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MARION PHELPS: A GUARDIAN OF TOWNSHIPS HISTORY

Louise Abbott
Tomifobia, Quebec

> *Saturday, February 8, 1908*
> *Very cold & stormy. Did not have much to do … did some mending…. Maud*[e] *sick* [in labour]. *Baby girl born 10 after 12, we was there all night.*

From 1876 until 1939, Marion Martha ("Minnie") Phelps kept a detailed account of the weather and day-to-day activities at and around Orchardside, the farm where she and her husband, Hiram, lived in South Stukely. Her granddaughter Marion Louise Phelps, whose birth kept the family up that blustery evening in 1908, eventually inherited those diaries. Today they are carefully stored in the Archives of the Brome County Historical Society in Knowlton, where Marion — or Miss Phelps, as she is formally addressed — is the long-time volunteer archivist.

Marion Phelps at the Brome County Historical Society Archives, Knowlton. Photo by Louise Abbott.

"My grandmother wasn't especially educated," Marion told me one day as we sat in the Archives reading room. "She wasn't a historian; she was just interested in what was going on and she was very methodical in recording it. If you want local facts

Marion Martha ("Minnie") Phelps, Marion Phelps' grandmother (far right), Walter Phelps, Marion's father (back), Rupert Phelps, Marion's brother (front), and Patience Crowhurst, Marion's great-grandmother (far left). Photo courtesy of Marion Phelps.

— when a minister came to the area and when he left; when the teachers changed; when somebody's barn or house burned; what expenses the farm had; how much they sold their products for — you can pretty well go by her diaries."

Marion inherited more from her grandmother than her first name and her diaries. She also inherited her passion for historical knowledge and accuracy. When Marion was a child, she loved to ask questions about the past, and her grandmother was always willing to take the time to give her the answers. "If you were talking about something from the past, she wanted to make sure you got it right."

For nearly thirty years, Marion, too, has tried to make sure that researchers like me get it right. At the age of ninety-two, she still works most weekdays from ten until four at the building that once served as the County Courthouse and Registry Office and now serves as quarters for the Brome County Historical Society Archives. "The girls," as she refers to staff members Arlene Royea and Shirley Williams, give her a hand with typing and other administrative tasks. But they work elsewhere on the Society grounds; in the Archives, Marion reigns supreme.

I had heard of Marion's legendary expertise before I ever met her in person. A descendant of the deeply rooted Fosters in Knowlton had told me: "Miss Phelps knows more about the history of my family than I do!" I had also seen Marion's byline in publications of the

Brome County Historical Society and noticed her name in the acknowledgements of books of Townships history. I realized that she had helped to tell the story of countless other people; however, apart from brief items in the local press, no one had ever told her story. That was what I wanted to hear. I paid several visits to the Archives, housed in a Greek Revival building on St. Paul Street that is austere outside, but much warmer within, partly because of Marion's presence.

Sometimes I'd find her at a Victorian mahogany desk writing a note in response to a research query. More often she'd be sitting at one of the reading tables, a tidily dressed, white-haired woman dwarfed by the bookcases around her; she'd be absorbed in studying a document or book, sometimes with the aid of the magnifying glass she keeps on a necklace. She'd look up, get to her feet with more alacrity than I expected from someone her age, lean against the wooden counter that runs along most of the room, and greet me with a smile, her dark eyes alert and inquisitive behind her glasses.

Marion prefers researchers to make appointments, but many arrive unannounced, particularly during the summer months. When I was visiting one hot August afternoon, a young francophone from the *Cinémathèque Québécoise*, a film institute in Montreal, came in to inquire about silent film screenings by itinerant projectionists in the region in the 1920s. Marion answered some of his questions, mostly in English, because her French is limited, and then got on the phone.

"Hello, Catherine, there's a gentleman here who's doing a project on cinema. Now you remember in one of our books [*Yesterdays of Brome County,* collected essays which the Society publishes biannually], I think it's book six, we have an article that mentioned that movies in Knowlton were first held upstairs in your father's store. Now there are quite a few things I can't tell him about that, and I know I interviewed you at the time. He's interested in who ran the projector and what it cost and all that kind of thing." The conversation continued for a few minutes and then ended. "You've told me a lot. Great. Thank you so much. All right. Bye, bye."

Once she had relayed the information to the film historian, she turned to a local elderly anglophone who was doing research at the microfilm reader. "How are you getting along?" "Miserably well," the man replied. They both laughed. "It's my bifocals, really, they're the problem." Marion proffered her magnifying glass. "Sometimes this helps." "Thank you, dear."

Marion returned to the table where I was waiting. We resumed our conversation, taking occasional sips from the glasses of ice-cold

ginger ale that she had set out on individual trays. I had discovered by now that I had to speak more loudly than usual; Marion is hard of hearing and we had had at least one puzzling exchange in which I had inquired about a colourful historical figure in Knowlton who was reputed to have owned many, many *cats* and Marion had spoken about the woman's apparently impressive collection of *hats*.

I asked her about the kind of people who visit the Archives or correspond with her. She told me that they range from local children doing school assignments to adult researchers from as far afield as California. Of all the inquiries she receives, she added, a note of exasperation creeping into her voice, she finds requests for genealogical data the most tedious. But there is a remarkable surge of interest in ancestry, so she graciously directs genealogy buffs to the books and other records that might help them complete another branch of the family tree. What really stimulates her, though, is assisting professional scholars, such as her former pupil Jimmy Manson, who has done much of his doctoral research at the Archives, or pre-eminent Townships historian Jack Little, a native of Megantic County and professor at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, who sometimes drops in on the Archives during his pilgrimage to the Townships nearly every spring or summer. "Now *that*," she said, "is interesting."

Marion's personal research passion lies in the early settlement of Brome County and adjoining Missisquoi and Shefford Counties and in the United Empire Loyalists who were the pioneers. "I come from those American Loyalists that don't make it into the history books. They're the ones who cleared the land. Most everybody that writes about the American Loyalists calls them swindlers and counterfeiters and smugglers. But there were a lot of wonderful people, like Captain John Savage and Samuel Willard and Gilbert Hyatt." And her own ancestors.

"My mother was of Scotch descent, a McDougall. They were Loyalists from New York State. My Phelps ancestors were four brothers from Connecticut, which was a pretty hot place to be during the American Revolutionary War if you had British leanings, and I think they did. They crossed the line down around Stanbridge and Bedford in 1800. Three of the four brothers stayed down that way. But my ancestor moved up into Bolton. I'm probably the seventh or eighth generation Phelps here."

Marion grew up on Stone Lodge Farm, just a couple of miles from Orchardside and her beloved grandmother Minnie. Her father, Walter Phelps, bought Stone Lodge in 1902 from his uncle Edwin Phelps and was the third generation of the family to farm this land on the

Stone Lodge farmhouse, Marion Phelps' childhood home in South Stukely. Photo courtesy of Marion Phelps.

first range road of Stukely Township. Although he sold the property in 1944, the 1840s fieldstone home still stands, looking much the same as in Marion's youth, except for the absence of the wisteria that once crept up the facade. Marion remembers her life as a farmer's daughter fondly. "It was wonderful … because you weren't confined; you could roam the fields."

She attended the one-room Blake Schoolhouse, located within walking distance, until grade four and then transferred to a larger school in Waterloo, four miles away, for grades five through eleven. She and her two brothers took turns driving their horse-drawn rig or sleigh, staying overnight with nearby relatives when the weather turned foul. "We had a horse that always took advantage of me. He knew that I wouldn't use the whip on him, so when I was driving, he took his time. I remember once I was late for school because of that and the teacher gave me a long multiplication example to do and made me promise I'd never be late again."

The curriculum that Marion followed was a traditional English-Canadian one; what she missed was learning about the history of her own region and people. "When I went to school, we saluted the Union Jack and had mostly British history. I got a little bit of Canadian history in grade six. But I never heard about the Loyalists.... I didn't know they even existed, and yet they were the men who were the most influential in setting up the Townships."

Because of her personal interest in local history, Marion kept notes of things that her grandmother told her, along with other

Marion Phelps (far left) with her father, Walter; mother, Maude; and brothers, Gardner (in her mother's lap) and Rupert. Photo courtesy of Marion Phelps.

memorabilia. Nonetheless, she had no exposure to historical societies or museums or even the concept of such institutions until she was twelve; her great-aunt, a Knowlton resident, came to visit one day and announced that she had given a treasured custard cup to the Brome County Historical Society Museum. Marion wanted to go and see it on display; she finally got her wish on a school outing. "You know, that was what attracted people to museums like this for years, seeing things, relics, that had once belonged to some member of their family."

After graduating from high school, Marion went to Macdonald College in Ste. Anne de Bellevue for a one-year program in education. "At the time, it was either become a teacher or a nurse or get married right away." An avid reader, she happened upon Catherine Day's 1869 *History of the Eastern Townships* at the college library. "I nearly fainted away. I went through school not knowing the history of the Townships, and here was someone who had written a book about it and even talked about South Stukely."

> *South Stukely. Most of the settlers of this section* [of Stukely Township, Shefford County] *being of English origin, the majority of its inhabitants are English-speaking Protestants. The interests of the people are essentially agricultural, the raising of horses, cattle, and sheep, being their principal sources of income. The surface of the land is very uneven, yet the only mountainous elevations are a part of the Orford range in the*

> *south-east. … There is no large stream of water in South Stukely, the most considerable being formed by small rivulets coming from swamps, or such as are the outlets of small ponds. … The assessable property in South Stukely amounts to $132,093. There are 142 legal voters. In the year 1866, the total amount levied for educational purposes was $463,60; the government grant for the same year being $80,94.*
>
> *History of the Eastern Townships*
> Mrs. C.M. Day

Ironically, Marion's mother was a close friend of Mary Knowlton, the author's granddaughter. The next time Marion went home, she expressed her indignation. "I scolded them both. I said, 'How did you let me go off to college without knowing about Mrs. Day's history?' Mary was mortified."

Later, as an elementary school teacher and girl guide leader in Cowansville, Marion ushered groups of children to the Brome County Historical Society Museum to ensure that they would not be as ignorant of Townships history as she had once been. She joined the Society in the 1940s, but it was only in the late 1950s that she became active in Society affairs. After her retirement as a teacher a decade later, she continued her volunteer work full time. "You might say I've had two careers: a teaching career and then a career in the museum." (Like other elderly English Townshippers of my acquaintance, Marion puts the emphasis on the first syllable of museum.)

As she became increasingly involved with the Society, she gained two mentors and collaborators: Homer Mitchell and Harry Shufelt, both members of the executive and both dedicated amateur historians. She helped them catalogue archival material, carry out research, and write articles and books. Shufelt made a particularly lasting impression on her; indeed, his name frequently pops up in her conversations. "Mr. Shufelt was a Brome man and published books, like *Along the Old Roads*. He was the one who started us on our *Yesterdays* series. In the late 1960s, he was getting blind, so I would sit with him, he would dictate, and I would do the writing." Along with another volunteer named Clifford Smith, Marion helped Shufelt finish his last book, *Nicholas Austin: The Quaker and the Township of Bolton*, which was published in 1971. "Now Mr. Shufelt, *he* was the one who made life interesting. He died in 1973."

In the intervening years, Marion has produced numerous articles of her own for Society publications and in 1988, fittingly enough, she published a biography of Catherine Day. She also arranged a reprint of the latter's now-classic *History of the Eastern Townships*. Through her writing and through her service as assistant

curator, curator, and archivist over the years, Marion has kept faith not only with Homer Mitchell and Harry Shufelt, but also with those sober-looking men and women in stiff Victorian clothing whose portraits hang on the walls of the Archives and Museum — local citizens who felt that it was vital to conserve the history of the settlers and their descendants in the five townships of Brome County.

Marion described how the decision to establish a historical society was made in 1897. A picnic was scheduled that year to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of Brome Township; every family in the township was invited to attend. A local band performed and various dignitaries gave speeches. Before the picnic hampers were all packed up, a local Methodist minister and school inspector, Ernest Taylor, remarked to a local judge, Warren Lynch, that Brome County needed a historical society. Lynch agreed, but begged off from taking the initiative because of his already onerous schedule. Taylor persisted, however, and said that he was prepared to act as secretary-treasurer and do all the work if Lynch would take on the presidency. Lynch consented and Taylor kept his promise. In 1898 the Brome County Historical Society held its first official meeting in Pettes Memorial Hall in Knowlton. Not long after, an unused storey of the new Knowlton Academy was obtained for temporary use, the Society noted, as a "museum of relics of early times" in the area.

"You know," Marion continued, "there were other local historical societies formed around the same time. Missisquoi was formed in 1897 and Shefford was formed in 1897, too, although it didn't last long. I think that after a hundred years, the community had matured enough and was prosperous enough to consider something like a historical society."

In 1903 the Brome County Historical Society acquired the old Knowlton Academy for its museum. "We've never closed our doors since, at least not in the summer." The Society eventually acquired four other buildings, including a one-room stone schoolhouse on Tibbits Hill, west of Knowlton. It also constructed two buildings, one of them originally known as the Village Street Museum and now known as the Marion L. Phelps Building. These buildings house thousands of artifacts, ranging from a seventeenth-century Tip-Top table (an ingenious piece of furniture which converts into a chair), to a series of hand-tinted colour postcards by a local photographer, Sally Wood, who died in the late 1920s. "Our emphasis is on the pioneer and Victorian periods," Marion pointed out.

"We've never bought anything. We have what people have given us." Among the donations that Marion herself has made is her

Marion Phelps (left) with her brother Gardner. Photo courtesy of Marion Phelps.

caramel-coloured childhood teddy bear. "He's an original Teddy Roosevelt bear; my father won him at a [local] fair." He continues to charm children, appearing in different roles in the annually changing exhibitions that the Society mounts in an unpretentious, old-fashioned, style. Most recently, he was an endearing patient in a display about country medicine. Tucked under a quilt on a sofa next to a child mannequin, he had a poultice on his fuzzy forehead.

Like the Museum, the Archives have grown steadily. Originally they consisted of a handful of books in a glassed-in cabinet. Today rows and rows of shelves, numerous filing cabinets, and a vault are used to store the hundreds of precious records that have been donated — everything from the original papers of Loyalist Samuel Willard to copies of a now-defunct English newspaper published in Granby. There are several special collections, such as a library of old schoolbooks. Marion showed me, for instance, an arithmetic text which belonged to Nick Austin, the son of late eighteenth-century Townships pioneer Nicholas Austin.

Sharing the plight of most other historical societies in the Townships, the Brome County Historical Society lives on the edge financially. "The town is supportive," Marion said. "But in 1988 we lost the $10,000 grant that we'd had from the provincial government for ten years." She added with a hint of disgust: "They criticized us for being too diverse." Now the Society must rely primarily on membership fees, museum admissions, and fund-raising events, such as

an annual auction and raffle, to keep up the seven buildings it owns in and around Knowlton and the four monuments it owns in various parts of the county. "We have to do constant fundraising. Sometimes it seems as if there's no time for history or for conservation."

Financial stability is not the only concern. "We always seem to be worried about who's going to take it over." The number of Society members hovers between five and six hundred, 90 per cent of them English-speaking, the rest, French-speaking. Many are from out of town — people who once lived in the Townships or have ancestors who are buried here. "We have members from all over the continent, because part of their family history is here," Marion explained. "In the middle 1850s and 1860s, for instance, a lot of people from this area moved to the Midwest of the United States."

While out-of-town members contribute to the coffers, they do not participate in day-to-day affairs. In the midst of a relatively affluent community with a strong English minority, the Society is still able to attract a surprising number of anglophone volunteers. Some are native Townshippers who have traditionally participated in the Society. Others are people who have moved from elsewhere and put down roots in the area. Still, Marion worries about the survival of the institution in the absence of new, younger, English-speaking members from the region.

When she was a girl, she could not have imagined that the English population in the Townships would face the threat of extinction that it faces now. She could not have imagined that linguistic and separatist politics would divide the province the way that they divide it now. "It never entered our heads but that this was our country. In the 1960s and 1970s, we began to realize a few things." On the local level, she remembers the day that the last English member stepped down from the municipal council in Cowansville, which for generations had had councillors from both language groups and had alternated English and French mayors.

These days more and more francophones are seeking out the Archives and Marion does her best to serve them, using the French she has at her disposal and then mixing it with English. But even here nationalist politics rears its head on occasion. After she had taken me on a tour of the restored turn-of-the-century courtroom on the second floor of the building, she gestured to a bust of Sir Georges-Étienne Cartier, one of the Fathers of Confederation, tucked away in a corner of what was once the judge's chambers. "We put him in here," she said, "because we didn't want to start a conversation," by which I understood her to mean controversy. Some visitors had complained

at the presence of this nineteenth-century federalist.

Although Marion frets about the long-term future of the Society, in the short term she feels that there are other volunteers who could take her place at the Archives. "I've been grooming *everybody*," she stressed. "I don't keep things to myself. Other people know the routine." For the moment, however, she has no plans to retire. Friends drive her back and forth from her one-storey house in Knowlton. "I used to work at home at night, but now I save my eyes for work at the Archives during the day." She continues to read unfamiliar material in the Archives "little by little," but is not tackling new research or writing projects. "I don't think I'm going to get to write about my American Loyalist heroes."

The steady stream of visitors keeps Marion busy year-round. "It's always fun to work here," she said. "There's something different going on every day. I almost hate to go home at the end of the afternoon. I'm never finished what I'm doing, you know." Nonetheless, she confessed, she sometimes feels lonely in her pursuit. "There are some people from earlier years that I wish were still alive." Tears suddenly welled up in her eyes. I remembered a comment she had made earlier and I wanted to say, "*You* are the one who makes life interesting for so many of us." But I knew it would offer no consolation. The moment passed and Marion regained her usual good cheer. I packed up my tape recorder and said goodbye. As I was leaving, I could hear her chatting with the man at the microfilm reader. "I think I'm barking up the wrong horse," he said and then corrected himself, "I mean barking up the wrong tree." The two of them laughed.

L'ŒUVRE DES ORPHELINS À L'HOSPICE DU SACRÉ-CŒUR DE SHERBROOKE (1875–1965)[1]

Sylvie Côté
Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est

L'industrialisation et l'urbanisation de la ville de Sherbrooke débutent au milieu du 19e siècle grâce à l'énergie hydraulique que fournit la rivière Magog et à l'implication de la *British American Land Company*. Diverses industries s'installent entraînant ainsi l'arrivée de Canadiens français et d'Irlandais en quête de travail. La population, d'abord anglophone et britannique, devient, dès 1871, majoritairement canadienne-française et elle se répartit dans quatre quartiers distincts. Les conditions de vie à Sherbrooke sont alors difficiles, car la promiscuité, le manque d'hygiène, la maladie et la criminalité sévissent. De plus, le chômage frappe assez fréquemment les familles ouvrières, dont la vie est façonnée par les cycles économiques. L'insécurité financière dans laquelle elles vivent les oblige à réclamer l'assistance de leur parenté ou de la charité publique.[2] Pour venir en aide à ces familles démunies, l'évêque de Sherbrooke, Mgr Antoine Racine, réclame la fondation d'une institution de charité dès 1874. L'année suivante, l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur ouvre ses portes, sous la direction des Sœurs de la Charité de Saint-Hyacinthe, pour secourir les malades, les vieillards et les orphelins.[3]

Notre étude porte essentiellement sur l'œuvre des orphelins de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur de Sherbrooke entre 1875 et 1965. Aucune analyse historique n'a encore été réalisée sur ce sujet, mises à part les quelques pages que Louise Brunelle-Lavoie et Jovette Dufort-Caron y ont consacrées dans leur livre sur l'Hôpital St-Vincent-de-Paul de Sherbrooke.[4] Quelques historiens et historiennes ont toutefois travaillé sur la question des orphelinats. Nous pouvons retrouver des informations sommaires sur des orphelinats dans les livres et les brochures retraçant l'histoire de certains hôpitaux.[5] Marianna O'Gallagher dans "Care of the Orphan and the Aged by the Irish Community of Quebec City, 1847 and Years Following,"[6] Marie-Claire Daveluy dans *L'Orphelinat catholique de Montréal (1832–1932),*[7] Louise

Orphelins habillés en zouaves pontificaux lors de la visite de Mgr Stagni, 1913
(Fonds Société d'histoire des Cantons de l'Est, Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke).

Gagnon-Arguin dans "L'Orphelinat Saint-Antoine et ses bienfaiteurs"[8] et Huguette Lapointe-Roy dans *Charité bien ordonnée. Le premier réseau de lutte contre la pauvreté à Montréal au 19e siècle,*[9] se sont attardés surtout sur les aspects institutionnels. Dans sa thèse de doctorat,[10] Bettina Bradbury s'est penchée sur les caractéristiques de la clientèle de l'Orphelinat Saint-Alexis de Montréal au 19e siècle. Elle accorde une place privilégiée aux conditions socio-économiques pour expliquer le recours à l'orphelinat. Enfin, depuis la controverse autour des orphelins de Duplessis, deux ouvrages importants ont abordé la question des orphelinats : *Les religieuses sont-elles féministes?* de Micheline Dumont[11] et *L'univers des enfants en difficulté au Québec entre 1940 et 1960* sous la direction de Marie-Paule Malouin.[12] Féministes, ces deux publications situent le travail des religieuses et le rôle des orphelinats dans le contexte social d'avant 1960 au Québec. Les auteures croient que les religieuses, méprisées depuis une trentaine d'années, ne sont en fait que les boucs émissaires d'un problème auquel la société québécoise n'a pas voulu faire face. La pauvreté n'est-elle pas au cœur du problème de l'enfance en difficulté ?

Les archives de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur ont été majoritairement détruites. Toutefois, les documents qui ont échappé à ce sort étaient conservés, au moment de nos recherches, dans trois institutions : à la maison mère des Sœurs de la Charité à Saint-Hyacinthe, à l'Hôpital d'Youville (aujourd'hui le Pavillon d'Youville de l'Institut universitaire de gériatrie de Sherbrooke) et à l'Archevêché de Sherbrooke. Nous avons consulté les chroniques rédigées par les religieuses entre 1875 et

1965, le registre des orphelins de 1878 à 1952, la correspondance entre les évêques et les religieuses, des contrats d'achat et de vente de terrains, des états financiers, des bulletins scolaires de 1935 à 1947, des lettres préliminaires à la fondation de l'Hospice, des coupures de presse (*La Tribune* et *Le Messager St-Michel*), des rapports annuels et quelques dossiers d'orphelins. De plus, nous avons réalisé six entrevues dont trois avec d'anciens bénéficiaires et trois avec des religieuses qui ont été hospitalières des enfants. La grande variété de ces sources permet de dresser un portrait de l'œuvre des orphelins à Sherbrooke pendant près d'un siècle. Avant de découvrir les caractéristiques de la clientèle de l'œuvre des orphelins et le rôle social de cette institution, nous relaterons les événements majeurs qui ont marqué l'histoire de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur de Sherbrooke de 1875 à 1969.

1. De la charité privée à l'assistance gouvernementale (1875–1965)[13]

L'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur est fondé à Sherbrooke au printemps 1875, à la demande de Mgr Antoine Racine, premier évêque du diocèse de Sherbrooke, et de l'abbé Alfred-Élie Dufresne. Les Sœurs de la Charité de Saint-Hyacinthe en obtiennent la direction. Cette congrégation religieuse est issue des Sœurs grises de Montréal, dont elle s'est séparée en 1840 pour aller fonder un hôtel-Dieu à Saint-Hyacinthe. Quatre religieuses, sœur Dupuy, la supérieure, sœur Côté, sœur du Sacré-Cœur et sœur McCabe arrivent à Sherbrooke, le 21 avril 1875, et procèdent à l'ouverture et à la bénédiction de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur. Mgr Racine fournit aux religieuses une petite maison de briques à deux étages, de 240 mètres carrés, et cinq acres de terre. Ce premier hospice, situé sur la rue Wellington[14] en direction de Lennoxville, héberge plus de 360 personnes lors de ses onze premières années d'existence.

En 1886, le manque d'espace et la présence d'une voie ferrée tout près de l'Hospice incitent les religieuses à relocaliser leur établissement. La *Eastern Townships Land and Improvement Company* leur vend un terrain de 12 acres sur la rue Belvédère, alors en pleine campagne, pour un montant de 3336 $.[15] Le plan du nouvel hospice, estimé à 40 000 $, comprend quatre ailes de quatre étages, mesurant chacune 21 mètres sur 15. Étant donné l'importance de l'investissement, les sœurs, qui ont fait appel à la charité publique pour rembourser une partie des coûts, font bâtir une seule des quatre ailes prévues, et ce, pour 20 000 $. Entre le 19 et le 23 décembre 1887, le déménagement des indigents est effectué par les charretiers de la ville, puis le nouvel hospice est inauguré et béni. Les religieuses qui bénéficient alors de plus vastes locaux étendent leurs services. En plus de recueillir les démunis, elles

reçoivent des pensionnaires payants, des tuberculeux et des prêtres retraités ou retraitants; elles secourent des familles à domicile; elles veillent des moribonds et elles visitent des malades ainsi que des prisonniers. L'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur vient alors en aide à toute personne miséreuse quelles que soient sa religion et sa nationalité.

En 1896, Mgr Larocque souhaite voir les sœurs de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur devenir indépendantes de Saint-Hyacinthe. Il réclame la fondation d'une maison mère et d'un noviciat à Sherbrooke et insiste pour qu'elles développent plus spécifiquement l'œuvre des malades aux dépens de l'œuvre des vieillards et de celle des orphelins.[16] À la suite de l'inauguration du *Sherbrooke Protestant Hospital* en 1896, Mgr Larocque craint que ses diocésains recourent à l'hôpital anglophone, faute de services catholiques adéquats. Les sœurs consentent à développer davantage leurs soins hospitaliers, mais refusent d'accéder aux autres voeux de l'évêque. Ce dernier revient à la charge en 1902, demandant cette fois l'établissement d'une maison provinciale, d'un orphelinat distinct de l'hôpital et d'une crèche pour les petits dont les mères travaillent.[17] Les religieuses refusent à nouveau et lui proposent plutôt d'agrandir l'Hospice.[18] En juin 1904, sœur Carpentier, supérieure de l'Hospice, se dit prête à abandonner ses œuvres et à quitter Sherbrooke.[19] Le conflit se règle enfin lorsque les sœurs et Mgr Larocque s'entendent pour fonder un hôpital autonome.[20] En 1909, l'Hôpital St-Vincent-de-Paul ouvre ses portes dans l'est de la ville. L'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur se consacre désormais au soin des vieillards et des enfants.

