur la peinture (décorative) en France du XIe au XVIe siècle. J'y passe de bonnes soirées. Je feuillette aussi un porte-feuille d'arts décoratifs, contenant des reproductions médiocres d'oeuvres de F. Erhmann, Galland, Beaudry, Cabanel, Labbé-Duval, Lamotte etc.

21 mai — Quelques heures à la peinture du 1er ange. Ce soir longue marche dans Sherbrooke-Est. Écrit à Ulric.

22 — Finis le 1er ange. Donné à M Guido Nincheri peintre décorateur de Montréal qui cherche une maison à louer, en campagne, l'adresse de Melle Emilie L'Espérance de St Hilaire. Écrit à Montréal pour avvertir Melle L'Espérance.

23-24-25 — Ouvrages divers à la chapelle, fini le 2<sup>m</sup> anges.

26 mai — fait la colombe et termine ainsi la commande Vigor Rho Winnipeg. Copie des petites silhouettes amusantes, dans "La peinture décorative en France.

27 — Etudes pour l'ornementation de l'arc du chœur. Division en dix-huit panneaux de vingt pouces, séparés par un de cinq. Je pense à un rosier et à un lis dont la tige et les feuilles rempliraient alternativement les panneaux de vingt pcs. Ces plantes porteraient chacune une fleur ouverte et vue de face ornant le centre du petit panneau de cinq pouces. Le tout sur fond bleu entre deux filets d'or avec à l'intérieure près de l'or un filet blanc accompagné d'un vert. Trouvé un vert pour ce filet et pour les feuilles qui irait avec le bleu et les autres couleurs, tout en étant presque du même ton que le bleu. La fleur sur le petit panneau serait sur un fond d'or. Tout cet ensemble serait serti de traits bleu sombre, et d'autres cerise, tenir bien enveloppé, doux et parfaitement harmonieux.

28 — Dim. Belle journée fraîche. Regratter le petit portrait

Francoeur, que je crois terminé. Petite marche. Deux morceaux de musique a un concert dans un petit parc ou l'on a pas de quoi s'asseoir.

29.30.31 — Déterminé l'emplacement de la draperie et de l'encadrement ♦ des tableaux de la chapelle. Fait un dessin d'après une gravure du Christ de Jean de Bologne. Deux composition pour emblèmes pour Vigor Rho Un vase d'ou part une vigne et un rosier, supportant et entourant un monogramme IHS et un autre ☩ Préparé toiles. Commencé le dessin du IHS.

1er Juin — Finis le dessin du IHS. Le dessin du ☩ prêt a être repassé en brun avant la peinture.

Pensé a faire un vitrail pour la maison d'un artiste, dont le sujet ♦ serait la "Lumière dominante". Le vitrail serait divisé en deux partie dont une claire, la plus grande, ou serait une personnification de la lumière, assise, ses jambes repliées, ses bras tendus, elle prend possession de la baie. Au dessous de cette figure, et lui servant de support la partie sombre de la composition (**cette partie**) s'étendrait sur un tiers de la hauteur et sur un tier de la largeur de la fenêtre avec en plus de chaque coté (**en bas**) un carré, (ce) qui lui donnerait une ♦ forme pyramidale nécessaire a la silhouette de la "Lumiere dominante Dans cette partie sombre serait quelque monstre ébloui. Pourpre bleu et noir, jaune, chair et bleu. Noir et vert.

Un peu de pluie aujourd'hui ce soir une petite marche. Entendu quelque morceaux de musique au square sans sièges.

2 Juin — Ebauche en couleurs le IHS Repassé au brun le ☩ .

3 Juin — Ebauché en couleurs le ☩ Il est une heure moins dix. La pluie qui tombe depuis la nuit dernière ♦ parait cesser. Il fera beau a mon départ pour St-Hilaire a 3 hrs.

Il a plu a mon départ, mail il faisait beau a mon arrivée a St-Hilaire.

[...]

9 Juin — parti a 9.24 hrs pour Sherbrooke, arrivé a Sherbrooke, occupations diverses. Essaie de couleurs sur le grand arc du

Choeur a la chapelle.

