

REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES
CANTONS DE L'EST



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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN EASTERN TOWNSHIPS MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Peter Southam

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RÉSUMÉ

Aucune région canadienne, hors des grands centres métropolitains, n'a maintenue une base manufacturière aussi importante, aussi diversifiée et pendant une si longue période que les Cantons de l'Est. L'auteur s'interroge sur les facteurs pouvant expliquer le phénomène des disparitions des bases manufacturières dans les Cantons de l'Est, une région ayant servi de berceaux pour l'industrialisation. L'auteur explique comment les facteurs qui ont encouragé les premières étapes de l'industrialisation dès les années 1840, n'occupent plus la même importance durant la période 1896–1960. Ceci rend la structure industrielle régionale moins compétitive et donc plus vulnérable. Après 1960, par contre, le contexte change de nouveau et on assiste à un retour des facteurs favorisant le renforcement de la structure manufacturière régionale.

In the context of a 1920s campaign aimed at attracting industrial investors, the Sherbrooke Board of Trade characterized the Eastern Townships as “The New England of Canada,” adding that the region could also be described as “A Province Within a Province.” During the following decades, these two catch-phrases enjoyed great popularity, both as expressions of regional pride and for promotional purposes. The objective, of course, was to present the Townships as an industrial heartland possessing a highly diversified and well-integrated economy. The first slogan implied that the Eastern Townships had served as the prototype for Canadian industrialization, just as New England had in the case of the United States. To ensure that Townships industry should not be perceived as in any way *outdated*, the second slogan presented the Townships as a microcosm of the Quebec economy.

Both structurally and from a historical perspective, these claims were then (and remain today) not without foundation. The earliest signs of industrialization in the Townships are among the nation's

earliest, reaching as far back as the 1820s. Few Canadian regions subsequently produced as many fundamental innovations in industrial technology, in modes of production and in the organization of capital. Furthermore, as we shall see, the industrial history of the Eastern Townships has been characterized by remarkable structural diversity. The diversity of the regional economy is reflected in the richness of the Townships' urban texture, with its pulp and paper towns, textile towns, railway towns, mining towns and towns of differing mixed vocation. Other characteristics of Eastern Townships manufacturing, which have contributed to the region's reputation as a model industrial region, are continuity and longevity. From the earliest date for which comparable statistics exist (1871) to the present day, between 8% and 9% of Quebec's industrial base has been located within the Eastern Townships. Since the Townships' population has, in recent decades, decreased in relation to Quebec's total population, the region now has the highest proportion of industrial workers outside metropolitan Montreal. In a world where most long-established manufacturing regions have seen their industrial base melt away, the continued presence of a strong manufacturing sector, over such a long period, is particularly worthy of note.

It would nevertheless be a mistake to pretend that the industrial history of the Townships evolved without difficulty or in perfect synchrony with the broader process of Canadian industrialization. In fact, from the end of the 19th century, for a long period of time, the Eastern Townships faced the prospect of industrial decline. The present article will focus on the problems encountered by the Eastern Townships region in maintaining its industrial base in the face of changing conditions. In order to understand the problems that began to affect Eastern Townships industry in the 1890s, it will be necessary, first of all, to explain the forces which drove the region's industrial expansion during the previous period. We shall then examine factors working against the continued development of the Eastern Townships' manufacturing sector during the course of the 20th century and explain how the Townships managed, in the end, to renew its industrial base, thus avoiding the fate of other aging industrial regions. It must be emphasized that this paper explores the particular problem of renewal within an aging industrial region. The object is *not* to summarize the history of industrialization in the Townships. That complex process has been treated in some detail by Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Diane Saint-Pierre and Peter Southam in *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est* and Jean-Pierre Kesteman has already published an excellent synthesis on the subject.¹

The study area is the same as described in *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est*. It includes most of the traditionally defined Eastern Townships but leaves out the major portions of Drummond and Athabaska counties which are situated in the Saint Lawrence plain and developed historically as extensions of the seigneuries.

The Forces Driving Eastern Townships Industrial Expansion during its "Golden Age"

The early settlers of the Townships were New Englanders, who brought with them the same technical and organizational skills which transformed New England into America's first industrial heartland in the early the 19th century. Through the actions of Yankee entrepreneurs, who were soon joined by equally resourceful immigrants from the British Isles, the Townships developed economically as a northern extension of New England. As was the case in New England, industrial development in the Townships was stimulated by technological innovation, endogenous capital accumulation, access to resources and access to growing markets. The technological innovations which took place in the Townships during the 19th century are too numerous and varied to summarize here. A sense of their importance can nevertheless be conveyed by mentioning a few examples in the fields of textiles and pulp and paper.² In 1826, Joseph Atwood built Lower Canada's first integrated woollen factory in the village of Magog. Similar mills rapidly proliferated in the region and then, thanks to the initiative of Adam Lomas and Andrew Paton, large-scale production was introduced in the 1860s, making Sherbrooke Canada's most important manufacturing centre for woollen goods. Canada's first cotton factory opened in Sherbrooke in 1845 under the control of Canada's first incorporated joint stock company. A generation later, Magog again found itself at the forefront with the opening of the Magog Textile and Print Company's calico and cotton prints factory in 1884. Turning now to pulp and paper, William Brooks introduced industrial paper-making technology to Canada when he installed a 64-inch Fourdrinier paper machine in his Sherbrooke factory in 1849. At that time, rags were still the main source of raw materials. The first important step in the replacement of textile fibres by wood fibres as raw material in paper making was the introduction of the Scottish chemical soda pulp process, which took place for the first time in Canada at Windsor Mills in 1866. Windsor Mills, Canada's oldest still-functioning pulp and paper town, was soon joined by Kingsey Falls, East Angus and Bromptonville, which were to play equally

important roles in the history of the Canadian pulp and paper industry.

At the same time that regional entrepreneurs were introducing new technologies of the sort we have just mentioned, there emerged within the Townships a capitalist class which, in association with Boston and Montreal entrepreneurs, became the main backers of the region's industrial expansion.³ Financial institutions such as the Eastern Townships Bank, founded in 1859, and the Sherbrooke Trust (originally the Sherbrooke Permanent Building Society) founded in 1874, ensured that local capital, accumulated in the agricultural and mercantile sectors, remained in the region and contributed to the development of manufacturing.

The industrial development of the Townships was also facilitated, during the 19th century, by the region's natural resources and geographical location. Besides possessing excellent agricultural land as well as considerable mineral and forest resources, the region was blessed with a hydrology particularly well suited to the water-wheel technology of the early industrial age. The full potential of Townships mill-sites could not be realized until the arrival of railways which rapidly provided the region with one of Canada's densest railway networks. The urban geography of the Townships, with its plethora of small and medium-sized towns, is, to a large degree, the result of the conjunction of mill-sites and railway lines.

Thanks to the region's strategic location, at the crossroads of North-South (New England – Central Canada) and East-West (Maritimes – Central Canada) transportation corridors, the manufacturing industry expanded almost uninterrupted during the second half of the 19th century. Between 1854 and 1866, Townships manufacturing centres were ideally situated to profit from the growth in trade with the United States brought about by the Reciprocity Treaty and the American Civil War. During the following period, when protectionist policies prevailed, the region was equally well-placed to take advantage of stimulated demand for Canadian manufactured goods in the Maritimes and Central Canada. The recession which affected most industrialized regions between 1873 and 1896 had much less impact in the Townships than in Quebec as a whole. This can be seen by the fact that industrial employment more than doubled in the Townships between 1881 and 1891 while it grew at a much slower pace in Quebec as a whole.⁴

During this period, in part due to its strength in primary industries—forestry, mining, agriculture—the Townships developed a remarkably broad range of manufacturing sectors. By the 1890s,

the region boasted an important resource-processing sector (primary metals, wood products, pulp and paper); a varied textile manufacturing sector (wool, cotton, silk and knitted products); other light manufacturing (rubber products, chemicals and explosives); heavy manufacturing (machinery and industrial equipment), as well as such low-technology industries as tobacco products, food and beverages. By 1890 the Townships was producing a high proportion of Quebec's total industrial output. In pulp and paper the region's share was 31%, in wool manufacturing 54%, cotton 41%, knitted goods 95%, silk 100%, rubber 100%, chemicals 79%, cigars 73%, beer 44%, primary metals and machinery 20%, to name but the most important. Besides having been first developed in the Townships, and despite difficulties in adaptation to a changing North American industrial environment, most of these sectors have, as we shall see, maintained a continued presence in the region until the present day.

Discordant Adaptation to the New Economic Environment: 1900–1960

Around 1896, at the same time that the Quebec and Canadian economies were recovering from recession and about to embark on what most historians consider to be the decisive phase of industrial "take-off," the Townships' economy was experiencing exactly opposite tendencies. On the regional level, the strong industrial expansion of the previous period came to an end, and Townships industry entered into a period of relative stagnation. What brought about this change and why did the Townships' economy act so differently from the overall Quebec economy? Before answering these questions, it is important to point out that what we shall refer to as the "discordant" behaviour of the Townships' industrial economy lasted for a period of more than six decades. In other words, although the Townships experienced episodes of strong industrial growth between 1900 and 1960, the region experienced just as many reversals. There was, in addition, a general lack of synchrony between phases of industrial growth taking place at the provincial level and those taking place at the regional level. In order to better understand the difficulties experienced by the Townships' industrial economy during this important period of its development, we shall now compare growth in manufacturing production for the province of Quebec, the Eastern Townships and two sub-regions of the Townships: the section located to the west of Lake Memphremagog and, on the other hand, the central and eastern parts of the Townships. The nature of the statistical data available has forced us to consider the central and eastern parts of the Townships as one. It is

Table I
Annual Percentage Increase in Total Value Added in Manufacturing Production,
Quebec, Townships, sub-regions (Constant Dollars): 1900–1960

	1900–10	1910–20	1920–30	1930–40	1940–50	1950–60
Quebec	6.39	1.85	6.95	2.84	4.08	5.12
Townships	2.76	4.53	6.41	5.32	3.36	3.94
<i>Sub-regions</i>						
West	0.46	Negative	15.73	4.16	4.49	4.86
Centre-East	3.44	6.75	3.34	7.35	2.79	3.10

Sources: Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. 3, Table XIII; 1911, Vol. 3, Table IX;
Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Manufacturing Industries of Canada*, 1920-.

nevertheless important to understand that, during this period, industrial development took place mostly in the central sections, and only to a small degree in the eastern, sections of the region.

Table I clearly demonstrates the tendency of the Townships' manufacturing industry to evolve discordantly vis-à-vis Quebec manufacturing seen as a whole. The table also demonstrates that, in order to understand the evolution of the Townships' manufacturing industry, it is essential to take into account trends in sub-regional industrial expansion. At the outset, it appears remarkable that the Eastern Townships should have benefitted so little from the period of industrial growth which transformed Canadian and Quebec economies between 1896 and 1914. During the 1910–1920 decade, the Townships' industrial performance again appears out of harmony with trends at the provincial level, but this time in the opposite sense, and to its advantage. Strong industrial growth in Sherbrooke and the surrounding towns of the central sub-region explain this reawakening. During the 1920s the Townships as a whole participated in the strongest period in the history of Quebec industrial growth. However, in examining the sub-regional distribution, it becomes obvious that, for a second time, the central sub-region failed to participate in a fundamental phase of national industrial development. Industrial expansion in the Eastern Townships during the 1920s took place mainly in the western part of the region (the Granby–Cowansville–Bedford–Waterloo area), which, after decades of stagnation, suddenly awakens at this stage.

The discordant nature of the Townships' industrial expansion is again apparent during the 1930s. In the context of the Depression, the Townships perform much better than Quebec does as a whole and the central sub-region saw its industrial base develop more

quickly than at any other time during the 1900 to 1960 period. During the 1940s and 1950s, Townships industrial expansion seems increasingly anaemic compared to performance at the provincial level. At the sub-regional level, however, it is apparent that Sherbrooke and surrounding towns experienced serious difficulty, while the manufacturing towns situated closer to Montreal added to their industrial base. As we shall see, by 1960 the western part of the Townships was well on its way to equalling the centre in industrial development.

How can one explain the uneven performance of the Eastern Townships' manufacturing industry during the 1900–1960 period? It is first of all apparent that the forces that had driven the Townships' industrial expansion during its "golden age" did not apply in the new economic context which took shape after the turn of the century. Increased capital concentration and the increased mobility of capital resulted in the disappearance of the endogenous capitalist class, which had played such an important role in the early industrialization of the Townships. The absorption, in 1912, of the region's most important financial institution, the Eastern Townships Bank, by Toronto's Bank of Commerce, is symptomatic of this loss of economic autonomy. As a result, the industrial development of the Townships became increasingly dependent on outside capital investment and, for reasons we shall now examine, such investment was slow in manifesting itself during the first decades of the 20th century.

By the turn of the century, the region's natural resources were no longer as well suited to the needs of industry as they had been during the previous stage of development. The passage from hydraulic and steam power to electricity as the main source of energy for industrial production explains, to a large degree, the lack of industrial growth during the first decades of the 20th century. The rivers of the St. Francis basin, with their moderate flow and steep vertical drop, had been ideally suited for water-wheel technology but their potential for hydro-electric generation was severely limited. Therefore, despite the fact that half of Quebec's electrical plants were situated in the Townships by the second decade of the century, they were of too small capacity to furnish the power necessary for industrial production.⁵ It was only through the importation of electricity from outside the region that the industrial application of hydro-electric power became possible in the Townships. The effects of the connection of the central sub-region to the Shawinigan Water and Power during the First World War and the connection, in the early

1920s, of the western sub-region, thanks to the establishment of the Southern Canada Power grid, are clearly demonstrated by the sudden surges in the levels of industrial production which they induced.⁶

The inadequacy of natural resources had a particularly debilitating effect on the region's pulp and paper mills. The latter found it increasingly difficult to compete with the newer mills established in the Canadian Shield. Not only did they suffer from a lack of generative power during the first decades of the 20th century, but they also were severely handicapped by the depletion of the region's forest resources. From the 1920s to the 1960s most of the wood supplied to Townships pulp and paper mills had to be imported from the Lac-Saint-Jean and Sainte-Anne districts north of the Saint Lawrence. Incapable of competing in the lucrative newsprint field, or with mills situated closer to the supply of raw materials, most Townships mills turned to the production of less economically viable Kraft paper as a strategy for survival.

Easy access to markets for Townships manufacturers was less evident in the new economic environment of the post 1900 period than it had been during the 19th century. The development of Western Canada was the main factor stimulating national economic development at that time. As Canada's demographic centre of gravity shifted west and the Maritimes no longer held as important a place in the national economy, the Townships could no longer claim to be centrally located. Since railway freight rates placed Townships manufacturing industry at a disadvantage whenever their produce were shipped west of Montreal, there was increasing pressure on certain industries, such as machinery and industrial equipment, to move their operations from the Townships to Ontario.⁷

Despite the problems encountered by certain long-established industrial sectors, the new economic context nevertheless favoured certain forms of industrial expansion. Once an abundant source of energy had been provided by the establishment of high-voltage hydro-electric transmission, the small and medium-sized towns of the Eastern Townships attracted the attention of American corporations which at this time were beginning to establish branch plants outside large metropolitan centres. The new branch-plant economy was made up, essentially, of labour intensive, light manufacturing of consumer goods, particularly textiles. The Townships provided an attractive location for this type of industry because of its well-established infrastructures and the labour potential of its abundant rural population. During this period, employment in

Townships textile factories increased steadily from 2 600 in 1920 to 13 200 in 1956. In Sherbrooke, the proportion of textile workers among manufacturing workers rose from 28% in 1911 to 59% in 1941, signifying both a loss of industrial diversity and a shift towards a less qualified work force.

The new branch-plant economy signalled the arrival of new types of production and much larger plants than those already in existence. To name a few examples, the Julius Kayser Company opened Canada's first silk stocking factory in Sherbrooke in 1919 and the following year, also in the region's capital, Connecticut Cotton Mills Ltd. built the vast plant that was later to be acquired by Dominion Textile. In 1922, Bruck Silk Ltd. opened Canada's first synthetic silk factory in Cowansville; Collins and Aikman Ltd. opened its plant in Farnham in 1929 and; between 1930 and 1936, Esmond Mills, Nordic Hosiery and Burlington Ribbon Company all opened plants in Granby. As indicated by these examples, while the more heavily industrialized central region benefited by the arrival of branch plants, this new phase of industrialization was also highly advantageous to the western sub-region. Between 1921 and 1939, while employment in manufacturing rose 116% in the four most important towns of the central sub-region (Sherbrooke, Magog, Coaticook and Windsor Mills), it rose 395% in the four corresponding towns of the western sub-region (Granby, Cowansville, Waterloo and Farnham).

The important place that the textile industry came to occupy in the Eastern Townships' industrial structure explains why the region performed so well compared to the rest of Quebec during the 1930s. Textiles are essential consumer goods and are, as such, less affected than non-essential goods by downturns in the economy. Furthermore, tariff measures adopted by the federal government between 1930 and 1933 and the signature of the Imperial Preference Treaty with Great Britain in 1932 created particularly favourable conditions for growth in the textile industry. As a result, the Townships had the lowest level of unemployment of all Quebec regions during the Depression. Total industrial employment, which had decreased from 15 800 to 13 900 between 1930 and 1933, rose to the record level of 20 300 by 1937.

While the Eastern Townships benefited greatly by growth in the textile industry until the immediate post-war period, the dependence of its manufacturing structure on this particular sector became a liability from that time on, as the Canadian textile industry faced increasing competition from developing countries where labour

costs were low. The danger of foreign competition was increased after the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) set in motion the process of suppression of commercial barriers in the late 1940s. Suddenly, Townships manufacturing industries were faced with problems of a new nature that led to the elimination of thousands of jobs in the labour-intensive primary textile sector over the following three decades.