En 1919, les Sœurs grises décident d'agrandir à nouveau leur institution et lancent une campagne de souscription sous la direction de Mgr Larocque et des Chevaliers de Colomb. Elles veulent parachever le plan de 1887 en ajoutant les trois ailes manquantes ainsi qu'un étage supplémentaire. Cette construction coûte 350 600 $ dont 183 000 $ durent être assumés par la population diocésaine. De plus, les sœurs reçoivent en 1923 une subvention de 40 000 $ du gouvernement provincial. Le 29 juin 1922 se déroule la bénédiction de la nouvelle construction, qui s'étend sur 110 mètres de large et 78 mètres de profondeur. Les enfants et les vieillards vivent maintenant séparément. L'aile de droite comprend les salles pour les personnes âgées, les chambres pour les pensionnaires ainsi que les appartements pour la retraite des prêtres; quant à l'orphelinat, il se situe dans le pavillon de gauche. La chapelle, la procure, la pharmacie, les parloirs, la cuisine, le système frigorifique, le système de chauffage et les ateliers de cordonnerie et de menuiserie se trouvent dans la partie centrale. Les sœurs habitent, pour leur part, dans l'ancienne bâtisse. La capacité

Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, 1875
(Fonds Société d'histoire des Cantons de l'Est, Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke).

totale de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur s'élève à 650 personnes.[21]

En juillet 1922, les sœurs demandent au gouvernement de reconnaître l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur comme institution d'assistance publique comme le permet la Loi de l'assistance publique promulguée l'année précédente. Cette loi, qui régira le secteur du bien-être social au Québec jusqu'à la Révolution tranquille, prévoit que la charge financière de l'hospitalisation des indigents sera partagée également entre le gouvernement provincial, la municipalité où réside l'indigent et l'institution d'assistance.[22] L'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur bénéficiera de l'assistance publique à partir de 1924.[23] Avant cette date, il survit grâce à diverses sources de revenus, notamment la charité publique et les frais de pension mensuels qui oscillent entre 2 $ et 6 $ par personne. Les états financiers de l'Hospice révèlent qu'en 1900, 38,1 % de ses recettes proviennent de la charité publique contre 2,7 % des gouvernements. Par contre, en 1950, la charité ne représente plus que 8,9 %, tandis que l'aide gouvernementale atteint 64 %.[24] L'État augmente donc substantiellement son aide au cours des ans pour finalement assumer en entier la charge financière.

En 1948, les demandes d'entrées à l'Hospice dépassent considérablement les places disponibles. Mgr Desranleau envisage de fonder un orphelinat indépendant qui pourrait accueillir de 500 à 600 enfants. Il suggère même que cet orphelinat soit localisé au Club Mont-Plaisant, un ancien centre sportif, situé dans le quartier est.[25] Le Conseil général des Sœurs de la Charité de Saint-Hyacinthe accepte de mettre

sur pied une telle institution.[26] Toutefois, elles n'obtiendront pas les octrois demandés à cette fin auprès des autorités provinciales qui prétendent vouloir construire elles-mêmes un orphelinat dans chaque comté.[27] Elles en recevront un, cependant, pour ériger un nouveau pavillon destiné aux malades chroniques.[28] En novembre 1954, la nouvelle section, appelée Hôpital d'Youville, est ouverte; elle a coûté plus de un million de dollars. Dans les années soixante, les malades chroniques prennent progressivement la place des enfants qui sont placés dans des foyers nourriciers par la Société de réhabilitation de Sherbrooke. À partir de 1961, l'orphelinat prend le nom de pensionnat du Sacré-Cœur et, en juillet 1965, il ferme alors que la trentaine de fillettes qui y vivent encore partent. Les Sœurs de la Charité doivent céder leur institution à une corporation laïque à la suite de la promulgation de la Loi des hôpitaux de 1962. En juin 1969, l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur est vendu à la Corporation de l'Hôpital d'Youville pour la somme de 1 $, l'acquéreur obtenant l'actif (2 805 207 $) et assumant le passif (1 257 640 $) de l'institution.[29] Pendant ses 90 ans d'existence, l'Hospice a hébergé des milliers d'enfants et de personnes âgées en détresse.

2. Une clientèle surprenante à l'œuvre des orphelins

De 1880 à 1949, l'œuvre des orphelins de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur accueille 5618 enfants, dont 47,5 % de filles et 52,5 % de garçons.[30] Au cours de la période étudiée, le nombre annuel d'entrées à l'orphelinat oscille entre 0 et 220. Quelques années se démarquent plus particulièrement des autres. Contrairement à ce que nous imaginions, le nombre d'entrées à l'orphelinat diminue de 1932 à 1936, pendant la grande dépression ; il atteint même son plus bas niveau depuis 1922. L'état de recherche actuelle sur la situation économique de la région sherbrookoise ne nous permet pas d'expliquer cette situation. On peut supposer que les parents sont en mesure de garder leurs enfants avec eux puisque l'État fournit alors aux chômeurs une assistance matérielle et financière par le biais des secours directs. Rappelons qu'en temps normal, aucun soutien monétaire n'est donné aux personnes sans emploi avant 1940; elles doivent donc recourir aux organismes de charité pour survivre.[31]

Les temps de guerre affectent aussi la clientèle de l'œuvre des orphelins. Ainsi, pendant les deux guerres mondiales, les entrées augmentent de façon significative. Comme le soutient H.W. Hopkirk, directeur de la *Child Welfare League of America*, les guerres provoquent une hausse de la clientèle des orphelinats, car le départ des pères pour l'étranger brise l'unité de la cellule familiale. Les femmes qui travaillent

maintenant à l'extérieur du foyer ne peuvent plus assurer la garde de leurs enfants. Elles les placent en institution en attendant que la paix et que leur mari reviennent.[32] Dans les Chroniques de mars 1916, les sœurs mentionnent que : « Le Canada fournit son nombreux contingent de soldats; tous les jours, hommes mariés, jeunes gens s'enrôlent. Nous avons à notre Orphelinat neuf enfants de pères qui font partie des 117 et 118e régiments. »[33]

Parmi les enfants qui fréquentent l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur de 1880 à 1949, 12 % des enfants sont orphelins de père, 20 % le sont de mère, 2 % le sont complètement, 3 % sont de parents inconnus et 63 % proviennent de familles dont les parents sont toujours vivants. Les orphelins de mère sont plus nombreux que les orphelins de père, ce qui laisse croire que la mort de la mère déséquilibre davantage la famille. Bettina Bradbury, qui a étudié l'Orphelinat Saint-Alexis de Montréal à la fin du 19e siècle, fait la même hypothèse :

> If it was difficult economically for widows to survive, the problems that faced widowers were of a different order. The sexual division of labour made men the wage-earners, and women, even when they worked for wages, the socializers and nurturers of children. Reproductive work — providing meals, shopping, doing housework, and raising children — was women's work. The death of a wife, therefore, thrust upon a man's shoulders a whole range of new experiences, ones that were difficult to perform while working [...] Not surprisingly, more widowers than widows appear to have taken their daughters to the orphanage at some point after their spouses' deaths.[34]

À la lumière des données recueillies, il apparaît évident que l'orphelinat de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur n'aide pas seulement les orphelins, puisque ceux-ci représentent une minorité de sa clientèle. En plus de la mort, une multitude de facteurs expliquent le placement d'un enfant à l'orphelinat. Parmi ceux-ci, la maladie, la séparation du couple et la pauvreté semblent les plus fréquents. Ainsi, en décembre 1893, Léopold Clapin envoie à l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur deux de ses enfants, Arthur et Louis-Philippe, âgés respectivement de cinq et sept ans, car son épouse est malade. Le séjour des enfants ne dure que deux mois, probablement le temps que madame Clapin guérisse et qu'elle soit capable de reprendre ses occupations au foyer.[35] Le cas d'Amanda Gagnon constitue aussi un exemple intéressant :

> Ce même jour encore nous admettions à notre orphelinat une petite fille Adèle âgée de trois ans, enfant de Napoléon Bariau et d'Amanda Gagnon de cette ville; le premier ivrogne et paresseux ne voulait rien faire pour sa jeune épouse et ses deux enfants, en

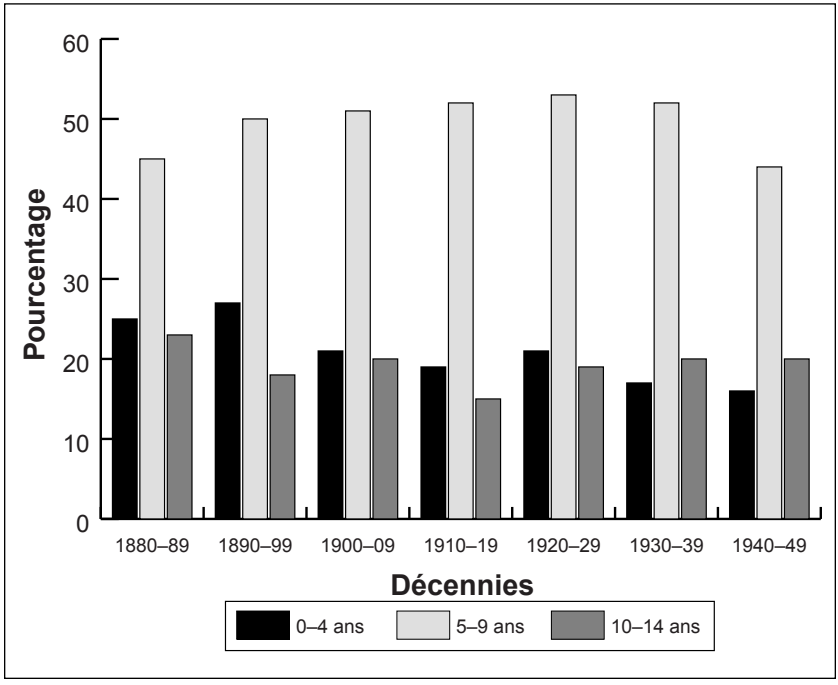
> conséquence la dernière l'abandonnait afin de ne s'occuper que de ses enfants, elle nous amenait sa petite fille, et s'engageait à nous payer quatre piastres par mois, et fournir les habits nécessaires.[36]

D'autres circonstances, telles que l'alcoolisme, l'emprisonnement, l'obligation pour la mère de travailler et les mauvais traitements, entraînent parfois le placement d'un enfant. Le cas suivant en témoigne :

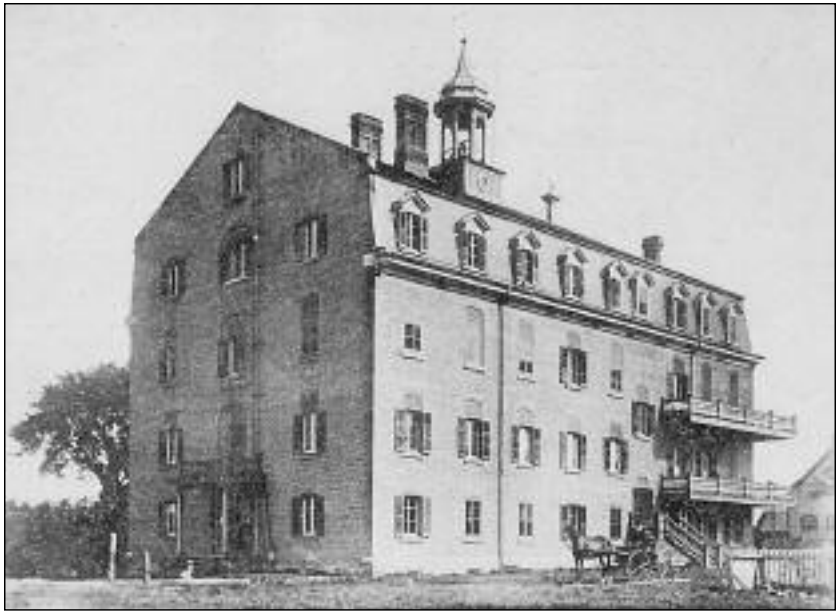
> À la demande du Révérend Monsieur G. Vaillancourt, curé de St-Georges, nous admettions Angélina âgée de 8 ans, et Rosélia âgée de 6 ans, toutes deux enfants de Thomas Lapierre et Rebecca Roy son épouse, qui pour mauvais traitements, et cruautés fait à un autre de leurs enfants, étaient tous deux dans la prison de cette ville en attendant le procès [...][37]

L'existence d'une situation familiale perturbée et le manque de ressources financières sont au cœur des multiples circonstances qui occasionnent le placement d'un enfant.

L'âge des enfants à l'entrée et à la sortie de l'orphelinat est une variable significative pour mieux comprendre le rôle de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur au sein de la population.



Âge des enfants à leur entrée à l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur (1880–1949).



Hospice du Sacré-Cœur vers 1900
(Fonds M.A. Brignone, Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke). Photo : A.Z. Pinsonneault, Sherbrooke

Nous avons réparti nos données selon les décennies et selon les groupes d'âges suivants : 0–4 ans, 5–9 ans, 10–14 ans, 15–19 ans, 20 et plus. Le groupe d'âges qui se démarque le plus au cours des sept décennies est celui des enfants de 5 à 9 ans. Il compte entre 45 % et 53,3 % de tous les enfants admis à l'Hospice. De 1880 à 1929, ce sont les 0–4 ans qui forment le deuxième groupe en importance, représentant entre 19,5 % et 26,3 % des effectifs. Mais à partir de 1930, c'est le groupe des 10–14 ans qui occupe la deuxième place avec un pourcentage de 21,1 et de 20,6. Si nous considérons toute la période étudiée, le nombre d'enfants âgés de 0 à 4 ans et de 10 à 14 ans s'équilibre à quelques chiffres près. Quant aux deux autres groupes d'âges, ils ne rassemblent jamais plus de 1,4 % des enfants. Il faut toutefois mentionner, malgré leur caractère exceptionnel, que des adolescents, voire certains adultes, ont été admis à l'orphelinat (en raison, peut-être, de déficience mentale).

Les bébés ne constituent qu'une minorité de la clientèle de l'œuvre des orphelins, car 68,5 % des enfants de la première catégorie sont âgés de 3 ou 4 ans. L'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur accueille rarement des enfants illégitimes abandonnés à la naissance. Quant à ceux qui se retrouvent dans le groupe des 10–14 ans, ils sont âgés, dans 71,7 % des cas, de 10 ou 11 ans. La baisse qui survient à partir de douze ans est probablement causée par le fait que les jeunes garçons, contrairement aux filles, ne

sont pas admis à l'Hospice à cet âge.[38] Bien que ce règlement ne soit pas appliqué à la lettre, la majorité des garçons doivent effectivement quitter l'Hospice au début de l'adolescence. Les religieuses craignaient-elles que des problèmes surgissent entre les filles et les garçons devenus pubères?

Entre 5 et 12 ans, les enfants ont des besoins aussi grands, du point de vue vestimentaire et alimentaire, qu'un adulte, sans cependant pouvoir contribuer aux revenus familiaux. Ces enfants constituent donc une charge financière assez lourde pour les familles ouvrières qui doivent parfois les placer en institution.[39] À partir de 12 ans, les enfants ne nécessitent plus autant de soins et sont plus autonomes, ils demeurent à la maison pendant les périodes de crise, car ils peuvent aider leur mère dans l'entretien de la maison, garder leurs petits frères et petites sœurs ou effectuer de menus travaux à l'extérieur, afin de gagner quelques sous.

Les séjours à l'orphelinat de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur durent entre 1 journée et 14 ans. En fait, 58 % des enfants sont hébergés à l'Hospice pendant 1 an ou moins. Les enfants qui demeurent à l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur plus de 5 ans sont très rares, ils ne constituent que 6,3 % de la clientèle. Il s'agit probablement d'enfants dont les parents sont décédés et qui ne peuvent être pris en charge par la parenté, ou qui ont été abandonnés complètement. Le cas d'Hélène Marich l'illustre bien. Elle est placée à l'Hospice, de même que ses deux sœurs, en septembre 1928 à l'âge de 8 ans, car sa mère est tuberculeuse. Cette dernière décède quelques mois plus tard, et monsieur Marich décide de laisser ses filles en institution. En 1932, il meurt à son tour de la tuberculose. Hélène restera donc à l'Hospice pendant six ans, ses sœurs Laura et Éva pendant sept et neuf ans, le temps qu'elles vieillissent et qu'elles puissent travailler pour gagner leur vie.[40]

L'importance des séjours de courte durée démontre que les enfants placés à l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur ne sont pas abandonnés par leur famille; le recours à l'orphelinat constitue une stratégie pour assurer la survie de la cellule familiale.

Les activités et l'organisation de la vie à l'orphelinat ajoutent des arguments en faveur de cette interprétation. Ainsi, les enfants peuvent voir leurs parents tous les dimanches après-midi au parloir de l'Hospice, de 13 h 30 à 16 h, sauf le dernier dimanche de chaque mois, car les religieuses sont en retraite. Le samedi, les frères et les sœurs d'une même famille peuvent se rencontrer au parloir.[41] À la Toussaint, à Pâques, à Noël et une fois par mois, les enfants ont un congé, dont la longueur varie selon les années, pour se rendre dans leur famille.[42]

3. De bons citoyens et de bons chrétiens

Les enfants de l'œuvre des orphelins se voient imposer un mode de vie très contrôlé, qui ressemble beaucoup à celui en vigueur dans les pensionnats. Les garçons et les filles vivent séparément dans des groupes de 30 à 60 enfants. Chaque groupe possède ses propres locaux : dortoir, réfectoire, salle de récréation et salle de bains.[43] Le seul endroit que les enfants fréquentent ensemble est la chapelle, où ils n'ont pas la possibilité de converser les uns avec les autres.[44] Dans le dortoir, les lits sont placés bout à bout et en rangées parallèles. Deux religieuses possèdent chacune leur propre chambre aux extrémités du dortoir afin de surveiller de plus près les enfants.[45] À ce sujet, on lit dans les Chroniques de 1892 :

> Afin de mettre en vigueur, d'une manière encore plus parfaite, le point de la règle, au sujet de la surveillance des enfants et des personnes confiés à nos soins, lors de sa visite notre Très Honorée Mère avait décidé que dorénavant deux Sœurs coucheraient dans chaque dortoir des enfants, et que les Hospitalières resteraient à leur salle pour les récréations à tour de rôle afin de mieux exercer la vigilance.[46]

Ce système de surveillance est maintenu jusqu'à la fermeture de l'orphelinat en 1965.[47]

L'emploi du temps des enfants, réglée par les religieuses, est très chargé. Pour éviter d'éventuels problèmes de discipline, elles tiennent les enfants continuellement occupés. Grâce au témoignage d'Hélène Marich, nous avons pu reconstituer l'horaire en vigueur dans les

Horaire de la journée à l'orphelinat de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur vers 1930[48]

Heure	*Activité*
5 h 20	Lever et prière
6 h 10	Messe
6 h 50	Déjeuner et offices
8 h 10	Classes
11 h 30	Dîner et offices
12 h 30	Récréation à l'extérieur
13 h 30	Classe
16 h	Récréation (travaux manuels, chants, jeux)
17 h	Souper et offices
18 h	Récréation
19 h	Étude
20 h	Récréation et prière
21 h	Coucher

années 30.
À l'œuvre des orphelins, comme dans les orphelinats québécois, les religieuses et les religieux dispensent une formation académique à leurs enfants.[49] Dès les années trente, certaines congrégations, dont les Sœurs de la Providence, dirigent leurs orphelinats de la même façon que leurs pensionnats:

> Nos orphelinats ont évolué avec les années et sont tenus aujourd'hui absolument sur le même pied que nos pensionnats: même organisation, même discipline, même programme d'études, même formation religieuse, même mode de récréation, mêmes exercices de culture physique.[50]

Le programme officiel du Département de l'instruction publique y est enseigné, car les orphelinats relèvent de ce service gouvernemental jusqu'en 1957, et l'inspecteur s'y rend, comme dans le cas des écoles élémentaires régulières.[51] Les enfants qui n'ont pas atteint l'âge d'aller à l'école vont au jardin de l'enfance où on les prépare à entrer en première année.[52]

Les enfants placés à l'Hospice ont tous un petit emploi, appelé office, à effectuer. Le travail, une valeur jugée essentielle, doit être, selon les religieuses, inculquée très tôt aux enfants. Ainsi, les garçons et les filles de chaque salle assument l'entretien ménager de leurs locaux. D'après Nadia Fahmy-Eid, la situation est similaire dans les pensionnats de filles. En fait, le ménage est une corvée quotidienne que les couventines doivent accomplir tout comme les enfants de l'orphelinat.[53] Dépendant des hospitalières, les offices sont organisés de différentes façons. Ils se font généralement le matin, après le déjeuner, même si certains d'entre eux nécessitent du travail tout au long de la journée. Habituellement, les enfants d'une salle se voient attribuer une tâche précise, pour une semaine ou un mois. Chaque matin, les enfants font leur lit, et ceux qui sont affectés au dortoir s'assurent que les couvertures soient bien placées et que les lits soient bien alignés.[54] Ils passent aussi le balai et font l'époussetage. Ceux qui entretiennent le réfectoire placent les tables et balaient le plancher, lorsque les autres enfants ont fini de laver leur couvert dans une chaudière d'eau commune. Les enfants nettoient aussi les salles de bains, les toilettes et les escaliers qu'ils utilisent.[55] Dans les années trente, les filles aident à la buanderie pendant l'été et entre les classes. Elles plient le linge et mettent en presse les serviettes, les draps et les vêtements. Elles raccommodent elles-mêmes leur linge et frottent leurs chaussures une fois par semaine. Les sœurs, qui surveillent les enfants continuellement, ont instauré un système de pointage pour les

encourager à bien travailler.[56]

Dans les orphelinats, la discipline est sévère. Selon Sœur Allaire des Sœurs grises de Montréal, l'orphelinat doit former de bons citoyens et de bons chrétiens, encourager la pratique des vertus, corriger les enfants capricieux et casser les mauvais caractères.[57] À l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, les enfants gardent le silence au dortoir, au réfectoire, dans les salles de bains et lorsqu'ils se déplacent. En fait, c'est presque seulement à l'extérieur de l'Hospice que les enfants peuvent s'exprimer librement. Même lors de randonnées de groupe, le silence est exigé. Ainsi, lors d'une visite chez les Sœurs de la Sainte-Famille, le trajet s'effectue en silence et les enfants sont en rang, deux par deux.[58] L'imposition du silence est moins fréquente dans les dernières années d'existence de l'orphelinat. À ce moment-là, les enfants peuvent parler à voix basse dans les escaliers et les salles de bains. Parfois, les hospitalières leur demandent de garder le silence pour accélérer l'exécution de certaines activités.[59] On avait alors réalisé que le silence nuisait au développement de l'enfant, qu'il limitait considérablement sa sociabilité. Des manquements à la règle du silence entraînent certaines punitions, comme porter un tablier sur la tête pendant une heure, aller dans le coin, écrire cent fois un énoncé particulier ou être menacé d'un ciseau sur la langue. À l'occasion, il semble que certaines hospitalières aient battu des enfants avec une règle ou une courroie quelconque et qu'elles les aient enfermés dans une armoire pour toute une nuit.[60] On ne peut toutefois pas connaître l'ampleur et la fréquence de tels châtiments. Il faut quand même rappeler que de nombreux parents battaient autrefois leurs enfants et que cela était accepté par la société.[61] Les religieuses se sont appropriées le droit de correction, reconnu aux pères, pour les enfants dont elles ont la charge, mais les plus rebelles sont envoyés à l'école de réforme ou à la prison, question de leur faire peur et de les ramener à de meilleurs sentiments.[62]

Les enfants de l'orphelinat, tout comme l'ensemble de la population québécoise, mènent une vie empreinte de religion. Chaque journée est ponctuée de moments de piété tels que le lever, les repas et le coucher, qui sont l'occasion de prières. Jusqu'à la fin des années cinquante, les enfants assistent, tous les matins, à la messe célébrée par le chapelain de l'Hospice.[63] Ils respectent ainsi les voeux du Saint Père qui, depuis le décret *Sacra tridentia synodus* du 20 décembre 1905, encourage la communion quotidienne.[64] Dans les dernières années, les enfants ne se rendent obligatoirement aux offices que le dimanche et les jours de fête.[65]

Dans le sous-bois qui entoure l'Hospice sont érigées, en 1898, les

Visite de dignitaires et de raquetteurs pour Noël, 1953
(Fonds Club de raquettes Tuque-Rouge, Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke).
Photo : Studio Breton, Sherbrooke

statues de Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes et de l'Archange Saint-Michel autour desquelles les enfants se recueillent. Les enfants les plus âgés sont parfois contraints d'aller aux funérailles de leurs bienfaiteurs. Occasionnellement, ils sont appelés à faire une retraite de quelques jours pour approfondir leur foi. Par l'enseignement du catéchisme, les religieuses, aidées par les prêtres, préparent soigneusement les enfants aux divers sacrements de l'Église catholique.

L'été, des pèlerinages en différents endroits, au Sanctuaire de Beauvoir, à l'Oratoire St-Joseph ou au Cap-de-la-Madeleine, sont organisés pour les enfants. Les pèlerinages représentent d'ailleurs, de 1910 à 1950, une des dévotions les plus populaires au Québec.[66] Ainsi, en juillet 1945, certaines grandes orphelines se rendent à Beauvoir où elles assistent à deux messes, visitent les lieux, font leurs dévotions, chantent des cantiques et procèdent à la bénédiction du Saint-Sacrement avant de retourner à l'Hospice dans une atmosphère de piété.[67]

Les activités religieuses tenues à Sherbrooke sont suivies de près par les enfants de l'orphelinat. À titre d'exemple, mentionnons qu'ils font partie, en juin 1903, du cortège du Roi des rois de la procession du Très Saint-Sacrement.[68] En 1919, ils participent aux fêtes jubilaires de Mgr Larocque, auxquelles assistent d'éminents personnages tels que Mgr Pietro di Maria, délégué apostolique, et Mgr Bégin, cardinal et archevêque de Québec. Les garçons ont de plus revêtu leur costume de zouaves pour signifier leur fidélité au pape. Finalement, une fillette récite une adresse dans laquelle elle rappelle les grandes étapes de la vie de Mgr Larocque.[69]

Comme dans les pensionnats, les enfants de l'orphelinat adhèrent aux diverses associations pieuses nées au 19e siècle. Nous les retrouvons, entre autres, dans les Croisés, dans la Ligue du Sacré-Cœur, dans la Société des Anges Gardiens et dans les Enfants de Marie. Par l'intermédiaire de ces regroupements, les religieuses encouragent le respect de l'autorité et la bonne conduite, et facilitent ainsi leur propre travail. À la suite du développement de l'action catholique dans les années trente, les enfants rejoignent de multiples mouvements, tels que le scoutisme, le guidisme et la Jeunesse étudiante catholique, qui leur permettront de s'engager socialement.[70]

À partir des années trente, les enfants se rendent, quelques jours par semaine, aux colonies de vacances nouvellement implantées à Sherbrooke.[71] À cette époque, l'Église cherche à encadrer la jeunesse et l'Œuvre des terrains de jeux lui apparaît un moyen très efficace.[72] Cet organisme voit le jour à Sherbrooke en 1930. D'abord installée à Sainte-Catherine de Hatley et à Rock Forest, l'Œuvre des terrains de jeux s'établit à Sherbrooke, sur un terrain qui deviendra plus tard le parc Jacques-Cartier. Ses fondateurs voulaient éloigner les enfants des rues et les prévenir des dangers moraux causés par l'industrialisation. Mise sur pied pendant la crise économique, l'Œuvre des terrains de jeux s'adresse d'abord et avant tout à une clientèle démunie, incapable de s'offrir d'autres formes de divertissement.[73]

En août 1951, les Sœurs de la Charité font l'acquisition d'un camp, le Camp Sainte-Rosalie, situé à Sainte-Catherine de Hatley. Les religieuses effectuent quelques rénovations et aménagent le terrain environnant. Pendant les vacances scolaires, les garçons et les filles viennent généralement un mois chacun pour se baigner, jouer ou se faire dorer au soleil.[74] À partir de 1962, les enfants ne se rendent plus au Camp Sainte-Rosalie, mais bien à la Colonie Saint-André à Sorel, qui appartient aux Sœurs de la Charité de Saint-Hyacinthe.[75]

L'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur reçoit continuellement d'éminents personnages de la scène municipale, nationale et internationale; par exemple, le maire de Sherbrooke, qui visite traditionnellement l'Hospice lorsqu'il entre en fonction,[76] le gouverneur général Wellington (1927) et son épouse, Mgr Stagni, les députés John S. Bourque et Jacob Nicol.[77] À ces occasions, les enfants doivent montrer une bonne tenue et une belle façon. Ils présentent parfois des saynètes, chantent ou font des exercices militaires devant les visiteurs. Micheline Dumont, qui a observé le même phénomène dans les salles d'asile des Sœurs grises de Montréal au 19e siècle, émet l'hypothèse que les sœurs espèrent sensibiliser les visiteurs de telle sorte qu'ils participent au financement de leur institution. Nous pouvons supposer que les

religieuses de l'Hospice ont les mêmes objectifs, même si les visites y sont moins nombreuses qu'aux salles d'asile.[78] Les élèves du Séminaire St-Charles-Borromée et du Collège Mont Notre-Dame assistent parfois aux spectacles des enfants ou en présentent à leur tour.[79]

Conclusion

L'évolution des services sociaux témoigne du développement global de la société québécoise entre 1840 et 1965. L'industrialisation et l'urbanisation du Québec modifient les structures d'assistance traditionnelles et entraînent la mise sur pied d'institutions charitables dans les différentes régions de la province. L'Église catholique, particulièrement les congrégations religieuses féminines, se charge de secourir les plus démunis. L'État laisse alors au secteur privé l'organisation de l'assistance, tout en finançant, parfois de façon aléatoire, les diverses œuvres. La dépression économique qui suit le krach de 1929 remet en question ce système. La multiplication du nombre d'indigents rend insuffisante l'aide institutionnelle. Dès lors, les secours à domicile s'implantent. L'émergence des méthodes du service social dans le milieu francophone et la reconnaissance, par les commissions d'enquête, de la supériorité de l'assistance familiale bouleversent l'ordre établi. Des bureaux de service social voient le jour et les gouvernements provincial et fédéral viennent en aide aux familles démunies grâce à des programmes de sécurité sociale. Malgré cela, les institutions perdurent jusqu'à la Révolution tranquille, alors que les nouvelles politiques gouvernementales en matière de bien-être entraînent leur disparition. Dans le domaine de la protection de l'enfance, les crèches et les orphelinats, qui ont recueilli des milliers d'enfants, doivent aussi fermer. À Sherbrooke, l'œuvre des orphelins de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, fondé au 19e siècle, est devenue, en 1965, une institution surannée dont les méthodes d'intervention sociale sont décriées. Néanmoins, l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur a répondu pendant des années aux besoins d'une multitude de familles en difficultés.

