

SHERBROOKE A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO: THE REMINISCENCE OF MARY BROOKS GRAVES IN 1901

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On February 18 and 20, 1901 the *Sherbrooke Examiner* published a richly descriptive and anecdotal survey of the city's principal buildings and their proprietors during the 1850s. The author of "Sherbrooke Fifty Years Ago" was Mary Brooks Graves, the granddaughter of prominent pioneer farmer, merchant, banker, and politician, Samuel Brooks.¹ Her father, William Brooks, had also been one of the most important entrepreneurs in the region,² but his bankruptcy in 1860 caused him to move with his family to the United States. Mary was sixteen years old at the time, and she wrote her article in Wichita, Kansas at the age of fifty-five.

Considering that she had last visited her native city in 1878, Mary Brooks Graves had a rather remarkable memory, for her geographical recollections closely match the building locations recorded on the Putnam and Gray map of 1863.³ This map also suggests how limited the young woman's world had been within the city, for her observations are largely confined to the middle-class area north of the Magog River bridge where members of the elite, such as Edward Hale and Alexander Galt, were establishing their picturesque estates.⁴ This was clearly the original commercial centre of the city, but there is little hint in Graves' article that industrialization had already attracted a sizeable working-class population, many of whom were French Canadians. Nor do we learn of the economic boom and bust that left the population number stagnant at just under 3000 by the end of the decade, as well as contributing to her father's business failure.⁵

But the poor are not entirely ignored in the Graves reminiscence, and her youthful perspective on the city resulted in a vivid description of school life during the 1850s. In addition, her middle-class female status helped her to appreciate the important role played by some of the town's leading women of that time. With her moral-

ism tempered by a sharp wit, Mary Brooks Graves' well-crafted account contributes to the humanization of the city's early history. The relevant section of the Putnam and Gray map has been adapted for this publication in order to assist the reader in following Graves on her imaginary walking tour of the city as it existed a century and a half ago. The buildings she mentions are numbered in the text and on the map.

First installment

Sherbrooke, at the present day, must present a very different appearance from the Sherbrooke of my earliest recollections. I have not seen it since my visit in 1878, but even at that time I found a great many changes.

Born in 1844, I can recall many events before the opening of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. I remember the lumbering coaches that came and went to and from different points, and better still, the teams that went to Montreal, and brought out goods to my father's store. I remember the building of the Grand Trunk Railroad through the town;⁶ the grand celebration on the opening of the road, when people from all the region gathered and took their first ride on platform cars.⁷

It was in 1849 that my grandfather, Samuel Brooks, died in Montreal, at the close of Parliament, of which he was a member; and after a public funeral in Montreal, was brought to Sherbrooke and laid to rest in the New Cemetery in Upper Town, where soon his only daughter was buried near him.⁸ It must have been about 1849 that his son George Brooks,⁹ with some other young men, went to California, drawn thither by the cry of gold, to return later with more experience than nuggets.

When 1850 dawned upon Sherbrooke it was a period of financial depression. The company that controlled the water-power of the Magog River held the rentals so high that manufactures were carried on at a great disadvantage, and this restriction was felt in all branches of business.¹⁰

In order to realize the growth of Sherbrooke during the past half century, I have written a partial description of the town as I remember it, up to the time we moved away in 1860.

Beginning with the Magog bridge and going north on the east side, there was first a row of two-storey frame buildings, in one of which was Griffith's store [1].¹¹ Turning to the right along the river



bank we only saw one large building, the ancient tannery, and one or two small huts. On the north side of the street was the home of Hon. Hollis Smith, who succeeded my grandfather as member of Parliament [2].¹² There were some cottages, in one of which lived Mammy Rice, a captain in house-cleaning times, and her husband, Daddy Rice. Grandma Barnard's house was here, very large and close to the street [3]. A part of this house was, for a time, occupied by Miss Felton, who had a private school and taught music. She is one of the well remembered people of that period. A lady of fine education, she had all the advantages which could be obtained from a residence at the courts of Spain and Portugal, where her brothers represented England. She had spent a long time on the Island of Malta with another brother, and followed those brothers to Sherbrooke. She had fine conversational powers, and it was always a delight to talk with her after the music lesson, or better still, to be invited to take tea with her and listen to her tales of other lands.¹³

On the corner of Main, or Commercial street, stood the Magog House, kept for a great many years by Mr. Cheney and his family [4]. Before the advent of the railroad this hostelry was a busy centre,