The problems affecting Townships manufacturing industry during the 1950s and early 1960s were not limited to textiles. Other sectors of the Townships' industrial economy, such as machinery, industrial equipment and rubber, were also in trouble during this period. It is significant that the same sectors, located in Montreal, experienced no difficulty at this time. Writing in 1960, the economist Michel Phlipponneau blamed this situation on the Townships' peripheral geographic location in relation to Canadian markets.⁸ Other contributing factors singled out by Phlipponneau were a lack of new investment, the poor quality of the Townships' highway infrastructure and a lack of leadership among regional elites. During the whole of the 1900–1960 period, at no time did the situation of the Eastern Townships' manufacturing industry appear more critical than in the late 1950s.

Local Initiative and the Rejuvenation of Eastern Townships Industry: 1960–2000

The 1960s represented a turning point for Eastern Townships manufacturing industry. Although closings of such long-established plants as the Paton factory in Sherbrooke, Butterfield's in Rock Forest and Penman's in Coaticook continued through the 1980s, by the end of the 1960s, fundamental industrial renewal was under way. After decreasing by 3% during the 1950s, employment in manufacturing increased by 13% during the 1960s and 43% during the 1970s. Although manufacturing employment again decreased after the 1982 recession, the decrease in the Townships was much less pronounced than the provincial average. Between 1961 and 1991, total manufacturing employment in the Eastern Townships rose from 34 147 to 51 680.

The renewal which began in the 1960s and which has continued to the present is in large measure evocative of the early period of Townships industrial expansion. Just as the establishment of railway transportation stimulated the industrial expansion which began in the 1850s, the opening of four-lane highways had a similar effect in the 1960s. As was the case with the 19th century railway net-

work, modern motorways have facilitated communication between the Townships and neighbouring New England as much as they have communication with Montreal. Meanwhile, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has permitted Townships manufacturing firms to take advantage of the region's favourable position in relation to American markets, in ways that recall the days of the Reciprocity Treaty. Another development which recalls the early stages of Townships industrial expansion is the reappearance of an endogenous entrepreneurial class. Rapid economic change and the availability of investment capital has made it possible for small and medium-sized enterprises to stake out competitive positions in areas where large corporations are too slow to innovate. In contrast to the branch-plant economy of the 1900–1960 period, Townships manufacturing industry is now a mixture of foreign-controlled and regionally-controlled enterprises.

In the wake of Michel Phlipponneau's findings, a series of studies were published in the 1970s analysing the predicament of the Eastern Townships' manufacturing sector, as it was then perceived.⁹ In order to compensate for anticipated losses in the textile, pulp and paper and wood processing industries, these studies emphasised the need for a restructuring of the region's industrial base around already present, yet "future oriented," industries, such as the long-established rubber products, machinery, metalworking and food and beverage industries. In promoting an industrial strategy centred on these particular sectors, the studies' authors explained the benefits of industries within a region servicing one another. They explained that potential industrial investors are generally attracted to what they perceive as compatible environments, with specialized workforces and the potential for technological transfer. The continued presence in the Sherbrooke area, for over a hundred years, of an industrial complex made up of primary metal production, tool-making, machinery and industrial equipment manufacturing, is a case in point. The potential benefits of becoming part of such a complex unquestionably attracted significant new investment over the years. The same logic explains the fact that, despite the closing of such large and venerable plants as Combustion Engineering-Superheater, Ingersoll-Rand and Unicast Division Canada, Sherbrooke still has as high a proportion of metal workers among its manufacturing workforce as it has had at any time since the Second World War. Instead of a few, very large factories, Sherbrooke now has over fifty small and medium-sized shops, most of which are regionally-owned, doing subcontracting metal-based manufacturing work.

Another survivor of the Townships earliest industrial period is the pulp and paper industry, which, to most observers in the 1950s and 1960s, appeared doomed to disappear. The remarkable recovery of this sector can be attributed both to geographic factors and to new regional entrepreneurial initiative. The geographical position of the Townships' paper mills, which had disadvantaged them during the 1900–1960 period, became advantageous from the moment recycled paper became an important source of raw material. Rumoured to be on the verge of closure during the 1960s, Windsor now boasts a totally new and highly advanced mill which entered into production in 1989, guaranteeing its continued existence well into the future. Kingsey Falls and Bromptonville are two instances of Townships paper mills, forced into bankruptcy and closure during the 1950s, which subsequently became launch pads for multinational corporations through the initiative of innovative entrepreneurs. Rooted in the Townships, Papier Cascade and Kruger Inc. now operate on several continents. In both cases, technological and administrative innovation and globalization were necessary initial strategies in order to compete with the larger corporations which dominated the pulp and paper sector.

Despite these examples of the rejuvenation of traditional Townships manufacturing sectors, the industrial expansion in the Townships during the 1960–2000 period has nevertheless taken place, to a large extent, in sectors which were not present during earlier periods. The two most important examples are the transportation equipment sector (Bombardier, Waterville TG) and the electrical appliances sector (Mitel Corporation, IBM Canada, C-Mac). It is typical of this recent phase of Townships industrial expansion that of the five firms cited here three emerged largely through the initiative of regional entrepreneurs.

The Long-term Survival of the Eastern Townships' Industrial Base

If we look at continuity and change in Eastern Townships manufacturing industry over the long term, two regional characteristics emerge with particular clarity. First of all, the Eastern Townships is manifestly a border region, closely associated with the New England States. Secondly, the region is situated outside the Quebec City–Montreal–Toronto–Windsor corridor which, according to many economists, acts as the motor for Canadian industrial development. The industrial history of the region can, in a sense, be summarized as a continuing tension between two competing, spatially-defined, models of development. The first model empha-

sizes the role of Sherbrooke as a relatively autonomous pole. According to this model, Sherbrooke's autonomous economic development is ensured by its direct relationship with New England, Ontario and, to a lesser extent, the Maritime provinces. The second and alternative model has as its premise the predominance of the Quebec City–Montreal–Toronto–Windsor axis in Canadian industrial development. According to this model, the continued development of the Eastern Townships must depend on its integration within a Montreal-based economy and, *through it*, participation in the larger Canadian and Continental economies.

From the 1840s to the 1890s, a period during which the Eastern Townships was undoubtedly at the forefront of industrial development, the region clearly followed the first of these two models. During the 1900–1960 period, the second model tended to prevail as the Townships' industrial structure became more similar to that of the province. Finally, since 1960, we note a return to greater autonomy and greater industrial specificity thanks to the rejuvenation of the old industrial base. In the 1970s, Tae-Ho Yoo demonstrated that Townships industry was more closely integrated to Ontario's economy than it was with respect to the Montreal economy.¹⁰ Pressures have nevertheless been strong in favour of the alternative model. Government policy tends to portray the Quebec economy as an integrated whole. According to this view, expansion in the various regions of the province comes as a response to stimulation from the Montreal economy, while the Montreal economy, in turn, functions as part of the Quebec City–Windsor axis. As we have seen, the Townships manufacturing sector has, for most of its history, evolved quite independently from the general Quebec economy. Alban d'Amour has complained that policies, which favour the homogenization of Quebec's industrial structure, can only harm the Townships' economy since they do not take into account the region's industrial specificity.¹¹

Obviously, the survival of a strong, diversified manufacturing base in the Eastern Townships will depend on the region's capacity to keep both options open. The Townships must seek to profit from its relative proximity to the metropolitan economy but at the same time maintain its independence and structural specificity. Developments over the last four decades would suggest that the Townships' industrial economy will remain at the forefront for the foreseeable future if it manages to maintain a healthy balance.

NOTES

- 1 Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Peter Southam, Diane Saint-Pierre, *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est*, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998, 829 p.; Jean-Pierre Kesteman, « Spécificités et dynamismes d'une trajectoire industrielle » dans, *Un patrimoine industriel régional: Sherbrooke et les Cantons de l'Est*, Actes du 7^e congrès de l'Association québécoise pour le patrimoine industriel, s.l. 1994, pp. 5–16.
- 2 A.B. McCullough, *L'industrie textile primaire au Canada: histoire et patrimoine*, Ottawa, Lieux historiques nationaux, Service des parcs, Environnement Canada, 1992, 326 p.
- 3 Jean-Pierre Kesteman, *Une bourgeoisie et son espace: industrialisation et développement du capitalisme dans le district de Saint-François (Québec), 1823–1879*, Thèse de Ph.D. (histoire), Université du Québec à Montréal, 1985, 847 p.
- 4 Between 1881 and 1891, the number of hands employed in manufacturing, in cities, towns and villages with a population of over 1 500 increased by 107% in the Townships compared to 54% in Quebec as a whole. *Census of Canada, 1891*, Bulletin No. 12, July 1892.
- 5 Claude Bellavance, « Réseaux, territoire et électricité : la dynamique spatiale du processus d'électrification du Québec », dans Serge Courville et Normand Séguin, *Espace et culture*, Saint-Foy, PUL, 1995, p. 396.
- 6 See *Table I*.
- 7 CANADA, *Report of the Royal Commission on Transportation 1951*, Ottawa, 1951, pp. 149–151.
- 8 Michel Phlipponneau, *L'avenir économique des Cantons de l'Est*, Québec, Ministère de l'industrie et du Commerce, 1960, p. 171.
- 9 Tae-Ho Yoo, *La structure économique des Cantons de l'Est : analyse interindustrielle*, Sherbrooke, Université de Sherbrooke, 1972, 110 p.; Alban D'Amours. *Les facteurs de localisation industrielle dans l'Estrie*, Sherbrooke, Centre de recherche en aménagement régionale, s.d., 290 p.; Jean Robidoux et Henri Léonard. *Profil de la petite et la moyenne entreprise dans l'Estrie*, Sherbrooke, Université de Sherbrooke, Centre de recherche en aménagement régionale, 1973, 79 p.
- 10 Tae-Ho Yoo, *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
- 11 Alban d'Amours, *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

CULTURAL VALUES REFLECTED IN BUSINESS ARTIFACTS: A REDISCOVERY OF OUR HISTORICAL PAST

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article examine la complexité des objets commerciaux canadiens. En recherchant et en analysant ces objets commerciaux, il nous est possible de percevoir le passé de façon nouvelle et de mieux comprendre le présent. On retrouve parmi ces objets, recouvrant une période de 115 ans, un macaron, des cartons d'allumettes, une étiquette de boîte à cigares, des cartes de commerce, des paquets et des calendriers. Ces objets reflètent les systèmes raciaux, sociaux, économiques, politiques et culturels de notre société.

Historians are gaining greater appreciation for the utility of business artifacts in their study of society's material culture. In rediscovering business objects, long-lasting and ephemeral, we cannot allow these valuable items to go unnoticed and untapped. These resources can further illuminate, enhance, modify, or even contradict existing written records.

The business object can stimulate new ways of our perceiving the past and our understanding of the present. Researchers, whatever their ilk, must endeavour to delve deeper to understand not only the more obvious meanings of the surface data (identification, description and authentication) but also the deeper qualities (evaluation, interpretation, significance, and the historical context) of the material objects.

By examining the complex layers of meanings "thick" within material objects, we can attain a fuller understanding of our past. Material culture studies continue to add completeness to the written and pictorial descriptions of historical facts. The items themselves are primary resources, not "footnotes to the historical record." Emphasis must be placed on the importance of interweaving find-

ings from original objects to existing information. Dr. Brooke Hindle, former Director of the National Museum of History and Technology, recently stressed the importance of the original object, the source, as a part of our collective memory. Hindle said:

As a source material, the objects of material culture as well as all available information about them must be preserved. They have to be regarded in the same light as archives or manuscript sources ... (Mayo, 2).¹

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss a number of Canadian business objects that span approximately one hundred years. Analyzed as symbolic presentations used by local and national companies, these artifacts can explain much about society: for example, the level and sophistication of technology, the structure of the economy, the degree of acceptance of racial minorities and, finally, images that reflect the popularity of a topic, subject, and image.²

Ames (1984) believed nonverbal communication involved a complex, interacting set of factors; much more than body language, *per se*. Such communication included a broad range of natural, kinetic, and material culture signs and symbols. They consistently and repeatedly played important roles in people's cognitive and affective lives. In his analysis, their communicational roles impacted upon, and influenced, our social roles and our human/interactional tendencies and outcomes. Ames described three identifiable functions related to any business object. (1) The technical function referring to the utilitarian or physical use of the object; (2) the ideotechnic function describing the use of the object in religious and psychological contexts; (3) the sociotechnic function involving the item's use in contexts of social interaction. For example, late nineteenth century business trade cards usually included the name and address of the merchant (utilitarian function). The image used on the card, for example, an image of a rat-eating Chinese male (a psychological function—Chinese eat vermin, they are not like "us") and the item, the advertising trade card, reinforced society's "them" and "us" dichotomy (the sociotechnic function). All three functions, then, were performed by a small giveaway retail trade card.³

Marchese (1984) defined material culture as all non-perishable physical objects or non-biodegradable garbage man produces.⁴ These material objects, (business items in the present context), are all capable of yielding a considerable amount of information about our present and our past society.

A listing of just a few of the business material objects in the

Echenberg Collection would include containers of various materials, sizes, and uses; in-store and outside signs; catalogues, flyers, posters, countertop displays, bookmarks, blotters, postcards, rulers, measuring cups, labels, button hooks, shoehorns, wall calendars, calendar plates, cigar and cigarette boxes and tins, trade cards, display cabinets, bottle openers, fans, knives, trays, coat hangers, key tags, pencils, pens, swizzle sticks, thermometers, matchbooks, paper bags, ice picks, buttons and toys. Many of the items in the Echenberg Collection and displayed in this exhibition would be categorized as advertising specialty items, giveaways, or business ephemera. These items, usually imprinted with the name and the message of the advertiser, are given away free without any (overt) obligation on the part of the receiver. They were items of some value. Many objects were kept and used over a considerable period of time and the quality and utility of the object could not be too low. As well, novelty, or specialty, items could not be too unusual. Frequency and continuity of the item's use was most desirable in order to build goodwill and to imprint the logo, the brand or company's name into the consumers' minds. The business axiom in all cases where such business items were used was to give the recipient a sign (the company's advertisement) and something of value. With a gift calendar as a giveaway promotional item, the firm obtained exposure for the year.

In 1890s North America, the free calendar, nicely illustrated, became incredibly popular because of the paucity of magazines and the almost complete lack of colour advertising, especially in Canadian periodicals. This new medium, the advertising calendar, was created by Osborne and Murphy in 1889, in Red Oaks, Iowa. An issue of 1 000 copies of the town's new courthouse with boxed advertisements around the picture sold immediately. Herbert H. Bigelow, an Osborne and Murphy calendar salesman, started his own calendar company with partner Hiram D. Brown, in 1896. The rest is history—Brown and Bigelow became the world's largest calendar and specialty advertising company.⁵

In what follows, a few specific examples will help illustrate the potential amount of information "contained" within commonly used business-related products: the giveaway commercial lapel button, the match book cover and the cigar box label.

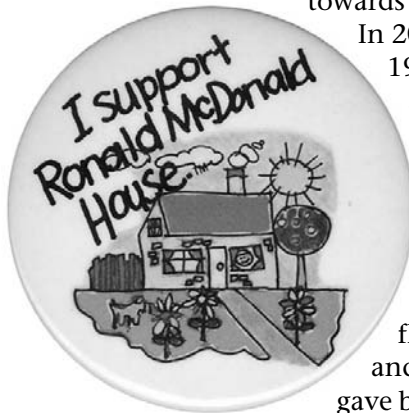
The Lapel Button

The following example, a lapel button, will help illustrate the potentially deeper and richer meanings and information contained within what most consumers may view as an item of throwaway trivia.

McDonald's "I Support Ronald McDonald House"—the house that love built—reflected one of the business world's most successful charities. Ray Kroc, owner of McDonald's Corporation, believed in giving back to the local communities who bought their french fries and hamburgers at his outlets. In the 1950s the McDonald's "Santa Wagon" toured the Chicago Loop dispensing coffee and hamburgers to the street-corner Santas of the Salvation Army. Locally, he suggested to his franchise operators that profits from hamburgers should go to support local school bands. This kind of charity should appeal to family-oriented markets. The famed "Orange Bowl" charity dispensed free orange juice at millions of local events. Kroc's basic philanthropic philosophy was:

It gives individual operators a sense of personal identity in a business where identity can easily be lost. By getting involved in a community charity, an operator can get individual recognition and become Mr. McDonald's in his hometown (Love 213).

Since 1974, McDonald's most widely recognized and powerful charity has been the Ronald McDonald House. The idea was conceived by Elkman Advertising of Philadelphia in 1974. The concept came as a response to a plea from former Philadelphia Eagles linebacker, Fred Hill. Hill's daughter Kim had leukemia, and had been hospitalized. The ex-footballer realized the hardships on families with hospitalized children and he was seeking support to build a "home away from home." The local McDonald's operator raised \$50 000 towards the first Ronald McDonald House.



In 2000, there were 200 such houses in 19 countries. Twelve of the houses are in Canada. Major corporations, politicians, celebrities, dignitaries, and ordinary people all donate time and money and contributions to a widely recognized excellent business charity.⁶

The McDonald's button is a fleeting manifestation of the ethics and the morality of the company as it gave back to many worldwide communities in a most meaningful manner. The lapel button is much more than a giveaway, throwaway, item. It can be a rich, historical and momentary reflection of a firm and its place within a society.

The World's Smallest Billboard—The Match Book

The first known commercial advertising match book was created in 1895. It was distributed by the Mendelson Opera Company. The message read, "A Cyclone of Fun – Powerful Cast – Pretty Girls – Handsome Wardrobe – Get Seats Early."