- 10 — Commencé sur place, le dessin du grand arc. Essaie de couleurs.
- 11 Juin — Esquisse au fusain une composition de la résurrection de Lazare. Un geste concentrique des mains de Jésus ♦ élevées a la hauteur de sa poitrine attire Lazare titubant et hagard hors du sepulchre. Miracle d'amour.
- 12 — travail a la décoration du grand arc. Esquisse au fusain une Nativité. Reprise de croquis, ou la Vierge lasse et triste détourne sa tête de l'Enfant qu'elle contemplait. Sa science de l'avenir l'accâble Au haut du ciel l'étoile symbolique brille en quatre rayons. Le groupe de la mère et de l'enfant devra se détacher en vigueur des vêtements ♦ blancs de deux ou trois anges, debout en adoration tout près. C'est le soir et l'isolement mais il faudra au ciel des couleurs éclatantes et une grande luminosité, contrastes de bleus sourds et d'oranger.
- 13 - 14 — Continuation du grand arc du Choeur. Quelques heures employées a la recherche d'une maison de pension pour le jeune Paul-Emile Borduas de S-Hilaire qui désire s'initier a la pratique du décor.
- 15 — Dessine et exécute le pochoir du rosier ♦ fleuri du Grand Arc. Retiens une pension pour P. Emile.
- 16-17 — Essaie de dessins et de différentes couleurs pour le grand arc.
- 18 — Dimanche. Pluie Dessins pour le grand arc.
- 19 — Arrivée de P. Emile Le met au travail a poser le vert des feuilles du Rosier Mystique de la voute du Choeur. Essaie d'un nouvel arrangement pour le grand arc. Met de coté ces divers ornements et pochoirs.
- 20 — Dessine (**pour le grand arc**) un nouveau ♦ rosier fleuri, tiges terre rouge, feuilles outremer, sur fond terre sienne naturelle rougie. Sa fleur sera d'or sur ocre rouge, le tout contourné de blanc.
- 21-22 — Occupé au grand arc. Aujourd'hui L.N. Audet est venu me faire une petite visite Il arrive de New-York et Washington émerveillé des belles choses qu'il a vues Architecture. Décoration. Vitreaux. Il se rendait cet après-midi a

Drummondville La reconstruction de l'église de cet endroit, incendiée dernièrement ♦ lui est confiée. Nous avons ce soir un fort orage électrique qui dure depuis une couple d'heures.

23-24 — Voute du choeur, grand arc.

25 — Dimanche. Ebauche la resurection de Lazare, et commence également en couleur, la naissance de Jésus. Deux des quatre compositions qui doivent décorer le choeur de l'église de St-Raphael de l'Ile Bizard.

26,27 — Colle de la toile sur les murs de la chapelle, au dessous de l'emplacement des tableaux, et aussi pour la bordure de ces tableaux (Il pleut ce soir). ♦

28-29-30 juin — pochoirs voutes du choeur, voute de la nef. Toile collée bordure des tableaux, et draperie au bas de la nef de la Chapelle.

1er Juillet 1922 — Pochoirs nervures, voute de la nef.

— 2 — Dim. Messe, marche après midi, ex-libris Yves Lavigne.

— 3 — mastique toile, pochoirs nervures Choeur et Nef.

— 4, 5 Juil. — Rosier mystique choeur. Reçu le paiement, par cheque du département des travaux publique et du travail du portrait de l'hon. J.N. Francoe Ce cheque daté du 29 juin, adressé a St-Hilaire.

— 6,7,8 — Rosier mystique, nervures Choeur et nef.

— 8 Juil. — départ a 3 hrs pour St Hilaire.

[...]

— 14 Juil. — départ pour ♦ Sherbrooke arrive a midi et demi, achève de coller la toile des bordures des tableaux.

— 15 Juil. — recolle divers parties décollées des toiles draperies (**au bas des tableaux**) et bordures des tableaux Commence une couche de préparation sur ses toiles.