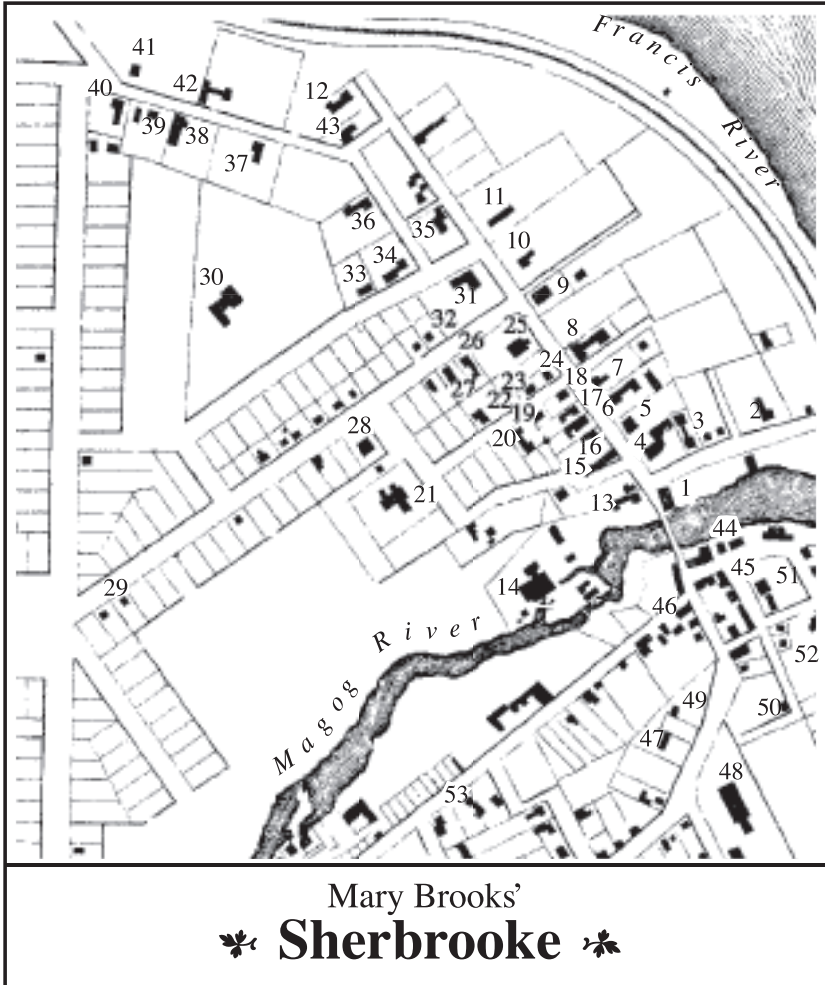
from which the coaches came and went, and its large halls and parlors were in frequent use for social gatherings.

The next building was my father, Wm. Brook's [sic] store, frame at first, of only two storeys, but was moved to Court street, to make room for a large brick block of three storeys and basement [5]. Near by, on the north side was the brick house occupied by my grandfather and family until his death. In the front room of the first floor was the bank, of which he was president [6].

There was only one other house, a cottage, before we came to the lower end of Court street. This was the office and home of Dr. Johnson, and was still standing in 1860 [7].¹⁴ East of this was a large tenement house.¹⁵ On the north-east corner of Court and Main street stood the cottage of Charles Bell, low-roofed but roomy [8]. It was very near both streets, but the garden extended north as far as the present site of the Congregational Church, and east to the edge of the bluff. I remember the wonderful beds of tulips and hyacinths, the lupins and bee larkspurs, and the Persian lilacs about the verandah. For many years after 1850 there was only a granite boulder north of Mr. Bell's, quite bare, except when covered by mud pies of the little girls around. Later, this was made the firm foundation of the Congregational Church, or Scotch Church, as we called it [9].¹⁶ For lack of funds or lack of skill the front of the boulder was not disturbed, but was faced with a brick wall, and the entrance to the church was by steps at the south-west angle. As soon as the basement was completed it was used during the week by the academy girls until the new academy was built.

Behind the church was a cottage and pearl ashery, and beyond these swamp and banks of bluets. To the north, on Main street, was the home of Mr. and Mrs. Willard, almost hidden behind the orchard of crab apple trees [10]. They lived alone, for their children were dead or moved away. Their yard extended north to the spacious home of my mother's uncle, Wm. Ritchie,¹⁷ later the home of Eleazer [sic] Clark [11].¹⁸ Northward there was nothing but gardens to the end of the street. At the end of the street, on the west side, Walter Beckett built his large brick house not far from 1860 [12].

Starting back at the bridge again, and following north on the west side, there were two brick houses, one large and one a cottage, where the bank now stands [13]. The larger house was rented for a great many years. One of the first families in this house that I remember was Col. Czowski [sic], exiled from Poland for his political opinions, who found a refuge in cosmopolitan Sherbrooke, where all true men were welcomed, without regard to politics, religion, or nationality.¹⁹



Enlargement of the area that Graves describes in her imaginary walking tour.