Henry C. Traute, a salesman with the Diamond Match Co., came up with the idea of placing the match striker on the outside. For further customer protection he convinced his company that the phrase "Close Cover Before Striking" be printed on the front flap. Pabst Brewery was his first major order; 10 million match books would advertise Pabst Blue Ribbon Beer. Shortly thereafter, a one billion match book order was placed by Wrigley's Chewing Gum. By the late 1920s, tens of thousands of advertisers made this medium the most powerful form of advertising in America and Canada.

Advertising expenditures were drastically cut during the dark days of the 1930s Depression and the match book all but disappeared. A saviour appeared early in 1932, "the silver screen," when Diamond Match Company issued its first set of collectible movie stars. The initial set of ten stars included George Raft, Katherine Hepburn, Gloria Stuart, Constance Bennett, Irene Dunne, Francis Dee, Zazu Pitts, Slim Summerville, Richard Arden, and Ann Harding. The film-going public in both countries responded most positively. The sets sold for one penny and many more sets followed. The outbreak of World War II changed the commercial images to patriotic causes, efforts, and issues of the conflict.

In 1945, free match books were given with every pack of cigarettes. Why not? A match book cost one fifth of a cent and vendors thought that they were giving the match books away as a favour to their customers.

As the world's smallest billboard, match covers were the most popular form of advertising in Canada for over 40 years. Advertisers used match covers to promote every aspect of Canada including airlines, banks, beer, cigars, cigarettes, fairs, fraternal organizations, hospitals, retail outlets, gas stations, restaurants, hotels, motels, movies, political candidates, railroads, sports, soft drinks, and more. Businesses promoted everything from "A to Z" on match book covers to get their word out.⁷

Two Quebec companies who used this medium included la Sociétés des Tabacs du Québec Inc., and Jean Coutu, the pharmaceutical giant. An analysis of the two advertising messages clearly highlights the ideological differences between two Quebec entrepreneurial ventures.

The Jean Coutu Group (PJC), Inc., is inextricably linked to Quebec's growing business spirit. In 1969, Jean Coutu and his associate, Louis Michaud, opened their first discount pharmacy in Montreal. Thirty years later, PJC, Inc., had 255 franchised establishments and 242 corporate pharmacies in America employing over 16 000 employees and with a business volume of \$2.6 billion. This successful giant corporation continues to advertise on match book covers in 2001. The front cover includes the company's logo, PJC, Jean Coutu, and the message "7 jours, 7 soirs, tous les week-ends" (7 days, 7 nights, every weekend); the reverse side shows a red heart on a black background with the words "On trouve de tout...même un ami" (You can find everything...even a friend). This message could be interpreted in a number of ways and the reader will draw his own conclusions.

Also in the 1960s, a major theme of Quebec's Quiet Revolution was modernization and the economic expansion of Quebec-owned firms. One major indication of the times was the adoption of signs, symbols, and brand names that affected the ever-growing nationalism in Quebec. Perhaps the strongest and the most direct attempt to capitalize on this nationalistic movement was the 1960s advertising campaign of the cigarette La Québécoise. The brand name and advertising slogans were inspired by one central idea: "to bring together in Quebec economic and political support of French Canadians." Several advertising slogans were "Fumez Canadienne-Française, Fumez La Québécoise," and "Les Québécoises aiment La Québécoise." Initially, support for the purchase of the provincially owned and manufactured cigarette was widespread. For example, a church publication from Sherbrooke had this message for its parishioners:

Insist then, at all times, on Québécoise. And you ladies, buy your families' cigarettes and be sure they are Québécoise. Who knows? This may be the only way you can assure that in the future your son or one of your family can hold a first class job in the province, which one day must be ours alone, but whose riches are still in foreign hands (Elkin, 176).

La Revue Populaire (1962) went even further, stating:

Offer a Québécoise ... not only from your desire to give pleasure, but also to affirm the ties that bind together the French-speaking citizens of Quebec, to assert the pride of our nationality, to dedicate a symbol, everywhere a rallying sign for our common purpose of throwing off the yoke of servitude which has lasted all too

long ... the appearance of a new brand of cigarette is an everyday affair. But the appearance of La Québécoise viewed as a symbol of the liberation of an entire people, an act of defiance in an outdated suppression, takes on national significance ... Long live La Québécoise (Elkin, 178).⁸

The match book cover had the name La Québécoise on the front and reverse side and a political slogan on the inside flap: "La Québécoise une présence qui s'affirme!" (La Québécoise a presence that affirms its identity). The cigarette did not succeed.

Here you have two Quebec commercial examples. One, PCJ, is an extremely profitable company which instills much social pride within Quebec's society. It uses humour, presenting an open-ended idea with the implication that the pharmacy can be your friend, or possibly that you would find romance whilst shopping. Jacques Hurtubise, on the other hand, organized the company la Sociétés des Tabacs du Québec Inc. to market the cigarette La Québécoise. Sales success was mainly based on a nationalist, political and economic ideology that would rally Quebecers to "Buy Quebec Products." The brand name, the slogans, the advertising were all very evocative political and nationalistic symbols which emerged unsuccessfully in the midst of a sea of other commercial brands of cigarettes. As an integral factor in both advertising campaigns, both companies used match book cover advertising to promote themselves and their products.

The Patriotic Cigar

Echenberg (1982) discussed the history of cigar making in Quebec's Eastern Townships (see p. 63 of this issue). Rather than present the history of cigars and cigar boxes, which has been extensively researched, here I will analyze a Canadian cigar box label and how its artistic presentation was an element, an input, to late Victorian imperialist propaganda in the Canadian colony.⁹

From the mid 1850s until the early part of the twentieth century, the cigar industries of Canada and America produced some staggering statistics. At one time, more than 200 000 cigar factories combined to sell 10 billion cigars. To do so, more than 2 million different combinations of labels and boxes were tried. No other product in history has been packaged and labeled in more different ways than the cigar. Variability in art due to national, regional, and local demands added to the almost unlimited number of artistic conditions.

The DARGAI cigar was made and packaged by G. Kelly and Co., of London, Ontario, at the turn of the century. The illustrated lid panel showed one of many celebrated military incidents that occurred in "Queen Victoria's Little Wars." The artwork showed Piper George Findlater, Victoria Cross, of the Gordon Highlanders Regiment, sitting on a rock playing his bagpipes at the Battle of Dargai. On 20 October 1897, in North-West India, the British army's progress was halted at Chagru Valley, near Dargai. Alikhel tribesman decimated the initial charge of the Dorset and Derbyshire and Gurkha regiments. The Gordons were then ordered to the front. Shot through both ankles, Piper Findlater propped himself against a rock and played a quick strathspey "The Haughs o'Cromadale" to quicken the charge against the enemy. His unselfish bravery was recognized by Queen Victoria who offered him a resident piper position at Balmoral Castle. He declined and died in 1942 working his farm at Cairnhill, Scotland.



Findlater has been immortalized in numerous artistic renditions of his act. This example was included because it was produced at a time when Canada was asked to participate militarily in Victoria's imperial-colonialist war, the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. When the viewer deconstructs the cigar box label, the piper is framed by not only part of the battlefield, but also, more importantly, a Scottish national flag and the Canadian national flag of that date, the

Red Ensign. The Lion Rampant and the Red Ensign pictorially represented a joining, an intersecting, of both countries. The imagery of the flags indicated a bond, a recognition of bravery and success between the Scots of Canada and their compatriots of their ancestral homeland, Scotland. The storming of the Heights of Dargai occurred on 20 October 1897; less than two years later Canada was at war with the Boers of South Africa.

Wars are known to provide heroes and symbols that become central to propaganda and the fuelling of a nationalist ideology. The Kelly cigar box label was indicative of such an ideology. Young Canadians rushed to be part of this country's contribution to the deadly confrontation.

Throughout Canada images of British nationalism and Canada's responsibility to the call of the "Mother Land" were interwoven in newspapers, sermons from the pulpit, speeches by politicians, poems, and commercial advertising. To many Canadians of British stock, the "call to arms" was heard as a plea from the royal family in dire need. A verse of the time said:

O brother beyond the sea,
Hark to thy brother's vow,
Thou has fought for us when we needed thee,
We'll stand at thy shoulder now.

Nothing less than familial obligation dictated Canadians should answer the call. The British family called, the Britons in Canada answered.¹⁰

Racist Imagery of Commercial Objects

Stereotype imagery has been an important area of concern in the study of interracial relationships. These images presumably reflect prevalent attitudes, feelings and inherited or irrational fears. In Canada, racist imagery of the Chinese and blacks was used in various forms of business objects: trade cards, bottles, packaging, advertising, catalogues and novelty items.

One common theme was the Chinese laundryman, and this ubiquitous stereotype (in advertisements and product packages) was best illustrated by the product "EMPOIS CHINOIS," (CHINESE STARCH). Such images appeared for at least thirty years. Another recurring theme was "pigtail pulling" where the queues of Chinese males were cut off by whites in public degradation rituals. A French language trade card showed a Chinese boy's queue pulled so hard he was decapitated over a sharp rail. Another offensive image portrayed the

Chinese as eaters of vermin, rats and mice. Several brand names, "Rough on Rats" and "Chinese Rat Destroyer," were still sold at the turn of the century. In such images, the Chinese became part of commercial imagery, powerfully reinforcing the dominant culture's "making alien" this marginalized group within Canadian society.

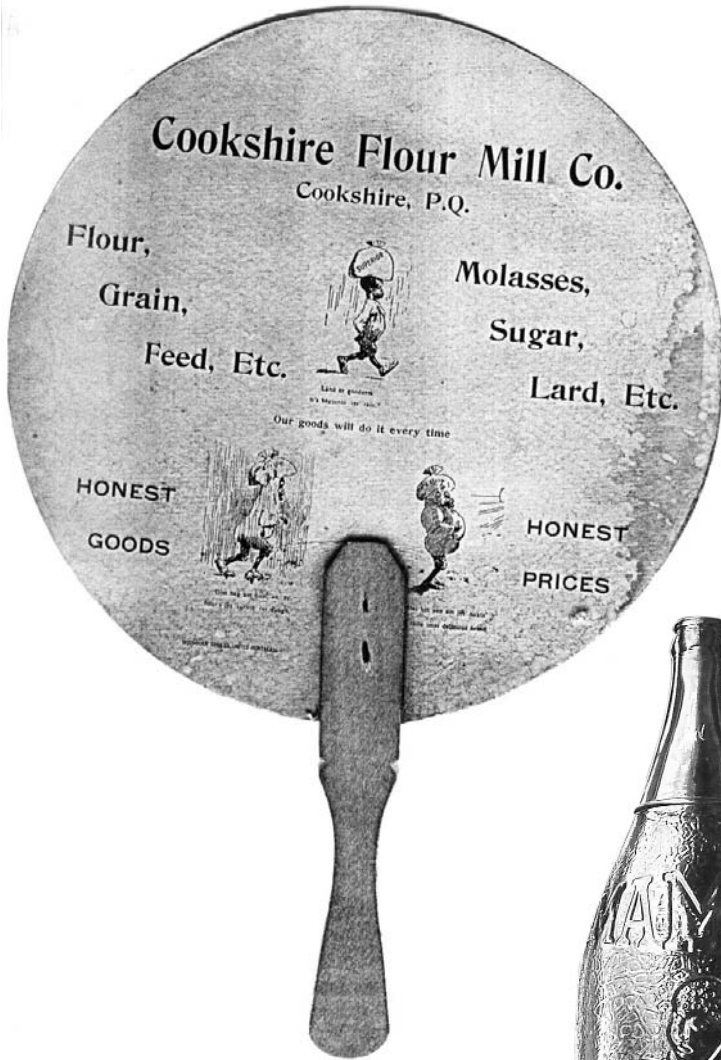
As we know, Chinese workers in the late 1800s and early 1900s were seen as exploitable cheap labour. The Chinese in Canada were inevitably viewed as "an inferior species." In British Columbia and Ontario, especially, the Chinese were victims of violence, exclusion, and extremely negative stereotyping by major Canadian institutions. Publications like *Maclean's Magazine*, *Saturday Night*, *Jack Canuck*, and numerous labour publications all carried sensationalistic anti-Chinese articles. Most of the articles reveal a dread of "coolie labour." The Chinese were referred to by slang names like "Yellow Peril," "Celestials," "Sojourners," "Chinks," "Pigtails," and "The Menace." They were seen as ravishers of white women, and as inscrutable, evil, sinister, yellow-skinned, filthy, rat-eating, opium fiends not assimilable into mainstream Canadian society. Between 1885 through 1923 severe measures were taken against the Chinese in Canada, such as the \$500 Head Tax. In 1923, Ottawa imposed the Chinese Exclusion Act which was not repealed until 1947. Between 1923 and 1947 only 16 Chinese were permitted to enter Canada.¹¹

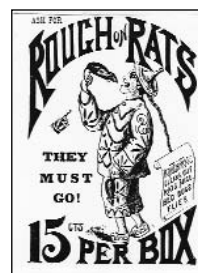
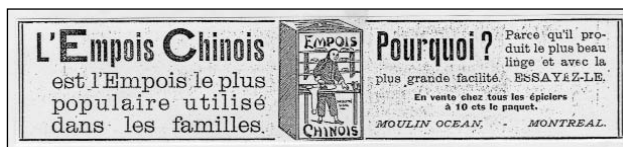
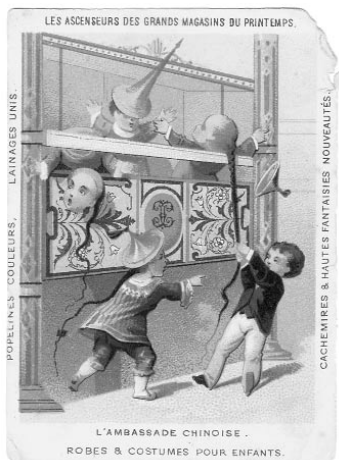
Blacks were also commercially exploited via prejudicial stereotypes. A soft drink produced in Quebec had the brand name "Mammy." The bottle was embossed with an obscene depiction of an aproned black mammy, complete with bandana and sweeping brush in hand. The French language trade card showed a white male child kicking a black child and a First Nation child off an escalator. The caption under the images said "TROP LAID" (Too Ugly) and indicated that both the First Nation and the black child were not allowed to be with whites. The Cookshire Flour Mill Co., of Cookshire, Quebec, gave away hand-held fans to its customers. As well as listing its products, address, and promotional slogans on it, it also used stereotypic, prejudicial anti-black humour. Three cartoons and captions showed the black male as a buffoon who does not get cover from the rain, allows the flour to cover him and turns into a loaf of bread as the hot sun appears. The language used also marginalized the black from mainstream English users—it shown as inferior:

Caption (1) Land 'er goodness it's beginnin 'ter rain.

Caption (2) Dis bag am bust an de Flour jes is turin ter dough.

Caption (3) Dat hot sun am jes bakin chile inter delicious bread





As we can see, material objects, promotional material, trade cards, and advertising were integral factors in commercial communication in Canadian society at a particular time. Scrutinizing, analyzing, and understanding these representational images require that we anchor all these communicational ideas, signs, and symbols within the sponsoring institutions and society. In Canada, these racial minority images portrayed Chinese, blacks, and other groups as inferior, marginalized, and less than equal to white Canadians.

Commodification of Children: The Dionne Phenomenon

On 28 May 1934 a biological miracle happened when the Dionne quintuplets were born in the small Franco-Ontarian village of Corbeil. As a result of this miracle the most powerful and influential companies in North America—Colgate, General Motors, Carnation, Quaker Oats, Corn Products Refining, Aluminum Goods Manufacturing, McCormick's Biscuits, Canada Starch Company—paid royalties to the Dionnes' Trust Fund for exploitative use of the quintuplets' images for commercial purposes. Pathé News paid royalties for short news films made about the children. Substantial revenues were also received from Hollywood. Three films were made about the famous "quints": *The Country Doctor*, *Reunion*, and *Five of a Kind*.

On a local level, Sherbrooke Pure Milk Company Ltd. used a portrait of the babies to promote milk in their advertising wall calendar of 1936. Similarly, a 1937 advertising calendar showing the quintuplets was used by Crown Laundry of Sherbrooke, Limited.



Milk became a commercial battlefield with the little girls in the middle. Carnation Milk Company got a remarkable bargain when, for just three thousand dollars, it secured all rights in its field to the exclusive use of the quintuplets' names and pictures. The advertisements of Carnation Milk and the babies were everywhere. The inference from the advertisements was that the quints bathed in milk

"from contented cows." Supposedly, the Dionnes had consumed 2 600 tins of Carnation Milk in their first eighteen months. This testimonial was in fact false; the children hated the milk and refused to drink it. A false advertising claim lawsuit ensued. Since cancellation of the Carnation contract with the Dionnes' Trust Fund would have affected the price of milk in Ontario, government officials, lawyers for the children, and Carnation Milk Company resolved the issue quietly.

Advocates of the use of mother's breast milk used the miraculous survival of the babies to promote their cause. From day four to when the children were five months old, they consumed five thousand ounces of breast milk, or one gallon, a day. Chicago, Toronto, and Montreal were centres of supply, with Toronto eventually becoming the major location. The local Junior Leagues boiled, pooled, bottled, and refrigerated the milk ready to be shipped North. Women who donated their milk received ten cents an ounce. In other health-related causes, a photograph showing the quintuplets receiving a diphtheria shot resulted in the heaviest attendance in the history of Toronto clinics. When images of the Dionnes helped launch the Adopt-a-Child Campaign, 800 Ontario orphans found homes in three weeks.