Nous croyons que le placement d'un enfant à l'œuvre des orphelins ne résulte pas de la mort des parents ou de l'abandon de l'enfant par ceux-ci. Il apparaît plutôt comme une stratégie familiale temporaire à laquelle les parents font appel lorsque diverses crises surviennent au sein de la famille. Ainsi, lorsque que le chômage ou la maladie sévit, les parents placent leurs enfants à l'orphelinat, car ils ne peuvent plus remplir leurs responsabilités et vaquer à leurs occupations normales. Toutefois, lorsque la situation se rétablit, les parents retirent leurs enfants de l'orphelinat.[80] Le nombre peu élevé d'enfants orphelins de père et de mère, la durée de leur séjour à l'orphelinat et les relations que

les enfants entretiennent avec leurs parents pendant leur séjour en institution soutiennent cette interprétation. L'œuvre des orphelins de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur servait aussi à inculquer aux enfants de la classe ouvrière une idéologie et des attitudes sociales bien définies, assurant le maintien de l'ordre établi. L'organisation de la vie à l'orphelinat, les règles disciplinaires et les activités offertes aux enfants témoignent de cette réalité.

Nous avons vu, que dans 63 % des cas, les deux parents des enfants sont vivants et que moins de 2 % des enfants sont complètement orphelins. Les termes "orphelins" et "orphelinat" ainsi que l'expression "œuvre des orphelins" sont donc impropres pour désigner avec précision les œuvres des institutions telles que l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur. Ces erreurs de terminologie ont d'ailleurs entretenu une mauvaise compréhension du rôle de ces œuvres dans la société québécoise. L'orphelinat est plutôt une institution qui permet aux parents victimes de problèmes divers, souvent engendrés par la pauvreté, de se libérer temporairement de la charge de leurs enfants. Le placement d'un ou de plusieurs enfants constitue, sans contredit, une stratégie, parmi d'autres, qui assure la survie du groupe familial. L'orphelinat se distingue donc carrément de la crèche qui reçoit des enfants abandonnés dès la naissance et destinés à l'adoption et dont plusieurs aujourd'hui s'identifient comme les « Orphelins de Duplessis ». Dans la majorité des cas, il s'agit d'enfants qui ont été abandonnés dès leur naissance et qui n'ont pas été adoptés. Ils ont par conséquent passé leur enfance et leur adolescence en institution. Les conséquences de cette long internement sur leur éducation et leur développement affectif ont été vraisemblablement plus dramatiques que les conséquences d'un court séjour à l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur. Il nous apparaît incorrect de comparer le sort des enfants accueillis à l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur à celui des « Orphelins de Duplessis ». Il serait plus juste d'établir un rapprochement entre les enfants de l'orphelinat et ceux des pensionnats. Micheline Dumont écrit à ce sujet :

> En un siècle, les religieuses qui s'en occupent ont développé des méthodes pédagogiques éprouvées, qui ne diffèrent guère de celles qui sont utilisées dans les pensionnats. Vie réglée comme du papier à musique, du lever au coucher. Déambulations en rangs, horaire scandé par la liturgie et les prières, longues périodes de silence, amusements sur commande, en groupes, l'ensemble baignant dans une réticence certaine face à l'initiative personnelle. Quiconque a tâté du pensionnat sait de quoi il est question. Et au Québec, cette expérience n'est pas exceptionnelle. La très grande majorité des adolescentes et adolescents aux études sont

> pensionnaires au collège, au pensionnat, à l'école normale, au jardin de l'enfance.[81]

Le placement d'un enfant au pensionnat répond-il seulement à des besoins educatifs ? Ne constitue-t-il pas aussi une stratégie familiale pour libérer les mères d'un trop lourd fardeau ? Dès lors, la seule différence qui existerait entre le pensionnat et l'orphelinat serait d'ordre monétaire. À l'orphelinat, la pension des enfants est assumée par la charité publique, les institutions et les gouvernements provincial et municipal, alors qu'au pensionnat, les frais de pension et de scolarité sont payés par les parents.

Une analyse de la vie familiale à Sherbrooke permettrait de mieux saisir la dynamique qui existe entre les individus et leur milieu. L'institution familiale est vraisemblablement influencée par les rapports de classes et de sexes, par les valeurs culturelles et par l'évolution des modes de production. Nous croyons que la survie des familles a été assurée, au fil des ans, par des moyens multiples, variant en fonction du groupe social d'appartenance, de l'origine ethnique et du cycle de la vie familiale. La structure, la taille et les fonctions économiques des familles sherbrookoises restent donc à découvrir. Partir à la recherche de l'histoire de la famille québécoise, c'est contribuer largement à une meilleure connaissance de l'évolution historique du Québec, puisque la cellule familiale constitue le cœur de notre organisation sociale.

Abstract

In this article, the author shows that the placement of a child in the orphanage of the Hospice du Sacré-Cœur was not due to the death of the parents nor to child abandonment. Instead, it was a temporary solution to various kinds of crisis in the family. The study depicts major events in the history of the Hospice du Sacré-Cœur in Sherbrooke from 1875 to 1969, and it examines the characteristics of the children placed in its care. Finally, the article examines the social role of this charitable institution.

NOTES

1 Cet article a été écrit à partir de notre mémoire de maîtrise soutenu en 1987 au Département d'histoire de l'Université de Sherbrooke, sous la direction de Micheline Dumont.

2 J.-P. Kesteman, « La condition urbaine vue sous l'angle de la conjoncture économique : Sherbrooke, 1875–1914 », *Revue d'histoire urbaine*, vol. XII, no 1, juin 1983, p. 13, 15 et 17.

3 Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, Archives des Sœurs de la Charité de Saint-Hyacinthe (ASCSH), vol. 1, 1875–1891, avril 1875. Le terme "orphelins" désigne l'ensemble des enfants envoyés à l'orphelinat de l'Hospice, qu'ils soient légitimes ou illégitimes, partiellement ou complètement orphelins, que leurs parents soient vivants et que leur placement soit temporaire ou permanent.

4 L. Brunelle-Lavoie et J. Dufort-Caron, *L'Hôpital St-Vincent-de-Paul de Sherbrooke 1909–1984. Une médecine scientifique. Des services de santé humanisés*, Sherbrooke, [s.é.], 1984, 134 p.

5 Par exemple N. Perron, *Un siècle de vie hospitalière au Québec. Les Augustines et l'Hôtel-Dieu de Chicoutimi 1884–1984*, Québec/Chicoutimi, Presses de l'Université du Québec et les Augustines de la Miséricorde de Jésus, 1984, 439 p.; Marie Mercier, *La crèche de Magog et son évolution 1907–1982*, brochure publiée par l'Hôpital La Providence de Magog lors de son 75e anniversaire, texte polycopié, 45 p.

6 M. O'Gallagher, "Care of the Orphan and the Aged by the Irish Community of Quebec City, 1847 and Years Following", *Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, vol. 43, 1976, p. 39–56.

7 M.-C. Daveluy, *L'orphelinat catholique de Montréal (1832–1932)*, 2e édition, Montréal, Lévesque, 1933, 344 p.

8 L. Gagnon-Arguin, "L'orphelinat Saint-Antoine et ses bienfaiteurs", *Saguenayensia*, vol. 26, no 3, juillet–septembre 1984, p. 90–95.

9 H. Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée. Le premier réseau de lutte contre la pauvreté à Montréal au 19e siècle*, Montréal, Boréal, 1987, 330 p.

10 Publiée sous le titre *Familles ouvrières à Montréal. Âge, genre et survie quotidienne pendant la phase d'industrialisation*, Montréal, Boréal, 1995.

11 M. Dumont, *Les religieuses sont-elles féministes?* Editions Bellarmin, 1995, 204 p.

12 Marie-Paule Malouin, dir., *L'univers des enfants en difficulté au Québec entre 1940 et 1960*, Editions Bellarmin, 1996, 458 p.

13 Cette partie est basée presque essentiellement sur les Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, qui se trouvent aux ASCSH. Lorsque nous utiliserons d'autres sources, nous en noterons la référence.

14 Aujourd'hui, ce serait au coin des rues Fédéral et Galt ouest.

15 Archives de l'Archevêché de Sherbrooke (AAS), Contrat entre la *Eastern Townships Land and Improvement Company*, représentée par le Colonel Charles King et J. Azarie Archambault, et la Communauté des filles de la charité de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Saint-Hyacinthe, représentée par Sœur Madeline Marchesseault, 19 janvier 1886, notaire J.F.L. Archambault, Fonds Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, dossier Finances (contrats).

16 AAS, Lettre de Mgr Paul Larocque à mère Sainte-Marthe, 24 fév. 1896, Fonds Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, dossier Historique (1874–1900).

17 AAS, Lettre de Mgr Larocque à sœur Carpentier, 24 mars 1902, l*oc. ci*t.

18 AAS, Lettre de sœur Carpentier à Mgr Larocque, 24 juillet 1902, l*oc. cit.*

19 AAS, Lettre de sœur Carpentier à Mgr Larocque, 10 juin 1904, *ibid.*, (1904).

20 Pour connaître les détails de ce différend entre les sœurs et Mgr, voir L. Brunelle-Lavoie et J. Dufort-Caron, *Loc. cit.*

21 *Cinquantenaire de l'arrivée des Sœurs de la Charité (Sœurs Grises) de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Saint-Hyacinthe à Sherbrooke, 1875–1925*, Sherbrooke, La Tribune, 1926, p. 132.

22 Loi établissant le service de l'assistance publique de Québec, *Statuts de Québec*, II Geo. V, 1921, p. 280–281.

23 AAS, État des affaires de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur de Sherbrooke au 31 juillet 1924, Fonds Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, dossier Finances (rapports financiers).

24 AAS, États financiers de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, 1900–1950, *loc. cit.*

25 AAS, Lettre de Mgr Desranleau à sœur Thérèse de l'Enfant-Jésus, 30 octobre 1948, Fonds Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, dossier Historique (1938–1947).

26 AAS, Lettre de sœur Sainte-Adéline à Mgr Desranleau, 20 janvier 1949, Fonds Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, dossier Correspondance (1948–1952).

27 AAS, Lettre de Mgr Desranleau à sœur Lanctôt, 4 mai 1951, Fonds Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, dossier Hôpital d'Youville.

28 AAS, Lettre de J.A. Paquette du ministère de la Santé à sœur Lanctôt, 20 mars 1952, l*oc. cit.*

29 Contrat entre l'Hôpital d'Youville de Sherbrooke représenté par sœur Lucille Blanchette et sœur Lucia Fournier et la Corporation de l'Hôpital d'Youville de Sherbrooke représentée par Maurice Delorme et J.M. Janson, notaire Jean Sylvestre, 20 juin 1969, contrat no 161643, bureau d'enregistrement, Sherbrooke.

30 Archives de l'Hôpital d'Youville (AHY), registre des orphelins, 1878–1952. Puisque la majorité de nos données proviennent du registre des orphelins conservé à l'Hôpital d'Youville, nous indiquerons seulement les autres sources où nous puisons des informations complémentaires.

31 P.-A. Linteau *et. al.*, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. Le Québec depuis 1930*, Montréal, Boréal, 1986, p. 80.

32 H.W. Hopkirk, *Institutions Serving Children*, New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1944, p. IX.

33 ASCSH, Chronique de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, vol. 4, 1908–1926, mars 1916.

34 B. Bradbury, "Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860–1885", dans J. Parr ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*., Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1982, p. 109–128.

35 Cette reconstitution de l'histoire de la famille Clapin a été réalisée à l'aide du registre des orphelins, AHY et des Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, ASCSH.

36 ASCSH, Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, vol. 3, 1893–1907, sept. 1893.

37 *Ibid.*, mars 1897.

38 *La Tribune*, 9 janvier 1937, p. 5.

39 B. Bradbury, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

40 Entrevue avec Hélène Marich, juillet 1986.

41 *Loc. cit.*

42 Entrevue avec sœur Marie-Ange Laliberté, sept. 1986.

43 ASCSH, Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, 7 vol. 1875–1965.

44 Entrevue avec Sylva Rémillard, sept. 1985.

45 Entrevue avec sœur Monique Bruneau, sept. 1986.

46 ASCSH,Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, vol. 2, 1891–1892, mars 1892.

47 Entrevue avec sœur Monique Bruneau, sept. 1986.

48 Entrevue avec Hélène Marich, juillet 1986.

49 C.É. Bourgeois, *Une richesse à sauver : l'enfant sans soutien*, Trois-

Rivières, Éditions du Bien public, 1947, p. 112.

50 Sœur Bernardine, « Le séjour à l'orphelinat » dans « Nos orphelinats », *École sociale populaire*, no 193, 1930, p. 15.

51 A. Saint-Pierre, *L'œuvre des congrégations religieuses de charité dans la province de Québec (en 1930)*, Montréal, la Bibliothèque canadienne, 1930, p. 65.

52 Entrevue avec sœur Isabelle Carpentier, sept. 1986.

53 M. Dumont et N. Fahmy-Eid, *Les couventines. L'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes 1840–1960*, Montréal, Boréal, 1986, p. 52–53.

54 Entrevues avec sœur Marie-Ange Laliberté et sœur Monique Bruneau, sept. 1986.

55 *Loc. cit.*

56 Entrevue avec Hélène Marich, juillet 1986.

57 Sœur Allaire, « L'entrée à l'orphelinat », dans « Nos orphelinats », *op. cit.*, p. 3.

58 Entrevue avec Hélène Marich, juillet 1986.

59 Entrevue avec sœur Monique Bruneau, sept. 1986.

60 Entrevues avec Hélène Marich, juillet 1986 et Sylva Rémillard, sept. 1985.

61 G. Trudel, *Traité de croit civil su Québec* , Montréal, Wilson et Lafleur Ltée, 1942, t. 2, p. 184.

62 ASCSH, Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, vol. 4, 1908–1926, février 1911.

63 Entrevue avec sœur Marie-Ange Laliberté, sept. 1986.

64 J. Hamelin et N. Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, vol. 3, *Le XX^e^ siècle*, t. 1, *de 1898 à 1940*, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1984, p. 335–336.

65 Entrevue avec sœur Monique Bruneau, sept. 1986.

66 J. Hamelin et N. Gagnon, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

67 ASCSH, Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, vol. 6, 1938–1952, juillet 1945.

68 ASCSH, Chroniques de l'Hospice du Sacré-Cœur, vol. 3, 1893–1907, juin 1903.

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81 M. Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

COME JOIN YOUR FRIENDS!: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS IDENTITIES

Melissa Clark-Jones
Bishop's University

At a recent Townshippers' Day festival, the lawn of the Rock Island, Quebec, Cass Funeral Home, sported two placards side-by-side, facing passers-by *(see photograph)*. "Come join your friends" the English sign invited, with "Townshippers" and a tartan banner at the bottom. "Venez vous joindre à nous" enjoined its French twin, similarly designed and placed. Behind these two signs and framed by them were three flags, left to right: the blue-and-white Quebec fleur-de-lis; the Canadian red-and-white maple leaf; and the American red-white-and-blue stars and stripes. Through these signs and flags, colors and allegiances were presented as plural, ordered and cumulative. Their inclusiveness and ordering are both complexly

symbolic and distinctively local. Though "provincial" rather than "national," the Quebec flag's balance with the American and Canadian flags marks not only this particular border (Rock Island is at the Canadian–US border) but a sensitivity and tolerance for major, plural township allegiances.

Through deconstruction and social contextualization of these and other "signs" or evidence of lived heritage and identity, we can demonstrate a characteristic, if at times uneasy, accommodation among linguistically and culturally plural and distinctive communities in the townships. In their inadvertently ironic, contextual juxtaposition, the two Townshippers' Day signs underline this accommodation while conveying a black-humour message. They reflect ethnic and linguistic tensions that characterize community and survival here, especially for the English-speaking ethnic minority. By examining demographic and ideological evidence about this community's minority status, along with this and other semiotic examples or signs, we can understand the complexity and character of that identity and heritage.

Signs that jump out at one, as these did, provoke a rereading of cultural identities, because they make the ordinary strange. They provide an occasion to resituate and disentangle community membership from its everyday context of "taken-for-grantedness." They remind us of the tensions of the English-speaking and French-speaking communities but also about the plural nature of the English-speaking community itself, its distinctive ethnic mixture, and the embeddedness of the whole in a global capitalist context where, though flags may be flown, national borders are increasingly permeable. They recall uncomfortable, if familiar and often repressed, feelings of threat about survival. In their succinct articulation of this struggle, these signs present us with a paradoxical version of the English-speaking townshipper: one who is enjoined into a dominant Francophone (id)entity; and one who may join forebears and friends in celebrating both distinctiveness and impending collective death.

When contextualized through historical and sociological evidence, these signs can help us understand the particularity of community identity and perseverance. For it is social practices and perceptions that affirm, deny and in the end give sense and import to demographic "facts." Ideologies interpret, promote, or contest demographic indicators such as emigration and fertility shifts, emotively and politically charging them. From this perspective, concepts like accommodation, assimilation, invasion and exodus are ideological interpretations of quantifiable and historically important demo-

graphic trends. Even social scientists often need to be reminded that such "facts" are both generated and accorded meaning(s) within shifting and competing contexts of power and ideological explanations. In the current contexts, the choices such as the use of "Estrie" or "Eastern Townships/ Cantons-de-l'Est", attending to MRCs rather than townships, and fostering amalgamation of towns and villages whose Anglophone distinctiveness and frugality may be thereby threatened, are all loaded. (Further in this article, observations will be made relating to the possibly politically charged decision not to record mother tongue in census data after the1991 census).

Street signs and stop signs show the interplay of bureaucratic and linguistic forces in recent shifts that have attempted to accommodate or reinterpret or reimplement Quebec's language and public signage laws, by replacing "arrêt/stop" and "arrêt" with "stop," since this last has now been deemed to be a French word. The stop signs shown in the photographs accompanying this article were all found within a five-block area in Lennoxville, Quebec, a town of English-speaking heritage and demographics and the home of Bishop's University, the one of Quebec's three English-language universities that is "off-island." The photograph showing "arrêt" scratched out suggests that "resistance" by Anglophones takes the form of graffiti.

Ideology can promote passivity or resistance in the face of such demographic trends as the demise or "minoritization" of the English-speaking community of the Townships. It is important to keep this dialectic in mind, since it is key to the understanding of the English-speaking community's survival and accommodation despite (or perhaps by means of) its characteristic, individualism and mobility. The two demographic tables supplied with this essay (the first showing data from 1861 to 1931 and the second showing data from 1921 to 1991), indicate the progress of minoritization and decline of the English-speaking community of the Eastern Townships, or a portion of the Town-

ships that were previously strongholds of this community.

Although there is a natural human interest in chicken-egg questions and problems of causation, too much attention has been devoted to whether the English-speaking or French-speaking sectors of the community are to blame for the numerical and, over time, political decline of the former. Ideology provides a popular ready-made "us-them" framework of understanding. Groups use ideology to maintain or achieve power especially when group survival is threatened. Did the long-term exodus of English-speakers invite French-speakers to take their place? Did the invasion by a well-organized and prolific French-speaking community drive the English-speakers out? Historians Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Peter Southam, and Diane Saint-Pierre, (1998) and sociologists Hubert Guindon (1978), Gary Caldwell and Eric Wadell (1991), Aileen Ross (1943, 1961), and Jean Hunter (1949), among others, have described and interpreted the shared responsibility for the decline of the English-speaking community and the ascendance of the French-speaking. Though settlement of the region, which began in 1792, was accomplished by British and American settlers, English-speakers eventually became a numerical minority and, much later, a political one.

A law passed in 1774 authorized French Roman Catholic priests to tithe only in churches and parishes under seigneurial tenure. By 1849 that law was changed, allowing for a Francophone, church-led "invasion" of the territories that comprised the Eastern Townships and that had been settled by English-speakers (Ross, 1961:100). By the 1970s, provincial language laws, concerning the language of work, schooling and signs were fostering Francophone political and economic ascendance at the same time as they were countervailing federal policies of bilingualism, and establishing French as the only official language of work and public discourse (Guindon, 1978). But, as both Hubert Guindon(1978) and William Coleman (1980) point out, language laws were themselves the result of class interests and class coalitions within the French-speaking society and were not necessarily in the interest of, nor equally beneficial to all French-speaking Quebeckers. This legislation fostered a new "middle-class" or, depending on the account, of "French bourgeoisie." These are the salient contours of the process by which the English-speaking community moved from being a "majority" (figuratively, though never numerically) to being a "minority" both numerically and politically by the late 1970s, regardless of the process (Caldwell and Wadell, 1981). Economically, French-speakers have caught up with the English, and the groups most disadvantaged today (finan-

cially, politically) are the so-called "allophones" who are predominately first generation immigrants with neither English nor French as a mother tongue. One is tempted to ask, then, about the present state of affairs, "Now what?" or "So what?" The passerby or bystander, viewing the "signs" on the lawn of the funeral home, with or without benefit of "facts," might well experience a shiver, or a frisson, evoking shadows cast on graves or premonitions of demise. Let us, instead, use these signs and several forms of data to understand how English-speaking Townshippers live with and manage such perceptions of threat to their survival.

I suspect, in part as the result of teaching a course on "Quebec Society" in the Sociology Department at Bishop's University, that it is true, as commonly claimed here, that English-speaking Townshippers in many ways are more accommodating of and sympathetic to their French-speaking neighbors that are other English-speaking Canadians. Perhaps this sympathy derives from the experience of concern about survival or their own lived experience of feeling swamped by another language and culture as well. As Kesteman, Southam and Saint-Pierre (1998) suggest, tolerance and resistance to imposed authority were typical Yankee traits and may have been transmitted to their descendants by the region's American settlers. Other signs of willingness to accommodate include widespread intermarriage among ethnic groups within the English-speaking community as well as inter-marriage between English-speakers and French-speakers. Bilingualism emerged relatively naturally from urbanization and commerce, but I believe that distinctive ideologies have also fostered accommodation and continued minority-group survival for English-speaking Townshippers. This community has adopted two seemingly contradictory ideologies about its survival and identity. The generation following the seventies adopted the view that it must integrate in the group's workplace, as well as by means of schooling, to survive and be upwardly mobile, whether achieving success in this region as individuals in a shared community, or leaving to do so as individuals elsewhere. But an earlier more emotive ideology that was not rejected, involved a perception of being invaded and overwhelmed by French-speakers, whether metaphorically or through a combination of migration and the weapon of fertility. A belief has subsisted that both of these social trends could lead inevitably (even if not intentionally) to the eradication of the English-speaking community. Both explain survival in terms of group threat and individual mobility or incremental exodus.

The French-speaking community, on the other hand, operated effectively to bring not just ideological but legal mechanisms of power to bear in its collective interests, first as Catholics, later as French-speakers whose cultural and economic turf was protected by language laws passed in the 1970s.

Both ideological constructs are responses to perceived collective, not just individual constructs of power. Whether or not blame is assigned to an "invader," as Aileen Ross' interviews in Sawyerville in the 1940s indicate (1943, 1961), the English-speaking community continues today to watch, regret, and cope with (individually or collectively) an on-going hæmorrhage of its youth and lifeblood. A high rate of teen suicide may be linked to this phenomenon, as well as to more generally experienced economic uncertainties. The emotional response to these demographic facts is certainly exacerbated, I found, by the vulnerability of workers in a time of free-trade-stoked globalization and downsizing, and in a region where the peculiar dependency experienced of single-industry towns is very common (Clark-Jones, 1998).