— 16 — Dim. Messe a 8 hrs. Ebauche la Vierge l'Enfant Jésus les anges, St Joseph le boeuf et l'âne. Nativité pour l'église de l'Ile Bizard. Après-midi 3½ hrs. Excursion an automobile (**chalet**

**Montjoie sur les bords d'un lac**) sur invitation de Mr l'Abbé Lemay. Mr l'Abbé Pilette procureur de l'évêché nous accompagne, marche dans la foirée, souper dans un petit refectoire en piéces de bois blanchi a la chaux. Mgr Gagnon directeur du Séminaire de Sherbrooke préside deux autres prêtres, retour a Sher — 7½ hrs —

- 17 — Fini couche de preparation sur les bordures et la draperies des tableaux a venir. Une 3<sup>eme</sup> couche a la doucine des nevures du choeur, et au boudin de l'encadrement des fenêtres.
- 18 — Doucine des nervures nef. Epousseté deux rangs de l'échafaudage, balayé le papier mis sur le parquet pour le protéger.
- 19, 20, 21, 22 Juillet — Composé ♦ un nouveau dessin pour une petite bande autour des panneaux bleus étoilés et des panneaux du rosier fleuri des voutes de la chapelle. Ce dessin remplacera les lis au pochoir de cette même bande. Composé et dessiné un monogramme M.R.F. pour Mr l'abbé Pilette. Samedi soir pluie, tonnerre.
- 23 — Dim. Messe de 8 hrs. Exécute au bronze, sur une boite peinte en blanc, en lettres gothiques le monogramme M.R.F. Pluie toute la journée, le soir brume intense.
- 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 Juillet — Jours employés a divers ouvrages, voutes de la nef ♦ et du choeur, pochoir dents scie, filet. Jeudi et vendredi soir filet. Je me propose de travailler là d'autres soirs.
- 30 — Dim. Etudie un nouvel arrangement Ex-libris Y.T.L.
- 31 — Matinée employée a diverses emplettes, pinceaux, le roman Mena'sen de Oscar Masse. Visite a Audet qui n'est pas a son bureau, lui emprunte par son employé une méthode hiéroglyphique ou méthode grecque de dessin, modèle vivant, poses photographiques du modèle Melle Dorothy Lees. Auteur Adolphe Armand Braun Apres-midi, bandes des voutes, etc. ♦
- 1<sup>er</sup> Aout — Retouches diverses voutes. Essaie de coloration de bronze par des glacis. Soirée 3 hrs de travail aux voutes.
- 2 Glacis sur bronze, filet.

- 3 Bronze arcs doubleaux choeur. Visite de l'architecte Audet. Il m'apprends qu'il fera partie du trio devant reconstruire Ste Anne de Beaupré.
- 4 Bronze arcs doubleaux et nervures voute nef. visite de Henri Hébert sculpteur et Audet: Hebert était ici en vue d'une figure décorative pour un tombeau (**d'un**) particulier au cimetière.  
◆
- 5 aout — Essais de couleurs bordures des panneaux de la voute de la nef.
- 6 — Dim. — Messe 8 hrs. Feuillette un volume illustré sur l'Italie. Retouche l'étude de P.E.B. Travaille a l'Ex Libris de Y.T.L. Le soir marche jusqu'au et dans le Parc Victoria, quelques brins de pluies.
- 7 Pluie incessante (**au retour**) et un peu de tonnerre. Prépare des couleurs, pour petites bandes des panneaux de la grande voute nef et pour complement aux nervures de la chapelle.
- 8 Nervures, et bandes grande voute. Soir 2½ hrs même travail. ◆
- 9 aout — matinée sortie pour renseignements, prix de l'or mordant etc. Après-midi glacis bandes voute du choeur.
- 10, 11, 12 Chapelle ouvrages divers. Après midi 3 hrs départ pour S. Hilaire.

[...]

- 22 — Retour a Sherbrooke Chapelle après midi, pochoirs arcs - doubleaux.
- 23, 24, 25, 26 — Filets et bordures voutes choeur et nef. 23. visite le seminaire de Saint-Charles, Mr Marcotte prêtre professeur, me fait jeter un coup d'oeil dans ses livres d'art. Ce mons. montre un grand enthousiasme.
- 27 — Dim. Messe 8 hrs. Ex libris Y.T.L. ◆
- 28 Aout — Filets voute, décor arcs formerets.
- 29 — Bandes bordures, voutes nef, temps beau et frais.
- 30, 31 Aout — Bordure des panneaux voute du choeur et pointes

de ces bordures a la retombee de cette voute et de celle de la nef. Croquis pour la bordure des tableaux. Croquis dans le choeur, de chaque coté des fenêtrés, pour 18 inscriptions tirées des litanies.

1, 2 Sept. Ouvrages divers, voutes.