Shortly after the birth of the babies, the public was entertained by the Great Corn Syrup lawsuit. Both the Canada Starch Company, maker of Crown Brand Corn Syrup, and the St. Lawrence Starch Company (the Beehive Brand) claimed the Dionnes were given their syrup first. The power of the quintuplets as an advertising instrument, however, was shown by the starch company's testimony. Beehive sales doubled in the first year and Corn Brand lost one hundred thousand dollars as a result of Beehive's aggressive promotion.

The Ontario government had legal guardianship of the children for nine years. It viewed the five babies as a natural resource requiring nationalization and commercialization. It has been argued that the quintuplets saved an entire region from economic collapse. During the nine-year period when the girls were most popular, they represented a \$500 million asset, an asset at the time greater than the gold, nickel, or pulpwood of Northern Ontario. During that period more than 3 million visitors made the trip to "Quintland." The most graphic evidence of the Ontario legislators' perception of the girls as a bonanza for provincial coffers was their efforts to have the federal government pass a special trademark law. Queen's Park wanted to copyright the word "Quintuplet" for the government's exclusive use; their efforts failed.

A number of factors coalesced to bring a loss of interest in the five miracle children. World War II started, the babies were growing up, and they refused to speak English. The language issue had been hotly debated for years. There had been an on-going struggle between English and Franco-Ontarians concerning the education of the children. Eventually French Quebec interests started to be actively involved in the case. By 1941, French women's groups, religious leaders, and Quebec politicians reacted against the biased stereotypes that surrounded the children's parents. They were shown as uneducated rustic simpletons with low intelligence levels. The racist, ethnocentric attitudes that prevailed against Mr. and Mrs. Dionne caused growing tensions between the two major language groups. The pro-French language groups saw French and Catholicism (language and religion) as "la langue gardienne de la Foi." Language was seen as the most potent cultural factor.

On 11 May 1941, the language tension came to a head. The Dionne quintuplets were to appear on CBS Radio's Mothers' Day programme. The broadcast was to be done live in the CFRB studio in Toronto. Americans were invited to "come and see [them] this summer." As a gesture of goodwill, the girls were asked to sing "There'll Always Be an England." The quints refused to sing in English and they sang in French. With World War II raging in Europe, and Britain standing alone against the Axis Forces, a huge public outcry followed this incident. A storm of public indignation was levelled by Canadians and Americans alike.

Knowingly or not, the Dionnes were highlighting one of the major conflicts in Canada. This national division included French language rights in Canada, the rejection and denial of basic cultural rights of French Canadians outside Quebec and the division of the country, during wartime, along linguistic lines. The language issue was a major factor in "toppling the temple of Dionne."

In 1994, CBC television aired a special documentary on the Dionnes called *Million Dollar Babies*. In the winter of the same year the *Journal of Canadian Studies* devoted an entire issue to the quintuplets, in which Wright (1994) gave a broad overview of the state's commercialization of a private family into a vastly successful marketable commodity. Valverde (1994) discussed Ontario's interference with the autonomy of families. Welch (1994) placed the Dionnes in the context of their own evolving ethnocultural community—the Franco-Ontarian society of the 1930s and the 1940s. His major objective was illustrating and discussing the interactions between the family and the French-Canadian communities within Quebec.

Arnup (1994) approached the miracle babies and their subsequent progress as a model of child-rearing for Canadian mothers to follow. Delhi (1994) explored scientific discourses about the Dionne quintuplets and how they were brought up in a completely controlled and regimented environment which excluded the babies' natural mother. Finally, McKay (1994) placed and discussed the children within two philosophical reference points: liberal-utilitarianism (the public good), and Kant's Categorical Imperative (the rights of the individual child). He concluded that when the quintuplets themselves resisted commercial manipulation, human resistance to powerful interests was not only possible, but, more importantly, effective.¹²

Conclusion

A study of the mass of business objects and all material related to the Dionnes' era has not yet been completed. For instance, the debate over mother's breast milk versus cow's milk so passionately discussed in the 1930s continues no less seriously today. The deeply-rooted emotional subject of symbols between Quebec and Ottawa continues incessantly. The "battle of the flags" which is reflected as elements in business objects and products clearly indicates the importance of material items' place and prominence in the cultural transmission of ideologies.

Trade cards, in addition to reflecting the political and nativist sentiments of the time period, also reflected some of the hostility (emotional and physical) that white people directed at Chinese Canadians. Historians and others can gauge racist sentiment toward Chinese Canadians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through trade card depictions as well as visual representations in other forms of business objects.

The study of material objects may allow researchers to answer specific and descriptive explanatory questions about the behavioural and organizational properties and actions of past economic, political, social, and cultural systems. The Echenberg Collection clearly and graphically reflects this cultural transmission and evolution of business history of the Eastern Townships of Quebec. Whether intended to or not, these materials reflected and upheld the racial, class, social and economic systems of the culture that they served. Embedded within many of items were the blueprints of the dominant cultural ideology that was transmitted to the users and viewers.

NOTES

- 1 Edith Mayo, "Introduction: Focus on Material Culture," in *American Material Culture*, editor Edith Mayo, (Bowling Green, Ohio Bowling Green State University Popular Press), 1984, 1–10.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 Kenneth L. Ames, "Material Culture as Non Verbal Communication: A Historical Case Study," in *American Material Culture*, editor Edith Mayo, (Bowling Green, Ohio Bowling Green State University Popular Press), 1984, 25–47.
- 4 Ronald T. Marchese, "Material Culture and Artifact Classification," in *American Material Culture*, editor Edith Mayo, (Bowling Green, Ohio Bowling Green State University Popular Press), 1984, 11–24.
- 5 George L. Herpel and Richard A. Collings, *Specialty Advertising in Marketing*, (Homewood, Illinois: Dow-Jones-Irwin, Inc.), 1972.
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- 6 John F. Love, *McDonalds* (New York Bantam Books), 1986.
- 7 History of the Matchcover Collecting, www.matchcovers.com
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Ian McKay, "Why Tell This Parable? Some Ethical Reflections on the Dionne Quintuplets," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4, winter 1994–95, 144–152.

Mariana Valverde, "Families, Private Property, and the State: The Dionnes and the Toronto Stork Derby," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29, No 4, winter 1994–95, 15–35.

David Welch, "The Dionne Quintuplets: More Than an Ontario Showpiece—Five Franco-Ontarian Children," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Winter 1994–95, 36–64.

Cynthia Wright, "They Were Five: The Dionne Quintuplets Revisited," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Winter 1994–95, 5–13.

The Cookshire Flour Mill Co. Fan and the Sherbrooke Pure Milk Co. Calendar (1936) belong to Mr. Echenberg and are used with his permission. The other exhibits belong to the author.

THE ECHENBERG COLLECTION

Hélène Hayes Cunningham

Lennoxville

Colby-Curtis Museum, Stanstead, QC, 27 May – 5 September 2000

Bishop's University Art Gallery, Lennoxville, QC, 2 May – 10 June 2001

The Echenberg Collection of business ephemera is remarkable on many levels. A single collector, Mr. Eddy Echenberg, a retired Sherbrooke businessman, has gathered thousands of meticulously catalogued artifacts relating to the packaging, advertising or promotion of various industrial-retailing sectors over many years. Spanning from the 1840s to the 1950s, this is indeed a collection of rare three-dimensional objects, since most were meant to be “throw-away” things. What have generally survived are wrappers, flat box tops, labels (cigar, beer, cheese) and trade cards, because these were easier to collect and store.¹ To have preserved such perishable and rare artifacts, before they completely disappear, is a praiseworthy achievement. Most of the items selected for the exhibition are comprised of materials such as glass, metal or printed-paper and show an Eastern Townships provenance of either region, town or both. The collection is particularly rich in goods manufactured before 1930.

After World War I and especially after World War II, major changes appeared in the marketing of products and services. Emphasis on the promotion of brand names of goods distributed worldwide corresponded to a decrease in clients' loyalty toward local manufacturing establishments, owned and supervised by the founding families. The Eastern Townships did not differ from other North American regions in this respect.

As Professor Robert MacGregor discusses in his contextual article (p. 19), material objects raise many questions: Who made them? To whom were they destined? What are their nature and function? Were they used according to their original purpose? If not, why not? Answers to these questions can sometimes be found in the artifacts themselves, when the manufacturer's name, address and perhaps a lithograph of the factory itself are featured on them. The buildings, often shown with an exaggerated perspective and a diminutive scale

of humans and carts, were clearly meant to impress. The illustration of the Queen Cigar Factory (*Plate I*) owned by W.R. Webster & Co. Ltd., is a very good example of this kind of distortion. The building is the present location of the Restaurant La Falaise St-Michel, at 100 Webster St., Sherbrooke.

Although the collection reflects the history of everyday things in relation to everyday people—shop-keepers, pharmacists and country grocers, package manufacturers and artists who put the first pictures on labels and packages—there is a need to include this data within a broader social and historical context. The

Histoire des Cantons de l'Est, published by Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Peter Southam and Diane Saint-Pierre in 1998, is a recent study which covers exhaustively the development of the Townships. The authors argue for the region's distinctness as a result of American influence. The American settlers of the Eastern Townships brought with them their faith in hard work, self-reliance, a high degree of literacy, and an acquaintance with the fast burgeoning production of consumer goods. There are, in fact, historical and cultural values attached to the collection's material objects, since much of the iconography found in the collection closely follows that favored in the United States. Such evidence simply confirms how strongly the American presence has been felt in the Townships.

A Social History of Packaging

The history of packaging begins with natural containers and wrappers, such as leaves, animal bladders and gourds, that were used as vessels or wrapping materials for the protection of valued possessions, and are still used today in some African and Eastern markets.

There are certain fundamental prerequisite conditions for the existence of identified packaging as we know it. There must be a trading community with specific abilities to make containers, to mark them with traders' names and to be able to identify these names and read the labels.² The latter is an interesting point as the high degree of literacy observed in the American settlers of the

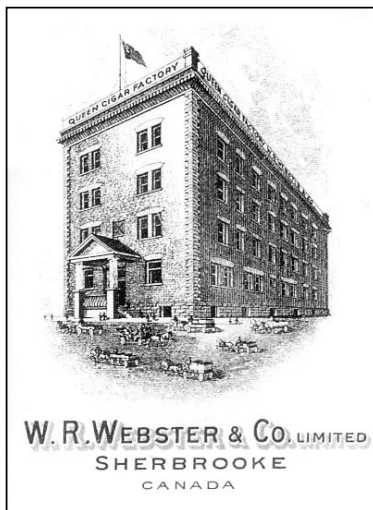


Plate I
Queen Cigar Factory

Eastern Townships can account for the great variety of artifacts in the Echenberg Collection.

Other conditions include technological advances in support materials (cardboard, paper, metals), printing (lithography, chromolithography, register), mechanized weighing and filling and last but not least, the capacity for a sizeable number of customers to purchase the products. All these conditions were present in the United States and also in the Eastern Townships. This can help explain why, in spite of the fact that most of these technical processes had been invented in Europe (German lithographs, for example, were renowned for their excellent workmanship), it was in America that packaging and the commercial arts flourished.

The Art of Persuasion

Shopping habits were also a factor in the flourishing of identifiable packaging. In America, as well as in the Townships, households often bought goods in bulk, to be stored in sturdy containers. These containers were prized, as they were often reusable and offered ideal surfaces for advertising. This is most obvious in the case of tea or coffee tins, where the grocer or agent invested effort and money to secure the clients' loyalty to his product and establishment.

Chromolithography heralded the birth of modern "commercial art" by making available large quantities of prints in color on tin containers, paper labels, posters, trade cards, giveaways and more. As technical expertise increased, allowing for many runs of colors on flat or embossed surfaces, so did the complexity of images.

Plates II, III and IV are two examples of such tins and show the progress in decorative techniques.

Another trend in packaging is that of luxury items such as cigars. The packaging required considerable effort in the presentation, in its use of dovetailed wooden boxes and in its use of superb chromolithographs.



Plate II

A coffee tin from W. Murray's store in Sherbrooke; a simple stenciling process of red over bare tin. Circa 1896.



Plates III (front) and IV (back) — F.G. Roy Scotstown, Que. "Delicious Teas"
 Chromolithograph in black and red on golden ground, elaborate script and oriental motifs
 on top and all four sides, Davidson Manufacturing Co. Ltd. Montreal, after 1894.

"Entrepreneurial instincts judged rightly that although the added costs of complex printing processes sometimes exceeded the 13% increase in product attention, the use of color was essential to the establishment and survival of a cigar brand."³

An army of competent commercial artists employed by lithographic printing houses conceived millions of labels. As studies like Quintner's have shown, such labels "represent one of the largest bodies of anonymous art ever created...It has been estimated that from the last century to the time of the Depression, more than 2 million different cigar brand labels were printed in North America alone...But for every design accepted by a company, dozens, perhaps hundreds, were conceived, rough-drawn, colored, perfected—and rejected."⁴

The following anecdote, taken from a late 19th century trade book, illustrates the level of sophistication and competition in advertising:

A GOOD name for a cigar is at any time worth one hundred dollars per letter. There is no other trade that uses or possibly can use so many titles for its wares...A glance at the registrations of cigar names will verify the above at any time. There is scarcely a name of history, romance, and song, which could be used, in good taste but what is used on the cover of a cigar box. A young man who thought he had a "good thing" recently submitted one hundred names to the Tobacco Leaf. He found all but four of them had been used, and he went sadly away, leaving the names behind.⁵

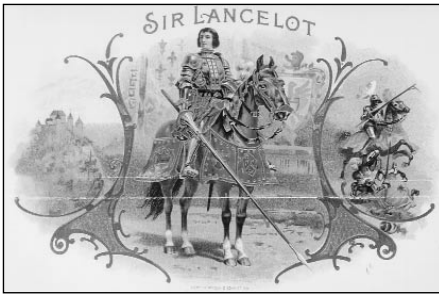


Plate V

W.R. Webster was an astute local businessman who was quick to register appealing names such as “Sir Lancelot” for his cigars. Dreaming about a legendary hero was the effect the product claimed to induce as one puffed away. The label and registration of the trademark—Sir Lancelot—along with a detailed description of the illustration, are two items selected from the Echenberg Collection. (Plates V and VI)

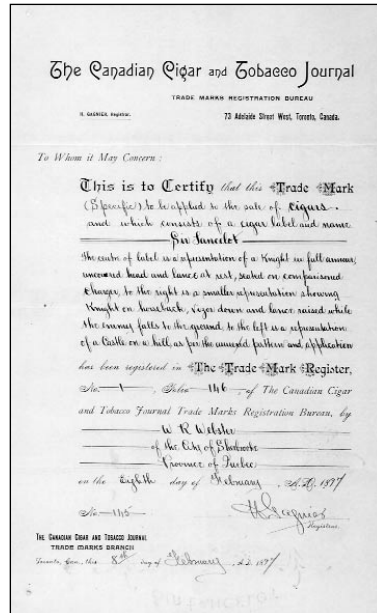


Plate VI

“The label is often better than the cigar” —*New York Sun*, 1888

Quintner provides compelling evidence for the advertising truism.

...Artists would be told, use Spanish names where possible, keep the subjects exotic...and in the case of specific regional scenes, keep the subject vague...In the USA, immigrant artists (mostly from Germany) had some influence on the choice of European-type themes such as castles; maidens in distress being rescued or borne away by dandified troubadours; faded nobility; savants and philosophers of Continental persuasion;...Encyclopedias of all the nations must have been picked clean of every notable, and when the slightly famous were all gone, then came the barely known, the infamous, politicians, economists, cherubs, and comic or cartoon characters; when they had been exploited, too, legends and ballads were scoured, and old and new gods found...Into the great maw of labeldom went the erotic and the exotic, the candid, the corny, the connubial; the frantic, the anti, and the fun.⁶

Comparisons with similar chromolithographs used on cigar boxes like Webster's show how this packaging rivaled any used in North America. The same stereotypes appear as well with boxes adorned



Plate VII

with beautiful young maidens and the reputed cleanliness of the Dutch people. The chromolithograph "Mic Mac" represented a stereotypical American Indian rather than an individual wearing the traditional dress of the Mi'kmaq. (Plate VII)

Other sales incentives were giveaways such as fans, calendars, novelty porcelains and mementos (Plate VIII), and trade cards. Some of these were kept because of their usefulness, others because of their pretty images. At the turn of the twentieth century, an infatuation



Plate VIII

with trade cards reflected the efficacy of this advertising medium. Small in size and affordable (even the colour-printed ones), these images were meant to surprise, impress, amuse and even educate the public. Social standards were being upheld by the portrayal of elegantly dressed toddlers, demure young maidens or well-appointed parlours displaying a piano and/or a sewing machine. The virtues of patent medicines were extolled and so were all manners of contraptions invented to provide comfort to their owners or act as labor-saving devices. Much effort went into producing elaborate images used either to promote magical cures (e.g., in cosmetics or medicines), or to develop recognition of brand names as well as loyalty to products. Whimsical illustrations, imagery catering to children's interests, were used for baking goods and breakfast foods. This advertising technique is, of course, still used today.

The case of blotters distributed by Cie J.L. Matthieu, (a series of six was acquired upon presentation of one of their labels), is a little out of the ordinary as this company was known to publicize unilingual material, either all in French or all in English. Another particularity is that unlike most of the advertising produced anonymously, one of the illustrated blotters in the Echenberg Collection bears the signature of Jean-Onésime Legault, titled *L.-J. Papineau 1837, Discours des Six Comté[s]*. This artist was little known, though he was the subject of an exhibition entitled *Peindre À Montréal 1915–1930*, which was presented at the Bishop's University Art Gallery from 6 June to 12 July 1996.