Recognition and celebration of a common cultural linguistic heritage and identity in the English-speaking community are thus conspicuously linked to widespread and multiply-caused feelings of vulnerability and threat. A distinctive heritage is socially visible in the community's associations; in antiques, artwork, and New England style architecture; in the existence of archives, museums, a university; and distinctive traits such as individualism and voluntarism; in genealogical and other activities of remembrance and community articulation; in the beauty and pull of a landscape that resonates for tourists and Townshippers alike; and in annual festivals like Townshippers' Day and Bury's celebration of Canada Day. In the latter celebration, the village of Bury (pronounced like "bury" as in cemeteries) celebrates July 1st with horse pulls and other nostalgic activities providing a lively mix of regional, ethnic and national identities. This celebration attracts very large numbers of Canadians, including both current and former Townshippers, the latter returning from the diaspora that demographic data give evidence of. Festivals such as Townshippers' Day and Canada Day mark the solidarity of the English-speaking community to the extent that the French-speakers are less prominent attenders

For centuries, then, English-speaking Townshippers have dealt with the demographic "facts" of their widely "exaggerated" demise as recounted by Kesteman, Southam and Saint-Pierre in *Histoire des Cantons-de-l'Est*. That this book has been published so far only in

French, and that the lecture given at Bishop's University in 1998 by two of the authors (in French and English) (Kesteman and Southam) was so well attended and received, speaks volumes about a thirst by both English-speaking and French-speaking Townshippers for such remembering of a shared history. Right from the time of the Yankee settlements, English-speaking Townshippers have had a tendency both to settle and to move west, in both Canada and the United States. This mobility preceded efforts, concerted or otherwise, by French-speakers to settle these lands. I will argue, though, that "facts" such as this have always been made sense of (that includes being denied or forgotten) with ideologies involving "us-them" constructs. As Kesteman has shown, French-speaking intellectuals and clergy boasted, during the period of the "revenge of the cradle" that English-speakers would achieve their own extinction as a community through a low fertility rate. Now that both French- and English-speaking Quebeckers have remarkably low fertility rates, other "facts" or "threats" have gained political currency in each group's struggle with questions of survival. For some Francophones, the mere sight or sound of the English language is cause for alarm. But as it is shown by Kesteman, Southam, and Saint-Pierre (1998) and Ross (1943, 1961) voluntary and continuous English-speakers' mobility upward and out of the Townships predated both groups' fertility dives as well. English-speakers make use of several ideological lenses with which they deny or forget the role of the English-speaking community's own role in generating exodus and community's decline. Present-day Americans, Canadians, Quebeckers, and Townshippers have simililary forgiven and celebrated themselves by "forgetting" that they stole native land that they chose to see as "empty." Assigning blame to others is both common and convenient, when "the end of language is truth, but power"(Kojeve, 1969).

The demographic decline of the English-speaking community of the Eastern Townships predates Confederation, as Hunter (1949) and Ross (1943, 1961) show in documenting the ascendance of the French from 1861–1931. Indeed, French-speaking citizens had achieved majority status in Compton, Richmond, Sherbrooke and Stanstead counties by the turn of the century.

Table 1: French-Canadian Population in the Eastern Townships, 1861–1931

(French Canadians as a percentage of total numbers)

Counties	1861	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931
Compton	1424		3848		5664		67
Richmond	1533		4361		7076		79
Sherbrooke	2442		4858		6068		7
Stanstead	824		3146		5161		66

Note: Jean Hunter comments, "The year 1891 is omitted, as figures on racial origin [sic] were not included in the census of that year."

Source: Jean Hunter, "The French-Canadian Invasion of the Eastern Townships," (1949: Appendix B, XXXVI, Table 13), as cited in Ross (1961), "The Cultural Effects of Population Changes in the Eastern Townships," in Bernard R. Blishen, Frank E. Jones, Kaspar D. Naegle, and John Porter (eds.), *Canadian Society*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1961, p.101. The Ross article is reprinted, itself, from: *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 9 (November) 1943, pp 447–462.

Yet, despite the early origin and incremental nature of the shift, English-speakers in the Townships in the early 1940s saw themselves as fleeing a battlefield in which the French "invaders" sought to "swamp" them. Ross (1943, 1961), who herself uses the terms "invaded" and "invader" without quotation marks, documents through interviews the "effect of invasion on the morale of a community." She quotes the English-speaking inhabitants of Sawyerville, as recorded during interviews conducted in the early forties, to demonstrate the role of ideology in their explanations and practices for survival as a group. Their comments have an eerily familiar sound to a reader in the year 2000: "They're swamping us!" "I don't see anything that will stop the French coming in." "All the villages back of here [Sawyerville] are French now…" "The French are gaining ground." "It's just like the tide coming in; one after the other has fallen to the French" (Ross, 1961:105).

One interviewee recognized the psychological and dialectical dynamics of the "takeover" process: "You know there's something psychological about their attitude to the coming of the French. It isn't purely a question of economics. It's a question of attitude. The English are discouraged. They're giving up. They all feel that they're going to have to sell out eventually, and so they think that they might as well sell now, when they can get a good price.... They're just handing the country over to them"(Ross, 1961: 105).

As Kesteman and Southam show, the *numbers* of mother-tongue anglophones stayed relatively stable in the Townships, between 1921 and 1991, in the neighbourhood of 42,000 to 50,000 people.

However their *percentages* relative to the French-speaking population have declined from 23.7% in 1921 to just 9% in 1991. More recent census figures, (in which mother-tongue data are no longer provided) suggest that the percentage for the year 2000 is not greater than for 1991. *(See Table 2.)* The majority (72%) of English-speaking Townshippers lived in the countryside in 1921, but by 1961 over half were urban. Of the 42,400 English-speaking Townshippers in 1991, about 90% are urban, living in these MRCs: Brome-Missisquoi (11,520 anglophones), Haute-Yamaska (3,913), Sherbrooke (8,628), Mephrémagog (8,005), Haute-Saint-François (2,763), and Val-Saint-François (2,750). The last four are located in the heart of the administrative region called "Estrie," which covers the historical Eastern Townships. While in many areas of the Townships, the anglophone presence has declined, it seems to remain strong in the vicinity of villages and townships of: Magog, North Hatley, Hatley, Ayer's Cliff, and in the "Three Villages" of Beebe, Stanstead and Rock Island (Kesteman, Southam and Saint-Pierre 1998: 505).

Nowadays, although land ownership is far less likely than it once was to be the basis of one's livelihood, both francophone and anglophone paper-industry workers in East-Angus expressed the regretful wish that their sons and daughters move away to find work (Clark-Jones, 1998). It is no longer "the French" as much as "the Company" (whatever its tenuous national affiliation may be) that is viewed as being to blame for these individual and collective decisions. Single-industry dependency held both French-speakers and English-speakers to the Townships, while the rape of resources was

Table 2 : Population de langue maternelle anglaise des Cantons de l'Est[1], 1921–1991

Année	Nombre	Pourcentage[2]
1921	54 240[3]	23,7
1931	50 869[3]	21,1
1941	50 570	18,7
1951	50 990	15,9
1961	51 572	13,6
1971	49 555	12,4
1981	46 510	10,9
1991	42 399	9,0

1. 100 % de la région d'étude.
2. Pourcentage par rapport à la population totale.
3. Ces données sont par origine ethnique.

Source : Recensements du Canada, 1921–1991.

profitable. The same dependency is part of what pushes them out, however, whether they recognize it or not, as downsizing, depletion and globalisation take their toll (Clark-Jones, 1998). Underlying all these phenomena is a trans-historic sacrifice of community to the goals of individual survival and success, something that is part of the cultural baggage of all migrants. The liberal, capitalist ideology of upward mobility promises economic opportunities at the expense of rootedness. The facts, of shared dependency on capital and shared ideologies legitimating the capitalist route to survival, blur identities and distinctions based on nation, class, ethnicity or linguistic solidarity: money talks and employees walk. From this perspective, ethnicity and language concerns are red herrings, diverters of attention from the main agenda, which many suspect will follow similar contours, among francophones as among anglophones, in Quebec as in Canada, and Canada as in the US. Yankee ingenuity has proliferated, but class transformations have rendered it less an agent of autonomy in making a living. Yet, as always, in the Townships, the degree of individualism this tradition does confer is accompanied by a willingness to forsake collective identity in favour of individual success, to "Make do," "Cover all bets", "Fly all flags." Certainly, corporate ventriloquism can as easily make use of French-nationalist-speak as it can make Newbeetle noises; it can use Private-Label-English, or mouth Martha Stewart's claim to have come "For a breath of Quebec air!" *(see photos)*.

Still, our seemingly friendly English greeting, "Come join your friends," becomes, in this socio-historic context, an inadvertent, uncomfortable reminder of the fragility of our social existence. Like a wake—that tragicomic, pre-funeral Irish fête—our membership in the community seems always to combine with the celebrations of our dead friends and forbears, commemorations of a lost sense of

community in a more generic sense. It captures, too, a nice distinction concerning "English" existence in the Townships: it is both culturally plural (English, Irish, Scottish, American) and distinctive. It is, I have argued here, continuously redefined in a context of making a living and chasing opportunities to make a living, across boundaries if necessary. Such identity formation involves a rather inclusive construction of a "we" in the context of "they," as Townshippers' Day and the Bury celebrations of Canada Day attest.

In the sign constellation, described at the outset of this article, the second message, presented as a "translation" of the English in French, may, equally inadvertently, bear an entirely different subtext. It may suggest (especially to the English-speaking reader) inevitable assimilation. Here, the subject of the phrase might be interpreted to be a French speaker or voice of authority, who commands the reader to become part of the dominant (id)entity. The "nous" to whom the "vous" should be joined may not be generically neutral. For how can this "nous" and "vous" be generic or neutral in such a charged context, anymore than "man" or "mankind" can remain truly gender-neutral today?

The Townshippers' Association makes every effort, as is evident in these signs, to celebrate and welcome in both French and English. It puts the accent on "Townshippers,"on regional, rather than linguistic or ethnic affiliation. But, its socio-political roots, like the tartan, are British. Its audience remains substantially English-speaking, however bilingual, and includes those who may travel some distance to return to the Townships for Townshippers' Day. These implications are inherently acknowledged and affirmed by the very use of bilingual signs on this "Day." Few who see them can fail to be aware of the charged history of the issue of bilingual or French-only signage in Quebec. The Townshippers' Day signs resonate with

plural connotations, than semantically and politically. Their presence here resonates with plural connotations, then, semantically and politically.

Meanwhile, unilingual Anglophones, who are largely aged over 65, for members of the English-speaking community who grew up in the period since the implementation of language legislation are mostly bilingual, are almost never considered to be audiences for any official signs or cultural products. This includes signs in hospitals, where matters of life, death and vulnerability are salient. A bureaucratic obstacle course must be navigated to produce and display any sign of the legitimacy of bilingualism or of Englishness in the public realm. It is within the broader, and unavoidably conspicuous, context of the French language and culture that our Townshippers' Day signs make their most poignant protest and "sense" to an Anglophone. In that context, the Anglophone reader/audience, usually conspicuously denied legitimacy, is exceptionally "addressed" somewhat in the context of an endangered species. Ironically, at this moment of being addressed in English, it proves to be, in terms of either assimilation or decimation.

A French-speaking Townshipper, reading these signs might well miss the inadvertent "black humour"; even those able to read the English, could miss it in virtue of their security as members of a cultural and numerical minority.

Sociological readings of such "signs," both the particular ones examined here and the more general social signs of struggle and accommodation in the shift by English-speaking Townshippers "from majority to minority" cannot truly be done from value-free perspectives. For the articulation of a limited, albeit plural, set of relevancies is possible only in the presence of a degree of cultural competence rarely achieved in the bilingual/bicultural experience. The presence of tension and a degree of minority-status paranoia is a component of the "black humour" idiom. Better to articulate those minority-group fears than deny or silence them, in favour of equally mythologized multicultural political correctness.

In conclusion, I offer a related methodological comment. Often such deconstructions of signs or texts remain "text bound." Thus, no matter how many examples they are based upon, they can seem either overly abstract and divorced for everyday life, or far-fetched to both lay and professional audiences, who may claim one is "reading things into them." This is what ordinary people must do, however, to make both individual and collective sense of their surroundings. The difference a sociological reading can make, is,

hopefully, in contextualizing and deciphering ideologies and the codes that animate them, rather than merely falling under their sway. In this way seemingly subjective interpretations of signs, when juxtaposed to other social facts, are very much to the point in articulating not just individual but collectively-shared meanings. That, in the end, is how both identity and community are reproduced in everyday life and made visible to community members and strangers alike.

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RESUME

Come Join Your Friends analyse d'un point de vue sociologique un certain nombre d'hypothèses sur les relations ethniques et linguistiques dans le contexte historique de la région québécoise des Cantons de l'Est au Québec. Cette analyse permet de décoder divers conflits d'identité et de survie ethnolinguistiques observables dans l'affichage contemporain : placards, panneaux-réclames et panneaux de signalisation, entre autres. L'auteur dévoile diverses manifestations ambiguës de peur/résistance et d'adaptation/résignation chez les anglophones des Cantons de l'Est (les *townshippers*), faisant appel à d'autres manifestations sociales et historiques pour mettre en contexte et expliquer cette expérience. L'étude montre que la minorisation démographique des *townshippers* s'était déjà produite au tournant du XIX^{e} siècle, bien que l'expérience et la perception de telles « menace et réalité » démographiques par les anglophones apparaissent de façon concrète et aiguë dans des entrevues des années 40 et d'aujourd'hui. Bien que numériquement minoritaire depuis longtemps, la communauté anglophone continue de vivre une adaptation et une résistance difficiles au passage du statut de « majorité » politique à celui de « minorité » politique et culturelle ou linguistique. Ce changement est apparu dans la foulée du mouvement nationaliste francophone des années 70, avec sa légitimation et son affirmation du français dans la législation sur la langue et l'affichage.

Par sa lecture culturelle populaire de l'affichage dans ce contexte, la présente étude soulève des questions sur la nature et la spécificité des identités francophone et anglophone dans les Cantons de l'Est, mais surtout sur l'identité et la survie en général, au moment où les allégeances de « classes » et les solidarités « commerciales » menacent de supplanter les facteurs ethnolinguistiques.

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UN TOURNEUR DES CANTONS-DE-L'EST : GUY BACHAND

Antoine Sirois
Professeur émérite de l'Université de Sherbrooke

En décembre 1896, soit un an après la première projection publique en France, par les frères Lumière, des images photographiques animées, Sherbrooke reçoit à la Salle des arts Louis Pupier qui, avec le Cinématographe Lumière, projette les tout premiers films.[1] La projection s'étale sur deux semaines avec grand succès — assez pour que le projectionniste ambulant revienne en mars suivant. Séances de projection encore, cette fois avec le Magniscope Edison, au Rink Opera House en 1897.[2] Sherbrooke accueille, à nouveau comme étape d'un circuit, en juin 1898, le vicomte Henry de Grandsaignes d'Hauterive qui, avec son historiographe, projette des films à caractère historique qu'il commente. Lui aussi reviendra.[3]

Avec le début du vingtième siècle, de nombreuses salles, conçues pour la projection de films, sont construites à Sherbrooke et réduisent ainsi le rôle des projectionnistes ambulants. Le *Palace of Illusions* ouvre ses portes en 1907 — soit la même année que le Nationoscope de Montréal — le Théatorium, en 1909 (devenant le Casino en 1911), le Premier, en 1910, le Passe-Temps, en 1913, ainsi que plusieurs autres par la suite.[4] Le cinéma devient un phénomène urbain, mais le tourneur ne disparaît pas pour autant dans la région.

Dans d'intéressants articles consacrés aux tourneurs (travelling exhibitors, en anglais) un historien du cinéma, Pierre Véronneau, traite en particulier d'un tourneur anglophone du nom de William Shaw qui, de sa ferme à Island Brook, entreprit, en 1903, des tournées de projections de « vues animées » dans les villages des Cantons-de-l'Est et parfois à l'extérieur.[5] Il mit fin à sa carrière en 1942.

Un autre tourneur poursuivra ce rôle. Guy Bachand, né en 1918, le fils du notaire qui est un des grands artisans de la vie culturelle à Sherbrooke, en musique notamment. Mais le rejeton, lui, se passionne pour l'art cinématographique. Les incitations remontent à son enfance. Il a rappelé dans une entrevue à *La Tribune* sa toute première séance de cinéma au Casino, sur la rue Wellington Sud, alors qu'il avait quatre ou cinq ans. On y présentait, avec accompagnement musical en direct, un

film muet où figurait Mary Pickford. Mais la production qui semble l'avoir le plus marqué, c'est *Le Miracle des loups* du français Raymond Bernard qu'il visionna à l'âge de huit ans au His Majesty's, sur la rue Wellington Nord. [6] Son intérêt ne se démentit pas et, en 1936, à 17 ans, il abandonne son cours classique, en philosophie, au Séminaire Saint-Charles, il délaisse le milieu professionnel dans lequel il a grandi et il quitte Sherbrooke pour Montréal, décidé à faire carrière dans le domaine du cinéma.

Il fait son apprentissage avec la Compagnie France-Film, d'abord comme placeur au Saint-Denis et au Cinéma de Paris de Montréal. Il se gorge de films. Il revient ensuite à Sherbrooke, dans les années 1937–1938, comme directeur du Cinéma de Paris local, et il assume ce poste durant quelques mois.[7] Il est encouragé, dans les mêmes années, à entreprendre des tournées de projections par le curé de Waterville, l'abbé Pierre Labrecque, qui désire ramasser des fonds pour son église grâce aux films passés dans la salle paroissiale. Guy Bachand se met à parcourir les villages de la région, Waterville évidemment, Saint-Malo, North-Hatley, Brompton, Compton, où il projette des films en langue française, Bury, Sutton, Knowlton, Sawyerville, en langue anglaise. À Scotstown, qui le reçoit à toutes les semaines, il alterne avec le français et l'anglais. Il se rend de façon sporadique à d'autres endroits. La séance de projection se déroule dans la salle paroissiale ou municipale, sauf à Scotstown où le film français est projeté dans la salle paroissiale et le film anglais, dans la municipale. Ces lieux se louent alors entre 5 $ et 10 $.

Comme c'est la guerre et que les projecteurs sont rares et que les tournées ne sont pas très payantes, M. Bachand rentabilise son entreprise en faisant des projections de films dans des écoles, des groupes sociaux et des clubs. Certains films, documentaires, peuvent servir à illustrer une conférence ou à encourager l'effort de guerre et d'autres, de fiction, dont le choix peut dépendre de l'organisation elle-même poursuivant, par exemple, un objectif récréatif.[8]

Les tournées s'étalent sur l'ensemble l'année avec transport soit en automobile, un Ford modèle A, quand la température s'y prête, soit en train, l'hiver. Il est possible alors, à partir de Sherbrooke, de se rendre, via Cookshire, à Saint-Malo ou à Acton Vale ou à Waterloo. Le tourneur couche parfois à destination et il revient le lendemain. Sa publicité se fait au moyen d'une circulaire qu'il affiche sur un poteau ou à l'occasion du prône d'un curé intéressé. L'entrée, au début, est de 0,35 $. L'assistance se compose en général d'adultes, au nombre d'une centaine à Scotstown et d'une cinquantaine ailleurs.

Le projecteur employé est un Ampro 16mm ou un Victor

Animatophone 16mm et il est installé généralement dans une cabine de projection, souvent déjà existante dans les salles. Même s'il n'a qu'un appareil, M. Bachand trouve le moyen d'éviter l'interruption d'une bobine à l'autre, grâce à un truc de son invention. Il ne fait pas de présentation du film. Lui-même, ou le concierge ou des amis s'occupent de la vente des billets.

Rappelons que les films utilisés en tournée sont en 16mm, tirés de pellicules en 35mm. Ces dernières ne sont pas toutes tirées en 16mm. Le tourneur loue ses films à la journée ou à la semaine, soit auprès de petites compagnies comme General Film pour ceux en anglais et de France-Film, de Canada-Film ou de Henri Lanauze pour ceux en français.[9] Il en fait le choix lui-même et ces films de tournée sont rarement récents.

Chaque séance se compose de deux films : un long et un court métrage. Ce dernier consiste en un dessin animé en blanc et noir ou raconte une histoire dont les épisodes se déroulent d'une fois à l'autre. *Devil Horse* devient un grand succès du genre. Au nombre des films les plus populaires, en anglais, auprès du public, on relève les films de cow-boys, dans lesquels Gene Autry, Buck Jones, Ken Maynard jouent les héros, ou les comédies, dans lesquelles Laurel et Hardy font leurs clowneries. Les films sentimentaux n'ont pas la cote. Du côté français, les mélodrames comme *Les Deux Gamines*, *Le Rosaire* ou *La Merveilleuse Tragédie de Lourdes* remportent un grand succès, ou encore les films où figurent Tino Rossi ou Jean-Pierre Aumont comme vedettes.[10] Les spectateurs, devenus des habitués, n'ont pas, pour avoir été moi-même témoin de plusieurs tournées, un comportement différent de leurs concitoyens urbains.

M. Bachand affirme ne pas avoir subi quelque forme de censure de la part des autorités. Il est entendu que tous les films passent par le bureau de censure, mais, selon lui, les films anglais ou français, tirés en 16mm, étaient généralement accessibles à tous.

Mais, c'est la fin de la guerre en 1945. Les projecteurs, réquisitionnés pour les camps militaires, deviennent facilement accessibles, ce qui contribue à mettre fin à ces tournées qui avaient permis d'initier au cinéma les habitants de nombre de villages en région.

Le tourneur lorgne maintenant vers la projection urbaine à Sherbrooke. Avec l'aide de trois bailleurs de fonds, il achète, en 1945, un terrain voisin du Parc Dufresne, sur la rue Galt Ouest, dans le quartier Ouest, une section ouvrière. Le Rex, qui compte 628 sièges, ouvre en 1947 et devient le premier cinéma de quartier. Le Granada, le Premier et le cinéma de Paris sont tous situés dans l'axe central King et Wellington. Le Rex deviendra le Belvédère en janvier 1977. Au début

des années soixante-dix, une seconde salle de 77 places s'ouvre à même le bâtiment existant. Équipée d'un projecteur 16mm, elle le sera plus tard d'un appareil de 35mm. Elle est prévue pour des films de répertoire, d'où son premier nom La Pellicule. Non rentable après quelque temps, elle deviendra le Belvédère 2, un débouché pour les *« hold-over »* de la grande salle.

Les films français et américains doublés en français figurent au répertoire du Rex et du Belvédère. M. Bachand fait lui-même le choix de ses films auprès des grands distributeurs montréalais et le succès obtenu dans la métropole peut lui servir de guide dans la location. Il exerce aussi ce rôle de programmation pour le Premier et le Capitol, de propriétaires autres, pendant plusieurs années. Il garde la direction du Belvédère jusqu'à sa retraite en 1990.

Il a fait son nom comme gestionnaire dans le domaine cinématographique. On le considère comme un connaisseur du cinéma en général et un appréciateur du film de répertoire, que ce soit *Le Cuirassé « Potemkine »*, ou la trilogie de Pagnol, *Quai des brumes* ou *Out of Africa*.[11] Sa réputation est telle que Cinéplex-Odéon a tenu à lui rendre un hommage exceptionnel à l'inauguration du Cinéma 9 à Rock-Forest, en 1997, en donnant son nom à la plus grande de ses neuf salles.

Cet article fait suite à deux entrevues qu'il m'a accordées, le 20 octobre 1998 et le 2 février 2000, entrevues dans lesquelles, octogénaire, il a rappelé tous ces souvenirs d'une carrière de plus de cinquante ans dans le cinéma.[12]

Abstract

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, travelling projectionists have paid visits to Eastern Townships villages. First there was William Shaw, from 1903 to 1942, followed by Guy Bachand. The latter, a passionate film enthusiast, took a route which covered Waterville, Scotstown and many other villages at the end of the 1930s. In so doing, he introduced movies to these areas. In 1945, after World War II, he built his own cinema in Sherbrooke, the Rex. Mr. Bachand remained active in the film industry in Sherbrooke, until his retirement in 1990.

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NOTES

1 La Salle des arts était logée dans le Library and Art Building, bâtiment situé au 229 rue Dufferin, donnant sur la rivière Magog.

2 Le Rink Opera House, centre sportif en hiver, devient salle de spectacle en été. Il était situé au bas de l'actuelle rue Abénaquis.

3 Voir *Le Progrès de l'Est*, 4 décembre 1896, p. 2, *Le Pionnier*, 11 décembre 1896, p. 3, *le Sherbrooke Daily Record*, 17–20 juin 1898, *Le Progrès de l'Est*, 7 mai 1897.

4 Le Ouimetoscope, ouvert en 1906, était encore une salle recyclée.

5 Voir les références.

6 Selon le magnat du cinéma, Adolphe Zukor, Mary Pickford, d'origine canadienne, fut la première des grandes vedettes du cinéma muet. Le film en question pourrait être *The Little Lord Fauntleroy* de A.E. Green et Jack Pickford, 1921, ou encore *Rosita* d'E. Lubitsch, 1923.

Pour *Le Miracle des loups*, il doit s'agir de la version de 1924, avec Charles Dullin, film qui devint sonorisé et parlant en 1930. Ce serait une des meilleures créations de Charles Dullin au cinéma.

7 Ce cinéma, situé sur la rue King, face à l'actuel Palais de justice, est aujourd'hui disparu. Il succédait au Passe-Temps (1913), au Princess (1916), au Victoria (1924). Acquis en 1934 par France-Film, il est consacré uniquement à la projection du film français. En 1948, la compagnie, après avoir démoli l'ancien bâtiment, ouvre le nouveau Cinéma de Paris qui contient 939 places. Voir *Le Combat*, 6 juin 1935, p. 6, *La Tribune, 16 janvier 1948, p.7s*.

8 La présence de l'Office national du film en Estrie, à partir de Sherbrooke, date de 1950. C'est à ce moment que fut organisé le premier Conseil du film par le représentant de l'O.N.F., M. Jacques Beaucage. Les groupes qui appartenaient à ce Conseil avaient droit à l'usage d'un projecteur et des services de la cinémathèque. Voir Hélène Dennie, *Office national du film, Sherbrooke. Historique. 1979–1989*, s.l., s.é., 30 juin 1989; *La Tribune*, 24 octobre 1950, p. 3. Durant la guerre, les films documentaires portant sur l'effort de guerre provenaient de l'O.N.F. à Ottawa, créé en 1938.

9 Henri de Lanauze tenait à Montréal un commerce d'appareils photo, de cameras, de projecteurs et il était un petit distributeur de films français.

10 *Les Deux Gamines*, M. de Canonges (1950). *Le Rosaire* et *La Merveilleuse Tragédie de Lourdes*, films français ne sont pas répertoriés sous ce titre dans le *Cinéguide 2000*, s.l., Omnibus, 1999. *Le Rosaire* aurait été tourné vers 1933–1934, le second serait probablement la production de Julien Duvivier, *La Tragédie de Lourdes* (1923), devenue sonorisée et parlante au début des années trente.

11 *Le Cuirassé « Potemkine »*, S. Eisenstein, (1925), *Quai des brumes*, M. Carné (1938), *Out of Africa*, S. Pollack (1986); la trilogie : *Marius*, A. Korda (1931), *Fanny*, M. Allégret (1932), *Topaze*, S. Gasnier (1932).

12 M. Bachand n'a pas conservé d'archives sur sa carrière. J'ai eu le plaisir de l'accompagner dans plusieurs de ses tournées et d'en être le témoin.

L'ABBAYE DE SAINT-BENOÎT-DU-LAC ET SES BÂTISSEURS

par Claude Bergeron et Geoffrey Simmons.
Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec,1997.

Reviewed by Tania Martin
University of California at Berkeley

How the fame of an architect spreads from one country to another is an interesting question, one that is illustrated in this study by the prolonged correspondence between French Benedictine architect-monk Dom Paul Bellot and his Canadian disciples. Adrien Dufresne, Edgar Courchesne, and Claude-Marie Côté (who also became a Benedictine monk) discovered the distinctive work of Dom Bellot as students of architecture in the late 1920s and early 1930s. By this time the architect had designed several churches and monasteries in France, England, and the Netherlands as well as Portugal, Africa and Argentina. These buildings incorporated polychromatic brickwork and parabolic or polygonal arches that were partly inspired by the Islamic architecture of Moorish Spain and that were based on particular geometric formulas and proportional systems. Bellot had developed this architectural vocabulary as his signature style. His design solutions, which reinterpreted traditional religious spaces using modern materials such as reinforced concrete to great sculptural effect, spawned a new architectural movement especially popular within religious circles: bellotism.