(Source: Putman and Gray map, 1863)

Later, Judge Gardner spent the last years of his life here, and, later still, George Robertson lived here many years. In the cottage Mr. Hallowell lived a lonely life with his son Jack.²⁰ Some of the occupants of the large house were disturbers of his peace, and he built a brick wall between the two houses so high and so long that no prying eyes could annoy him.²¹ North of Mr. Hallowell's came a crooked street that went up the hill past the old Episcopal Church on the left, which was at one time used as a school room for the Academy boys. On the right hand, high up on a boulder, stood the old Academy, school house of blessed memories to those who studied there.²²

From 1852 until its burning in 1856, I was a fortunate student of Miss Margaret Robertson, with only a short intermission, when Miss Jerusha Terrill took her place. Miss Robertson was one of those rare geniuses of whom Sherbrooke may justly be proud. Quick of intellect, warm of heart, no better teacher ever taught in those days. She made the interests of the scholars her own, and when she did not find the text books for us that she wanted, she wrote them herself, so we had Margaret Robertson's History of Canada, and History of Rome. I wonder whether any are in existence now. In order to interest us on composition days, she read to us the advance sheets of her stories. She was industrious out of school and a very rapid knitter. The girls' school was up stairs. Down stairs the boys had several teachers that I remember, but perhaps the best known was a bright young man who had been lately studying divinity, but who was now studying medicine out of school hours, until one day the whole town was startled by the news that Mr. Brownlee, principal of the Boys' Academy, was one of a gang of burglars, and suspected of murder. When he was led by the Academy, his wilom loving pupils were ready with rotten eggs. The poor man's conscience troubled him; he could not bear to look upon the happy school children from his cell, so he hired an accomplice to burn down the Academy.²³ A few years later he died in the penitentiary a thoroughly repentant man.

South from the school house, down by the river bank, was my father's paper mill, twice burned to the ground while he owned it [14].²⁴ Farther up the narrow street on the left was the brick cottage of M. Tonnancourt, a well known figure on the street, apparently without kinsman or friend, who lived and died alone.²⁵

Going back to Main [Commercial] street, the house on the corner, north of Mr. Hallowell's was the store and dwelling of Mr. Thompson, afterwards of his son-in-law, George Brooks.²⁶ Later, the Eastern Townships Bank made its home here [15].²⁷ The three two storey houses north were built very much alike. The first and second were occupied by the Rankins' and the Bryants' [16].²⁸ The third one was memorable as being the home for a long period of Captain John Felton and his wife [17]. He had been court-martialled for some slight misdemeanor while in the English army, and came to Canada to forget, if possible, the dishonor. When the Prince of Wales visited Sherbrooke he restored Capt. Felton to rank and honor, a deed which gave great pleasure to all who know him. Mrs. Felton was, I think, Portuguese, and spoke with the accent and idiom of her native land. It was a great pleasure to me when a child to go to her house, for she was a very charming woman.²⁹

The next building, on the corner of Court street, was the old Methodist Church up-stairs, while below were a shop and dwelling rooms [18]. During the week, the long straight Methodist benches were shoved together to make room in one corner for Miss Mary Short's little school. The school appliances were few. An old box stove, a large square dining-table, with benches devoid of backs ranged around it and a chair for Miss Short, were all. Here many of the children I knew began their school life, the Bells and Bowens, Clarks, Coles and Brookes [sic] among them. When we entered and left school we were required to salute Miss Short, — the boys with a bow, the girls with a curtsy, saying, Good morning, or Good-day, Miss Short. We obeyed the letter, but not the spirit, for we seldom turned our faces towards her as we left the room. She was too refined and gentle to be very severe with the little girls, but boys were an enigma to her. It seems but a little while since Frank and Ned Bowen³⁰ bounded over the backs of the Methodist seats while she tried to catch them, ruler in hand. I shall never forget one noon, when Johnnie Griffith stood on the stove while Miss Short went through the form of kindling a fire under him. We, fully expected him to find him roasted to a crisp on our return to school.

Proceeding up Court street, the next house was the home of the Misses Cockburn [19]. They had a little shop, where we children bought our wooden dolls, a penny or a copper apiece, and sticks of molasses candy rolled up tight in strips of discarded copy-books. Next came the last house on the street, so long identified with Joseph Walton and the Sherbooke Gazette,³¹ for here, in the upper storey, that paper was published until the new Market and Town Hall was built [20]. Joseph Walton was a man whose influence for good was felt where the Gazette was carried, and its circulation was large for those times. He was strong to uphold what he believed to be the right, and "his faults e'en leaned to virtue's side." The first Mrs. Walton was one of Sherbrooke's most gifted daughters, — not only a great help in the literary work upon Gazette [sic], but more than one brilliant lecture delivered before the Sherbrooke Lyceum, was the product of her bright intellect. Some years after her death, Mr. Walton was very fortunate in finding such a mother for his orphaned children, and into this peaceful home Miss Felton came when laid aside from work.³² The Walton yard was our highway to the school beyond. We climbed the little stairway to the upper garden, ran up a steep path, and a door in the garden wall opened directly into the school yard.

Second installment

At the head of Court street stood the Court House, with its Greek columns and red brick wings [21]. Thither went crowds of young law students with briefs in their hands, lest their calling should be mistaken. How eagerly we used to watch the people coming and going when some noted case was being tried.