This brief introduction can only begin to address some of the aspects of the Echenberg Collection. Stationery, patents, ledgers or other printed materials that allow a better definition, accompany many of the items catalogued. The exhibition does not claim to draw immediate conclusions, but provides an opportunity for close scrutiny of these everyday articles and allows them to yield more information about our collective past in the Eastern Townships.

NOTES

- 1 Alex Davis, *Package and Print: The Development of Container and Label Design*. London: Faber and Faber Publishers, 1967. Introduction p. 19.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 3 Windsor, *A selection of painted designs for cigar box labels (1895–1920) from the collection of The Art Gallery of Windsor, Ontario, Canada*. Catalogue from The Art Gallery of Windsor,

David Richard Quintner curator, 1982. p. 16, and on the process of chromolithography: "After passing through a solely black-ink phase at the end of the civil war when cigar smoking reached new peaks of popularity, cigar box labels began to reflect all the new techniques of modern printing. Polychrome displays were routine; six-color runs on the lithographic stones or on zinc sheets and presses were normal. Sometimes, for little apparent reason beyond a hideous need for excess, as many as 18 or more runs were used.

Paper improved in quality and specialization, lacquering of labels' surface followed, and then came embossing to highlight certain areas of a design. Lastly, bronzing was employed frequently in association with embossing, whereby bronze powder suspended in a transparent ink solution was used to imitate goldleaf. Polishers at the end of the process buffed areas thus treated. ...Color sold products, manufacturers had no doubt about it." p. 16.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5 John Jr. Bain, *Tobacco: in Song and Story*. New York & Boston. 1896. p. 78-79.

6 Windsor, Catalogue p. 8-9-10.

La collection Echenberg

The Echenberg Collection

Il s'agit d'une importante collection d'objets utilisés pour la promotion des entreprises manufacturières et commerciales des Cantons de l'Est à la fin du 19^e et au début du 20^e siècle. Cette collection, patiemment développée par M. Eddy Echenberg, permettra au grand public de découvrir le riche passé industriel, commercial et touristique des Cantons de l'Est par le biais d'objets promotionnels qui illustrent l'iconographie et les stratagèmes de marketing utilisés à une époque antérieure.

L'exposition a été préparée en collaboration avec le professeur Robert MacGregor de la Williams School of Business and Economics, le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est, et le Musée Colby-Curtis. Elle est présentée du 2 mai au 10 juin 2001 à la Galerie d'art de l'Université Bishop's.

This important collection features objects that were used to promote manufacturing and commercial firms in the Townships from the end of the 19th to the first decades of the 20th century. Patiently developed by Mr. Eddy Echenberg, the collection allows the greater public to discover the rich and diversified industrial, commercial and tourist enterprises through promotional devices—some of exceptional aesthetic quality—that illustrate the iconography and marketing strategies used in the past.

The exhibit is presented in collaboration with Professor Robert MacGregor of the Williams School of Business and Economics, the ETRC and the Colby-Curtis Museum. It is exhibited from 2 May to 10 June 2001 in the Art Gallery of the Bishop's University Art Gallery.

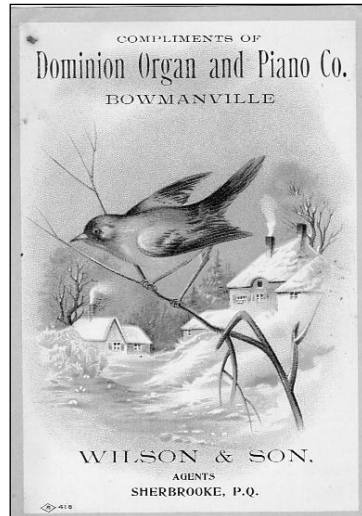


L'hôtel Magog (1836–1978)

De tous les établissements hôteliers qu'a connu Sherbrooke, l'immeuble ayant habité l'hôtel Magog est le plus ancien. Reconstruit en 1902, l'immeuble original est construit par Charles Goodhue en 1836 servant de relais sur la route Québec-Boston. En 1837, on compte deux jours pour se rendre à Montréal avec une halte à Granby. On se rend à Stanstead en six heures et à Port-St-François en seize heures pour y prendre un bateau pour Québec. L'hôtel Magog est le premier à obtenir son permis d'hôtelier en avril 1872. Henry H. Ingram, le propriétaire le plus célèbre de l'hôtel, en prend possession en 1890 et l'exploite jusqu'à son décès en 1942. En 1916, l'hôtel rénové compte plus de 100 chambres dont 65 ont une salle de bain privée avec eau chaude et froide. Parmi les personnages de marque qui y ont logé, on note le gouverneur Sydenham en 1840, le géant Beaulieu en 1901, le premier ministre Borden en 1911, le premier ministre Maurice Duplessis durant la convention de 1933 et le premier ministre R.B. Bennett dans les années 30. L'hôtel cesse ses opérations en 1978.

Magog House (1836–1978)

The Magog House is the oldest hotel site in Sherbrooke still standing. Rebuilt in 1902, the original structure had been built in 1836 by Charles Goodhue and served mostly as a relay point along the Quebec-Boston route. In 1837, it took two days to reach Montreal with a stopover in Granby, six hours to reach Stanstead and sixteen hours to reach Port-St-François where one could take a boat down river to Quebec City. The Magog House was also the first establishment of its kind to receive a Hotel permit in April 1872. In 1890, the most famous owner of the Magog House, Henry H. Ingram, acquired the business and remained its owner until his death in 1942. In 1916, the renovated hotel was listed as having over one hundred rooms of which sixty-five had private baths with hot and cold water. Some of the more famous guests of the Magog House included the Governor Sydenham in 1840, the giant Beaulieu in 1901, Prime Minister Robert Borden in 1911, Premier Maurice Duplessis during the convention of 1933 and Prime Minister R.B. Bennett in the 1930s. It ceased operating as a hotel in 1978.



Au sujet des collections des cartes de commerce

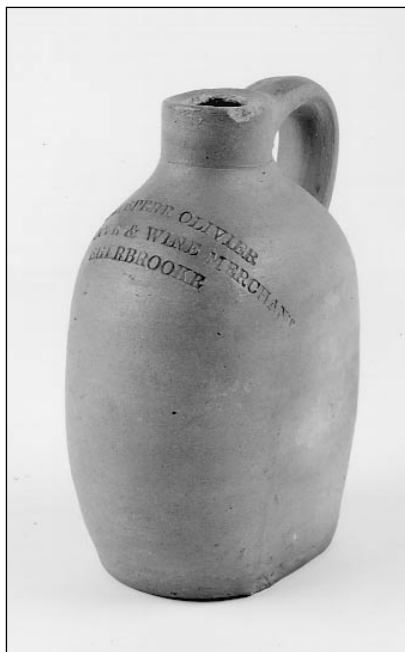
« Il y a aujourd'hui, et plus que jamais, un nombre grandissant d'acquéreurs qui se prévalent d'amasser des collections d'élégantes cartes de commerce. Ce nombre ne cesse d'augmenter, reflétant ainsi la croissance de la population. Qui serait, ou si raffiné ou si commun, qu'il ne puisse admirer une jolie carte publicitaire et désirer la conserver? Ces cartes sont finalement destinées à étoffer quelque collection ou à enjoliver quelque intérieur et, qui plus est, il est possible d'en trouver même dans les coins les plus reculés du pays. »

Tiré de « The Advertising Card Business, » *The Paper World* 10 (May 1885) : 5.

About Collecting Trade Cards

"The number of people who save handsome advertising cards when they chance to get them is larger now than ever and will increase with the growth of the population. No one is either so refined or so vulgar that he will not admire a pretty advertising card and save it. The ultimate destination of all cards is to swell some collection or to adorn some home, and they may be found in even the remotest parts of the land."

From "The Advertising Card Business," *The Paper World* 10 (May 1885): 5.



L.H. Olivier, épicier et marchand de vin

Le *Montreal Daily Record* (30 août 1902) décrit l'Épicerie L.H. Olivier comme un magasin situé sur la Colline au coin des rues King et Wellington. L'épicerie est établie en 1872 par monsieur P. Olivier. À son décès, son fils, ayant géré l'épicerie depuis 13 ans, lui succède. L'épicerie comprend un stock complet de marchandises incluant tous les mets délicats de saison, condiments et produits de base. Une spécialité de l'épicerie est de faire le service de traiteur pour les familles réputées de la ville de Sherbrooke. Une bonne sélection de vins et liqueurs est aussi disponible.

L.H. Olivier, Grocer & Wine Merchant

The *Montreal Daily Record* (30 August 1902) described L.H. Olivier, Grocer & Wine Merchant as a store attractively situated on the Hill at the corner of King and Wellington Streets. The late Mr. P. Olivier established the business in 1872. At his death in 1898, his son, who had been manager of the business for 13 years, succeeded him. This store carried a complete stock of groceries including all delicacies in season, staples and condiments of all descriptions. A specialty was made of catering to the prominent families of the city, and among his patrons were a number of Sherbrooke's leading people. The store also carried a full assortment of wines and liquors.



Silver Spring Brewery (1896–1929)

En 1896, Seth C. Nutter achète des frères Odell une brasserie qu'il appellera « Silver Spring » parce qu'elle s'approvisionne en eau d'une source voisine de l'immeuble. La bière de Nutter est populaire et bien connue au Québec, en Ontario et dans les Maritimes. En 1900, la brasserie produit 20 000 barils par année et emploie 25 ouvriers. En mars 1900, la brasserie Silver Spring est vendue à des intérêts de Londres, mais Nutter demeure directeur général. En 1901, la brasserie se relocalise rue Water (Abenakis) pour se rapprocher de la voie ferrée. En 1910, la production atteint 750 000 gallons de bière et de porter par année et le produit est distribué localement par J.H. Bryant. En 1923, sous la direction de Frank Thompson de Montréal la brasserie est achetée par capital canadien. À l'époque c'est la dernière brasserie des Cantons de l'Est. Sans défense devant la poussée des brasseries nationales, elle succombe en 1929.

Silver Spring Brewery (1896-1929)

In 1896, Seth C. Nutter purchased a brewery from the Odell brothers and renamed it "Silver Spring" because of the spring located just outside the building. Nutter's beer was quite popular and well known throughout Quebec, Ontario and the Maritimes. By 1900, the brewery was producing 20 000 barrels a year and employing 25 people. In March 1900, the Silver Spring Brewery was sold to a group of London businessmen, though Nutter stayed on as general manager. In 1901, the brewery moved to a new location on Water (Abenakis) Street in order to be closer to the railways. By 1910, production was at 750 000 gallons of beer and porter per year and on a local level it was distributed through J.H. Bryant. In 1923, the company was bought by Canadian capital led by Frank Thompson of Montreal. It was then the only brewery left with distribution in the Eastern Townships. Unable to compete with national breweries, Silver Spring went bankrupt in 1929.



Charles H. Fletcher — Spring Brewery (1871–1887)

Charles Haynes Fletcher, de Lyndon, Vermont, arrive à Sherbrooke en 1862 en tant que manufacturier de biscuits et de confiseries. En 1871, il achète la Spring Brewery. Installée sur la rive ouest de la rivière Saint-François, la brasserie est fondée en 1859 par M.H. Taylor, de Cookshire, et Henry Philips, de Montréal. En 1882, la brasserie compte 27 employés et, en plus de la bière, produit un soda et autres eaux gazeuses. Fletcher réussit à maintenir le monopole de la production de bière jusqu'en 1883, alors que son ancien gérant, J.W. Wiggett, décide d'établir sa propre brasserie. Fletcher vend la Spring Brewery en 1887 à Burton Brewing Co.

Charles H. Fletcher — Spring Brewery (1871–1887)

Charles Haynes Fletcher, from Lyndon, Vermont, came to Sherbrooke in 1862 as a manufacturer of biscuits and confectionery. In 1871, he purchased the Spring Brewery. Built on the west side of the St-Francis River, the brewery had been founded in 1859 by M.H. Taylor, of Cookshire, and Henry Philips of Montreal. By 1882, the brewery had 27 employees and, in addition to brewing beer, also made soda water and other soft drinks. Fletcher managed to maintain a monopoly on beer brewing in the area until 1883, when his former manager, J.W. Wiggett, decided to open a brewery of his own. Fletcher sold Spring Brewery in 1887 to Burton Brewing Co.

**Wiggett Bros. Brewing Co. (1883–1886)**

En 1883, l'ancien gérant de la Spring Brewery et maire de Sherbrooke (1882), James William Wiggett en compagnie de son frère John deviennent brasseurs. Les frères Wiggett louent un vieil édifice de Smith-Elkins sur la rive nord de la Magog et en décembre de 1883 produisent dans leur brasserie les bières xxx India Pale, xxx Pale Ale, xxx Mild Ale, et deux bières brunes en plus de distribuer l'eau minérale Abenakis. Après seulement un an en affaire, les frères Wiggett comptent 25 employés. Mais l'affaire tourne au vinaigre et en février 1885 la brasserie fait faillite. En juin 1886, la brasserie Wiggett est vendue à Long and Hopkins, de Collingwood, Ontario.

Wiggett Bros. Brewing Co. (1883–1886)

In 1883, former Spring Brewery manager and mayor of Sherbrooke (1882), James William Wiggett, and his brother, John, launched themselves in the business of brewing. The Wiggett brothers rented an old Smith-Elkins building located on the north bank of the Magog river and by December of that year, the brewery was in operation producing xxx India Pale, xxx Pale Ale, xxx Mild Ale, stout and porter as well as being the distributor of Abenakis Mineral Water. After one year in business, the Wiggett brothers had 25 employees. Business quickly took a turn for the worse, however, and by February 1885 the brewery was bankrupt. By the end of June 1886, the Wiggett Brewery had been sold to Long and Hopkins of Collingwood, Ontario.

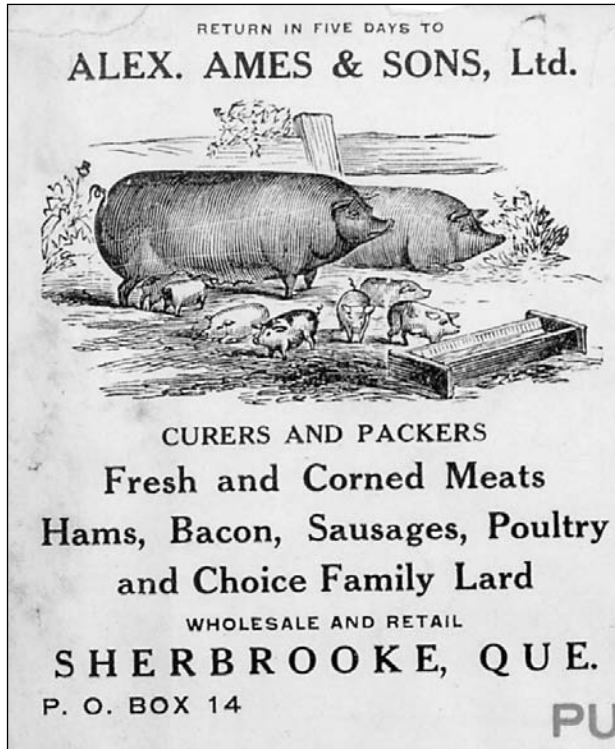


J.H. Bryant and Co. (1896–1973)

En 1896, John Henry Bryant achète une usine d'embouteillage de Seth Nutter puis, peu après, un commerce d'eaux gazeuses situé rue du Dépôt. Bryant réalise que les brasseries nationales s'emparent peu à peu du marché et que les brasseries locales sont appelées à disparaître mais il sait que cela ne sera pas le cas pour les liqueurs douces. Il crée avec succès un soda gingembre de marque Bull's Head. À l'époque de la Première Guerre Mondiale, le Coca-Cola devient la liqueur douce la plus populaire et son embouteillage devient une partie importante de l'entreprise. Le rationnement du sucre durant la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale restreint la production à la marque Coke mais après la guerre, Bull's Head, Orange Crush et John Collins reviennent sur le marché. De plus, la compagnie distribue les produits de Labatt. En 1951, la compagnie s'installe dans une nouvelle usine dans le quartier ouest où sont embouteillées plus d'un million de caisses d'eaux gazeuses par année. En 1970, Labatt récupère la distribution de ses produits et Coke met sur le marché ses propres essences. Par conséquent, les eaux gazeuses de Bryant, à l'exception de Bull's Head, vivent le même sort que les bières locales. La compagnie ferme ses portes en 1973.

J.H. Bryant and Co. (1896–1973)

John Henry Bryant purchased a bottling plant from Seth Nutter in 1896 and shortly afterwards a soda-water plant on Depot Street. Bryant saw that national breweries were taking over and that local breweries were doomed. There was little outside pressure with regards to soft drinks, however. Therefore, Bryant launched Bull's Head Ginger Ale with great success. World War I saw an increase in the popularity of Coke and bottling it became a large part of Bryant's business at that time. During World War II, because of sugar rationing, only Coke was produced, but after the war, Bull's Head was back on the shelves with Orange Crush and John Collins. The company was also distributing Labatt products. In 1951, Bryant's moved to a new plant in the west end where they were bottling one million cases of soft drinks a year. In the 1970s, Labatt began distributing its own products and Coke came out with its own flavours, causing the Bryant flavours, with the exception of Bull's Head, to go the way of local beer. The company folded in 1973.