Dom Bellot's adherents in Canada spent several years preparing his entry into the Canadian architectural scene. After much publicizing in newspapers, writing articles in journals, mounting photographic exhibitions of his buildings, and otherwise promoting the upcoming yet indeterminate event, Bellot, with the aid of sympathetic proponents, finally managed to give a series of lectures and conferences throughout the province of Québec in 1934. Such advertising propagated the internationally renowned architect's style and ideas, which in turn had considerable influence on religious architecture in Québec. Interestingly, the Ursulines (a teaching order of women religious) were the first in Canada to entrust Bellot with a

project. In 1928 they commissioned him to design liturgical and chapel furnishings for Brescia Hall in London, Ontario (170). Architectural history books, however, will retain St-Joseph's Oratory in Montreal and the Saint-Benoit-du-Lac Abbey as Dom Bellot's greatest Canadian monuments.

This monograph, like the abbey that it describes, is the product of the collaboration of three principal authors — architectural historians Claude Bergeron (leading expert on church architecture in Québec) and Geoffrey Simmons, and Dom Jean Rochon, o.s.b., historian and archivist of the religious community. *L'Abbaye de Saint-Benoît-du-Lac et ses Bâtisseurs* is divided into two unequal parts. The first part explains for the lay person the fundamental elements of cenobitic life (which evolved from the early Christian teachings of Saint-Antoine, Saint-Pachôme and Saint-Benoît who laid the foundations of the Benedictine rule in the early sixth century) and the ways this lifestyle engendered a particular architectural form. This ubiquitous building type, epitomized by the ideal monastery plan drawn circa 820 A.D. that is conserved in Saint-Gall, Switzerland, satisfied the somewhat paradoxical housing requirements of individual men who had consecrated themselves to a life of solitude, yet who also lived together within a communal, collective structure. Indeed, the cloister, the refectory (itself a quasi-holy space), the church, the chapter house, and the library figured as the most important regular spaces of an abbey.

As the authors convincingly argue, the changing form and organisation of the buildings was intimately related to the evolution and growth of the order. Originally affiliated with the Norman Abbey of Saint-Wandrille in France that had been exiled to Belgium since 1901, the founding members of the Saint-Benoît-du-Lac religious community immigrated to Québec in 1912. They settled on a farm property that they had acquired in Pointe-Gibraltar, on the shores of Lake Memphrémagog in the Eastern Townships forty kilometres southwest of Sherbrooke (66). The monks outfitted the farmhouse as a monastery. As the community grew, they successively enlarged the house in 1914 (by building a separate house for the hired help), 1922, 1926, and 1931. The religious also constructed outbuildings for farming related activities, which ensured them a degree of self-sufficiency. In attaining the status of conventual priory in 1935, the community achieved greater independence from the Mother House. No longer required to obtain prior authorisation to undertake major construction projects, the monks decided to build a new monastery in 1939. It was officially deemed an abbey proper in 1952.

All nine remaining chapters tell the story of the monastery's designers and the building's construction, a process that spanned over 50 years. Five chapters focus on Dom Bellot — his training as an architect and as a religious, the development of his architectural theories and approaches, his oeuvre, his arrival and influence in Canada, in addition to his designs for the abbey. Two more chapters document the life and work of Canadian Benedictine architect-monk Dom Claude-Marie Côté, Bellot's disciple and successor on the Saint-Benoît-du-Lac project. The last chapter combines a survey of Romanian-born Montreal architect Dan Hanganu's career and the analysis of his design for the church.

The ways the architects and the monks grappled with the apparent contradictions in embracing modernity while still respecting the fundamental traditions of religious life is an underlying theme that the authors pursue. In the case of Dom Bellot and Dom Côté, this tension resolved itself through the twin influences of the teachings of Viollet-le-Duc (who also influenced Hanganu) and of their formation as monks. Reason, order, discipline — all adjectives that describe both the monks' life and the architecture that they created–characterised not only the work of Dom Bellot but also that of his successors. Indeed, all three architects espoused a rationalist approach to architecture. They derived ornamentation from structural elements, made clear use of modern materials and strategically used light to sculpt space, highlighting not only the architectural composition, but the spiritual dimensions of the space as well. Architecture served anagogical purposes (136). The results, however, reflected the individual personality of the architect, his training and background.

Monasticism also imparted a deep respect for tradition. Rather than completely reinvent a building that responded appropriately to the needs of monastic life, however, each of the architects tinkered and adapted established models, reinterpreting them in response to new construction materials and technologies, the dictates of climate, existing site constraints, and the wishes of the client. Thus arose their expressive architectural innovations.

Through built form, the monks testified their allegiance to Benedictine monastic architectural traditions, as well as their filiation to the Mother House of their order. Dom Côté's Saint-Benoît Tower, a freestanding reliquary chapel situated elsewhere on the property, recalls the Saint-Saturin chapel of the original Saint-Wandrille monastery. Between 1950–52, Dom Côté had occasion to visit Benedictine architecture and the works of Dom Bellot in Europe.

In deviating somewhat from the traditional art-historical monograph, the authors attempt to bring a socio- and religio-historical approach to the study of the architecture of the abbey, with mixed results. While their intention is to present a narrative that is as much about the builders of this particular community as it is about the builders of the monument, it nonetheless remains a heavily biographical and art-historical account. The architects, their motivations and design intentions, as well as issues of style dominate the book. Not surprisingly, the bibliography includes only works written by and about Dom Bellot, the Saint-Benoît-du-Lac Abbey, the abbatial church, and Dan Hanganu.

In his analysis of the abbatial complex, Simmons presents Dom Bellot as the first master, the original conceiver of the work: Dom Côté is the second master, the completer of the work. Dan Hanganu is the commentator who provided a gloss on the completed work (294). While this description is clever, Simmon's analogy to illustrated manuscript traditions undermines the collaborative nature of the endeavour that is gratefully acknowledged elsewhere in the text. Architect Felix Racicot, for instance, does not go unnoticed. He took primary responsibility for the working drawings and project management on Dom Bellot's behalf. Members of the religious order continually offered their own advice and criticism both through direct consultation with the architects and in devising project and competition briefs.

Moreover, although the monastery is commonly attributed solely to Dom Bellot, Bergeron clearly shows how Bellot and Côté together arrived at a final design, with considerable input from the prior at the time, Dom Crenier. It was he who had initially pushed for a Romanesque idiom. The numerous and lengthy deliberations spanned ten years — back and forth negotiations over the choice of materials, constant reworking of the plans and elevations, discussions regarding the disposition and volume of the major interior spaces. As Bergeron astutely observes, this drawn-out process inadvertently documented the changing self-conceptions of the religious community as well as the motives behind their decisions. At one point they had considered relocating the monastery closer to an urban centre such as Montreal, which would have solved problems such as financial viability. Bergeron makes extensive analysis of Dom Côté's unrealised designs for the abbey church because, as paper architecture, they nonetheless constitute an important testament to the history of the order, one that could have been easily overlooked.

Upon devising the design competition requirements for the abbey, church members of the religious order decided that it was important to distinguish a church that served monastic purposes from those that were used by parishioners or pilgrims. Based on a reassessment of their constitutions and rule, and after much reflection on their role in the world, they felt that the church should first and foremost cater to the monks. Ironically, the Saint-Benoît-du-Lac Abbey has today become a quasi-pilgrimage site. It attracts not only aspirants and people taking religious retreats, a function it has always performed, but also students of architecture seeking to learn from this Canadian architectural monument. Published just a few years after the December 1994 inauguration of the church, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Benoît-du-Lac et ses Bâtisseurs* commemorates not only the establishment of this Benedictine order in Canada, but also demonstrates the processes by which buildings and architects achieve canonical status.

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS RESEARCH CENTRE

J. Derek Booth
Bishop's University

The photographic archives of the Eastern Townships Research Centre form an important component of the Centre's holdings and they are a valuable historical resource for the researcher. Among the more than two hundred individual fonds in the ETRC archives, approximately one third have some photographic content and several are comprised almost exclusively of photographs. The total number of Eastern Townships photos in the collection is now approaching forty thousand.

The content of these photos encompasses the widest possible range of subject matter, from family portraits to urban and agricultural landscapes. The geographical element is similarly broad with

Speid Collection photo: Members of the Speid family, Lennoxville, Quebec, c.1910

Brookhouse Collection photo: Summer recreation on the shores of Lake Memphremagog near Georgeville, Quebec, c.1900

all parts of the Eastern Townships being represented. The photos span virtually the entire historic period from the beginning of the widespread introduction of photography in the region in the second half of the nineteenth century up to the present.

In order to bring an element of systematic organisation to this diverse collection, and at the same time to provide a useful tool for researchers seeking to use the ETRC archives, a project was undertaken in 1998 with the financial support of the ETRC: 1) to inventory the collection, 2) to classify its contents under general systematic headings, 3) to assess the quality of the individual photographs in the collection, and 4) on the basis of a representative sample of high quality photos, to produce a digitized thematic data base, available on compact disk, to be both a visual cross section of the ETRC holdings and to provide a finding aid for researchers.

The initial task of inventory, selection and digitization was undertaken in 1998 and a preliminary compact disk containing over five hundred images, systematically categorized into twenty thematic headings, was made. Each photograph was provided with an identification code and was scanned in three formats. The first was a "thumb-nail" size suitable for easy browsing of the database; the second was a medium quality format suitable for presentation purposes; and the third was a high quality format for archival purposes. The project was completed in 1999 with the annotation of each of the

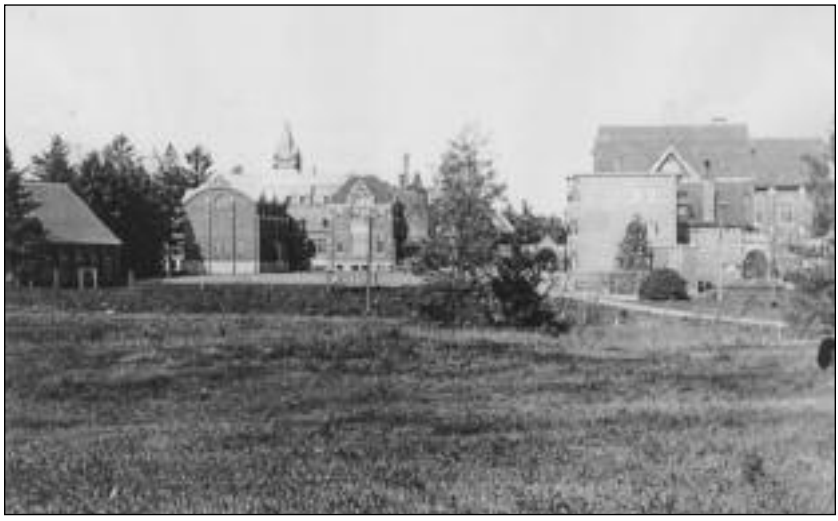
photographs in the database and the production of the final form of the compact disk.

Among the many photographic collections of the ETRC that were included in the digitization project, the following are of particular note.

The Brookhouse Collection of late nineteenth century glass negatives, from which prints were made as part of the digitization project, contains photographs that focus on two principal themes. The first focal point is the village of Georgeville and diverse elements of water-based recreation nearby on Lake Memphremagog. The second major component of the collection is a series of views of the development of the Magog Manufacturing Company and its attendant works, one of the few instances where industrial landscapes are featured.

The Speid Collection, which also contains a number of high quality glass negatives, is one that is centred on early twentieth century Lennoxville. It records the social, business and recreational activities of the Speid and other contemporary families and in addition to individual and group portraits, the collection is important for its many general views of the town of Lennoxville and the surrounding areas.

The Smith/Bell Asbestos Collection, as the name of the fond implies, contains two principal elements. The first is a series of views of asbestos mining operations in the Thetford Mines area at the turn



Smith/Bell Asbestos Collection: View of the campus of Bishop's University/ Bishop's College School, Lennoxville, Quebec, c.1914

of the twentieth century which are important from a landscape and technology viewpoint. The Smith family portion of the collection focuses on Herbert Austin Smith, a graduate of Bishop's College School in 1914 and a member of the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles regiment in 1915. It contains many views of the Bishop's University campus (then shared with Bishop's College School), together with scenes of school activities. With the enlistment of Smith in the 5th CMRs, the scene shifts to the Exhibition Grounds in Sherbrooke in the spring of 1915, where the regiment first trained, and then to Camp Valcartier, near Quebec, prior to its departure for England in July 1915.

The Landscapes of the Past Collection was an initiative of members of the Department of Geography of Bishop's University in the period 1977–79. It consists of over two thousand photographs which were systematically assembled from the collections of both private individuals throughout the Eastern Townships as well as from the archives of each of the major historical societies of the region. The objectives of this project were to locate, identify and to make copies of the highest quality and most significant photographs depicting, in the broadest sense, the physical and human landscapes of the Eastern Townships in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, this collection contains a representative cross section of photographs from a very broad range of Eastern Townships sources and it is a valuable historical resource.

As the overall archival holdings of the ETRC continue to grow, so too does the photographic component, and this growth is accompanied by the ongoing need to identify, catalogue and to make accessible to researchers the most significant of these photos. The digitization of a representative sample of the ETRC's collection has been an important step in the realization of this objective and in creating a functional research archives. The database which has been created may now be modified and expanded as new acquisitions are made.

FROM THE CHURCH KITCHEN TO THE CHURCH BOARDROOM: WOMEN'S CONTINUING QUEST FOR GENDER RECOGNITION

Cheryl Gosselin and Caroline Viens
Bishop's University

Most of the recent literature on women and religion focuses mainly on the role of middle-class Protestant women and their social reform agendas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this literature, women's charitable activities are an expression of their maternalist ideologies that provided them with the motivation to use their nurturing qualities to go beyond the home and work for the social and moral stability of society at large.[1] Churchwomen's current social activities are examined to question whether their religious beliefs are serving to expand women's sphere. Much of this work emphasizes the private and philanthropic nature of these activities and the desire of participants to remain independent of the state. What is missing however, is the relation of churchwomen's voluntarism to the formation and present operations of the Canadian state.[2]

Our study would like to draw attention to the relationship between churchwomen in the Eastern Townships and the state. We want to explore the nature of this relationship over a period of time in order to reveal its shifting contours and differing patterns of interaction. We view the state, not as a fixed entity with a unified structure and set of interests, but in a poststructuralist frame of reference which highlights the state as an arena of numerous discursive forums.[3] In this view, the state is composed of a series of practices and discourses that are historical products and not the result of given structures or established political organizations. Particular interests such as gender are not pre-determined but are constructed by the conscious and competing practices of women and men who are engaged in the processes of articulating their interests. These interests are always changing and conflictual because they are predicated, not on biological differences, but on the discursive practices that

produce and reproduce them.[4] Gendered subjects then enter the different arenas of the state where competing interests are constructed at the same time as the state, through its practices, constitutes its own interests about gender relations. The different sites of state struggles can be legal, social and capitalist and involve numerous institutions such as religion. Since women are composed of a heterogeneous group, their interests before the state will be articulated in a variety of ways. We argue that this poststructuralist analysis is the best conceptual tool to go beyond the false dichotomy between structure and agency and represent a contextualized history of women's experiences as agents of social change.

This study examines how one group of women, who constituted themselves with interests centered on organized religious and social reform work, engaged with the state to contest its meanings of women's proper sphere. The state arena where these contested interests took place is the church. We will show that historically, the state and the church have constituted women's role in religion in a strictly nurturing capacity where they served the social and moral needs of their congregations. This construction excluded them from formal, masculine decision-making and power positions within the church. Women contested this meaning of their lives and the division of society into private and public domains by including a women's rights perspective into their social activities. The result is that a number of women have begun to redefine the boundaries of the feminine to include themselves as agents of social change alongside men in the church hierarchies and ultimately, throughout society.

A preliminary content analysis of the organizational minutes of four local churches supports our arguments.[5] Initially, churchwomen's activities were restricted primarily to helping functions. These took the form of fundraising for their respective churches and congregations. They organized several yearly events for this purpose including rummage and craft sales, Christmas bazaars and community suppers. The money was allocated in a fixed pattern. Most of the money was handed directly over to the church stewards where the women had no say as to how it was to be spent. Some of the funds were reserved by the women's units for the upkeep of the church buildings including the manse. The rest of this money was divided between direct donations to the minister to use at his discretion and an amount for their own social projects such as providing hot lunch programs in schools and sending cards and flowers to shut-ins. Beyond fundraising, the units also catered weddings and

funerals and gave religious instruction to local youth groups.

These monetary, religious and social activities represent the extent of the work churchwomen did in the early years of our study. Their work was reflective of the private roles constructed for women in the first half of the twentieth century. As masculine powers were consolidated throughout the state, a rigid gender distinction took place whereby the feminine was regulated to the private sphere of care giving within the home, the church and in the surrounding community. Their social work was founded on the notion that women's maternal roles in the home should be enlarged into the public arena where they could use their feminine nurturing capacities to help improve the welfare of the less fortunate. We are not arguing that women never resisted these constructions rather, women were always engaged in the processes of producing and reproducing these gender regulations. One way they were able to do this was through their maternalist ideology.

We notice a broadening of these helping functions by the early 1960s. At this time, churchwomen, in addition to their previous activities, became involved in social action work and issues surrounding women's citizenship rights. In the former, the church units became aware of and involved in issues such as human rights, the use of atomic power, the United Nations, immigration and refugee policies and corrupt ethics in public life and the business world.[6] Women studied these issues locally, nationally as well as internationally. Wherever possible they took action in co-operation with other units and community and state agencies. Churchwomen also took part in the struggle for women's rights and equality. They invited guest speakers to discuss, for example, the implications of the changes to Quebec's civil code that altered married women's legal status. During this time their discourses were filled with the language of rights. Their interests included working mothers and women's higher education. Issues and plans of action were framed in an analysis of women's equality with men and their quest to remove barriers that had previously excluded them from places of power. As the Lennoxville churchwomen proudly announced; "…in 1962 *United Church Women* was formed nationally, merging all women's activities. Representatives from today's five groups now serve on all Boards of the local and national church."[7]

A contextualized reading of churchwomen's concerns reveals that the dominant social construction of women was being contested. The players in this struggle were the organized women's movement, civil rights advocates, marginalized groups and the state. Feminists

contested the hegemonic conventions of femininity and criticized the patriarchal structures of society for being too restrictive for women. They advocated political and legal reforms to achieve women's equality. Some of these reforms included anti-discrimination laws, protective legislation for women, legal remedies for male violence against women and affirmative action programs. We recognize through our analysis of the organizational minutes that the churchwomen of the Eastern Townships were part of these encounters with the state to formalize women's rights. These women carried their concern for equal rights into the church, where these struggles crystallized with their attempts to consolidate their powers and influence the church hierarchies to break down their exclusionary practices and admit women. These struggles represent one arena where women engage in state processes to contest the established meanings of femininity and to bring about social change. Their work was based on the principle of equal rights for men and women. They combined this principle with a maternalist ideology. Their concern for women's rights and social work through maternal values were neither incompatible nor contradictory. Rather, the sociopolitical context in which women lived explains their public behavior. This context included women's lack of political and civil rights and uneven educational and career opportunities. Today, this is an on-going process whereby differently situated women still struggle.

Our research is also an on-going process. We are examining the documents in further detail to map out the different interests of the churchwomen and their articulation of the feminine through their activities and ideologies. Our goal is to explore the historical patterns and contours of their engagement with the state and its institutions in their quest for gender recognition and equality.

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1 Linda Kealey, (ed), *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s–1920s,* Toronto: Women's Press, 1979.

2 Lykke de la Cour, Cecillia Morgan, and Mariana Valverde, "Gender Regulation and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Canada", in Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, (ed), *State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992:182.

3 Rosemary Pringle and Sophie Watson, " 'Women's Interests' and the Poststructuralist State" in Anne Phillips, (ed), *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1998:213.

4 *Ibid*.:216.

5 Names of the churches cannot be revealed, in accordance with the terms of the consent form calling for anonymity.

6 Board of Women, The United Church of Canada, *The United Church Women, Constitution By-Laws Handbook*, Place of Publication Unknown, 1966: 33.

7 Jane C. Pearson, "Women's Organizations", in Kathleen H. Atto, *Lennoxville*, vol.1, Sherbrooke: Progressive Publications, 1975:80.

THE ECHENBERG COLLECTION OF BUSINESSES' MATERIAL OBJECTS AND EPHEMERA OF ENTERPRISES LOCATED IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS REGION OF QUEBEC

Robert MacGregor
Bishop's University

The collection, clearly and graphically, reflects the evolution and the history of the Townships, its industrial, retail, service, tourism, manufacturing and public face. Many material objects from Sherbrooke's cigar-making, beverage, pharmaceutical and textile companies are part of the collection. The categories of objects emerging from these local industries and companies include:

- In-store or outside retail displays.
- Different types and sizes and shapes of bottles, packages, and containers in glass, tin and wood.
- A wide variety of local business documents, ledgers, correspondence, patent and art work applications.
- Local maps.
- Many photographs of varied business establishments.
- Numerous categories of sales incentives that span well over one hundred years. These company "giveaways" include: calendar plates, china plates with texts and companies' and hotels' names, pocket knives, rulers, bottle openers, calendars, coat hangers, hand-held fans and place mats.
- Trade cards, of particular interest for their rarity produced and used in retailing from 1874 to the 1880s, bore high-quality chromolithographic images promoting the merchandise on one side, and product information and the retailer's name on the verso. Those in the Echenberg collection are of special interest because they were customized for Quebec industry and retailers.

The planned exhibit of the Echenberg Collection will be the first of its kind to be mounted in this region and possibly in Quebec. It will reveal much about the history of Townships industry, aspects of local culture, and the ideology embodied and evinced in the marketing imagery. As is clear from the list above, these are items that bear, for promotional purposes, the iconography of their era. A representative selection will provide viewers of the exhibit with a window onto the Townships' industrial past, the social web of our region (for instance, local architecture, Sherbrooke sites [King Street, bank buildings, etc], Bishop's University are pictured on many of the items), and the pictorial discourse of the past.

In order to prepare for the planned exhibit, a meeting was held at the Echenberg house on June 12, 1999. There, eleven pages of catalogued material prepared by Mr. Echenberg were carefully analyzed. The collection is very large and diverse.

The project's research assistant, Ms. Julie Mayrand, conducted an archival research project during the summer. Her completed report will make an excellent contribution to the articles, exhibition notes, and catalogues that will be printed for both the Colby-Curtis Museum and Bishop's University Art Gallery Exhibitions.

In addition, a six-month employment grant was received from Emploi Québec and Ms. Hélène Cunningham is now researching numerous avenues of historical and contemporary interests integral to the forthcoming exhibitions. For example, Ms. Cunningham is focusing on the images of cigar boxes: the chromolithographic processes, the names, the pictorial representation, the semiotics of the language of the times, the contexts of the local manufacturers and markets afar, and the evolution of the companies.

The most recent group meeting, December 27, 1999, took place at the Colby-Curtis Museum in Stanstead, Québec. We were there to tour the facility and get a sense of the ambiance of the rooms where the collection will be displayed.

Both Ms. Cunningham and Robert M. MacGregor have been cooperating in the reviewing, discussing, and compiling of written materials that are important information sources. It is foreseen that some articles will be written on various aspects of the collection. These works will appear in the catalogues, or, possibly some other venue like *The Journal of Eastern Townships Studies (JETS)*.

THE JOURNAL OF ARCHDEACON G.J. MOUNTAIN'S VISITATION OF 1829, "PRINCIPALLY THRO' THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS"

J.I. Little
Simon Fraser University

Introduction

Throughout his long career in the Church of England, George Jehoshaphat Mountain made many lengthy pastoral visitations as archdeacon and, later, bishop of the Diocese of Quebec. His most remarkable excursions were to the Gaspé in 1824 and 1826, the Red River settlement in 1844, the Magdalen Islands in 1850, and the Labrador coast in 1861, but his tours closer to home have also left a valuable record for the historian. As archdeacon from 1821 to 1836, when he became bishop, Mountain was considered indispensable to the administration of a see too extensive for the management of one man. It was his role on these visitations to act as the bishop's emisary, ministering to the more isolated settlements, and checking the missionaries' activities as well as encouraging their efforts.[1] On a more official basis, he also formally inducted several of them into their parishes.

While on the road, Mountain recorded his experiences and observations in journals which he later revised and submitted for publication by London's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).[2] At the end of his report on the 1829 visitation "principally thro' the Eastern Townships," Mountain apologized to Bishop Charles Stewart for including "all the matter deserving to be called extraneous," and promised that "The materials of my next report [...], having been prepared in the first instance with an official view, it will offend less by its circumstantial details." Mountain was referring to the fact that the raw material for his record of the 1829 tour was letters to his wife, Mary.[3] In fact, it is the "circumstantial details" that make this report particularly interesting to the social historian. Furthermore, most of the letters to Mary have survived, and they are more can-

did and engaging than the revised edition submitted to the bishop.[4] The editors of the SPG had little left to do except abbreviate the lengthy manuscript for their publication.

A detailed comparison of the various editions would serve little purpose, so what follows is largely a transcription of the less polished and more interesting original version of Mountain's journal. Unfortunately, we will have to depend on the revised manuscript for the first and last weeks of the lengthy winter tour (January 23–30 and February 23–March 1, respectively) as well as the February 10–16 period, since the original version for these days is missing from the file.

Before opening with Mountain's covering letter to Bishop Stewart, we should note that he was in some respects a tourist, one with a conservative, upper class British background quite alien to the people of the countryside he was travelling through. The son of Jacob Mountain, the first bishop of the Diocese of Quebec, young George had been tutored by a local clergyman before returning to England in 1805, at the age of sixteen, to complete his education at Cambridge. When he returned to Quebec in 1811 to study for the priesthood in 1811, he was rejoining an extended family of Anglican clergymen who would dominate the diocese for decades.[5]

In addition to remembering Mountain's "outsider" status as he visited communities of largely American-born settlers, which were not far beyond the frontier stage of development, we should note that the travel narrative was a popular nineteenth-century literary genre, which followed certain romantic conventions. As Patricia Jasen has observed, these included a quest or search for knowledge on the part of the protagonist, as well as "themes of conflict, danger, and suspense, and lessons about good and evil." This was more particularly true of writings intended for publication, and Mountain's first draft is less didactic than the second, but Jasen notes that even private writing has "the need to structure new knowledge in the light of past experience." While she cautions that "[i]t would be naive to mistake such sources for objective fact," she nevertheless adds that "it would also be misguided to read them as mere reflections of travelers' already fixed views." Mountain was a genuinely curious and often sympathetic observer of the places and people he visited, and one can assume that, like most travelers, he "did not remain untouched by what [he] saw or return home unchanged."[6]

Among the images that emerge from Mountain's writing are that of a rude plenty in the Eastern Townships, while the habitants in the *seigneuries* were suffering from a severe crop failure; the warm wel-

come Mountain received in the scattered settlements; and his generally positive view of the American settlers even though the 1831 census would record that only 7823 (20 percent) of the Eastern Townships population of 38,147 were Anglicans, and 13,432 (35 percent) either had no religious affiliation or refused to declare it. Still, the adherents to the Church of England outnumbered the Methodists (3364), Baptists (1912), Congregationalists (1099), and Presbyterians (923) all combined, suggesting that — in contrast to the general historical assumption — the Anglican missionary efforts had been relatively successful.[7]

Mountain was generally pleased with these missionaries, most of whom had been sent from England by the SPG, but he was very concerned that religious formalities had been compromised in an effort to appeal to the American settlers of a different religious and cultural background. Thus, the inherent tensions found within the "national" church in Britain as it attempted to resist evangelistic schism and return the lost sheep to the fold were considerably exacerbated on this colonial settlement frontier.