On the north side of Court street, the first house below the Court House was that built by Mr. J.S. Sanborn, where he brought his young wife, Eleanor Brooks, and where, a few years later, her life ebbed away with the closing of the year [22].³³ The house was originally a rectangular brick building with a frame kitchen, but afterwards a large brick addition took the place of the kitchen. In the second story [sic] of this addition, Mr. Sanborn and his brother-in-law, Edward T. Brooks³⁴ had their law office.

One other house stood facing Court street, the old Brooks' store, converted into a dwelling house [23]. It was in the second storey of the west half of this that the Academy girls took refuge after the fire. In the west basement dwelt our French teacher, L.T. Mohr, an excellent scholar, but most eccentric man. He thought it wrong to laugh, so of course we often made him laugh. He thought no book should be read except the Bible, so gave up teaching and went to work in a sausage factory. The house at the next corner of Court and Main contained the office of the British American Land Company for a long time [24]. Later, it became the dwelling of the Squires family. The corner north on Main street was occupied by St. Peter's Episcopal Church as long as I can remember [25]. It was small at first, but enlarged at least once. I always associate the Rev. Mr. Reid with the church at that time.³⁵ He was a rector whose dignity and gentleness made him revered and loved by all who knew him, whether of his church or not. Going west up Montreal street we passed a row of cottages, the first of stone, the home of Dr. Dickinson, afterwards of Livingston Morris [26].³⁶ The second was the house of Dr. Worthington, a noted physician and surgeon, a graduate of the University of Dublin, Ireland [27].³⁷ The lots were very shallow, so that during a heated political campaign it seemed necessary for him to board up the rear windows of John Sanborn's sheds. The next building on the corner of Montreal street, just north of the Court House, was the old jail, — a wretched looking square building with a high brick wall about it that had a fashion of tumbling down in sections [28].³⁸ There was only one house west of this, where Thomas Somers lived [29]. Across the street, north and west, lay one unbroken stretch of pasture land, until Hon. A.T. Galt built his house on a commanding

knoll, where he entertained the Prince of Wales and suite in 1860 [30].³⁹ On the north side of Montreal street there was only one two-storey house and some cottages that I remember, until near the foot of the long hill we came to the brick house, occupied by Judge Gardner. He was an able lawyer and a genial man. I well remember going there the morning of my seventh birthday, when he greeted me, saying, "Well little woman, you are almost old enough to be my second wife."

Next came my own home, of which every room, every piece of furniture, even the very wall paper stands before me as vividly as though I had left it but yesterday [31]. I think it still stands without many changes, and was for a long time the home of Col. King. Following the little land north of our house, we came on the left to the home of the Griffiths, father and mother of several of the name [32]. On the right was the entrance to the Galt grounds. On the north side was erected a brick building, to be used as a public school [33]. On Sundays a mission school was held here which was made up of the same children who attended school there during the week, for in those days the public schools were only for the very poor.⁴⁰ Next came the house on the corner, the home of Chas. Whitcher [34].⁴¹ Across the street stood an old house, once the home of Mr. Vanneck, with the finest row of butternut trees to be found anywhere [35]. This was purchased by Dr. Brooks, improved and a very attractive home, to which he brought his second wife from St. Johnsbury, Vt.⁴² Two cottages stood north of this, one of them the home of Thomas Ritchie before he moved to Montreal.

North of Mr. Whitcher's house, the only house before the angle in the street was the home of Judge Short, until he built his fine residence south-west of the town [36].⁴³ Just at the angle stood, almost hidden by trees, a little old house, occupied by Mr. Seaton, a very⁴⁴ aged man, and his aged daughter. Misfortunes had overtaken them, and they lived so secluded a life that I doubt whether any one ever entered their home until their very last sickness. In the same grove farther on was the home of Major Beckett [37].⁴⁵ What a hospitable home, and what a fragrance those Balm of Gilead trees shed about them!

The home of Eleazar Clark came next [38], and beyond this I remember the house of many gables, where the Tebays lived [39]. The last house on that side of the street was a brick cottage, once the residence of Mr. Hopper [40]. Later, my uncle, Edward T. Brooks, bought it, and, with his young wife, made a home so attractive that it was the delight of all young people to gather there. Here, as well

as at Dr. Brooks's, was a garden filled with rare plants and flowers. On the top of the hill, on the way to the old cemetery stood a large white house, occupied by Mr. Drummond,⁴⁶ later by A. DeRougemont. Returning on the other side of the street, was the house built by Geo. Brooks,⁴⁷ one story [sic] in front, two in the rear, and a verandah running all around, in its architecture resembling a Chinese pagoda [41]. G.F. Bowen's house came next, with its garden reaching down the street [42], until it met that of Henry Beckett, whose house stood on the next corner [43].

South of the bridge there were three noteworthy buildings, each not less than one hundred feet long, with covered galleries on each storey, running the whole length, back and front. They were occupied by a motley assemblage of people not often found in so small a town. One of these houses was at the south-west end of the bridge; the others on the south side of the street, at the top and bottom of King's hill.