Alexander Ames Packing Co. (c. 1880–1944)

Le bottin de 1882 note que Alex Ames est boucher au marché de Sherbrooke. « Amesbury », sa résidence de Lennoxville, est occupée par la famille Ames depuis son arrivée du New Hampshire en 1819. En 1902, Ames est propriétaire de la beurrerie Lennoxville Creamery. À Sherbrooke, son commerce de gros et de détail est important et comporte le conditionnement des viandes de bœuf, mouton, veau, agneau, volaille, jambon, bacon et saucisses. En 1908, Ames et ses fils ouvrent un entrepôt réfrigéré rue Wellington, le premier en son genre dans les Cantons de l'Est. Après le décès de Ames vers 1925, ses fils maintiennent le commerce à la fine pointe de la technologie et exportent vers des marchés toujours plus vastes. L'entreprise, qui porte le nom de Ames Packers en 1932, est vendue en 1944.

Alexander Ames Packing Co. (c. 1880–1944)

Alex Ames was first listed as a butcher at the Sherbrooke market in 1882. Members of the Ames family had occupied "Amesbury," their home in Lennoxville, since they had emigrated from New Hampshire in 1819. By 1902, Ames was also listed as proprietor of the Lennoxville Creamery (butter factory). His operation in Sherbrooke involved a large wholesale and retail trade with the curing and packing of beef, mutton, veal, lamb, poultry, hams, bacon and sausages. In 1908, Ames and his sons opened a large cold storage on Wellington Street, the only one of its kind in the Townships at that time. When Ames died some time around 1925, his sons carried on the business always exporting to larger markets and keeping abreast of the latest technology. The company, renamed Ames Packers in 1932, was sold in 1944.



Hovey Bros. Packing Co. (1894–1949)

En 1887, après un séjour aux États-Unis, Philip A. Hovey revient dans son village natal de North Hatley pour y acheter une ferme. Son frère, Frederick, revient aussi des États-Unis en 1889 pour l'aider à fonder la Hovey Bros. Meat Dealers. En 1894, les frères s'installent à Sherbrooke sous le nom de Hovey Bros. Packing Co. En 1897, la Hovey Bros. Packing Co. reçoit en moyenne 150 à 200 porcs par semaine, sans compter les autres animaux. À tout moment, on peut trouver au moins une centaine de porcs dans l'entrepôt réfrigéré. On traite une trentaine de porcs par jour dans la salle de débitage. Le chaudron à graisse, d'une capacité de 1 200 livres, est rempli à chaque jour et la graisse est coulée dans des chaudières et vendue localement. La compagnie ferme ses portes en 1948.

Hovey Bros. Packing Co. (1894–1949)

In 1887, Philip A. Hovey returned from the United States to buy a farm in his hometown of North Hatley. When his brother Frederick returned from the States in 1889, he joined Philip and they formed the Hovey Bros. Meat Dealers. In 1894, the brothers relocated to Sherbrooke, renaming the business Hovey Bros. Packing Co. In 1897, Hovey Bros. Packing Co. was receiving, on average, 150 to 200 hogs a week, along with a lot of other meat. At any one time, there were at least 100 hogs in cold storage, waiting to be processed. Thirty hogs were handled each day in the cutting room. Their lard kettle, which held 1200 pounds, was filled once daily and the lard was packed into pails and sold locally. The company ceased its operations in 1948.



John H. Nichol and Sons (1904–1993)

John H. Nichol quitte Lochnivar, Cumberland, en Angleterre, en 1893 pour venir apprendre le métier d'agriculteur dans le comté de Compton chez Stephen Hyatt de Milby. Il achète éventuellement sa propre ferme et songe à vendre ses produits directement aux consommateurs. En 1902, il ouvre un étal de boucher rue Montréal à Sherbrooke mais après deux ans il le vend pour s'installer à Lennoxville, plus près de sa ferme. Si l'entreprise est au repos durant la Première Guerre Mondiale, elle reprend vie en 1921 quand Nichol construit un entrepôt de réfrigération en 1923. Il entreprend le commerce du gros en 1927 et ouvre un étal à Sherbrooke en 1928. Nichol se dote ensuite d'un système de réfrigération Mayflower dans son magasin en 1930. Il y a trois générations de la famille Nichol qui travaille au magasin de Lennoxville alors connu sous le nom de Marché Lennoxville Inc. et qui ferme ses portes en 1993. Durant les meilleures années, leurs produits ont une renommée nationale. Quand Elizabeth II séjourne au Ritz en 1950, on lui sert de l'agneau venu de la ferme Nichol. Elle l'apprécie tellement qu'elle commande le même plat à Toronto.

John H. Nichol and Sons (1904–1993)

In 1893, John H. Nichol came from Lochnivar, Cumberland, in England, to Compton County where he learned about farming by working on the Stephen Hyatt's farm in Milby. He eventually bought his own farm and was inspired to sell his produce directly to the consumer. In 1902, he opened his own butcher shop on Montreal Street in Sherbrooke but after two years he sold it and moved to Lennoxville, which was closer to his farm. Though Nichol temporarily abandoned his business for the duration of the Great War, he reopened in 1921, built a cold storage plant in 1923, entered the wholesale business in 1927, opened a new location in Sherbrooke in 1928 and installed a Mayflower refrigeration system in his shop in 1930. At one point, three generations of the Nichol family were working in the store in Lennoxville known as Marché Lennoxville Inc. that closed in 1993. Their products, during the store's most prosperous years, had a nation-wide reputation. When Elizabeth II stayed at the Ritz in 1950, she was served lamb from the Nichol's farm. She enjoyed the meal so much that she requested the same meal again in Toronto.



W.R. Webster & Co.

Cette manufacture de cigares est établie en 1882. Le magazine *Eastern Townships Illustrated* de 1898 signale que ces messieurs Webster & Co sont très chanceux d'avoir en leur possession, au début de la guerre hispano-américaine, plus de cent mille livres de tabac de la Havane. Ils peuvent ainsi fournir à leur public leur célèbre cigare *El Presidente*, dont l'exceptionnelle qualité justifie sa grande popularité. Le *Montreal Daily Record* du 30 août 1902 note que la production annuelle atteint alors presque quatre millions de cigares. La manufacture est située dans la ruelle du Grand Tronc. En 1908, elle aménage dans un nouvel édifice en brique qui est plus tard occupé par la Fairbanks Morse. Les marques les plus connues de la W.R. Webster sont *Jose Ma Garcia*, *El Presidente*, (le fameux cigare à 104) *Queen*, *Dutch Mike*, (le cigare à 54) *Sir Lancelot* et *Diamond Dick*. L'entreprise ferme ses portes en 1926.

W.R. Webster & Co.

The cigar factory was established in 1882. The *Eastern Townships Illustrated* of 1898 notes Messrs. Webster & Co. were extremely fortunate in holding, prior to the war between Spain and America, a large quantity of Havana tobacco, over one hundred thousand pounds. This enabled them to offer the public their cigar "El Presidente" of the finest quality and one that commanded a very extensive sale. The *Montreal Daily Record* of 30 August 1902 mentions that the annual output of cigars was reaching nearly 4 million. Their factory was situated on Grand Trunk Lane (in 1908, a new brick building later occupied by Fairbanks Morse). Their recognized brands are the "Jose Ma Garcia," "El Presidente" (the famous 104 cigar), "Queen," "Dutch Mike" (a 54 cigar) "Sir Lancelot," "Diamond Dick" and others. The firm ceased operations in 1926.

**A.E. Kinkead, marchand de tabac (1898–1939)**

Le *Montreal Daily Record* (30 août 1902) décrit le marchand de tabac A.E. Kinkead comme un des plus grands et plus complets de son genre à l'est de Toronto. Situé rue Wellington, l'entreprise fait le commerce de tabac en gros et en détail. Le stock comprend une multitude d'articles importés et domestiques pour fumeurs—cigares, cigarettes, tabacs, pipes, pochettes pour tabac, ainsi que des étuis et portes cigares et cigarettes. Le propriétaire du magasin, monsieur A.E. Kinkead, est connu dans tout le Dominion comme un des marchands de tabac canadiens le plus important. Ses produits sont vendus de l'Atlantique au Pacifique.

A.E. Kinkead, Tobacconist (1898–1939)

The *Montreal Daily Record* (30 August 1902) describes A.E. Kinkead's tobacco store as one of the largest and most complete establishments of its kind east of Toronto. Located on Wellington Street, the business was both wholesale and retail. The stock carried comprised every variety of imported and domestic smoker's goods—cigars, cigarettes, tobaccos, smoker's sundries, pipes, tobacco pouches, cigar and cigarette cases and holders. The proprietor of this store was Mr. A.E. Kinkead who was well known all over the Dominion as one of the leading tobacconists of Canada. His goods were sold from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

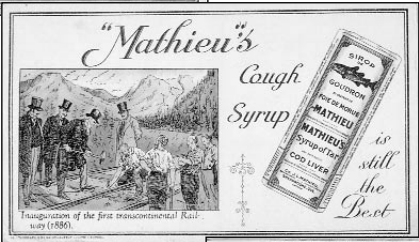
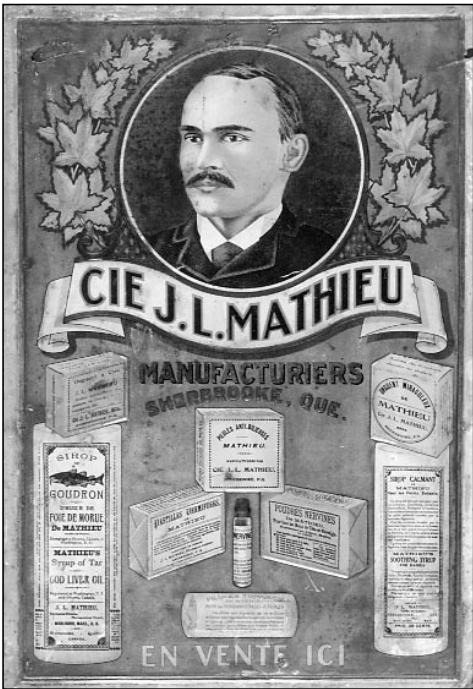


La société Frasier, Thornton – Cookshire (1903–1968)

La société est fondée à Digby, Nouvelle-Écosse, en 1903, suite à l'acquisition de la Letteney Manufacturing Co. Ltd. (fabricants de poliss et d'huiles pour les harnais et les essieux). L'affaire est si bonne qu'après une première année d'opération, la nouvelle société a déjà l'espoir de desservir tout le pays. Mais pour que ce rêve devienne une réalité, il faut se relocaliser dans un endroit plus central. On choisit Cookshire en raison de ses moyens de transport, son accès aux banques et d'un approvisionnement inépuisable de bois pour la construction et la fabrication de boîtes. L'installation à Cookshire est enfin achevée en 1907. La compagnie fabrique de nombreux produits : médicaments brevetés, aliments pour animaux, huiles, poliss, remèdes vétérinaires, pansements et autres. L'un de leurs produits les plus connus est l'« émulsion Oliveine », réputée contre la toux et les rhumes, qui sert aussi à calmer l'estomac et à remettre tout le système en état. Dès 1912, la société ouvre une succursale à Saskatoon et elle a des distributeurs à St. John's et à Winnipeg. En 1950, elle exporte aux États-Unis, aux Antilles, et dans certains pays d'Europe. Frasier, Thornton and Co. atteint alors son apogée. L'entreprise perd peu à peu son élan suite aux décès des premiers propriétaires, messieurs E.A. Thornton et J.A. Frasier. La relève est assurée d'abord par la veuve, puis par la fille de Thornton, avant que la société soit vendue à Carol Smith. Quand Smith achète l'entreprise en 1969, seuls deux employés s'occupent de la production des remèdes encore en demande. Smith, qui a aussi acheté la A.C. Daniel's Co. Ltd., de Rock Island, prévoit fermer la fabrique de Cookshire et consolider ses opérations à Rock Island. Frasier, Thornton and Co. cesse toute activité en 1969.

Frasier, Thornton and Co. – Cookshire (1903–1968)

This company was established in Digby, Nova Scotia, in 1903, after the owners purchased Letteney Manufacturing Co. Ltd. (makers of polish, harness and axle oils). Business was so good for Frasier, Thornton and Co. that after only one year they had already conceived of a plan to service the entire country. To make this initiative work, however, a more central location was required. Cookshire was selected because of its excellent shipping facilities, easy access to banking and an unlimited supply of lumber for building and box making. By 1907, the move to Cookshire was completed. The Company manufactured numerous products, such as proprietary medicines, stock foods, oils, polishes, veterinary remedies, dressings and sundries. One of their better-known products was "Emusion Oliveine," recommended for coughs and colds as well as to calm the stomach and tone the whole system. By 1912, the Company had a branch in Saskatoon and distributors in St. John's and Winnipeg. By 1950, they were exporting to the United States, the West Indies and parts of Europe. This appears to have been the peak of activity for Frasier, Thornton and Co. The Company's situation began to deteriorate after the deaths of the original owners, Messrs E.A. Thornton and J.A. Frasier. They were succeeded by first the wife, then the daughter of Thornton, before the Company was sold to Carol Smith in 1969. By the time Smith acquired the Company, only two employees remained who produced the remedies which were still in demand. Smith, who had also purchased A.C. Daniel's Co. Ltd. of Rock Island, had intended to close the plant in Cookshire and consolidate all his activities in Rock Island. Some time in 1969, Frasier, Thornton and Co. ceased all activity.



La Cie J.L. Mathieu (1904–1971)

En 1892, le pharmacien J.L. Mathieu se lance dans la fabrication et la mise en marché d'un médicament breveté de son invention, le SIROP MATHIEU. Président de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Sherbrooke (1898–1899), Mathieu décède en 1902, âgé de 36 ans. En 1904, Arthur Chevalier et P.H. Gendron acquièrent les brevets, fondent la Cie J.L. Mathieu et s'établissent à Sherbrooke, rue Albert, en 1904. À partir de 1916, Chevalier est seul propriétaire de la Cie J.L. Mathieu et lui succède son fils, le Col. Léopold Chevalier, et plus tard son petit-fils, le Dr Paul Chevalier. La compagnie ferme ses portes en 1971. L'identité du propriétaire et le site de fabrication sont indiqués en garantie de la qualité de ces produits pharmaceutiques selon les normes de mise en marché en vigueur avant 1945. Après cette date, seuls les noms des grandes marques nationales et internationales prédominent. La Cie J.L. Mathieu est le reflet du milieu francophone de Sherbrooke de la première moitié du 20^e siècle et son choix du français pour un affichage unilingue d'une enseigne est exceptionnel à l'époque. On reconnaît l'influence de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (SSJB) dans l'iconographie de cette enseigne particulièrement pour le portrait de J.L. Mathieu présenté en médaillon et entouré de rameaux de feuilles d'érable. La SSJB prônait l'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada, de ses héros et de leurs exploits. Des buvards illustrant des hauts faits sont offerts gratuitement en série de six, en échange d'une preuve d'achat. L'exemple français représente le discours de L.-J. Papineau en 1837. L'exemple de buvard imprimé en anglais porte sur la construction du chemin de fer transcontinental.

Cie J.L. Mathieu (1904–1971)

In 1892, pharmacist J.L. Mathieu began the manufacturing and marketing of a patented medicine of his invention under the name of SIROP MATHIEU. Mathieu was president of the Sherbrooke St-Jean-Baptiste Society (1898–1899) and died in 1902 at the age of 36. Arthur Chevalier and P.H. Gendron bought the patents in 1904 and established the Cie J.L. Mathieu on Albert Street in Sherbrooke. In 1916, Chevalier becomes the sole proprietor of the company to be later owned successively by his son, Col. Léopold Chevalier and his grandson, Dr. Paul Chevalier. The company ceased to operate in 1971. Up until 1945, according to the marketing standards of the time, the identity of the owner and the place of manufacture are identified as a guarantee of quality for pharmaceutical products. After that date, national and international brand names predominate. The Cie J.L. Mathieu is a reflection of the Francophone milieu of Sherbrooke during the first half of the 20th century, and its choice of unilingual French signage is exceptional for the period. The influence of the St-Jean-Baptiste Society (SJBS) is felt in the iconography of this sign in particular by the showing of the portrait of J.L. Mathieu surrounded by wreaths of maple leaves. The SJBS promoted the teaching of Canadian history and the deeds of its heroes. Six blotters illustrated with important feats were given free in exchange for a proof of purchase. The French sample above depicts L.J. Papineau's speech of 1837. The English blotter sample deals with the construction of the transcontinental railway.

SHERBROOKE'S TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY CIGARS

Eddy Echenberg
Martinville

Reprinted from The Record, August 24, 1982

Walking from Wellington Street in Sherbrooke down Meadow Street toward the parking lot, you can still see the faded printing on the brick building now housing the restaurant La Falaise St-Michel. In recent memory most of us refer to this building as the Blouin Block, which housed the Blouin furniture store for many years. The faded sign reads "W.R. Webster & Co." and, lower down, "Makers of Hygienic Cigars." This is one of the few visible reminders that the Eastern Townships at one time played a major role in the tobacco industry in Canada.



The earliest reference one finds to this connection comes from the 1863 map of the District of St. Francis. On this map is a directory of Sherbrooke which lists H.W. Barber & Co., Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturers. Lovell's Directory of Compton County for the year 1864 lists, under the heading of Sherbrooke, H.W. Bunker and S. Wolfson as proprietors; and, for an address, simply Square, referring no doubt to what later became known as Strathcona Square, then the centre of Sherbrooke's business section. It is not known which name, Barber or Bunker, is the correct one. Tobacco manufacturing most likely entailed preparing the tobacco to be sold by the leaf, those being the days when many families had their own tobacco cutters to prepare the tobacco for the pipe, and chewing the ordinary leaf was not uncommon.

In 1870, H. Fortier began a chain of events that was to play a large part in the tobacco industry in Sherbrooke. In that year he opened the Montreal Tobacco Store in Sherbrooke. Two years later he moved to 113 Wellington Street. It was in 1874 that Fortier bought the



Magasin de Tabac Kinkead. — Kinkead's Tobacco Store, Sherbrooke, P.Q.—29.

carved wooden Indian, nostalgic to early Sherbrookers, that was to stand on the spot for some 65 years.