3 — Dim. Messe 8 hrs. Dessine un petit portrait d'après nature.

4, 5, 6 — Ouvrages divers, Vts. ♦

5 Sept — Mr l'Abbé L. Lemay m'invite a faire un tour d'auto, pour voir les beaux paysages qu'il admire aux environs de Sherbrooke. Nous allons jusqu'a East-Angus et visitons les nouvelle églises gothique a l'épreuve du feu de Audet.

7 Sept — Compose et dessine les inscriptions du choeur de la Chapelle. C'est-a-dire un arrangement, lis nature et parchemin deroulé, pour recevoir ces inscriptions tirées des litanies de la Vierge. ♦

8, 9 Sept — ouvrages au choeur.

10 — Dim. Messe 8 hrs. Lecture, dessin, peinture.

11, 12 — ouvrage au choeur, mastique la toile des bordures des tableaux. 12 — Visite de l'arch. Audet. Longue conversation. Depuis quelques temps je songe a une tige de Jessé pour le fond de la Chapelle, mais l'espace restreinte a un endroit me gênaient pour sa réalisation. Audet sugère d'enlever une moulure en-dessous du jubé, ce qui me donnerait la place nécessaire. Mr le Procureur permet cette modification.

13 — Bordure des tableaux. ♦

14, 15, 16 — Préparations, bordures des tableaux.

17 — Dim. Messe 8 hrs. Veillée chez Audet.

18, 19 — Bordure tableaux.

19 — a 3 hrs aprs midi départ pour St Hilaire.

[...]

— 25 — retour a Sherbrooke, Bordures de tableaux.

- 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 — bordures des tableaux préparations aux colonnes de la chapelle.
- 1 Octobre — dimanche messe 8 hrs, marche au Parc Victoria, au Cimetière Après-midi, lecture.
- 2 Oct. — La dernière couche de bleu, dans la grande voute de la chapelle Bleu d'outremer, bleu de Prusse, Terre Ombre brûlée Ochre jaune, et blanc. ♦
- 3 Oct. — Bronze au grand arc du Choeur. Visite d'Audet.
- 4, 5 — Bronze au grand arc et aux bordures des tableaux.
- 6 Oct. — Brz, fond inscriptions du choeur. Pochoirs bordures des tableaux. Achete une montre.
- 7 — pochoir bordures.
- 8 Oct — dim. messe 8 hrs. Marche. Après-midi, commence a passer a l'encre l'Ex-Libris Y.T.L. Il a plu presque toute la journee et il pleut encore ce soir.
- 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 — ouvrage divers pochoirs bordures, colonnes du choeur, essaies de coloration ♦ bases des colones de la nef et du grand arc du choeur, filets dans la grande voute.
- 15 — dim. messe 8 hrs, marche, lecture, leçon de peinture a P.E.B. soirée marche, quelques grains de pluie au retour. Correspondance.
- 16, 17 — pochoirs pour les colonnes Nef et Choeur, couleurs sur ces mêmes colonnes.
- 18 — Couleurs sur les colonnes sur leurs bases filets voute nef. Bourasques de neige grands vents.
- 19 — Glacis sur bronze des bordures. Soirée, glacis sur les fonds des inscriptions, ♦ murs du Choeur. Il est tombée au cours de la soirée audela d'un pouce de neige.
- 20 Oct — Glacis sur le bronze des moulures du grand arc du choeur.
- 21 — Continuation de ce glacis. Après midi 3 hrs départ pour St Hilaire.

[...]

- 27 — Départ pour Sherbrooke, arrive a midi et demi. Glacis terre de Sienna brulée, grand arc du choeur.
- 28 — Glacis continué. Disposition des étoiles grande voute. Je compte beaucoup sur ces étoiles ♦ d'or comme lien d'ensemble. Les fonds bleus qui jusqu'ici étai(ent) vides, et paraissaient sans conscistance, vont prendre leur veritable valeur entre les nervures très ornées de cette voute.
- 29 — Dim. Messe 8 hrs, écriture diverses. Indications pour peinture P.E.B. Soir, longue marche. Ecritures diverses.
- 30, 31 Oct. — Ouvrages divers. Composition pochoirs grand arc du choeur.
- 1er Nov. — Messe 8 hrs. Indications peinture P.E.B.
- 2 — Messe 9 hrs, pochoirs grands ♦ arc du choeur. Départ 3 hrs pour S. Hilaire, après réception d'une invitation du Shérif de Montréal en vue d'une entente pour une peinture décorative pour la "Cour juvénile".
- 3 — Voyage a Montréal rencontre de Mr Lemieux Sherif. Entente sur un sujet pour la peinture décorative en question. Devrai soumettre un croquis plus tard. Visite a l'abbé Maurault, retour a St Hilaire.