There was a row of stores on the river bank, occupied by R.D. Morkill,⁴⁸ A.G. Woodward⁴⁹ and others [44]. There were two or three stories towards the street, and twice as many on the river side, with endless galleries front and rear. Walter Beckett's frame store, on the south side of the street [45], was replaced by the large brick building, and Mr. Walker's was at the south-west corner beyond [46]. Before the advent of the railroad the business of the town did not extend much beyond the Magog river, but afterwards stores sprang up all along the west side of Wellington street. The east side of the street was devoted to residences before 1860. I will not try to give in detail the houses on the south of the river.

In 1850 the Catholics worshipped in the little white church which stood some distance west of the street running straight south from the bridge [47]. This was turned into a boys' school when they built the cathedral on the topmost crest of the hill and placed in the belfry the wonderfully melodious bell [48]. This bell, as well as that in the Congregational Church, came from Spain. Near by [sic] was the home of the priest [49]. I remember but one incumbent, M. Dufresne.⁵⁰ As a child I used to go to his house with my uncle, who was his physician. I learned to revere him for the good work he did among his people, especially in the case of temperance.⁵¹ He seemed, in the singleness of his purpose and the purity of his life, most like the French missionaries who came to Canada. East of the old Catholic church was built, in 1859, the new academy, and here we observed the same order as in the old, boys downstairs and girls above [50]. Frederick W. Terrill was the teacher of the boys, Eliza A.

Lyon, from Connecticut, of the girls. The two schools were not allowed to study or recite together in school hours, but there were no rules prohibiting them studying mathematics together at recess, or swinging each other in Gordon's grove at noon. Just south of the new Town Hall [51] was the Methodist Church, which was not long used as a house of worship, but was converted into a dwelling house for R.D. Morkill [52], when the Methodists built their brick church in Gordon's grove. The four denominations I have mentioned were all prior to 1860.

Up the long hill facing the Magog river stood the old Congregational Church, a house dismal enough, far enough from most of the people to satisfy the most rigid Puritan [53]. The bleak, discolored walls, the smoky stoves, the rain-streaks on the curtains, and the rectangular, high-backed seats haunt me still.

It was afterwards used a short time for a theatre, but how anything except tragedy could be represented there, I cannot imagine.

In the upper town, west and south of the church, stood the old market, built in a long forgotten style of architecture. The building was four squares, the upper storey projecting over the lower so far as to form a loggia⁵² all around for the little carts and ponies.

There were many people of that period who endeared themselves to all who knew them. One of these was the Hon. Edward Hale, who lived in a beautiful grove, a little way down the Brompton road. He had been connected with the East India Company in his earlier days and sought in Sherbrooke a quiet home to bring up his family.⁵³ Always interested in the education of the young, he was a frequent visitor at the Academy. On one occasion I was reciting Latin, and always after that, when I met him, he greeted me with some Latin sentence, or merely *salve domina*. Girls did not often study Latin, then, but now, *tempora mutantur*, out here in the heart of the Great American Desert, an academy girl must read her Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil: her Anabasis and Iliad before she can enter the classical course of Fairmount College.

Another most notable character was the Rev. James Robertson — Father Robertson, as he was called — for more than a score of years pastor of the Congregational Church, continuing his services beyond his ninetieth year. He was born in Scotland, educated at Aberdeen, and came to this country early in the century. After filling other pulpits for a time, he settled in Sherbrooke, with his large family about him. He was a man of vigorous intellect, of strong reasoning powers and wonderful memory. His long sermons, reduced to short-hand writing on a piece of paper were memorized. Possessed

of great physical endurance, he preached three times every Sabbath, year in year out, and scorned a summer vacation. His first sermon was in the Sherbrooke church, and after dinner he went to Lennoxville and held service, upon the close of which he drove to our house. As soon as supper was over the dining-room was made ready and the people gathered for Bible class. This was followed by an evening service at the church. Mr. Robertson lived on a little farm, a mile and a half south of the town, east of the river.

Among the humbler class of people no one was better known than Horace Amos Burchard. We all called him "Orasmus," and I, for one, did not know his right name until I saw the notice of his death. Deprived of many of his mental faculties, he was so gentle, so careful of anything entrusted to his keeping that few days passed when very little children were not seen in his arms, or trundled about the streets. Everyone was fond of this kind-natured, unfortunate man, until some rude fellows, "just for a joke," taught him to drink, and his last years were full of untold misery. His sister Caroline was, perhaps, a little brighter. Her prospects for wedded life were not very brilliant, and my mother once, in an unguarded moment, told her that if she ever got married she would have a pink China tea set that she coveted. Caroline found a husband and the pretty China graced our board no more.

And now, let me draw my lengthy description to a close. The images crowd before me, but there must be an end to all things. I fear I have made some errors, especially in the dates, but I am too far away to be able to rectify them — too far away in a material sense, for my thoughts are constantly wandering back to my old home, to its pleasant surroundings and the friends I left there.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce manuscrit est en fait une lettre écrite par Mary Brooks Graves, une ancienne Sherbrookoise, qui a paru dans le Sherbrooke Examiner en 1901. Elle décrit de manière vive et précise les bâtiments et les habitants de la ville de Sherbrooke à une époque où l'auteure et la ville étaient jeunes, c'est à dire, 50 ans auparavant.