In 1882, H. Fortier, together with L. Fortier, (presumably his brother), founded the Sherbrooke Cigar Factory. Among the brands of cigars made by the factory were the Sherbrooke Fancy and the Bee.

In 1884, Charles H. Nutter started to manufacture "fine domestic and Havana cigars." Among the cigars made by this company were these intriguing brands: Snow Queen, Stag Party, Jersey Lily, Little Smoker, Take No Dust, Hurdlers, and Sure to Please.

Charles H. Nutter and W.R. Webster were to form a partnership in 1885. Under the name of Webster, Nutter & Co., they took over the Sherbrooke Cigar Factory and renamed it the Queen Cigar Factory. Most popular of the brands produced by Webster, Nutter & Co. were The Queen, Dutch Mike, and Specks.

About the year 1892, Webster, Nutter & Co. was dissolved and W.R. Webster & Co. was formed. The name Queen Cigar Factory was maintained. Over the years many different brands of cigars were made by this firm. Known brands are The Queen, Dutch Mike, El Presidente, Orlando, Webster, Diamond Dick, La Florentine, Excelsior, Specks, Imported, High Toned, Flora Belle, La Rosa Cubana, Rosa Belle, Little Beauties, 21st Lancer, and Sir Lancelot. As well, many of these brands came in different sizes or shapes, with at least one brand, Webster, advertised as being available in "10 different sizes."

The Queen Cigar Factory also made special brands for customers under separate labels. Examples of this are "Joe's Champions" made expressly for J.J. Barlow of Danville, Quebec; "Scott's Favorite" for Scott Worthen of Ayer's Flats, Quebec (now Ayer's Cliff), and "Mic-

Mac" made for A.E. Kinhead, Tobacconist of Sherbrooke.

Around the turn of the century, demand for cigars enjoyed substantial growth. In 1902 the output of the Queen Cigar Factory approached the four million mark, with wide distribution. By 1915 the company which had started in 1885 with 10 employees now numbered a staff of 135. It was in 1908 that the large brick building was erected on Meadow Street on the corner of what was then known as Grand Trunk Lane.

But such growth is not to be had without its problems. In October of 1896, several unionized employees, unable to resolve a dispute with the company, quit their jobs and set about starting up a new factory. It was not until March 31, 1898, however, that letters patent were issued to a new firm called Sherbrooke Cigar Co. Among those named in the registration were several ex-employees of the Queen Cigar Factory. Two of them, Joseph Gagné and Herménégilde Thibault, were later to branch out on their own. The first president of Sherbrooke Cigar Co. was Napoléon Blanchard, a Sherbrooke barber. Joseph Allard was secretary, and the factory was situated at the corner of Ball and Gillespie Streets.

This company was soon taken over by F.R. Darche and W.J. McMannus (also an ex-employee of Webster), and it was under their direction that the company grew to be an important competitor of the Queen Cigar Factory. Brands of cigars made by the Sherbrooke Cigar Co. were the Hogen-Mogen, Royal Sport, Saratoga, and 70-20-4. For a time they also made a cigar called "Orlando" for a maritime client, but had to stop using that name since W.R. Webster & Co. had previously registered it.

In 1904 Joseph Gagné, one of the founders of the Sherbrooke Cigar Co., started a cigar company called the King Bee Cigar Factory. This factory was originally situated on King Street, but soon its growth required larger premises, and they moved their operation to Minto Street. Two popular brands of cigars were made by this firm; the 3-20-8 and New 5.

About 1908 the Eastern Townships Cigar Co. was formed. The owners of this firm were Ovide Charest and Hilaire Lachance. This factory was situated at 16 Albert Lane just beside Mathieu Syrup Co. Brands from this company were La Farosa and 54^e Régiment.

Not long after this, we have the appearance of yet another cigar plant. This one was called the C.C.A. Cigar Factory. It is not known who the originators of this factory were, but Sherbrooke directories of this period list two Courchesnes, two Coutures, and an Aubé, all with the occupation of cigar-maker. It is highly possible that C.C.A.

is a combination of these initials. It is known that later on, by 1917, Herménegilde Thibault was proprietor. Thibault was the second of the ex-employees of W.R. Webster & Co. who was involved in the forming of the Sherbrooke Cigar Co. The C.C.A. Cigar Factory was situated on Wellington Street North, and known brands are C.C.A. Invincibles, El Cedo, and Blue Button.

From as early as 1880, tobacco was subject to a special federal tax. In order to monitor the growth of companies involved in this pursuit, the federal government divided the country into sections called Inland Revenue Districts, and each factory was given a number. This area was designated Inland Revenue District (IRD) No. 10. For important cigars, the number used designated the area's customs office. The Sherbrooke Customs was Port 16-D. For example W.R. Webster & Co. was IRD No. 10, Factory No. 2, and for imported cigars, Port 16-D, Factory No. 2. Every cigar box had to have this number on it, and it is usually found on the bottom of the box. Only one cigar box has come to light with the designation IRD No. 10, Factory No. 4. The brand name of the cigar is Sherbrooke, but there is no indication of the maker's name. Very possibly this cigar was made in Lennoxville by W.R. Webster & Co., who operated a factory there for a short time.

It was back in 1874 that Albert Kinkead, as a young man, started work as a clerk in H. Fortier's Montreal Tobacco Store. In 1895, Fortier's interests were purchased by Albert E. Kinkead and Frank W. Cline, and the store became known as Kinkead and Cline. Kinkead became sole proprietor in 1898, and the store was known as A.E. Kinkead & Co. from then until its closing in 1939.

While under the name of Kinkead & Cline, the proprietors had a brand of cigars made solely for their own clients. It was called the K&C Bouquet, and was made by W.R. Webster & Co. It was so popular that it continued to be sold by A.E. Kinkead & Co. for many years.

Aside from their retail business, A.E. Kinkead & Co. carried on a large wholesale trade as well. Their stock was extensive. An example of this, as unbelievable as it sounds, is that in 1906 their advertisement in *The Sherbrooke Daily Record* claimed a choice of more than 250 different brands of cigars. Another ad in the same year states:

More than retailers of smokes—manufacturers, too.
We manufacture
Kinkead's Navy Cut
Kinkead's Flake Cut
Kinkead's Perique Mixture
and other blends of smoking tobacco.



*Kinkead's Tobacco Store,
Montreal Daily Record, 30 August 1902 (Source: ETRC)*

Brands of cigars made for A.E. Kinkead & Co. for exclusive sale to their clients included the following: Mic-Mac (mentioned earlier as being made by W.R. Webster & Co.), Kinkead's Speaker Panatelas, Flor De Alvarez, Kinkead's Excellentes, and Kinkead's Havana. Kinkead's also continued the sale of leaf tobacco for those clients who wished to cut their own pipe tobacco. They had a special storage room where temperature and humidity were carefully controlled. Two popular brands of leaf tobacco, among many sold by Kinkead's, were Rose Quesnel and Grand Rouge.

Kinkead's is best remembered for the wooden Indian which stood outside their door for so many years. It stood on the East side of Wellington Street, between Meadow and Albert Streets, about opposite the Bank of Montreal. Apparently, when the store finally closed, the wooden Indian was sold to a party in the United States. Another interesting feature of Kinkead's was their smoking room, where select clients could try out the various cigars to find one to suit their tastes.

Granby, too, played an important part in the tobacco industry of the Townships. In 1866, A.C. Savage, together with a Mr. McCanna, started the firm of Savage & McCanna. Savage was a direct

descendant of Captain John Savage, the founder of Shefford Plain in 1792 (later to become known as West Shefford). A.C. Savage became the Mayor of Granby, and was to hold that post for 15 years, from 1877 to 1892. Savage & McCanna were general merchants. It was in 1872 that the Savage Block on Main Street was erected. In 1886 Savage & McCanna branched out into the business of manufacturing cigars, and by 1888 they employed 110 people in their cigar factory.

In 1889 this was taken over by Messrs. George F. Payne, Josiah Bruce Payne and J. MacFarlane. The firm operated under the name of Payne Bros. & MacFarlane. Brands of cigars they made included The Fascinator and Perfection.

About 1893, Josiah Bruce Payne took over the company and it became known as J. Bruce Payne Ltd. At around this time, George Payne started the Granby Box Co., whose principal product was cigar boxes. This factory was later taken over by N.A. Meyer, and still later became known as the Meyer Thomas Box Factory. Aside from cigar boxes, this firm also manufactured wood caddies in which plug tobacco was packed for shipment. The J. Bruce Payne Co. was originally housed on Alexandra Street in the East end of Granby known as Kentville. Later it was moved to the third floor of the Savage Block, and still later moved into the old Wetherby Hotel Building on Young Street.

Josiah Bruce Payne took an active part not only in the cigar industry, but also in the interests of Granby and the military as well. He became President of the Dominion Cigar Manufacturers' Association. During World War I he went overseas as Commanding Officer of the 27th Battery, which he had helped to organize. Colonel Payne was also very active in promoting the use of Canadian-grown tobacco. He was instrumental in getting several farmers in the St-Cesaire and Rougemont areas to grow tobacco on vacant lots adjoining his home and his factory.

The J. Bruce Payne Co. carried on an extensive cigar business across Canada. Among the many brands of cigars made by the company were: Pebble, Pharaoh, Lords of Canada, El Payne, Grit, Granby Smelters, and Marie Antoinette. Another brand, Triomphe, was made entirely from Canadian tobacco.

For a time Colonel Payne operated a cigar factory in Marieville, Quebec, called The Eastern Cigar Co. Ltd. Cigars made by this firm included Our Dick, Trio, and Gilt Edge.

The Empire Tobacco Co. had been formed in 1893 in Montreal by John Archibald and his nephew Edward Archibald. In 1895 their fac-

tory was destroyed by fire, and through much effort on the part of Alex Hebert, a baker in Granby, they were persuaded to build their new plant in Granby. At this time there was much opposition to this factory from the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Sons of Temperance, as well as others who were against the use of liquor or tobacco in any form. Overcoming this opposition, they built a large brick building on Cowie Street to house the Empire Tobacco Co.

The Empire Tobacco Co. changed hands for the first time in 1898 when it was taken over by the American Tobacco Company of Canada Limited. In turn, in 1908, the American Tobacco Co. was acquired by the Imperial Tobacco Company of Canada. The Granby factory became known as the Empire Branch of this company, whose head office was in Montreal.

The Empire Branch manufactured chewing tobacco, pipe tobacco and snuff. The chewing tobacco made by this factory in the early years included Royal Oak, Something Good, Patriot, Old Fox, and Snowshoe. Early brands of pipe tobacco were Empire, Rosebud, Amber, Pedro, and Great West. Great West was the first pipe tobacco to be sold cut up ready for the pipe. It was packaged in a bright red pouch, and for many years people could be seen using these red pouches to carry their money. The Great West brand became so popular that for many years the Empire factory was popularly known as the Great West factory. In later years the famous Picobac was produced here.

The Empire Branch was enlarged in 1912 and again in 1915. Modernized in 1950, it measured a total of 350 000 square feet and employed over 60 people.

As can be judged by the proliferation of companies, the cigar industry had a phenomenal growth between 1885 and the start of the war in 1914. It was during World War I that cigarettes came into vogue; their popularity greatly increased during the roaring twenties. One explanation given is that the pace of life had so quickened that one didn't have the time to enjoy the slow-smoking cigar



*Imperial Tobacco
Company of Canada, Granby.
Circa 1915.*

properly.

Whatever the reason, demand for cigars declined, and slowly the companies began to close. The C.C.A. Cigar Factory lasted only a few short years, closing around 1917. The W.R. Webster & Co. closed in 1926. One year later the Eastern Townships Cigar Co. closed. Then the Depression took its toll; J.O. Gagné closed in about 1932. The Sherbrooke Cigar Co., after many changes of owners and moves to smaller quarters, stopped production at about the same time. J. Bruce Payne Ltd. closed its doors in 1935.

The Empire Branch of the Imperial Company of Canada fared much better. Of course it should be noted that they did not make cigars. That factory continued its growth until, in 1959, they had 630 employees. However in 1972 that factory, too, closed its doors, bringing to an end the tobacco industry in the Townships.

Reading over a condensed history of a segment of the business world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one sometimes feels that success is often just the result of being in the right place at the right time. I think the real truth, however, lies in the measure of the men of those times. Perhaps a typical example is the motto of Colonel J. Bruce Payne. His stationery contained a picture of an owl, with the inscription "While Others Sleep, I Work."

This research was inspired by a personal interest in collecting memorabilia related to the earlier days of the Townships. Amongst the items one finds are often the colorful cigar boxes, reminiscent of yesteryear. It is natural that a name on a box causes one to wonder about the background of the firm and individuals who were involved. This prompted the research. Should the reader have additional data on this topic, I would be happy to hear.

A PRELIMINARY SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT LOCAL BUSINESSES AND BUSINESSMEN

As a research project for Professor Robert MacGregor, Bishop's University student Julie Mayrand set out to locate and detail information concerning local businesses and business owners. Investigating the holdings of the Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke materials found in the Old Library of Bishop's University and regional newspaper sources, Ms. Mayrand compiled information about the following businesses and/or businessmen:

Dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche géré par le professeur Robert MacGregor, Julie Mayrand, étudiante à l'Université Bishop's, a trouvé et détaillé des renseignements sur les commerces et les commerçants de la région. En prenant connaissance des documents conservés par la Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke, des fonds du Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est et en consultant des journaux régionaux, madame Mayrand a compilé de l'information sur les commerces et/ou les commerçants suivant :

-
- Ansell's Drug Store (Sherbrooke)
 - Alexander Ames Packing Co. (butchers and packers, Sherbrooke)
 - J.H. Bryant Ltd. (bottler, Sherbrooke)
 - College House (hotel, Lennoxville)
 - Crystal Spring Bottling Works (Waterloo)
 - Charles Haynes Fletcher (baker, brewer, Sherbrooke)
 - East Sherbrooke Hotel
 - Frasier, Thornton and Co. (proprietary medicines, etc, Cookshire)
 - Grand Central House (hotel, Sherbrooke)
 - William H. Griffith (druggist, Sherbrooke)
 - His Majesty's Theatre (Clement Theatre) (Sherbrooke)
 - Hovey Brothers Packing Co. (packers, Sherbrooke)
 - King George Hotel (Sherbrooke)
 - Magog House (hotel, Sherbrooke)
 - W.J.H. McKindsey (druggist, Sherbrooke)

- J.L. Mathieu (druggist, Sherbrooke)
 - Bill Mayo (cough syrup, North Hatley)
 - John Nichol and Sons (butcher, Lennoxville)
 - Odell Bros. Brewery (Sherbrooke)
 - Thomas B. Odell (watchmaker, Sherbrooke)
 - Robinson and Co. (druggist, Coaticook)
 - Sherbrooke House (hotel, Sherbrooke)
 - Silver Spring Brewery (Sherbrooke)
 - R.J. Spearing (jeweler, Sherbrooke)
 - Thomas J. Tuck (druggist, Sherbrooke)
 - W.R. Webster (manufacturer, Sherbrooke)
 - Wiggett Bros. Brewing Co. (Sherbrooke)
-

In what follows we extract two samples of the work (Alexander Ames Packing Co. and J.H. Bryant Ltd.). The material provides a useful chronology of the businesses and businessmen. As well, Ms. Mayrand has extracted information from the materials she analyzed thus providing researchers with a helpful reference guide for their further research. The Eastern Townships Research Centre will be putting Ms. Mayrand's entire document on its website, as well as providing a copy for the Old Library. We plan to update and expand on this work and so we encourage our readers and researchers to contact us with further information about local businesses.

Les deux extraits qui suivent sont tirés du travail de madame Mayrand. Ils nous fournissent une chronologie utile des commerces et des commerçants. De plus, madame Mayrand a extrait de l'information des documents qu'elle a analysés, ce qui permet aux chercheurs d'avoir un guide de référence important. Le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est compte mettre l'œuvre entière de madame Mayrand sur son site web, en plus de l'exemplaire qui sera disponible à la Salle de consultation de l'Université Bishop's. Nous avons aussi l'intention de continuer à développer ce travail afin de le garder à jour. A cette fin, nous vous encourageons de nous faire parvenir tout renseignement sur les commerces de la région.

ALEXANDER AMES PACKING COMPANY

Sherbrooke Historical Society Resources:

- *Eastern Townships Directory 1882*. Montreal: Gazette Printing co, Dec. 1881.
Ames, Alex, res. Lennoxville, butcher, Stall #1 at the market.
 - *Sherbrooke City Directory*
 - 1890–91 Ames, Alex, butcher, stalls no. 1 and 3 at City Hall, res. Lennoxville road.
 - 1892–93 Ames, Alex, butcher stalls no. 1 to 5 at City Hall.
 - 1896–97 Ames, Alex, 160 Wellington.
 - 1898–99 Ames, Alex, Lennoxville, farmer.
 - 1900–01 Ames, Alex, butcher, stall Lansdowne Market.
 - 1902–03 Ames, Alex, butcher and poultry dealer, Lansdowne Market, prop. Lennoxville creamery with Baker.
 - 1902–04 & 1908–09
Ames, Alex and sons, butchers and poultry dealers, Lansdowne Market; Cold storage (only one of its kind in the Townships) and butcher shop at 279 Wellington sons — Joseph and Hubert J., res. Lennoxville rd.
 - 1925–26 Ames, Alex and sons Ltd., packers, 176 Wellington S. (Alex no longer listed as an individual — deceased?)
 - 1930–31 Ames, Alex and sons Ltd., packers, 176 Wellington S., stall no. 1. at Lansdowne Market.
 - 1933–34 Ames Packers.
- By June 1944 no longer listed.