The following transcription is as faithful to the original as possible, with redundant dashes eliminated, but punctuation otherwise altered only when helpful to understand the passage in question. Paragraph breaks were also inserted to ease the reading. Mountain added a small number of marginalia to the revised version of his journal, and these are included here as footnotes. Square parentheses indicate my own observations.

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1. Quebec 22 March 1830

My Lord

I have been intending almost ever since my Visitation in the early part of last year, to submit to your Lordship a Report of it, for your own information & (if you should think proper) that of the Soc.^{y} for the Propagation of the Gospel. I have not, indeed, been in the habit, but perhaps it has been a deficiency on my part, of drawing up statements prepared for so public a purpose, of the various Circuits[8] made in my official capacity since I have held the Archdeaconry of Quebec; & I confess that I am not wholly exempt from a certain feeling of objection to that proclamation of our common labour & service which, however, I am sensible that the spirit of the times exacts, &

the circumstances of the Church render expedient.

The account which I shall now render of my Visitation in 1829 will be abstracted from the journal such as I have always been in the habit of keeping for mere domestic perusal; & altho' I shall retrench a good deal from the descriptive passages, & subjects of private communication or familiar remark, it possibly may not be unacceptable that I should retain here & there, the characteristic strokes of the picture. I propose to couple it with the account, framed from notes taken on the journey, of my recent Circuit thro' a tract of Country in which we have no Clergy, & the crying wants of which in this respect it becomes my duty to represent.

The tardiness which I have manifested in preparing the former Portion of this joint Report, must be attributed to that ceaseless pressure of my occupations with which your Lordship (whose own experience is much the same) is sufficiently acquainted to receive it, without further explanations, as my excuse; & in fact it is only owing to an accidental relief at this moment in some departments of my charge, that I can contrive leisure for now performing the task.

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2. Visitation in 1829 Principally thro' the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada by the Ven. Archdeacon Mountain addressed to the Lord Bishop of Quebec.

Jan. 23. I left Quebec in the stage, some hours before day, & arrived at Three Rivers distant 90 miles on the same Evening. I had an opportunity of verifying this day, not indeed by ocular testimony, but by information of the most exact & credible kind, a curious fact in national history which some English persons will not believe — that Horses, Cattle, & Sheep are fed, upon occasion, on the tommy-cod which is taken thro' holes made in the ice, in prodigious quantities in this neighbourhood, & stacked in a frozen state. The last mentioned animals are said to thrive upon this diet.

Jan. 24th. I remained at Three Rivers & went thro' the ceremonies of instituting & inducting the Rev.d S.S. Wood[9] to the Rectory, under the commission given to me by your Lordship. It is not often that feelings of greater satisfaction can attend the investiture of a Pastor in his charge. Mr Wood is a most active, zealous & useful Missionary, and the Church which was formerly the Chapel of a convent, the remainder of the building being converted into the Parsonage,

is a substantial, respectable & commodious place of worship. The remainder of the day was occupied in writing Letters left to be forwarded from Three Rivers to several of the Clergy to whom I had not written from Quebec, fixing the probable time of my visiting them & authorising them to make as many appointments as should be practicable for my performing divine service in their respective neighbourhoods.

Jan. 25th. (Sunday). I went before breakfast crossing the St Lawrence on the ice from Pointe du Lac, to Nicolet (12 miles from Three Rivers), where in the neat little stone Church of the Protestant Congregation, I met in the forenoon about 25 Persons (the notice having failed to reach the more distant of the scattered Protestants), who had not been visited for a long interval. The Prayers of the Church, however, & a printed Sermon are regularly read at the Seigneurial house every Sunday, except when a clergyman visits the place, to all who choose to attend. The Congregation sang twice, apparently in a devout manner. I officiated & preached again in the afternoon, & catechized the Children of whom, however, I found an exceedingly small number prepared to come forward.

Late in the Evening I had a visit from one of the Priests & Professors of the College at Nicolet to enquire whether I knew any thing about a young Protestant student (placed there like others with a view particularly of acquiring the French language) who had been permitted, at my solicitation made thro' one of our Church-wardens, to attend [our] service, & who, it appeared, had played truant ever since. I was mortified at the incident because it was calculated to confer[?] the conductors of the Establishment, in the supposed Propriety of their Rules, which forbid all attendance of Protestant boys upon their own mode of worship, upon the alleged ground of its interference with the settled distribution of occupations thro' the different hours of the day. The attendance of this boy, it appears, was granted as an indulgence. In the course of the conversation, which was conducted with perfect courtesy & good humour, I took occasion to say to the Priest that if we had a College where the French Canadians should be disposed to send their boys for the sake of learning English he would not recommend their doing so, if we would not allow them to attend their own Church. "Certainly not," he replied, "& you do not recommend it to Protestant Parents to send their Children here."

There is something about the air of this College (which however is about to give place to a far more extensive building now in

progress in the immediate neighbourhood), & its situation upon the banks of a pretty river & under the screen of a dark grove of lofty pines, which, in summer, is very agreeable; and all the scenery about Nicolet is of a pleasing altho' not of a striking Character.

I was joined here at night by Mr Wood, who had agreed to give me the gratification of his company as far as Shipton, & himself the opportunity of visiting his former flock.

Jan. 26th. We went this day (taking leave of the old French Parishes after passing thro' La Baie), as far as Mr Woods' former mission of Drummondville about 33 miles from Nicolet, where we took up our quarters under the hospitable Roof of Col. Heriot,[10] being received by young Mr Lindsey[11] who lives in the house; since recommended as theological Student to the Society, & one of excellent promise. The Rev. Mr Ross,[12] who was to be instituted & inducted the following day, also spent the Evening with us, which was occupied in preparing the various forms for his Institution & Induction on the day following, in which they all lent me their assistance.

Jan. 27th. We went to examine the school (connected with the R. Institution[13]) where 34 children were assembled. There are children attending this School, which appears to be well conducted, who come on foot thro' the snow, a distance of 4 and even 5 miles. The exertion is too great, but affords a pleasing instance of a strong desire for Education.

We then proceeded to the Church where Mr Wood read the prayers & led his old flock also, as he is most happily qualified to do, in singing praise to God. I preached & Mr Ross was afterwards instituted & inducted. There was a pretty good Congregation. The Church is of a good size but it wants all the distinctive characteristics of a Church. The Windows are square, there is no kind of steeple or cupola, & all the wood-work within is of unpainted deal. These are considerations immeasurably subordinate to those which relate to the actual religious improvement of the hearts & the lives of the worshippers, but it is impossible not to wish that the House of God should bespeak reverence in its exterior, & exhibit its proper distinctions to the eye.

We dined with Mr Ross whose Parsonage is a very small Cottage built of squared logs, consisting, besides the Kitchen, of one snug little parlour, a bed room yet more little, & a study more diminutive still. He is I fully believe, a conscientious & diligent Minister of the Gospel.

Jan. 28th. Mr Ross & Mr Lindsay provided two vehicles to drive us to the R.I. School-house at Durham, a distance of 15 miles, where an appointment had been made for me, at two o'clock, to preach & to discuss with the Congregation the projected erection of a Church. The gentlemen resident upon the spot, advised our waiting for the stage, which was every minute expected, that it might go first & break the road for us, a very heavy snow having fallen during the night. But I had here a lesson, never to wait for Contingencies where the means of proceeding at all are afforded, for, after waiting in vain till 12, we set out and toiled thro' the untracked road to our place of appointment, which, being obliged to bait the Horses by the way, we did not reach till 5, & the Congregation had then dispersed. The stage did not over take us. This, however, was the only appointment which I absolutely failed to keep, on the whole Circuit. It was necessary that Mr Wood and myself should push forward to Shipton, 10 miles farther, in consequence of arrangements made for the next day at that place & at Melbourne, but we could not get the means of conveyance till 7 o'clock, & such was the state of the roads, the country being also very hilly, that it was full midnight when we reached our destination.

Jan 29th. This day was filled up by visits to some friends of the Church, business with the Clergy Reserves Agent, consultations about Schools, & two services, one at two o'clock in Shipton School-house, where Mr Wood read prayers & I preached; the other, in the evening, a few miles off in a back part of Melbourne, called, according to the fashion of the country, the Gallup District, after a family who are among the principal settlers — (the District being the space within which the families reside whose children attend the School within those limits), & here we exchanged our previous parts in the duty. The congregations are every where prepared to sing. (I speak of many things which it would be needless to mention if I were writing solely for your Lordship's information, since there is no person to whom they are more familiar than to yourself.)

We had transferred our quarters in the after-noon from the Inn at Shipton to the hospitable House of Mr Thomas the Clergy-Reserves Agent in Melbourne, an active & useful person who is also Notary Public, School-master, Post-master & Justice of the peace, which last office in American language, gives him the standing designation of Squire Thomas.

There is a sad division among the Inhabitants of these two Townships, which I used my best endeavours to heal or at least to allevi-

ate respecting the site for the erection of the Church — one party being strongly opposed to the choice of that upon which the undertaking has actually been commenced.[14] It is melancholy to observe how often the parties engaging in a work which has for its object the Glory of God & the promotion of Christian sentiments & practice, are swayed by motives of private interest or personal accommodation, & led to violate the maxim of holy Writ, "Behold how good & joyful a thing it is Brethern, to dwell together in unity."

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3. Continued at Eaton, Monday 2nd Feb^{y} 1829

Dearest Mary,

Jan. 30.[15] About eleven on Friday Mr Wood went back, & was to stop at Durham to repair our failure there.[16] I remained in the house writing[17] till one, when I began the work of a busy day abroad. Squire Thomas was down at the school house at some miles distance where I was to preach in the Evening & to examine the children previously, before the hour of their dispersion. I drove Mrs T. therefore in his sleigh. But we had several stops to make & engagements to keep by the way. Some of them were in Richmond Village. (The place where the Barnards used to keep the inn) — here I baptized a child & held a long confabulation with an oppositionist who has raised a division about the site of the Church,[18] — so long that when we reached Mr Smith's, a Scotch settler at whom we were to have dined, we found that they had given us up, & the time was close approaching for the dismissal of the school.

Leaving Mrs T. to get her dinner, I proceeded with all speed 3/4 of a mile further to the school-house, from which, as I came in sight, I beheld the little groups scampering home just let loose, thro' the snow, & presently encountered the Master himself mounting his horse to return home that he might make up the mail; for in addition to all the offices enumerated in my last letter, he is Post Master, "in short he is fac-totum," another Caleb Quotem.[19]

I then went, according to invitation, to the house of a settler of the name of Clarke, for whom this portion of the Township is called Clarke's District — (the District being the space within which the families reside whose children attend the school within those limits.) Here was assembled in the outer room or kitchen, a little body of leading characters in the public affairs of the Township, the chief

spokesman of whom laid before me their notions respecting an improved mode of distributing the services of the School-master & mistress; for Squire Thomas, you must know has £60 a year as School m.r, for which he teaches himself only in the winter, some winters in one part, other winters in another part of the Township, & during part of the summer provides 4 women, all teaching at once in different places. This is the kind of system universally preferred & very generally adopted in the Townships, where the stouter boys cannot be spared for school during the labours of the summer & the girls & young boys can of course be taught equally well by women. There then were representations of the Gallup District & other outskirts of the Township, stating grievances & suggesting reformations, to which I could only reply that I would faithfully lay their statements before the Board & point out their wants.[20] I then passed into the inner apartment of the house, where the tea-party was assembled, & the lady did the honours with great zeal & assiduity, having some ready speech at command for all her guests & pressing upon us, in the first instance her home-made currant wine manufactured without either water or spirit — solely from the pure juice mixed with sugar. It was a very humble cottage but there were plenty of hot cakes & a most cordial welcome, which with the opportunity of a kind of pastoral conversation with people who rarely see a clergyman & gladly avail themselves of it, made me feel as happy as a king. I have indeed often felt that if I had not other duties marked out for me, I could gladly devote myself to such scattered sheep as these about the country, & I am well-persuaded that a clergyman who would give himself to the work, & engage at once with kindness & zeal in guiding & gathering them together, would decidedly fix them by degrees in regular habits of religion & compliance with all the ordinances of the Church.

We settled what psalms should be sung, & proceeded to the school-house, which was exceedingly full. I preached from Ps. 147, wch had been used in the service, taking occasion for the mention of statutes & ordinances in the penult. verse to explain v. 10 & v. 29 in I Cor. XI w.ch was the 2nd lesson. The people were extremely attentive, & there were three brothers present who are all of the number of those irregular preachers who must be expected to be found where there is no clergyman — very ignorant & ill-qualified men I understand them to be, one a Baptist, the two others Methodists.[21] These mushroom-like lecturers thrown out upon the spot deal always in high excitement & address themselves to the natural love of the marvelous, but in their "revivals" & other enthusiastic proceedings they

sometimes run to extravagant lengths, & the blaze which they have blown up burns completely out, leaving the people dark & dull, or sometimes serving to recommend to them the sober system of the Church. It is not long since one person upon this river was persuaded that his faith would enable him to walk across it & made the attempt; another, (like the man whom I described in a former journal, at Gaspé) undertook to fast for 40 days, & was brought back out of the woods about half-starved.[22]

I resumed my charge of Mrs Thomas, & returned from Clarke's but on the way back I had to stop again in Richmond to call upon a family which I had not had time to visit in going, & in which I had baptized the mother & several children at once in 1828. These persons, (or the survivors, for the mother was dead) I wished to remind of their baptismal covenant, & I found other work besides in the house, for the step-mother was seemingly in a hopeless consumption & willingly received my ministrations, added to which there was a young infant to be baptized.

It was 10 o'clock before we left the house, & late before I got to bed after our return to Mr T's[23] where we had a second edition of tea, & the usual family-devotions, after which I had to pack all my combustibles [sic], — by this time much disarranged, & detached piecemeal from that exquisite order in which, under the guidance of a fair & gentle hand, they had been diposed for the journey in Quebec. This is really an operation which makes me long sometimes for a servant in travelling. Weak & dependent beings that we are, & subject to soil & disfigurement, (if there be such a term) in this our tarnished existence, we cannot travel a day without change of raiment, & cannot appear with decency after our natural rest, without half a dozen separate operations performed by different implements of the toilet. This decency we are not to despise, this refinement, within certain bounds, not to repudiated, for even in fasting we are to "anoint the head & wash the face," but if we grudge the time & trouble which they demand at home, how much worse is the case upon a journey, without a servant, where linen is at the bottom of trunks & all the toilet apparatus is to be packed & unpacked perhaps every day! But, in sober seriousness, I often check myself when I am wishing to be waited upon by others, my obsequious brethern of the human family, & call to mind that I am the servant of Him who himself "took upon him the form of a servant," & came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister etc. And the recollection that He had not whence [?] to lay his head, ought surely to rise within us whenever we lay our own upon our pillow & think of all the comforts of our

lot, or reconcile ourselves to its inconveniences & hardships.

Jan 31. On Saturday morning at 5, the stage, which was an open vehicle with a pair abreast, came across from Richmond to call for me. My kind host & hostess were up & w.d not let me go without a cup of tea. I had no fellow passenger. The morning was most severe, but without a wind. The day was beginning just faintly to contend with the scanty [?] moon which hung on high; & streaked the East like the blending shades of some kinds of apple. Vast columns of dense smoke rose like water-spouts to Heaven, from the habitations, in the cold morning air, or showed white and fleecy where they were projected against the sombre woods w.ch closed the view. At last the glorious sun emerged, a broken orb of melting gold from behind the blackening pines; & the columns of smoke, when they received his first rays, assumed a tint of the most delicate rose colour; a beautiful effect which I have observed before, in severe winter weather produced either by the rising or setting sun.

We reached Sherbrooke about Noon. The village is improving, & begins to look like some little Yankee town. About two Mr LeFevre[24] drove me to Belvidere where we were expected to spend the remainder of the day.[25] A fine healthy-looking tribe of eleven children were marched in, in due order, to greet us after our arrival. The eldest girl, now in her sixteenth year, is decidedly handsome, & certainly bears some resemblance to my sister Charlotte w.ch is aided by a similarity of complexion.[26] The heir of Belvidere is a boy, just above her, a quick, acute, manly sort of fellow, active in mind & body, very like his father in person, & very ready, decided & confident in speech.[27] The girls are remarkably modest. Mr and Mrs J. Felton live at Belvidere at present,[28] but none of the three Mr Feltons are at home.

In the Evening Mrs J.F., who you know is a Minorcan lady as well as Mrs W.F., to whom she is related,[29] sang to us several Spanish & French songs which she accompanied upon the guitar. She is a very agreeable, lively & unaffected woman, & they both have those advantages of foreign manners which aid so much the pleasantness of mere social occasions of this sort. Upon the whole it was a kind of day very unlike what is to be expected in the woods of the St Francis Townships. Mr F. has a few Italian pictures hung in the dining-room; they are small & not highly finished, but any feeblest specimen of the arts from the land of enchantments is delightful in these frozen & outlandish regions, where there is such small & scanty gratification of this nature to be had.[30] The house is more advanced towards completion than when I last described it, but it is by no

means yet in a finished state. I was sorry that we could not see the dowager Mrs F. who is laid up with a lame leg.

On the following day, which was Sunday the 1st, I was obliged to receive some visitors in the morning, for they came at once [?] to my room; among them was Mrs Melvina, or Malocency [?], who as I beg you will tell M.A. was very affec.te in her enquiries after her. She has three children, & gives a good account of her situation. Her husband has just purchased a fine farm, with an excellent house upon it, at Shipton, whither they are going to move.

It was a pleasing sound, being a rare one among missions [?] in this country, to hear the bell summons me to Church; but I felt quite lost in passing the Sunday with only one service, which Mr LeF. states to be an arrangement which he has found necessary during the severe weather & short days.[31] I read the Communion service & preached on the Parable of the ten Virgins. Mrs W. Felton & her eldest girl were both in Church, & I find that they have not infrequently attended of late, altho' they profess no idea of change in Religion. The girls read the Bible in their lessons with their Aunt, & it may be hoped that they will ultimately be Protestants. Mrs J.F. also occasionally attends. Mr Whitcher drove me from the Church door about 1/2 a mile below the village to his new house very pleasantly situated by a beautiful bend of the river, on the shore, to see our god-child.[32] This family always manifests a cordial pleasure in seeing me. Little Mountain Mary is an intelligent little thing, with rather handsome features. I wish you could make a list of all our god-children, for really we ought not wholly to lose sight of any of them.

I dined with Mr LeFevre & Mr Burwell walked over from Lennoxville to join us in the Evening.[33] When I returned to the Inn, I assembled the family to hear a chap. read & commented upon, & to join in prayer, but this being my practice every day, (& it is indeed looked for by the people whenever a Min.r of the Gospel is among them), I shall not mention it in the history of days remaining to be described.

On Monday the 2nd, after breakf.t I had a long private interview with the Master of the house who is in a hopeless consumption, & whom the family had requested me to see. The conversation turned in part upon baptism, which rite, like the majority of the township people, he had never received & respecting which he entertained those dark & confused views, & those obstructing scruples w.ch the nations inculcated by Scoturics[34] have so vividly diffused — so that multitudes of professed believers in Christ, & among them those

who are sincerely seeking to serve him, either vilipend the Sacraments ordained by his authority, or treat them rather as snares to draw men into danger than as seals of mercy & vehicles of grace. The mode of performing, the proper subjects for receiving (whether infants or only adults) & the state of preparation for baptism, are all so encumbered with questions & difficulties that the administration of this plain initiatory ordinance[35] is made to resemble some perplexed & thorny inquiry of Law. In the present case, however, I think that the way was opened for encouraging the endeavours of others who will second my persuasion. Our interview was concluded at the man's own desire by prayer.

Mr LeFevre then drove me to Eaton, a distance of 17 m., & on the way we called on Judge Fletcher whom I need not describe to you, but I leave you to imagine him in a dark lace[?]-striped dressing gown, precisely of the stuff of which the aprons of poor females are sometimes made, sitting close & reaching to his feet, with his throat uncovered.[36] Mr Taylor received me this time as his guest.[37] When I went at night to lodge in my chamber, which, in American language, signifies to sleep in my bed-room, I passed thro' the [.?.] attic which was filled with beds, each bed containing either or [sic] three male occupants. Mr T. has now 7 children.

Sunday the 3rd which was allotted to my public services in Eaton was a very unfavourable day for dispersed country [re]sidents to assemble, nevertheless there was a muster of 30 to 40 children at the School-Examinat.[n], w.[ch] was very [satisfac]tory & a very tolerable Congregation at both Churches. The North Church w.ch has been newly painted, is close to Mr [Tay]lor's house, the other 4 miles distant. At his particular desire, I read prayers as well as preached at both. At the f[ormer] I preached from Rom. X. 10. on the Apostles' Creed in the way of exposition & practical application; at the latter in the same way on the Magnificat from Luke 1. 46, 7. A Scotch Widow of the name of Boland went with us in the sleigh, whose zeal & perseverance in attending the services of the Church is so great that certain seasons she makes light of wading a ford on foot above her knees, having previously walked in an overflowed path for about a mile, & this she does without "undressing" her legs & feet, w.[ch] the stony bottom [...] renders very painful in its consequences. She told Mr T. that she was once in her life subject to the rheumatism, & that she did not know what had cured her, unless these aquatic promenades had done it.

After visiting one or two families, we went to drink tea by

appointment with my former host & hostess Mr & Mrs Cummins, where a select party was assembled to meet us. Psalm singing was introduced in the course of the Evening, led by the School-master, and Englishman who assists in Church with his violincello, & altho' the ladies' voices were far from melodious, I was glad to see the Apostolic precept acted upon, "Is any merry? let him sing psalms." The introduction of this employment was no check upon the cheerfulness of the circle: no fear was felt of mixing improperly the festivities of the social occasion with the acts of devotion: no dread was entertained on the one hand of being thought Methodistical, & no just jealousy on the other of the subserviency of the practice to peculiar views & party feelings on Religion. All passed as a matter of course, especially in the presence of a Minister of God; & I am convinced that a better understanding will one day prevail among Christians generally upon such points, & a nearer approximation to the spirit of the precept above cited, — altho' I am clear at the same time that it is only when false & hurtful views are taken of Religion that all other singing is regarded as sinful.[38] The Evening was concluded with the usual devotional exercises, & we returned to Mr T.'s.

Wednesday the 4th. Was a bitter cold day, & the fresh-fallen snow had drifted & filled the roads a good deal. Starting however at 10, we reached Lennoxville, where I had an appointment to preach at one, about mid-day. The distance is 13 miles, on the way back to Sherbrooke. Here Mr LeFevre met me, & Mr Johnson from Hatley had also intended to come, but was misinformed respecting the day.[39] I should then have had four of my brethern together, & might, with a little more space for preparation, have not improperly delivered an Archidiaconal charge, which probably I may do upon another circuit, convening the Clergy of the St Francis townships, now 5 in number, at Sherbrooke, & others in the same way in different parts of the Archdeaconry.

The Church is very large — & out of all proportion to the numbers & resources of the Congregation, owing to a sort of ambition, I fear, & local competition, rather than to any unmixed zeal for the Praise & Worship of God.[40] In fact some of the leading people who engaged in the undertaking are neither Churchmen nor religious persons. But we may still hope that in both points of view, the thing will be prospered in the end. Mr Burwell read prayers himself & I preached from the 22^{d} Psalm w.^{ch} was read in the course of the service. My brethern afterwards dined with me, & Mr LeFevre having brought up a lady of the name of Hallowell, sister-in-law to Mrs

Bethune [?], I was obliged to ask her to preside.

The others went away immed.y after dinner & I made Mr Burwell drink my brother Armine's health. He staid & spent the Evening with me. His character reminds me of the good man of Horace, with a Christian application: Vir bonus est quis? Qui consulta patrum, qui leges, juriaque servat — (Who is a good man? He who keeps the decrees or or [sic] constitutions of the Father, the rules & laws delivered). He has a sincere veneration for the appointments & ordinances of good old authority, & understands, if the people w.d but follow him, how to lead them faithfully to the righteousness of the Gospel by means of walking in all the commandments & ordinances, blameless."

The Clergy in this neighbourhood are disposed to improve a hint w.ch I gave them, & to appoint Quarterly Meetings with each other, at which they will read over together their Ordination Vows, confer upon all points of pastoral interest or difficulty, & hold a public service on a weekday. In lieu of the Archidiaconal charge, I have a memo. of all those points, whether of greater or lesser importance, which I think it necessary to make individually the subjects of recommendation or enquiry.

Thursday 5th. Being the day of the present writing, I have allotted wholly to the said business of writing, & fear that I have already given thee, thou daughter of the deceiving Eve, too much of it — yet too much I cannot do for thee, in any way, which the demands of public & sacred duty will permit. I feel this more & more, & the feeling is strengthened by all my reflections upon the past. The scenes in which I am now journeying bear witness with other & multiplied recollections. Your old friend Mrs Elliott the landlady of this house, has, you know, lost an arm since you saw her, by falling into the clutches of a lion or tiger which was exhibited here & broke loose.[41] It is a great mercy that she is alive. You remember, perhaps, her perplexity about dry-toast, &, altho' I did not mean to repeat any descriptions of township meals, I cannot forbear from enumerating the articles provided for my solitary breakfast this morning, viz. sliced bread, biscuits, (i.e. in townships language rolls partaking of the nature of cakes), crackers, doughnuts & gingerbread, beef-steak & potatoes, a bowl of apple-sauce, a cup of cold custard, a triangular section of a flat apple pie, and & plate of sliced cheese. Certainly the abundance of American living is something astonishing compared with European. Within the walls of many a rude log hut the table is prepared with meat & pastry thrice a day.[42]

I have some hope of a letter from you to-day, for which I have desired enquiry to be made at Sherbrooke 4 m. Lenn. I am a little anxious to hear of Armine, & shall be glad to have tidings of you all. I trust my Aunt continues exempt from any return of her attack. My kindest truest love to all my sweet children. I shall write to the three eldest. And believe me [?] yours unchanged unless it be in the way of still improving affections.

[signed] G.M.

P.S. If you think that Mr Smillies' book of views in Quebec w.[d] be a nice thing to send home to our diff.[t] friends, get my name put down for more copies. I believe they are only 5/ to subscribers.[43] Pray see that Macbriar [?] is exercised, if he is not used in harness, & charge Boomer [?] to use him to the most quiet & gentle habits, & to get him into a way of cantering if he can. Tell the children to see that the harness is clean, the mountings bright, & the bit & curb-chain without rust, when the cariole goes out. Boomer [?] ought for his own good to be kept busy.

No letters. I hope they will meet me at Hatley.