ABSTRACT

The document published here consists of a letter published by the Sherbrooke Examiner in 1901. Written by a former resident, Mary Brooks Graves, it recalled in vivid detail the buildings and their residents when both she and the town were young, a half a century earlier.

NOTES

- 1 For a detailed study of Samuel Brooks, see Charlotte Thibault, *Samuel Brooks, entrepreneur et homme politique de Sherbrooke, 1793–1849* (Département d'histoire, Université de Sherbrooke, 1985).
- 2 Born in 1814, seven years before his family moved to Stanstead from Haverhill, New Hampshire, William Brooks was already a major wholesale merchant by the 1840s. By 1845 he had invested \$600 in the Sherbrooke Cotton Factory, the first of its kind in Canada. In 1849, with the assistance of the British American Land Company, Brooks built a large paper factory valued at \$17,000. He soon doubled production with a second building, but both burned to the ground in 1852, causing a personal loss of over \$15,000. Brooks then built a more technologically sophisticated plant, whose production reached \$56,000 in 1856. He also leased the British American Land Company's large saw mill on the Magog River and its wooden pail factory in 1854, and he owned a small door and sash factory. Taking advantage of his father's management of the local branch of the City Bank of Montreal, Brooks owed that institution nearly \$45,000 as early as 1849, and between 1849 and 1854 he borrowed close to \$18,000 from the land company for factory construction costs. By the latter date he owed the City Bank \$75,000. Thibault, *Samuel Brooks*, 25-7; Jean-Pierre Kesteman, *Une bourgeoisie et son espace: industrialisation et développement du capitalisme dans le district de Saint-François (Québec), 1823–1879* (PhD dissertation, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1985), 228–9, 234–5, 244–5, 337, 341, 367, 384–5, 389, 391, 449–50, 452, 462, 467–8, 630, 668–9.
- 3 In a subsequent edition (March 6, 1901), the *Examiner* published a critique from a much older clergyman, Rev. B. Brunning of Mansfield, Pennsylvania, who had arrived in Sherbrooke with his family in 1836, at the age of fifteen. Brunning may have felt that he had been somewhat upstaged, for he claimed that he had written "many letters of my recollections of Sherbrooke's history, from 1836 to 1854, and put them in form for the public library later at the request of the Secretary of that Institution, where they are now." While claiming that there were "some very gross errors" in the Graves article, however, Brunning made only a few rather inconsequential criticisms, which are noted in the following footnotes.
- 4 On this theme, see Janet Wright, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984).
- 5 Kesteman, *Une bourgeoisie*, 416–17. The French Canadians increased from 487 in 1851 to 698 in 1861, an expansion from 16 percent to 24 percent. Canada, *Census Reports*, 1851–2, 1860–1.

- 6 See Jean-Pierre Kesteman, "Les travailleurs à la construction du chemin de fer dans la région de Sherbrooke (1851–1853)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 31 (1978): 525–46; and 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), 71–7.
- 7 For a first-hand description of the riotous celebration, see Jane Vansittart, ed., *Lifelines: The Stacey Letters, 1836–1858* (London: Peter Davies, 1976), 136–8. A detailed newspaper account appears in Maurice O'Bready, *De Ktiné à Sherbrooke. Esquisse historique de Sherbrooke: des origines à 1954* (Université de Sherbrooke, 1973), 167–70.
- 8 Born in 1824, Eleanor Hall Brooks married John Sewell Sanborn in 1847 and died in 1853, leaving three children. Thibault, *Samuel Brooks*, 33, 131; Gordon O. Rothney, "Sanborn, John Sewell," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, 641, 643.
- 9 Unlike Samuel Brooks' other offspring, George Brooks is not mentioned in Thibault's biography.
- 10 A reference to the British American Land Company, which had actually invested considerable sums of money in the city's industrial development in anticipation of the arrival of the St Lawrence and Atlantic Railway. Upon Alexander Galt's resignation as commissioner in 1855, this policy changed. See Ronald Rudin, "Land Ownership and Urban Growth: The Experience of Two Quebec Towns, 1840–1914," *Urban History Review*, 8, no. 2 (1979): 28–30.
- 11 Thomas Griffith is listed as general grocer in the Putnam and Gray map's Sherbrooke Directory.
- 12 Hollis Smith was a farmer and merchant in Lennoxville when he formed a "connection in trade" with Samuel Brooks in 1832. He soon became a prominent local capitalist, and moved to Sherbrooke in 1856, the same year that he was elected to the Legislative Council (not the Legislative Assembly in 1849, as Graves suggests). Gordon O. Rothney, "Smith, Hollis," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 727.
- 13 On the Felton family, 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.
- 14 Johnson was the local prison doctor. Little, *State and Society*, 91.
- 15 Brunning writes: "The first historic error I note, is that I have no recollection of 'a large tenement house,' east of Dr. Johnston's [sic]."