[...]

- 7 — Retour a Sherbrooke Pochoirs grand arc du choeur.
- 8, 9 — Pochoirs grand arcs. ♦
- 10 — Pochoir grand arc. Fond bronze colonnettes de la nef; ce fond est destiné a recevoir une ornementation en diverses couleurs, après avoir été coloré par un glacis.
- 11 — Bronze colonnettes.
- 12 — Dim. messe 8 hrs. Indications peintures P.E.B.
- 2 Décembre — visite a St Hilaire.
- 6— Dec. — Retour a Sherbrooke.

— 23 — Vacances a St-Hilaire jusqu'au 8 janvier 1923.

## 1923

8 Jan. 1923 — retour a Sherbrooke tempête de neige dans l'après-midi. Retard des trains du soir et de la nuit. Nous avons ♦ eu de la pluie le 1er Jan. Le peu de neige qui était tombe auparavant est presque toute fondue.

12 — Visite du neveu Arthur Langevin, quelques instants le soir.

14 — Dim. Messe huit heures Indications, fusain "verre sur une soucoupe" P.E.B.

## 1924

## 1925

## 1926

17 mai 1926 — visite de Mons. Pilette ptre-procureur de l'Evêché de Sher ♦ brooke Mons l'abbe Lemay l'accompagnait. Coup d'oeil sur le Crucifiment pour la chapelle de l'évêché et sur les croquis préparés pour le "Jesus retrouvé dans le temple" "L'Annonciation a Marie immaculée" et "La Promesse d'un rédempteur" Ces Messieurs me parurent très intéressés.

Aucune autre allusion à Sherbooke après cette date. Le journal couvre aussi les années 1927, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1935 et 1937.

## BIOBIBLIOGRAPHIES / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

JACQUES GAGNON a une maîtrise en Sciences sociales et enseigne au département du même nom au Collège de Sherbrooke. Il a signé trois chapitres dans deux ouvrages collectifs: *Les Cantons de l'Est* aux Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke (1989) et *Être contemporain: Mélanges en l'honneur de Gérard Bergeron* aux Presses de l'Université du Québec (1992). Sur Nicolet, on pourra lire du même auteur: "Descendance noble et sauvage de l'explorateur Jean Nicolet" dans les *Mémoires* de la Société généalogique canadienne-française (vol. 46, no 4, hiver 1995, p. 293-296).

ESTHER HEALY is a native of the Eastern Townships. She has taught in three provinces and currently is teaching in Richmond, Québec. Since 1976, she has been the archivist for Richmond County Historical Society.

JAN O. LUNDGREN, associate professor, teaches tourism development and recreation geography in the Department of Geography at McGill University. Over the years he has done research on tourism development in Canada, the Caribbean, and Scandinavia. His most recent publication, "The transformation of a geopolitical space into a tourist space — the case of passenger shipping in the Baltic", was published in *Les cahiers du tourisme* (series 186, Centre des Hautes Études Touristiques, Aix-en-Provence, France) and analyses the emergence of a new regional tourist space in the wake of the demise of the Cold War Era in Europe.

JEAN O'NEIL est né et a grandi dans les Cantons de l'Est. Il mène de front une carrière d'écrivain, de journaliste et d'agent d'information pour plusieurs ministères du Gouvernement du Québec. Il est l'auteur de nombreux ouvrages sur le Québec, qui constituent une véritable fresque littéraire empruntant tantôt à la géologie, tantôt à la géographie, tantôt à l'histoire.

ANTOINE SIROIS, docteur de l'Université de Paris, est professeur émérite de l'Université de Sherbrooke. En plus de s'intéresser à la littérature comparée canadienne, il aime pratiquer l'histoire culturelle régionale. Il a piloté des recherches, rédigé des articles et co-dirigé la publication de livres dans ce domaine.

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