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4. 5 Feb.–9 Feb. 1829

Dearest Mary — On Thursday the 5th inst., the day on which I last wrote to you from Lennoxville & which I had specially assigned for the task of writing a variety of letters, I drank tea in the Evening with Mr Burwell, & on the following morning, Mr Johnson, who had come over to meet me, drove me first to Compton, where I had an appointment to preach. This part of the road was new to me, as I had never gone to Hatley thro' Compton before, & the scenery in summer must be exceedingly beautiful, the road winding at one time along the brink of one of the rivers in this finely watered tract of country — at another, threading the dark forest, & the surface being varied by hill & dale.

We first drove to the house of a Mr Longee, who is one of the active promoters of the work of Church building — he was from home collecting the Congregation, & his wife excused herself from entertaining us — but we found afterw.[d] that they were seriously mortified at not having done so, when they found that I had no retinue. Mr Longee told Mr Johnson that he had thought I should have come with "two waiters," (as they call personal or house servants) & perhaps as many clerical companions from Quebec, &, being rather confined for room, they were no more prepared for so many guests

than the landlord who shut his window at night against all further desire of admittance on the part of a Spanish nobleman, when the latter, in reply to the question "who is there?", enunciated all his names & superadded titles, supposed by the former to describe a large company of travellers.

We then drove to a neighbour who is also concerned in creating the Church, & proceeded after a while to the School-house, where a fire had been built, (according to the phrase of the country) since the morning, & where we met a Corporation of about 25 persons, to whom I read prayers & preached in the way of exposition & practical comment upon one of the Evening Psalms. Among them was Mrs C[.?.] the wife of the poor man crippled with rheumatism, whom you may remember to have been sent [?] up by subscription. She appeared sincerely glad to see me. After dinner we visited the Church which is externally finished, & is one of the best wooden Churches I have ever seen, standing remarkably well upon an eminence.[44] In the Evening we proceeded to Charleston,[45] where Mr Johnson lodged me himself.

The morning of Saturday the 7th was spent in visiting old acquaintances in the village,[46] & the afternoon & Evening partly in such preparation as the time afforded for the two sermons which, without previous notice, I was called upon to preach at the Dedication, as they term it, of the new Church, the site having been recently transferred to the head of the village.[47] They know little or nothing of our Form of Consecration by the Bishop, & the opening service & sermon is considered by them as the dedication. At 6 o'clock went to drink tea with Mr Ritchie,[48] the Notary of the place, & he agent for the Stukely lands, where we met some of the more respectable families, & the party was concluded as usual by presenting a Bible to the clergyman who is expected to read, expound & pray.

Sunday, the 8th was a most favourable day for our purposes, & not less than 450 persons assembled in the Church. I preached I John v. 6, 7 from which I took the occasion first to shew what is the great object of Christian belief & Christian worship, & then by giving a more particular application of the latter verse to these points, to treat of the inspired writings, — & the two Sacraments, as standing & perpetual witnesses & means of Grace. These subjects opened a wide field, & in preaching from slight pencil notes made in the margin of the Bible to guide me in the distribution of them,

I found I had preached for an hour & a half. The occasion, however, was peculiar, & I believe that nobody objected to my prolixity.[49]

We dined with Mr Jones (the Bishop's old servant), who lives near the Church, & in the afternoon met about 400 persons to whom I preached from the 95th Ps. v. 1, 2, & 6 upon public worship in general & the Liturgy in particular, going regularly thro' the different component parts of the Evening Service in which we had just been engaged. We drank tea with Mr & Mrs Weston, & closed our visit as before. After our return home, it became a matter of necessity that I should go to work in preparing the usual documents for Mr Johnson's institution, in which he assisted me. Our time had been so filled up that this c.[d] not be done before, & we c.[d] not afford to leave [?] it for the next day.

On Monday the 9th, after Mr J. had been instituted, we set out about 11 o'clock in a violent snow-storm, which had begun in the night & had choked up the roads. I felt truly thankful that the preceding day had been so propitious, for a great part of the Congregation had come from places at a considerable distance. We stopped in the village to visit the School, where the boys are ranged on one side & the girls on the other, & in both departments there were several subjects who might be called adult.[50]

A mile or so further on, we called on Mr Bacon, who has moved from the house in which you found me. We stopped again in the township of Barnston to see Mr Doolittle's mother & brother.[51] They keep a respectable tavern, & he has also a large farm, & is engaged in a variety of speculations. I believe it was [.?.] when we reached Stanstead plains, where there is rather a flourishing village on the border of the U.S. containing a small brick Congregational Church, for which however there is no resident Minister.

A mile before entering the village, you come to a Free Church, i.e. in American phrase, a Church open to all denominations who want to use it, & not specially belonging to any. This is where Mr Knagg used to officiate, &, if he never had done so, there is all the reason to believe that the building would have been made over exclusively to us.[52] Perhaps it may still ultimately come into our hands, but we must not force the business. At present it w.[d] not be prudent to seek to push ourselves in here, & I had consequently made no appointment to preach.

We had a visit from Mr Hubbard, an octogenarian, once a Congregational Minister, afterwards an innkeeper, & a man of incorrect life, but now, I hope, a sincerely religious man, & certainly own who

is warmly attracted to our Church. I had heard before that he took her for his Guide in his private religious occupations, always reading the daily lessons & psalms.[53]

We spent the Evening with Mr W. Hamilton, married to one of the Colcloughs, where we met Mr John Felton, & a young Methodist Preacher, who, however, did not open his lips, altho' we did nothing to repel him. After he had taken his leave, he came back into the room, upon finding that I was to about [sic] to officiate for the occasion as family Chaplain. Mr Hamilton came in late in the Evening from a journey undertaken in H.M. service to possess himself of some cattle for which entrance had not been paid, & gave us an account of the rescue of his prize by 40 Americans, who were deemed too strong for the attempt to make resistance on the part of himself & 10 followers whom a Cap.n of Militia had placed at his disposal. There appears to be a sort of border war here, & some of the residents upon the Marches have manifestly adopted the Rob Roy principle, — the simple plan

That those may take who have the power
And those may keep who can.[54]

I am obliged to conclude, having had six other letters to write, (including those to Eliz.th & Armine). I had intended to write to the Bishop, but you can tell him of my motions. God Bless you my own dearest Mary

ever most aff.y yours, G.M.

Written from Yamaska Mountain on the 13th

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5. [The following entries to February 17 are from the revised version of the journal]

Feb.y 10th. The whole of this day was spent in toiling thro' heavy roads. We set out early in the morning to breakfast at Georgeville or Copp's Ferry, 12 miles from Stanstead, which we did not reach till near mid-day. Our road lay across the Narrows — a little arm of L. Memphramagog, like a very small river, lying in a deep & contracted valley, on the farther side of which we mounted a very long & very steep winding ascent, thro' a mountainous ridge, which are called the Narrows Hill & the Narrows Ridge. The scenery, especially the backward view, must be beautiful in summer. A few miles farther, you come suddenly upon Georgeville, a neat little village of recent growth, lying at your feet as you reach the brow of a hill,

& situated upon the verge of the Lake, across which a winter road was now staked out, leading thro' the mountains of Bolton beyond, & so on to the City of Montreal.

We proceeded our own tedious way, along the Lake side to the Outlet, a distance of 10 miles. Thus far Mr Johnson, in the spirit of friendly accommodation manifested by all my brethern, was so kind as to bring me, and here we parted — he remaining for the night and intending to preach at this place in the morning & then return, by a much shorter way, to Hatley. I engaged a cutter or light single horse American sleigh, to take me ten or a dozen miles farther to Squire Willard's[55] at Stukely (so called for the reason which I have mentioned before).

On this road there is a small lake, more than a mile in circumference, lying high among the mountains & surrounded by very bold eminences, which I passed both now and upon a former occasion in the night, & which at this time was covered with ice & snow, but I was told that, altho' extremely deep, it is so beautifully transparent that the smallest object which has any degree of brightness, can be seen distinctly at the bottom.

Owing to a singular kind of mistake, which added 8 miles to our distance, I arrived very late at Squire Willard's. We passed the house about 2 miles and the driver then enquired the way at a tavern, where being supposed to be coming the other way, he was told to proceed so much farther to a corner, (which signifies a place where two roads meet). We did, in fact, find a corner at about the distance described — but there learnt that we had 4 miles to measure back again to Squire Willards corner. Some of the family had retired when we reached the door; but all was soon bustle & cheerful activity in the house-hold; & the wants of a man's body, refreshment & repose, were provided for in as plentiful & comfortable a manner as the best among us ought to accept with thankful hearts.

Feb. 11th. The father of this respectable family drove me as far as Frost Village in Shefford, from whence the Rev. Mr Salmon,[56] who had come to meet me, took me on to the Parsonage house of the Mission, at another little village called Waterloo in the same township, altho' as yet there is no Church at that spot. I preached in the evening at the School house.

Not far from Frost Village there was a Church belonging to this Mission which, as was afterwards fully ascertained, was maliciously burnt down. The author of the deed, who was a Painter, went to Boston & established himself there successfully in business, but

before long, lost every thing by fire. A few of the people built another Church in the village itself, but, in the progress of the work their veering sentiments pointed to other quarters, & they have at last come to a conclusion by which the Methodists have the chief right in it, but all others, except I believe Universalists & Unitarians, have admittance to preach.

This is one evidence, my Lord, that Church priniciples have taken but feeble root in this Mission; and altho' the Missionary who broke the ground & the labourer who received the plough from his hand, are both men of know piety, I may say without hesitation, because I believe that they have become sensible of it themselves, that both of them, with the very best intentions, pursued a system which has contributed to this effect. With the view of rendering their ministrations more acceptable & thence more beneficial to persons unaccustomed to our Church-service, they stretched the spirit of accommodation — a wise and christian spirit in itself when kept within due limits — farther than I humbly conceive to have been warrantable; & won some of the people no doubt more readily to hear them, but in the mean time, if they did not retard, failed at least to advance the introduction & acceptance of our established & regular forms.

I have pointed out upon occasions of this nature, that we ought to regard ourselves in <u>two</u> points of view which, happily are entirely consistent with each other — that our <u>highest</u> distinction is that of being simply Preachers of the Gospel of God & stewards of the Mysteries of Grace — but that we are <u>also</u> Clergymen of an Episcopal Church, having her distinctive principles & usages, & in addition still to this, Clergymen connected with a National Establishment, & instruments of planting it within a Diocese constituted by Law, wherever fair opening & encouragement is afforded. That we have indeed, abundant need to combine the wisdom of the Serpent with the innocence of the dove, & strong circumstances of expediency, or necessity which owns no law, may constrain us, in some particular cases, to do what is unusual, if not irregular, but that this sh.[d] be a licentia sumpta prudenter, & any too free & frequent deviation from our own rules & forms, amounts almost to a tacit acknowledgment of the force of those objections which are sometimes felt against them. That we thus only <u>avoid</u> a difficulty which it is our business, if practicable, to <u>surmount</u>, & that the more we labour to explain & recommend & procure their effect to be given to the Forms of the Church, the more we obviate prejudice & promote edification by their means.

I should observe, however, that the irregularities of which I speak have not taken place where divine worship is held in our Church; but where there is one Church, there are perhaps three or four other stations for officiating.

Feb.y 12th. The remainder of the week was allotted to a visit to the Mission of Yamaska Mountain, which lay out of the course of my circuit & from which I was consequently compelled to return to the same point. It is about 22 miles from the house of Mr Salmon, who was so kind as to drive me there. We stopped in Granby, at a little village where an appointment had been made for me, at rather short notice, to preach in a most diminutive school house, where I stood in a corner, in close contact with some 25 hearers, with a chair for a desk. The responses were well made. It was at that time in the contemplation of some of the people to build a Church, but the project has since been suspended, and a Minister of another denomination is established in the Village. It was snowing and drifting all this day, but our road lying chiefly thro' the woods, we did not so much feel the effect of the latter. We put up at a most comfortless & dirty tavern at Yamaska Mountain where the Rev. Mr Abbott spent the Evening with us.

Feb.y 13th. Many of our Churches in this Diocese are not placed according to rule, their steeples being at the east end & their Communion tables at the west, but in this instance it seems to have been resolved to be right in one of the two points, for both are placed together — the recess for the altar being in the lower part of the tower, which is at the farther end from the entrance. I preached in this Church a very plain sermon upon a very simple subject — it was upon prayer in general & the several petitions of the Lords prayer seriatim — but there was a woman in the Congregation whom Mr Salmon observed to be repeatedly in tears, and we learnt afterwards that she had been one of careless life.

A strange Preacher excites attention & this simple circumstance of novelty may sometimes cause the word of life itself to strike with a new force upon the heart. If those tears were like the tears which washed off the feet of the Saviour, this is a day which I ought thankfully to note. Alas, how inadequate at best, are our feelings in the duty of preaching, to the awful & affecting nature of our task, when it is considered that upon every single occasion of mounting the pulpit we ought to pray & to hope that we may be rendered instrumental in producing effects, (surely enough to repay the labour of

years) which cause JOY IN THE PRESENCE OF THE ANGELS OF GOD!

We spent the day at the Parsonage, & I sent off letters in different directions to make all my remaining appointments. My business with the Post Office led to the mention of inconveniences felt from the want of a specific name for this part of the tract called Yamaska Mountain, the title of Yamaska being applicable to so many places as often to cause letters addressed here to get astray. It appeared that any name once adopted by the Inhabitants would be recognized at the General Post Office & become the established name of the place. As there is a fordable river running thro' the settlement, I made a half playful suggestion to Mr Abbott that he should procure it to be called after a highly classical spot at home, & Abbotsford has in consequence actually become its name & will probably belong to it for ever.

Feb.y 14th. I am apt to be unfortunate in my weather for travelling, and tho' the intervening day had been fine, we now proceeded again in snow & drift. On our way back thro' the little village where I had preached in Granby on the 12th, I had occasion to see the Agent upon the spot for the Clergy-Reserves; & upon my calling for a pen & ink at the Inn, to take down some mem.a from him, a magnificent eagle plume was put into my hands. Mr Salmon told me afterwards that this circumstance ought to have inspired me with poetic flights, & it was his hint, I believe, which suggested some lines with which I will not here interrupt my journal, but which will be found appended to it, if your Lordship should think it worth your while to read them. You will readily conceive that I had no time to bestow much finish upon any efforts of this kind.

In the Evening of this day I baptized a Child of Mr Salmon's at his own house.

Feb.y 15th (Sunday). The morning presented a truly discouraging aspect. So great a depth of snow had accumulated in the night & the storm continued with so little prospect of abating, that there was no possibility of our reaching the Church, where I was to officiate, (8 miles distant in the west part of the township) by the appointed hour, & very little probability that any Congregation would assemble there. This particular portion of the Townships appears to be subject to heavier & deeper falls of snow than those parts more removed from the mountains, & the population is not sufficiently dense to enable the traveller to count upon the movements of the people to

track a way for him. Upon this piece of road, indeed, there is hardly a house for by far the greater part of the way.

We resolved, however, to proceed, both to avoid any seeming deficiency in perseverance & to enable me to keep my ulterior appointments. One neighbour accompanied us in his Cutter, to divide the load & to afford relief by alternation in leading the way; but we were obliged to walk or rather wade, in some places for a mile together, & at one spot we were forced to break a way thro' a drifted heap, before it was practicable for the horses to pass. The snow, however, being fresh-fallen, was light & easily parted; & the fatigue & exertion were far short of what men often undergo willingly for their sports.

We saw nobody about the Church, but at the house where we stopped, we learnt that two families had come from no great distance, and after waiting till past 12, had gone home again. I performed an abridged service in the house, to a Congregation of a dozen including our own party, & took for the subject of some reflections afterwards, the 147th Psalm, of which v. 16-19 were very appropriate to the occasion. After taking some refreshment, we procured a fresh conveyance & proceeded 4 miles farther, to the house of Mr Wells in Farnham where we got very good quarters for the night.

Feb.[y] 16th. I parted with Mr Salmon with favourable impressions, but I shall abstain in what follows from any remark of this nature, lest I should happen to omit them where the omission would do injustice in the inferences which it might suggest. And your Lordship knows your own Clergy better than any body can tell you of them; nor can any other person represent their merits, in a formal manner, to the Board at home.

Mr Wells was so obliging as to drive me himself to the house of the Rev. Mr Cotton[57] in Dunham, with whom I spent the remainder of the day & to whom I gave Institution, that which I had given to him in 1822 being questionable in its validity on acc.[t] of some informality in the proceeding. I was told a story here which affords a curious & rather amusing instance (I hope it may be excused tho' it should excite a smile, & that I shall not be thought too freely Passer du grave au doux, du plaisant au sévère), of the ingenious facility of the mind of man in supplying substitutes for ordinary means of carrying on his purposes, when these means are denied to him, as we know how persons who want any one sense will exercise a superior acuteness & power of combination in other Faculties.

There is an old inhabitant of the Township who has been long established in a considerable way of business without being able to write or read & keeps his accounts by means of some hieroglyphics of his own, exhibiting wherever it is practicable (according to what would seem to be the primitive notion of written characters or signs), some rude resemblace of the object denoted. It appears that he had some mode also of marking the date & other necessary particulars. Having charged a man who dealt with him, with a cheese, which the other absolutely denied having ever purchased, he was very positive for a time but at last relaxed so far as to say that if not a Cheese he had certainly bought a grindstone at such a time, which the recollection of the other then admitting, the point was adjusted at once.

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6. Sorel, Monday night 23 Feb. 1829

I have just had the satisfaction, dearest Mary, of receiving your letter, tho' it is a little damped by what you say of Jacob — but this deduction again is lightened by your mentioning that he was much better before you closed your letter. I hope we shall all be permitted to meet in health & peace. I suppose that you received the missing letter which ought to have been delivered on Monday the 9th, altho' you do not mention it, because I find that Mr Ross to whom I wrote at the same time & who happens to be now here received his. I left a hasty letter yesterday to be forwarded from St John, enclosing a note for Harriet. This which I am now writing is the 7th which I have addressed to yourself, & perhaps it will be the last. I may possibly act upon your suggestion of coming on after the service on Sunday, but I shall preach, I believe at the Settlement which is some miles back from Mr Hales, & there will probably be christenings & other detentions. I w.d not needlessly travel on Sunday, but the Orphan Asylum business is an ample plea, & indeed after more than a month's separation, I sh.d hardly be so precise as, being actually on a journey, to lay by doing nothing, the latter part of the Sabbath when the public duties of the day shall have been performed. I have nothing novel or interesting to tell in continuation of my adventures, but here follows the tale.

On Sunday the 17th Mr Cotton drove me 6 miles to his Church, where I preached on the Temptation of Christ, & addressed the Con-

gregation afterwards on the duty of contributing to the support of God's worship, exhorting them to paint & repair the building. Mr Reid[58] came over for the service & drove me back, 6 m. further, to his Parsonage at Frelicsburgh, [sic] better known by its nick-name of the Slab City — a name indicating that it is noted for a Marble Factory,[59] but imposed in derision by those who deemed the village not worth a name at all, & referring to the outside plank of a tree called a slab.

It was again a snow-storm this day. We spent the Evening a couple of miles off with a family of the name of Westover, who are really patterns of what plain farmer-like folks ought to be. All that they possess is the fruit of man's own industry blessed from above, for he made his war originally upon the forest, with no resources but the weapon with which he waged it. All within the house was plain, substantial, plentiful, orderly, & neat. The father of the family is a homely hard-featured yet placid, benevolent and humble-looking man, with his grizzled hair smoothed down upon his forehead & falling behind in cleanly locks over his collar. All the eleven children, several of whom are grown up, are exemplary young people. The girls are among Mr Reid's Church-singers & their father is one of the Church-wardens. The farm is large, fruitful & well-stocked, with appendages of orch.[d], etc. The whole family are steadfast Church-people, & such as we should wish Church-people to be — they are devout but in a sober, settled, enduring way, & the blessing of God seems, as it were, to rest visibly upon the house.[60]

On Wednesday the 18th Mr Whitwell[61] came up to meet me from Philipsburgh. Mr Reid's infant was baptized before Church & I stood as one of the Sponsors. We must really make list of our god-children, & bear them in mind — for altho' we have not perhaps undertaken the office in any case where we are called upon to interfere, we ought not to lose sight of our obligation from Matth. v. 1, 2, on the Beatitudes.[62] After Church I visited the School[63] & some of the families in the village, with Mr Reid, & after dinner he drove me to Mr Cook's (his other Ch. Warden's) on the road to Philipsburgh, at whose house I was to sleep.

Mr Cook is a very substantial person, lately married to a second wife who is an American, a warm-hearted, talkative & rather clever kind of woman, & a steady Episcopalian without any tinge of bitterness towards Dissenters. The Bishop is an especial favourite of hers, & nothing seems so much to delight her as to get a Clergyman under her roof. The comfort & feeling of confidence which is

engendered by Church-fellowship & community of religious sentiment may furnish an idea of the happiness of Christian Society at large, if it were more like "one fold under one Shepherd."[64] I was pleased to see in this house the retention of old customs brought from the home of our fathers. The wall of the room was decorated with the word Christmas in large letters, & some ornamental flourishes, wrought with some evergreen plant or creeper. It had been put up at the season, & suff.[d] to remain.

On Thursday the 19th I went with Mr Cook's family to Mr Whitwell's Church where I preached, in a good measure memo [.?.] upon the narration of the Pharisee & the "woman who was a sinner." Mr Nash the Episcopal Clergyman from St Alban's in Vermont, came up to the Church just before service, having arranged an exchange of duty with Mr Whitwell for the Sunday following & having timed it purposely to meet me. We both dined & slept at Mr W.'s. Mrs W. is the daughter of an American General, i.e. a ci-devant General of Militia, now residing in our townships.[65] She is a delicate, lady-like looking personage, & after the wives of some two or three of my brethern, seemed quite a superior personage. She is not without some American tone but is a pleasing & amiable young woman.

We breakfasted on Friday the 20th between 5 & 6, having 16 miles to go, in heavy roads, to Mr Townsend's,[66] & supposing that he had an appointment for me to preach at 11. I say we having etc., for Mr Nash determined to drive me there. We had a great deal of conversation together & the impression which he produced upon me was highly favorable as to his conscientious views of the duty of his profession, & his general character.[67]

We found Mr T. with a wife & two children added to his establishment since my last visit. He married the daughter of an American widow-lady at Plattsburgh,[68] who lost another daughter in her 17th year, certainly of no common gifts in the way of poetic feeling & power, as is evidenced by the MS collection in possession of her friends. Her poetry is far from faultless, but it is very surprising as the production of so young a person, & one who apparently had no great advantages in forming her taste. Some untaught attempts which she made in drawing would be really diverting, if they were not associated with melancholy reflections, & Mr Nash put me in a most distressing predicament by pertinaciously asking me before the Mother if I did not admire them. The prose, as might well be expected, is too poetical & flowery, & she seems to have been of a roman-

tic cast of mind, but there is purity & holiness of sentiment, (as far as I had opportunity of observing), throughout.

We went to Mr Townsend's further Church, 4 miles off, where I was to preach at two o'clock. My subject was Prayer, from Luke XVIII. 1. Of all the Church singing that I ever heard in my life, I think that we had the worst specimen here. Some of the voices were harsh & cracked — all were most offensively nasal — the tune & the whole stile [sic] of the performance were as bad as bad could be. Mr Têtu of Quebec was present, & I was mortified — for if the Rom. Catholics ever attend our worship, I always feel anxious that the effect of the whole service be good.[69] Mr Nash read the prayers in a respectable manner, having no sort of scruple about praying for K. George. We went back to Philipsburgh after dinner.

On Saturday the 21st we awoke to behold a most violent snow-storm & to hear a whistling drift, which added to all the scenes of bad weather since Sunday the 8th completely choked up the roads & it was with the greatest difficulty that the horses could struggle thro' to take us an eighth of a mile to Church — the drifts in the intervening space being particularly bad. Two sleighs from the neighbourhood were upset, & the families who had been in them came into Church with the visible effects upon their very hair & faces of a roll in the snow. The singing here was only surpassed by that of yesterday. I preached on the Christian application of the Decalogue from Matth. VI. 19 — Mr Townsend had been instituted before Church,[70] & was inducted after the service was over. He drove me, after dinner, part of the way to St John — our intention having been to sleep there, but we waited till nearly four, for another sleigh & pair w.ch was to precede & break the road for us the first 6 miles. When we had ourselves made eleven, it being dark, we put up for the night in Sabrevois where you know I wrote to Lee-Halletins [?].

We rose at half-past 5 on the morning of Sunday the 22nd, having 7 miles to go to St John, when I wrote a letter to a very undeserving person, breakfasted, shaved, etc., & went to Church at 10, the service being at this hour on acc.^{t} of Mr Baldwin's afterwards serving the Isle aux Noix. We all three took part in the service, & I preached on the Ps. of the day, which commemorates certain afflictions & deliverances, in a manner most remarkably capable of a spiritual adaptation, throughout.[71] I went for a short time to Mr B.'s house & he then proceeded to his distant duty & I to mine.

Mr B. is an inert clergyman, & a stiff impassible piece of mortali-

ty: he is verifying the divine saying, in a marked manner, that "he that gathereth not with me scattereth." His Congregation either partake of his lukewarmness, or are disgusted & offended by his deficiency, & the Romanists are making alarming inroads among his flock. St John is a very important station, being the key of this entrance into the Province, & as the Steam-boats come in on Sunday morning, the Americans enquire naturally after the Church, & often perhaps take their impression of our Church at large from the unfavorable sample which is here presented to their notice. And thus the fame of Mr B. is spread far & wide. Alas! "Who is weak & I am not weak? — Who is offended & I am not?" This is the only point in which I can flatter myself that I have any real resemblance to St Paul. Mr Townsend I am most pleased with.

The service at Chambly were Mr Braithwaite has been acting as a lay-reader, was at 1/2 past 3. I read prayers & preached from Rom. X. 13 [?] giving a familiar exposition of the Creed.[72] Mr B. made me take up my quarters with him. His Divinity Students are a Mr Alexander & a Mr Patton from U.C., & young [.?.]. Among the school- boys are young Plankstone [?], Davidson, Stuart & Anderson.[73] The Yankees sent me in a note to beg that I would get them a holiday for Monday, & another afterwards to acknowledge the favour when done. Your good brother spent the Evening with us, having come over by appointm.[t] from Montreal.[74] He seems cheerful & well.

This morning, Monday the 23rd, after breakfast, I set off in a hired cariole for Sorel, which I reached about 5, stopping on the way to dine at St Antoine, & calling, au passant, upon Mr St Ours. The good hostess at St A. declared that altho' she had now lived a good number of years, she had never seen a person so tall as myself. She gave me a dish of smoking sausages, stuffed with onions, served up in a cleanly manner, & followed by confitures, viz. crocsignoles[75] & other cakes, with divers sorts of sweetmeats, some of which I could not have ventured to pronounce what they were. It is astonishing what prodigious numbers of Canadians I have met on this journey going, like the Israelites to buy corn in Egypt, into the States to purchase Indian meal "for the famine of their households," in consequence of the blighted crops of last season.[76]

I hope I may find all the branches of our two families at Quebec well & happy.

Pray believe me
dear Madam

always the most devoted of your slaves, G.M.

I left my watch at Mr Townsend's.

I have a preaching appointm.t here tomorrow, Riv. du Loup Wednesday, Nicolet Thursday, 27 in all, since I left you.