- 16 Brunning writes: "If she had been a boy and climbed that solid rock, and tumbled around it as much as I did she would never have called it a 'boulder,' for it grew there and was not a drift."
- 17 William Ritchie was a Stanstead notary and county registrar and Tory political activist before he moved to Sherbrooke to take over that county's registry office. He replaced Samuel Brooks as the City Bank agent upon the latter's death in 1849. Little, *State and Society*, 26, 30, 32–3, 65, 153, 161; Kesteman, *Une bourgeoisie*, 631.
- 18 Eleazar Clark was the High Constable of Sherbrooke. For a description of some of his adventures during the 1840s, see Little, *State and Society*, 67–70 passim, 84–5, 115, 116. Clark would make a considerable fortune from his copper mine speculations during the Civil War. Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Peter Southam, and Diane Saint-Pierre, *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est* (Sainte-Foy: IQRC, 1998), 335.
- 19 The son of a minor landed noble, Sir Casimir Gzowski was the engineer hired by Alexander Galt in 1849 to take charge of completing construction of the St Lawrence and Atlantic Railway through the Eastern Townships. He built an elaborate home for his family in Toronto in the late 1850s. On his role in the Polish nationalist insurrection of 1830–1 and subsequent career in the United States and Canada, see H.V. Nelles, "Gzowski, Sir Casimir Stanislaus," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, 389–96.
- 20 According to Bernard Epps, James William Hallowell was the first lawyer to practice in Sherbrooke. He was instrumental in having the Queen's Bench of the District of St Francis gain criminal jurisdiction in 1843, and in 1847 he was appointed bankruptcy commissioner with a salary of £200 and the right to practice law in cases not before the bankruptcy court or the Quarter Sessions. Bernard Epps, *The Eastern Townships Adventure* (Ayer's Cliff, Que.: Pigwidgeon Press, 1992), 174; Monique Choquette-Habel, *Edward Hale, un des fondateurs de la première société organisée de Sherbrooke, 1801–1875* (MA thesis, Université de Sherbrooke, 1985), 98; Little, *State and Society*, 79, 81–2.
- 21 Brunning claims, instead, "that brick wall was built because the windows of one property were near to the line of the other."
- 22 Though they were private institutions, the government heavily subsidized academies. On those in the Eastern Townships, see Little, *State and Society*, 226–30; and Anne Drummond, *From Autonomous Academy to Public 'High School': Quebec English Protestant Education, 1829–1889* (MA thesis, McGill University, 1986).
- 23 Brunning writes: "I do fear that that story of burglary, murder, rotten eggs, etc., is largely fiction, especially the eggs and his hiring some one to burn down the academy. Was not the academy

- fired to draw the attention of the turnkey so Brownlee could escape? At least that is the information I have.”
- 24 On the history of the region’s paper industry, see Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l’Est*, 316–19.
 - 25 Charles de Tonnancourt was a local lawyer. Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l’Est*, 196.
 - 26 Neither Thompson nor George Brooks appear in the Sherbrooke Directory printed with the Putnam and Gray map.
 - 27 The Eastern Townships Bank was established in 1859. Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l’Est*, 292.
 - 28 The Sherbrooke Directory in the Putnam and Gray map lists G.G. Bryant as a carpenter with the Grand Trunk Railway. A G.G. Bryant would become mayor of Sherbrooke in 1896. O’Bready, *De Ktiné*, 133.
 - 29 John Felton had served as a lieutenant in the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic Wars. He was dismissed in 1809 when the French vessel under his charge was wrecked, but he was reinstated before being paid off at the onset of peace in 1815. He married the cousin of his brother William Bowman Felton’s wife. Both were Spanish, from the Isle of Minorca. He served for thirty-seven years as the local crown lands agent in Sherbrooke. McCord Museum, Morris Papers, M215 85, folder I, Genealogical and Biographical Notes.
 - 30 Most likely the sons of George Frederick Bowen, who resigned as the district bankruptcy commissioner to become the sheriff in 1846. He was a business partner of his brother-in-law, Edward Hale, and became Sherbrooke’s first mayor in 1852. Little, *State and Society*, 31–2, 81; Choquette-Hable, *Edward Hale*, 32, 45–8, O’Bready, *De Ktiné*, 132.
 - 31 Walton founded the *Gazette* in 1834. See Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l’Est*, 211; Epps, *Townships Adventure*, 200–3; Little, *State and Society*, 29, 42, 87, 131, 137, 152, 154, 160.
 - 32 Brunning assumes that Graves was stating that Walton married Felton, and notes that his second wife was, rather, “a widow Sutton.”
 - 33 Sanborn arrived in Sherbrooke as an American-educated teacher of advanced liberal views. With Sherbrooke’s 1850 by-election he became the only annexationist to be elected to the Legislative Assembly. He entered the Legislative Council in 1863, and the Senate in 1867. He was appointed to the Superior Court for the District of St Francis in 1872, and the Montreal Queen’s Bench in 1874. Little, *State and Society*, 43, 45–6, 65, 70, 72, 114, 115, 132; Rothney, “Sanborn,” 641–3.