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7. [From the revised edition of the journal]

Feb 24th. (St Matthias). I preached this day at Sorel & gave Institution & Induction to the Rev. Mr Jackson beneath whose roof I sojourned. The Church, a wooden building, has been made extremely neat by means of a grant from funds at the disposal of the late Governor in Chief, & its situation is remarkably good, occupying the centre of one side of a large square which in Summer is of green turf. I made a suggestion which has since been adopted, for constructing a little vestry-room, or at least a place screened from observation where the officiating Minister might robe himself & change his dress, which I think it has an unseemly aspect that he should do in the sight of the Congregation. It takes off from the effect of that chastened dignity, that decent exterior gravity & reverence which the appointed Solemnities of our worship & vestments of our Clergy — while care is taken at the same time not to make a gorgeous & laboured pageant of the service of God — are wisely calculated to produce. If it is of no consequence to preserve this effect, the distinctions themselves are, at best, useless — certainly they are rendered so, if in point of fact it is not preserved; & if we are careless of preserving it, we plainly violate the spirit & intention of the Church in framing her appointments.

I have already mentioned some of my views respecting ecclesiastical dress; & I confess myself to be of the number of those who seriously regret that the revolutions of Fashion have, in their ordinary dress, assimilated the Clergy to the laity. I do not wish to see our Clergy dressed as the Roman Catholic Priesthood appear abroad in this country; but there are passages in two French writers which express so much better than my own words can convey them, my opinion upon the subject, that having been able to light upon them both, I cannot forbear from here transcribing them:

> ... cet utile pouvoir
> Commande la décence et rappelle au devoir
> Par lui l'homme averti demeure sans excuse,
> Son costume le blâme et son habit l'accuse.

The other writer expresses the same sentiment in prose. He speaks of the modern Fashions in dress as having "l'inconvénient de confondre tous les rangs et toutes les professions," & adds that "l'habit vénérable dont l'ecclésiastique était couvert, l'obligeait à la plus grande circonspection dans sa conduite et dans ses discours." It will be said indeed, & truly, that if the heart is unsanctified, the restraint of the garb will do little to make an efficient Minister, & that if the heart be right towards God, the guise of the outward man is a matter of very inferior concern. But there will always, in large bodies of men, be some who need such a memento, which makes it familiar to them as the sign upon the hand & frontlet between the eyes, that they are set apart to God, & perhaps there are few to whom it may not occasionally be useful. Besides which, the effect upon others is beneficial: more reverence is engendered for Religion among the unthinking part of the world, who are the most affected by that which meets the eye, & this is one step gained. And perhaps it is more than all, that the ideas of seriousness thus associated with the profession would, as I cannot help believing, keep out of it some light and worldly persons who would be no loss to the Church.

I need not have quoted French authors upon the subject, for there is more solid & venerable authority to the point, in our own Canons of 1603, Canon LXXIV.

Mr Jackson I believe, entered into my views, but there had been difficulty in contriving the arrangement. The singing in his Church was at that time very good, accompanied by instrumental music, & parts of the service were Chanted. The Roman Catholics are building a new stone Church in Sorel upon a very large scale.

Feb.y 25th. Mr Jackson sent me on to the Rivière du Loup, (24 miles), the head quarters of the Rev. Mr Driscoll's widely scattered charge, where, in the diminutive Protestant Church, I preached to a Congregation of 42 persons.[77] Small as the Church is, & without steeple or tower, I cannot help preferring it to many of our wooden Churches which make a considerable shew. I always associate with them, ideas of something unsubstantial & unstable. This little edifice has massive stone walls & looks as if it belonged to institutions upon a permanent foundation. I am obliged to confess, however, that these walls were cracked, & the Church-wardens, with concurrence of the Minister, made application to me to procure them aid of some contribution upon the spot, your Lordship was pleased to grant. Mr Driscoll has established a Sunday-School in this place.

Mr Driscoll's cariole was proceeding to Three Rivers & I was indebted to him for conveyance so far, (22 1/2 miles), the same Evening. Mr Wood & I crossed each other without knowing it, in the dark. I had asked him to send a letter which sh.[d] meet me at Machiche, (15 miles from Three Rivers) to stop me there for the night, in case of his having made an appointment for me the next day at Nicolet. Finding no letter there, I, of course went on; but instead of writing he had come up himself, & just missed me.

Feb.[y] 26th to March 1st. Some delay or blunder in the delivery of the message at Nicolet & the return of the answer, prevented my going over there, but I remained at Three Rivers till Saturday the 28th in order to bestow a Sunday service on my way down to Quebec, upon the little Protestant flock, who have neither Shepherd to tend nor consecrated gates to receive them, at Portneuf where your Lordship the other day confirmed nine persons. Here I preached for the last time on this circuit, making the twenty-seventh since the 25th Jan.[y] inclusive, & baptized one child.

Your Lordship's Clergy in what capacity or for whatever purpose they travel, (& I may extend the observation even to yourself), should & do regard themselves as commissioned, for the time, ad vagum ministerium when they pass thro' unprovided Settlements; as for example all those on both sides of the St Francis between Drummondville & Sherbrooke, a distance of 50 miles, depending till very recently upon the occasional visits of the Clergy at those two or more distant points, for the Ministrations of the Church, and in some measure for hearing any Minister whatever. And even where there are resident Clergy, the people so seldom see a stranger in the pulpit, that it would be wrong to omit a special service upon occasion of an official visit.

I was kindly received (as I have been before) at the house of Mr E. Hale the Seigneur of Port Neuf, who has formed the Protestant Settlement, & who, according to his opportunities, pays attention to their spiritual wants. This Gentleman has been active in promoting Schools.[78]

I travelled alone & had a most stormy journey, between Three Rivers & Quebec, a distance of 90 miles thro' the continued line of Roman Catholic Parishes, without one protestant place of worship or Minister. These circumstances suggested some musings which assumed a poetic shape, & if your Lordship should think them in the least worth your notice, you will find them appended with a companion already mentioned, to this Report. The first half-dozen stan-

zas were literally composed as they stand, en voiture.[79] I am ashamed, my Lord, of the tedious length of this Report & of all the matter deserving to be called extraneous, which I have suffered to overspread it; but according to what has long ago been said by men of higher powers, I have not had time to make it shorter.

The materials of my next report, (which I must now defer), having been prepared in the first instance with an official view, it will offend less by its circumstantial details. The remarks which in conclusion I submit to your Lordship, as the condensed result of my observations made upon this journey, are the following & such as your own fuller experience will, I think, now disallow; and I am sure you will join me in saying that in one point, (I must in my own case add in one only) I can compare myself to St Paul whose question often occurs to me as the vehicle of my own feelings — "who is weak & I am not weak; who is offended & I burn not!"

That the Church, speaking generally, is in a positively flourishing & prosperous condition in the tract of country comprised in this Visitation, is a belief of which severe & impartial truth will not permit us to lay the flattering unction to our souls:

That her condition here, as in other parts of the Diocese, would have been more flourishing & more firm, if she had not been unfairly attacked in the province & unfairly represented at home; if encouragement had not been afforded by circumstance to continue this system of aggression; if her rights as an Establishment had not been suffered to be so long & loudly questioned, & the various mischiefs arising from the unsettled state of the Reserve Question so unhappily, tho' no doubt unavoidably, protracted — is what we may pronounce, I think, as confidently as we can pronounce upon any thing which would have been but is not:

That the situation of her Clergy is extremely difficult & trying, & such as calls for the most devoted zeal & watchful circumspection from themselves, but at the same time for much indulgence & allowance towards them on the part of others; & that sensible good is effecting by their means, both as it regards the Salvation of souls & the planting of that Church whose system & all whose provisions are to be directly regarded as instruments for that grand object, & whose success is only to be desired in Conjunction with it, — is what must in common candour be acknowledged.

NOTES

1 Monica Grace Marston, "George Jehoshaphat Mountain: Aspects of his Life and Work" (Bishop's University, MA thesis, 1971), 34–5.

2 See, for example, *A Journal of Visitation to a Part of the Diocese of Quebec by the Lord Bishop of Montreal in the Spring of 1843*. 3rd ed. "The Church in Canada," no. II (London: SPG, 1846); *A Journal of Visitation in a Portion of the Diocese of Quebec by the Lord Bishop of Montreal in 1846*. "The Church in the Colonies," no. XVIII (London: SPG, 1847). Edited versions of all these journals can be found in Armine Mountain, *A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, DD, DCL, Late Bishop of Quebec* (Montreal, John Lovell, 1866). For an overview of Mountain's diocesan travels, see Marston, "George Jehoshaphat Mountain," chapter 3.

3 George Mountain married Mary Hume Thomson of Quebec City in 1814, the year he took priest's orders. "Mountain, George Jehoshaphat," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 579.

4 Elizabeth Vibert notes a somewhat different editorial process with published fur traders' journals, which tended to dramatize the events described in the originals. Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807–1846* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 31–9. Both versions of Mountain's journal are located in the Quebec Diocesan Archives, Bishop's University, Case 2, Folder 3, E.T. Visitation, G.J. Mountain.

5 Mountain became the rector for Fredericton upon his ordination in 1814, but three years later he returned to Quebec where he became officiating clergyman at the cathedral, then, in 1821, the first archdeacon for Lower Canada and first rector of the parish of Quebec. See Marston," 578–9.

6 Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things, Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 26–8.

7 With the French-Canadian influx lying largely in the future, the Catholic population of the region was only 4242. Françoise Noël, *Competing For Souls: Missionary Activity and Settlement in the Eastern Townships, 1784–1851* (Département d'histoire, Université de Sherbrooke, 1988), 235.

8 "The short representation which I made of the result of my observations in Gaspé in 1826, in order to shew the necessitous condition of the place, is the only exception. I must not be understood as attaching any high importance to my making or omitting these communications, but some other Reports which I have lat-

terly seen prepared for transmission home, as well as some hints which have reached me from thence, induce me to think that I may have been chargeable with some backwardness."

9 After serving in Drummondville, Wood was appointed rector of St James Church in Trois-Rivières in 1827, where he remained until 1856 when he returned to the Drummondville area at Upper Durham. Wood's biographer states that he shared the tastes and ideas of his friend, George J. Mountain. See "Wood, Samuel Samson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* vol. 9.

10 A major in the Voltigeurs Canadiens during the War of 1812, until he became their commanding officer in 1814, Frederick George Heriot was appointed to administer the new semi-military settlement of Drummondville in 1815. See his biography in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7.

11 Later spelled Lindsay.

12 George McLeod Ross had served Drummondville since 1827. M.E. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Quebec, 1793–1993* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1995), 337.

13 Refers to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, which, under the presidency of the Anglican archbishop, operated the only publicly funded schools in the colony from 1801 until 1824 when legislation permitted parish councils (*fabriques*) to direct one-quarter of their annual revenues to finance elementary schools. Only in 1829, with the Assembly Schools Act, would the government begin to fund schools through locally-elected trustees (syndics). J.I. Little, *State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships, 1838–1852* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 171–2.

14 "and since completed."

15 The different script suggests that the date for each journal entry was inserted later.

16 The revised edition adds here: "I cannot forbear from mentioning that it was delightful to see how much he is loved & respected by all who knew him not only at Drummondville, but in the remote outposts of his quondam charge."

17 "With the exception of a visit from the British Wesleyan Minister, who wishes to join the Church (but this is a secret). He will not succeed — at least in this country." The revised edition notes that this man soon "deserted to the ranks of Rome."

18 The merchant, Shubael Pierce, of Shipton Township had donated a lot beside the school in 1827. Mountain's journal suggests that the church had not yet been built, though a local historian

claims that it was completed in 1828. It was consecrated in 1830, when Mountain described it as a "new church." Norma Knowles Lester, *A Church Provided: The Story of St. Anne's Anglican Church, Richmond, Quebec* (Acton Vale: Gaëtan Chevanelle, 1993), 9, 12–13, 16.

19 Caleb Quotem was a character in *The Review* by the younger Colman taken from an unsuccessful comic opera, *Caleb Quotem and his Wife, or Paint, Poetry and Putty*, by Henry Lee. "Quotem is a ubiquitous and preternaturally loquacious jack of all trades, as may be seen by the sign over his door: Quotem, Schoolmaster, Watchmaker, Sign-Painter, etc. etc. N.B. This is the Parish Clerk's — I cure Agues and Teach the Use of the Globes." *The New Century Cyclopedia of Names* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), vol. 3, 3290.

20 A second Anglican church was built at Gallup Hill in 1845. Lester, *A Church Provided*, 19.

21 In the revised edition these three men are transformed into one man "in coloured clothes" who "got up & gave notice to the assembly that he should preach on the Sunday following."

22 The second edition adds that the simple introduction of regular clergy "will not cure these or other spiritual evils of unprovided settlements. They must be Clergy at once zealous and discreet — exemplary in their conduct & faithful in dealing out the breath of life; awake themselves to the awful and glorious truths of the Gospel & deeply concerned to excite the same regard for them in others."

23 The remainder of this day's entry is an example of the type of personal detail excluded from the second version of the journal.

24 Rev. Clement Fall Lefevre had served Sherbrooke since 1822. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 333.

25 Belvidere was the home of the former British naval officer, William Bowman Felton, who was a member of the Legislative Council, Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the largest landowner in the Eastern Townships. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7.

26 Eliza Margaret Felton would, in 1836, marry the Liberal politician and future judge, Thomas Cushing Aylwin. She died of cholera in Quebec in 1849.

27 William Locker Pickmore Felton, born in 1812, was the eldest of the twelve Felton children. He became a local lawyer and Liberal politician. See his biography in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10.

28 John Felton, like his brother William, had been a naval officer during the Napoleonic Wars. In Sherbrooke he was the local crown lands agent. On the Felton family compact, see J.I. Little, "British Toryism amidst 'a horde of disaffected and disloyal squatters': The Rise and Fall of William Bowman Felton and Family in the Eastern Townships," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, 1 (Fall 1992): 13–42.

29 William Felton married Anna Marie Valls at Port Mahon, Minorca, in 1811, and John Felton married her cousin, Cathalina Valls, in 1820. McCord Museum, M215 85, Morris Papers, folder I, Genealogical and Biographical Notes.

30 The second version adds: "Alas! there is one way in which the world has drank too deeply of her enchantments, & the arts have too skilfully been made the handmaids of her corruption. Rev. XVIII.3.22."

31 The second version adds "The extent of surface over which the population is spread in these new countries & the wide space between one Clergyman & another, render it imperative in all cases that each should supply the utmost amount of service of which he is capable, & also establish as many preaching stations as he can without detriment to the central point of his labours. If, however, Mr LeFevre was not doing all that might have been done to promote our cause, his deficiency has since explained itself but too well."

32 Charles F. Whitcher was married to a sister of William and John Felton. He was appointed district sheriff in 1823, and deputy grand voyer, in charge of the district's roads, in 1829. Little, "British Toryism," 22, 24.

33 Adam Hood Burwell had been the incumbent for Lennoxville since 1827. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 327. There follows in the revised version of the journal a lengthy description of the list of topics Mountain discussed with the clergy he met in his visitation, including catechising, Sunday schools, pastoral visits, preaching at outposts, observance of certain holidays, ecclesiastical dress, family devotion, and conformity of the people to ordinances such as the institution of sponsors and churching of women.

34 "This is clearly a reference to John Duns Scotus who was a medieval Scottish philosopher noted for the tortured detail and subtleties of his logic, and from whose name humanists and Reformers originated the word "dunce". *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, London: Oxford University Press, 1958; and *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, New York: Charles Scribener's Sons, 1984.

35 In the revised journal, Mountain has crossed out "plain initiatory ordinance" and added "sacrament."

36 See "Fletcher, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7.

37 Originally Eaton's Congregationalist minister, Jonathan Taylor had been convinced by Rev. Charles Stewart to join the Anglican Church, carrying his congregation with him. He became deacon in 1822 and was ordained the following year. L.S. Channell, *History of Compton County* (Cookshire: L.S. Channell, 1896), 68; Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 339.

38 The second version adds, "but surely it is sinful to exercise the gift of singing for the mere amusement of friends & to be mute in the praise of God."

39 Rev. Thomas Johnson had served Hatley since 1819. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 332.

40 The second version adds: "or some calculation of augmenting the value of property by planting a standard which shall be the rallying-point for a new Village."

41 The second version states that a tiger "drew her hand within the bars of his cage."

42 The second version adds only "I spent the Evening at Mr Burwell's for whom house as well as salary is provided by your Lordship."

43 He is referring to Rev. George Bourne, *Picture of Quebec* (Quebec: D. and J. Smillie, 1829). The 1500 copies of this travellers' guide sold out at $1 each. See Mary Macaulay Allodi and Rosemarie L. Tovell, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage: James Smillie in Quebec, 1821–1830* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989), 27, 82–9.

44 The second versions adds, "I used here my best endeavours, according to your Lordship's particular instructions, to reconcile the people to the want of a resident Minister."

45 Charleston was once the name for the village of Hatley, or East Hatley.

46 The second version adds, "named after your Lordship & the scene of your labours as a Missionary, when the Church was first planted upon the spot — the scene also in which I experienced your kindness when you surrendered your only room, in a little garret, & your own bed, during a severe illness of several weeks with which it pleased God to visit me, ten years before."

47 The second version states that the new church is "an extremely neat & well finished building, highly creditable to the exertions of the principal individuals concerned."

48 On William F. Ritchie, see Little, *State and Society*, 26, 30, 32–3, 53, 65, 153, 161.

49 The second versions states: "I am satisfied, however, that, at least in this country, it is convenient & desirable for us to acquire the habit of extemporaneous preaching: & upon many occasions of this and other journies, altho' by no means possessing any extraordinary facility of this kind myself, I have found that various circumstances made it preferable to the use of my written sermons. I believe also that I speak under the sanction not only of Episcopal permission, but of all the Episcopal precedent, that this Diocese could afford. At the same time I have taken opportunities of shewing the utter fallacy of the supposition that there can be any evidence of superior attainments, much less of superior spiritual gifts, in the practice itself of speaking without precomposed materials, in public — a practice for which all kinds of persons, on a right side or a wrong, are perfectly prepared in Parliament, at the Bar, or at public meetings on matters of secular interest; & in which the lowest demagogues are ready & fluent when they would promote the most mischievous purpose."

50 The second version notes that this was a Royal Institution school, and that "the progress of the Scholars appeared satisfactory."

51 The Vermont-born Lucius Doolittle of Hatley was at this point posted to Chaleur Bay, his first charge as an Anglican minister. In three years he would return to Lennoxville where he would spend the remainder of his working life. Christopher Nicholl, *Bishop's University, 1843–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 17.

52 Richard Knagg was posted to Stanstead by the SPG in 1819. (Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 333). The second version of Mountain's journal states only that the Church was "unfortunate in the choice of the individual, (altho he was a well-meaning person)." On the failure of the Anglican Church to establish itself in Stanstead, see Noël, *Competing for Souls*, 104–12.

53 Phineas Hubbard of Sunderland, Mass. settled in Stanstead in 1805. Born in 1775, he would only have been fifty-four years old in 1829, so Mountain may have been referring to his father. The parallel with Phineas is striking, however, for his son wrote that soon after arriving in Stanstead he was appointed magistrate, "and as there were no regular clergymen in this settlement, had to officiate in most of the marriages that occurred during the first ten years of his residence. He was employed in public affairs [possiby a euphemism for inn-keeper] several years, was deacon in the Congregational Church." There is no suggestion, however, that Phineas joined the Anglican Church. B.F. Hubbard, *Forests*

and Clearings. The History of Stanstead County (Montreal: Lovell, 1874), 126–7.

54 On William Hamilton's controversial role as the first customs collector in the Eastern Townships, see Little, *State and Society*, 51, 102–3.

55 Samuel Willard was the township leader for part of Stukely. See his biography in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6.

56 George A. Salmon served this mission from 1826 to 1838. Phyllis Hamilton, *With Heart and Hand and Voices: Histories of Protestant Churches of Brome, Missisquoi, Shefford and surrounding area* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 1996), 308, 310.

57 On Rev. Charles Caleb Cotton of Dunham, see his biography in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7.

58 On Rev. James Reid of Frelighsburg, see Mary Ellen Bacon-Reisner, "The Diaries of James Reid (1848–1851): Works and Days of a Country Clergyman (Phd dissertation, Laval University, 1990); and J.I. Little, "The Fireside Kingdom: A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Anglican Perspective on Marriage and Parenthood," forthcoming.

59 "There is marble at Philipsburgh w.ch had always led me to think of the Slab City."

60 Asa Westover had settled in Dunham Township in 1798. Bacon-Reisner, "The Diaries," 597.

61 Richard Whitwell was the incumbent for Shefford from 1821 to 1826, when he moved to St Armand West. Mrs C.M. Day, *History of the Eastern Townships* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1869), 316.

62 The second version states instead that to find a sponsor is "a great stumbling block with many in these countries, in our requisites for the administration of baptism, &, it must be confessed, often a just scandal from the careless manner in which it is undertaken."

63 The second version states that the school "is under the auspices of the R. Institution, & most satisfactorily conducted."

64 The second version adds: "for which end I firmly believe the Episcopacy must be the common bond of external union, & that the correction of certain lax notions respecting irregular assumption of the Ministry, must be an indispensable pre-requisite. God remove such faults among ourselves as help to obstruct [sic] a consummation so devoutly to be wished!"

65 General Roswell Olcott, son of a Vermont governor, had been forced to move from the state due to debts. He settled on a large estate in Brome Township. Marion Phelps, "The Moses Gilman Family, Bondville," *Eastern Townships Advertiser*, 19 Aug. 1965, p. 5.

66 The son of an American lawyer and pioneer settler in Farnham, Micajah Townsend was appointed to Caldwell's Manor (later St Thomas) and Christie's Manor (later St George) in 1815, and he was still there fifty years later. Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, 276–7, 326–8; "Rev. Micajah Townsend," *Transactions of the Missisquoi County Historical Society*, 5th Report (1913): 84–94.

67 The second version adds: "we saw upon a sign, the name of *Judgment Death*. What makes this more remarkable, is the Mr Death is an Englishman. The Americans are noted for singularity of names, witness Mr *Preserved Fish*, a well known merchant of N. York."

68 Townsend married Anne Elizabeth Davidson, daughter of Dr Davidson of Plattsburgh, in 1823. "Rev. Micajah Townsend," 94.

69 The second version adds: "But it is better to sing badly in Church, if it is not done irreverently, (& such was far from being the present case), than not to sing at all."

70 The second version adds "for the same reason as Mr Cotton."

71 The second version adds: "A Sunday School is held immediately after Church, in which the Master of the School established under the Royal Institution, takes the leading part. The Church here is a substantial brick building & the Parsonage house the best perhaps in the Diocese, but the former is completely eclipsed by the recent erection in its immediate neighbourhood, of an edifice for Romish worship with two glittering spires, whereas our own is surmounted by a little mean unpainted Cupola of wood."

72 The second version adds: "This Church, a compact stone edifice, is certainly one of the neatest both within & without, that I have seen in any country place; & it is the zeal & liberal example of the Rev. Mr Parkin, as well as to the generous support of Mr Hatt the principal lay resident of Chambly, that the Protestant inhabitants are in a great measure indebted for so respectable & commodious a place of worship."

73 Bishop Stewart commissioned Rev. Joseph Braithwaite to establish the first Anglican seminary at Chambly in 1828. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 108.

74. The second version identifies him only as the secretary of the Clergy Reserve Corporation.

75 A croquignole is a fancy biscuit. *Harrap's New Shorter French and English Dictionary* (London: George G. Harrap, 1967).

76 The second version adds: "They travel in large parties, forming a close train along the road, each within his low sleigh, loaded with so much hay & provision as will carry him as far as possible without expense for feeding man or beast. I was now in what the

Township people call the *French country*, differing from the tract inhabited by themselves, in the tenure of the lands, the style of the buildings, the system of agriculture, the breed of horses & cattle, the language, religion, manners, habits & costume of the people themselves. Considering how comparatively old are the settlements of the French inhabitants, it is remarkable how fast their neighbours are overtaking them in every thing, & in how many they surpass them; and it cannot be questioned that the chief cause of retardation among the former is the influence of the Romish Religion. Yet there are many good points in the French Canadian character, & I have always found them a civil & agreeable people, inheriting no small portion of that politeness among all classes of the population, which has so long distinguished their European ancestors."

77 Smith's "Map of the Eastern Townships" (St John's, 1867) has a Rivière du Loup on the north side of Lac Saint-Pierre, west of Yamachiche. John Campbell Driscoll was assigned to Louiseville, Nicolet, etc. in 1822. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 329.

78 This Edward Hale was the uncle of the Edward Hale who would become a leading figure in Sherbrooke in the later 1830s. Little, *State and Society*, 126.

79 Mountain published a volume of verse in 1846 titled *Songs of the Wilderness*. "Mountain, George Jehoshaphat," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 578.

BIOBIBLIOGRAPHIES / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Louise Abbott has been a professional writer and documentary photographer since 1971, and professional documentary filmmaker since 1991. She is the author of *The Coast Way*, *The French Shore*, and *A Country So Wild and Grand*. She wrote and directed *The Pinnacle and the Poet* and wrote and assistant-directed *The Empty Net*. In late 1996, she formed a partnership with electronic multi-media specialist Kent Benson to produce interactive CD-ROMs. Abbott makes her home in the hamlet of Tomifobia. She is currently working on a book about the English-speaking minority in the Eastern Townships.

Sylvie Côté a fait un baccalauréat et une maîtrise en histoire à l'Université de Sherbrooke. Elle occupe le poste d'archiviste au Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est depuis 1992. Elle est membre du Comité des affaires professionnelles de l'Association des archivistes du Québec et de la Table des archives de l'Estrie.

J.I. Little is a professor of history at Simon Fraser University. He specializes in nineteenth-century Canadian history, conducting research focussed on the Eastern Townships, and has published numerous books and articles in this field. His most recent book is *State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships*, 1838–1852 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Melissa Clark-Jones is a sociologist whose academic work and publications treat both the Canadian political economy and critical analysis of everyday life and popular culture. She teaches at Bishop's University in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. She has also served as Chairperson of the Eastern Townships Research Centre, at Bishop's since 1995, taking both a personal and institutional role in fostering research on the Townships. Her own research in this area concerns economic and cultural life, especially in single industry towns, examined via interviews, archival, bibliographic and semiotic research.

Tania Martin is a Ph.D. candidate in the History of Architecture program at the University of California at Berkeley. Her dis-

sertation, "The Architecture of Charity, Power, Women, and Religion in North America, 1840–1960," discusses the convents and charitable institutions administered by the Grey Nuns and Sisters of Providence. This work greatly expands and builds upon her M.Arch. thesis which analyzed the Mother House of the Grey Nuns in Montreal. Two articles based on this study appeared in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes, Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, VII, edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1997) and in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1999) respectively. She earned her M.Arch. at McGill University and her B.Arch. at the University of Toronto.

Antoine Sirois est professeur émérite de l'Université de Sherbrooke depuis 1994 et membre de la Société royale du Canada. Il avait poursuivi des études de licence ès lettres à l'Université de Montréal et de doctorat en littérature comparée à la Sorbonne. Attaché au Département des lettres et communications de l'Université de Sherbrooke, il s'est spécialisé dans l'enseignement et la recherche en littérature québecoise et en littérature comparée canadienne et québecoise et s'est intéressé à la mythocritique.

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