- 34 Edward Towle Brooks became Sanborn's law partner in 1858, and succeeded Alexander Galt as Sherbrooke's Conservative Member of Parliament in 1872. Rothney, "Sanborn," 643; Thibault, *Samuel Brooks*, 131.
- 35 Charles Peter Reid, son of Reverend James Reid of Frelighsburg, served in Compton from 1840 to 1853, and in Sherbrooke from 1853 until his death in 1888. M.E. Reisner, *The Diary of a Country Clergyman, 1848–1851: James Reid* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 216–20.
- 36 O'Bready (*De Ktiné*, 35) identifies Livingston Edward Morris as a protonotary, while Kesteman (*Une bourgeoisie*, 605, 606, 613) identifies him as a rentier and land speculator. He was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel William Morris, who played a leading role in the region during the Rebellions, and who died in 1851. McCord Museum, Morris Family Papers, W. Morris to Livingston Morris, 5 April 1845; Little, *State and Society*, 32, 53–5, 121, 131.
- 37 In 1847 Dr E.D. Worthington performed the first surgery under the anaesthetic of ether in Canada. He was also a pioneer in the use of chloroform. Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est*, 417.
- 38 On the Sherbrooke jail in the 1840s, see Little, *State and Society*, 51–2, 57, 61–2.
- 39 For Galt's role in the Eastern Townships, see the numerous references in Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est*; and Little, *State and Society*. For a recent overview of his career, see the biography in the forthcoming re-edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 40 The Putnam and Gray map identifies this building as the Colonial SH. What had originated as the Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland went through several name changes until it became the Colonial and Continental Church Society in 1861. This British-based society began to receive provincial grants in 1840–1, after the public system had been disrupted by the Rebellions, and most of its schools in the Eastern Townships were in marginal British-settled areas, but it did operate a school in Sherbrooke with 368 students in 1840–1. Little, *State and Society*, 179, 202.
- 41 As the brother-in-law of William Bowman Felton, Charles Whitcher had benefited from the government's administration of patronage by becoming the district's first sheriff and deputy grand-voyer, in charge of the public roads. He was also commanding officer of the local militia batallion during the Rebellions of 1837–38. See Little, "British Toryism."

- 42 According to Thibault (*Samuel Brooks*, 131), Mary Brooks Graves' uncle, Samuel Brooks, became a doctor and moved to the United States. He is listed in the Putnam and Gray map's Sherbrooke Directory as an M.D. and surgeon.
- 43 The English-born Edward Short began to practice law in Sherbrooke in 1830, and later presided over the district Court of the Sessions of the Peace. Short was elected as Sherbrooke's MLA in 1851, then became justice of the district's Superior Court in 1852, a position he held until his death in 1871. Maurice O'Bready, "Short, Edward," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, 653–4; O'Bready, *De Ktiné*, 28, 34, 73–4, 84; Little, *State and Society*, 32, 45, 46, 75.
- 44 The following lines were jumbled by the newspaper printer, and have been placed in their proper order here.
- 45 Originally a farmer, Henry Beckett established a brick works north of the village of Sherbrooke in 1823. It was still functioning in 1870, when the family businesses were valued at \$24,000. Kesteman, *Une bourgeoisie*, 267. For a photograph of Beckett, see Kesteman et al., *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est*, 115.
- 46 The Putnam and Gray map's Sherbrooke Directory lists John Drummond as a builder and lumber dealer.
- 47 Since Graves mentions above that her Uncle George lived in his store, this is presumably a reference to her great-uncle, George Washington Brooks, a political radical as well as a local entrepreneur. See Thibault, *Samuel Brooks*, 22, 23, 24, 26, 60, 63, 92, 118, 129.
- 48 R.D. Morkill is listed in the Putnam and Gray map's Sherbrooke Directory as a merchant and land agent. He served as the city's mayor from 1872 to 1875. O'Bready, *De Ktiné*, 133.
- 49 Brunning writes that "the late coroner, A.G. Woodward, Alba Brown, a Mr Haskell and a few others" came to the rescue in 1837 "when my father died [...] leaving my mother sick, and the family in abject poverty." Woodward was also a merchant who declared bankruptcy in 1843. Thibault, *Samuel Brooks*, 53.
- 50 Sherbrooke's first French-Canadian priest, Rev. Alfred-Elie Dufresne, served the city from 1853 to 1891. O'Bready, *De Ktiné*, 34.
- 51 On the early history of the temperance movement in the Eastern Townships, see J.I. Little. "'A Moral Engine of Such Incalculable Power': The Temperance Movement in the Eastern Townships, 1830–52," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, no. 11 (Fall 1997): 5–38.

- 52 A loggia is a gallery or arcade open to the air on at least one side.
The Gage Canadian Dictionary.
- 53 On Hale, see Choquette-Habel, *Edward Hale*; Louis-Philippe Audet, "Hale, Edward," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, 326–7; and the many references in Little, *State and Society*.