ETRC (Old Library) Resources:

- *Business, Professional and Farmers' Directory of the Eastern Townships*. Montreal: John Lovell and son, 1898.
p. 211 Ames, Alex, butcher, 160 Wellington.
- *Official Telephone Directory*. Quebec — July 1920.
p. 78 Alex Ames and sons, 176 Wellington S., public cold storage, wholesale Packers and curers, specialty of fur storage.
- Atto, Kathleen, ed. *Lennoxville Vol. 11*. Sherbrooke: Progressive Publications, 1975.

- p. 41 "Amesbury": street in Lennoxville, members of the Ames family from New Hampshire settled there in 1819. Several generations lived there before Alex. Owned a large farm and sugar bush. Mayor in 1900–01 and 1909–10.

Newspaper Resources:

- *Sherbrooke Daily Record* (henceforth *SDR*) 1900-02-06/p. 1
Mr. Alexander Ames elected mayor, replacing W.H. Abbott.
- *La Tribune* 1932-03-17/p. 3
Inauguration of "Ames Packers," Mr. Joseph Ames, owner, now ready to export to larger markets. Large refrigeration, largest and most modern in the region.
- *Montreal Daily Herald* 1902-08-30/p. 7
Ames is the proprietor of a leading meat business in Sherbrooke, large wholesale and retail trade, curing and packing choice beef, mutton, veal, lamb, poultry, hams, bacon sausage, etc. Also proprietor of Lennoxville Creamery (butter factory) both for export and local consumption. Ames is a warden of Sherbrooke County, Vice-President of the Eastern Townships Agricultural Association, former mayor of Lennoxville and still on the council.

J.H. BRYANT LTD.

Sherbrooke Historical Society Resources:

- *Sherbrooke City Directory*
1898–99 Bryant, J.H., bottler, Depot St.
1900–01 Bryant, J. H., wholesale and retail in fine ales and porters, res. 125 Bowen Ave.
1925–26 Bryant, J.H. Ltd., Silver Spring Bottling Works, 65 Depot.
- *Bell Telephone Book for Sherbrooke and Vicinity*
May 1953 Bryant, 1060 Cherbourg
No longer listed after 1973.

ETRC (Old Library) Resources:

- La Société d'histoire des Cantons de l'Est. *Les Maires de Sherbrooke 1852–1882*. Bryant, James Guy Dixon (1946–47):

Born East Angus, 2 April 1893, son of James Henry Bryant and Ida Wearne, nephew of George G. Bryant, mayor of Sherbrooke 1889–1896. School: East-Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke High, Ontario Business College of Belleville. Married: Olive Marion Gunning in 1921, 2 children (boy and girl). Professional Career: arrived in Sherbrooke at age 3 when his father founded business (1896) bottling carbonated water and Bull's Head Ginger Ale. Joined the family business in 1919 after 4 years at war, became director of the business and then co-owner with brothers Cliff and Albert after their father's death in 1934.

Newspaper Sources:

- *SDR* 1929-10-25/p. 1

In 1896, John Henry Bryant came to Sherbrooke from East Angus and purchased a bottling plant from the late Seth Nutter, steady growth and makers of Bull's Head, sparkling sodas. Shortly after arriving purchased a soda water plant (then located on Depot where New Sherbrooke stands), then the company (he and family members A.E. Wiggett) moved to new site on Depot. Born 1 May 1864, Westbury, lived there until 18 and moved to East Angus when Buck and Angus, employed at Paper mill, later in hotel business with dad until sold in 1896, founded town. Member of Sherbrooke Board of Trade, Eastern Townships Agricultural Association, St-George's Club. In 1892 married Ida Wearne of Belvidere, 4 children (Guy, Albert, Clifford and Florence). She died in 1924 and he remarried Jane Moe in 1927.

- *Sherbrooke Telegram* 1934-12-27/p. 3

Passing of J.H. Bryant, could have held office but preferred to be a community builder, of failing health in last few years but still actively interested in the business, member of the Church of the Advent, deep personal interest in the East Sherbrooke Parish.

- *La Tribune* 1941-07-31/p. 3

Free Coke distributed to kids—only Coke bottled during the war due to sugar rations.

- *La Tribune* 1946-07-27/p. 3
Gray was one of two employees when it started, the other was Bryant himself. Gray was 26 years old, born in Norfolkshire England and emigrated with parents.
- *Supp. SDR* 1951-03-10/p. 108
New plant in the West Ward bottling 1 million cases of soft drinks a year.
- *La Tribune* 1971-11-04/p. 3
Guy Bryant still the president, son John manages and Paul Bouthillier is sales director, they received a subsidy to modernize.
- *Supp. SDR* 1979-10-12/p. 4-5
When J. Bryant decided to give up bottling Silver Spring beer to make a new kind of ginger ale, people thought he was being bull-headed, legend says this is the origin of the name. When Bull's Head introduced in 1896, Bryant was already bottling a line of Bryant drinks and Silver Spring, brewed by friend S. Nutter. Bryant saw encroachment of larger brewers i.e.: Molson's, with promotion and ads the smaller local brewery was doomed, but little outside pressure with soft drinks. Bryant became the bottler for Coca-Cola eventually, not too popular initially. Formula for Bull's Head developed by a man from Boston who showed the new foreman, Cubitt Gray, the art of mixing the syrup and the final drink. Gray remained with the company for 50 years as did his son Percy who retired in 1973, when the company was sold. Bottles washed by hand in early days, filled and inverted 4 times to mix and then placed upside down in special cases—caps lined with slice of cork (later cork chips glued together) and cork had to stay moist to preserve shelf life. In winter, deliveries made with a horse and sleigh. Great War saw increase in popularity of Coke, bottling it big part of Bryant's business. Bull's Head kept going until WWII when because of sugar rationing, only Coke was still produced. After War, Bull's on shelf with Orange Crush and John Collins, also produced by Bryant and distribution of Labatts. Labatts recently began distributing itself, Coke had its own new flavours and Bryant flavours went the way of the local beers except Bull's. Present bottler, L. Lavigne Ltd., still uses original J.H. Bryant formula to produce syrups.
- *The Record* 1999-07-12
Local Vet Peter O'Donnell and sons Chris and James have revived Bull's Head as a hobby more than a business, selling about 2 000 litres a month. Bought the rights to name and the recipe in 1995

from Lucien Lavigne, 1996 first batch by O'Donnells on the shelf. Tough to sometimes get refrigeration space because of the big soft drink makers. Bottled in St-Felix-de-Valois, 3 hours away, one of the few independent bottlers left in Quebec. Keeping taste as close to the original is difficult with plastic bottles, original much foamier. Gerry Bryant, retired Vice President, said old product needed at least 70 pounds of pressure in glass bottles to get the "zing" but can't use them any more because they break too easily. Can't fully recreate the family recipe either, they originally used Jamaican ginger, extracting it using an alcohol process. Also used sugar cane. Not used any more because either too expensive or illegal. Making a small profit.

L'INDUSTRIE DU TEXTILE À MAGOG AU XIX^e SIÈCLE EN TEXTES ET EN IMAGES

Serge Gaudreau

Magog

L'esprit d'initiative des premiers Américains venus habiter notre région est un des traits dominants de l'identité des Cantons de l'Est pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle. Malheureusement pour le chercheur, la richesse de cet héritage demeure souvent difficile à évaluer. L'absence de témoignages, de documentation ou de vestiges physiques rend par exemple problématique toute tentative de cerner avec précision l'origine exacte, l'évolution, ou, parfois même, la disparition des premiers établissements industriels des *Townships*. Dans l'*Outlet* seulement, le hameau qui deviendra plus tard Magog, les premières années du XIX^e siècle sont marquées par l'implantation d'une fonderie et d'une manufacture d'allumettes. Que pouvons-nous écrire avec certitude à leur sujet? Somme toute, bien peu de choses.

Il est donc intéressant de noter que le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est (CRCE) possède quelques documents témoignant du développement de l'industrie du textile à Magog au XIX^e siècle. Dans la collection de documents textuels du CRCE, les chercheurs trouveront la constitution et les procès-verbaux de la Magog Manufacturing Company. De plus, le fonds Newton Brookhouse contient une série de négatifs sur verre montrant les installations de la Magog Textile & Print Company. La rareté de ce type de document leur confère une valeur particulière.

La Magog Manufacturing Company

En 1845, des habitants de l'*Outlet* se réunissent pour mettre sur pied la Magog Manufacturing Company, une entreprise chargée de relancer la vieille fabrique de laine mécanisée de Joseph Atwood. Fondée vers 1825, cette petite usine, la première du genre au Québec, doit arrêter ses opérations à la suite du décès de Atwood, survenu quelques mois plus tôt. Lors d'une réunion qui a lieu le 30 août 1845, les personnes présentes adoptent une constitution, définissant les

gros traits des objectifs de l'entreprise ainsi que le montant du capital investi et l'organisation administrative choisie :

We the undersigned, considering the importance to the people of this section of the Province of encouraging Home manufacturers and feeling it desirable that a Manufactory should be established at the Outlet of Memphremagog Lake; do hereby form ourselves into a Company for that purpose, to be governed and directed by the following conditions and regulations to wit.

1st The Company shall be known and called by the name of the Magog Manufacturing Company.

2nd The object of the Company shall be to manufacture woollen or cotton cloths or a mixture of both as the Company may decide.

3rd The amount of Capital for the purposes of the Company shall be at least Ten Thousand Dollars in shares of One Hundred Dollars each; and such capital may be increased to any amount the Company may require.

4th To become a shareholder in said Company each individual shall sign his name to this Constitution stating in writing the number of shares he takes for which he shall give his promisory note to the Company due sixty days from date.

5th There shall be an adjustment laid on the said Notes when due of Ten per cent and paid into the hands of the Company's Treasurer without notice; and no assessment thereafter shall be for a greater amount than Ten per cent at any one time nor levied assessment than once in six Months. Two weeks' notice being given by the Directors of said Company, of the amount of assessment and time of payment which said assessment shall be paid, as the first into the hands of the Treasurer.

6th The Officer of said Company shall consist of seven Directors one of whom shall be the President of the Company—a Secretary and Treasurer who shall be chosen at the annual meetings of the Company.

7th The duties of the Directors shall be to manage the concerns generally of said Company—to require and hold for, and in the name of said Company any real estate buildings, or property of any kind or description—including machinery stock [and?] that be necessary in the best interests of said Company or required in its business; to make any contract for the same purpose; and enter into any engagement for the employment of a superintendant Agent or Agents Clerks or laborers and hire others to exercise all acts of ownership over the buildings Lands and other property of the Company and do whatever else may be required for the due

transaction of any business of the said Company provided however that the said Directors shall not declare dividends nor fix the rate of their own remuneration; but these powers shall be exercised by the General Meeting of the shareholders; nor shall the Directors borrow money except by direction and authority of the said general meeting. They shall have power to call meetings of the shareholders whenever deemed by them necessary; and in all Meetings of said Directors the President shall preside and have a casting vote in case of a tie. The duty of the Secretary shall be to keep record of all proceedings of said Company at their meetings and the transactions of the Directors to correspond with persons at home or abroad at direction of the Directors and do such other things as may properly to his Office and the duty of the Treasurer shall be to receive and keep all moneys or property that may come into his hands for, and on account of said Company and deliver the same to be paid out or appropriated agreeable to orders of the Directors of said Company; and he shall find surety for the proper discharge of his duties to the satisfaction of said Directors four of whom shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

8th The Annual Meetings of said Company shall be held on the 3rd Tuesday of December. And notice thereof (as well as for any General Meeting of the shareholders) shall be given by the Directors of the Company in one or more newspapers of this District, at least two weeks previous to time of holding said Meeting and stating the Place and time of holding the same.

9th No business whatever of the said Company shall be transacted until Ten Thousand Dollars are properly signed for and taken as aforesaid.

10th One person holding one share shall be entitled to one vote; three shares, two votes; six shares, three votes; and so on with one additional share to qualify each successive vote.

11th At any General Meeting this Constitution may be altered by two thirds of the shareholders present—Notice of the intention of such alteration being given at the time of calling said Meeting.

Forte de ses 39 actionnaires et d'un capital de près de 10 000 \$, la Magog Manufacturing Company procure du travail à une quinzaine d'ouvriers qui produisent annuellement plusieurs milliers de verges de drap.

Les grandes étapes de son histoire sont d'ailleurs résumées dans les 138 pages de procès-verbaux de la compagnie que possède le CRCE. Cette fois, l'historien y trouve son compte. Les informations sont nombreuses, précises et permettent d'éclairer un des aspects les

moins connus de notre histoire régionale : ses premiers pas dans l'industrialisation. Les procès-verbaux offrent d'abord un sens d'unité remarquable si l'on considère qu'ils couvrent en totalité la petite histoire de cette entreprise, de la réunion qui mène à sa création (30 juillet 1845) à celle qui confirme sa dissolution (19 novembre 1856). D'autre part, leur contenu nous donne également un bon aperçu des mécanismes de fonctionnement que pouvait adopter une industrie « locale » à cette époque, tant du point de vue de la gestion que de l'organisation.

Évidemment, ces documents ne peuvent pas éclairer toutes les questions relatives à la Magog Manufacturing Company. Ainsi, ils ne nous renseignent pas avec justesse sur les jeux de coulisses, qui sont si décisifs dans la formation du bureau de direction ou la nomination du gérant de l'établissement.

À travers les thèmes abordés dans ces procès-verbaux, on peut tout de même deviner les embûches qui pouvaient se dresser devant une entreprise de cette envergure. De fait, la Magog Manufacturing Company connaît des débuts difficiles qui vont en s'accroissant, entraînant sa fermeture en mars 1856. Rachetés la même année par les frères Knowlton, ses bâtiments sont détruits par le terrible incendie qui ravage Magog le 25 mai 1857, mettant un terme à l'existence de la première grande industrie développée dans ce village au cours du XIX^e siècle.

Isolée des centres urbains, la petite communauté écoule par la suite des jours paisibles, faisant du tourisme et de l'industrie du bois les principaux pôles de sa timide économie. En mars 1875, la Magog Manufacturing Company redémarre grâce aux efforts de Albert Knight. Mais l'aventure est un échec.

La Magog Textile & Print Co.

Au début des années 1880, l'arrivée du chemin de fer et l'adoption de la Politique nationale par le gouvernement conservateur incitent un groupe d'hommes d'affaires à mettre sur pied un projet ambitieux : l'établissement d'un atelier d'impression de cotonnades situé à quelques centaines de mètres des terrains de la défunte Magog Manufacturing Company. Il s'agit alors d'une première canadienne. Pour mener ce projet à terme, Alvin Moore et William Hobbs fondent en 1883 la Magog Textile & Print Company.

Les deux hommes jouent, chacun à leur façon, un rôle important dans la bonne marche de l'entreprise. Commerçant bien en vue dans la communauté magogoise, Moore profite de son influence pour aider à amasser une partie du capital nécessaire auprès des villageois



*Photo 38 — Magog Textile & Print Co.
(Source : CRCE, fonds Newton Brookhouse)*



*Photo 39 — Magog Textile & Print Co.
(Source : CRCE, fonds Newton Brookhouse)*



*Photo 33 — Magog Textile & Print Co.
(Source : CRCE, fonds Newton Brookhouse)*

et des gens des alentours. On peut supposer qu'il profite dans cette démarche de l'aide de son ami, le député de Stanstead Charles C. Colby, qui figure au sein du bureau de direction de la Magog Textile & Print Company.

Pour sa part, William Hobbs est un expert du textile qui compte profiter de l'imprimerie magogoise pour écouler le coton de sa filature de Coaticook. Hobbs possède des relations fortes utiles parmi la haute finance montréalaise et se rend même en Angleterre pour obtenir des fonds, de la main-d'œuvre et la machinerie nécessaire pour faire redémarrer l'entreprise.

Les travaux vont bon train entre 1882 et 1884 et, rapidement, le paysage entier du village de Magog se métamorphose. C'est ce moment privilégié de l'histoire qu'un habitant de la région, Newton Brookhouse, a l'heureuse idée de saisir en photographie.

Conservé aux Archives du Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est, le fonds Newton Brookhouse contient plus de 300 négatifs sur verre illustrant la vie quotidienne à Georgeville à la fin du XIX^e siècle. De plus, il compte des photographies des installations de la Magog Textile & Print Company. Brookhouse, un immigrant britannique arrivé au Canada vers 1880, s'intéresse à plusieurs facettes de son nouveau patelin. L'érection des bâtiments de la Magog Textile & Print Co., qui transforme un secteur désertique du village en une fourmilière, retient son attention. Originaire du Lancashire, une région d'Angleterre où l'on trouve une forte concentration d'usines de textile, Newton Brookhouse est-il déjà conscient du rôle que joueront les nouvelles installations sur l'évolution de Magog? Ou n'est-il attiré que par le gigantisme de l'entreprise?

L'atelier d'impression et la filature ont, en tout cas, de quoi frapper l'imagination. Plus longues que larges (300 sur 100 pieds et 250 sur 55 pieds), comme le démontrent les photos 38 et 39, les deux structures de brique qui abritent l'atelier d'impression occupent un espace important. L'envergure de la Magog Textile & Print Co. est encore plus en évidence sur la photo 33, puisqu'elle nous permet également d'apprécier les dimensions de la filature (à gauche), un imposant bâtiment de trois étages large de 105 pieds et long de 337 pieds, qui entre en opération en 1887. D'un seul regard, on imagine l'impact économique que la construction de ces usines a pu avoir sur Magog, un village qui, au début des années 1880, ne compte encore que quelques centaines d'habitants.

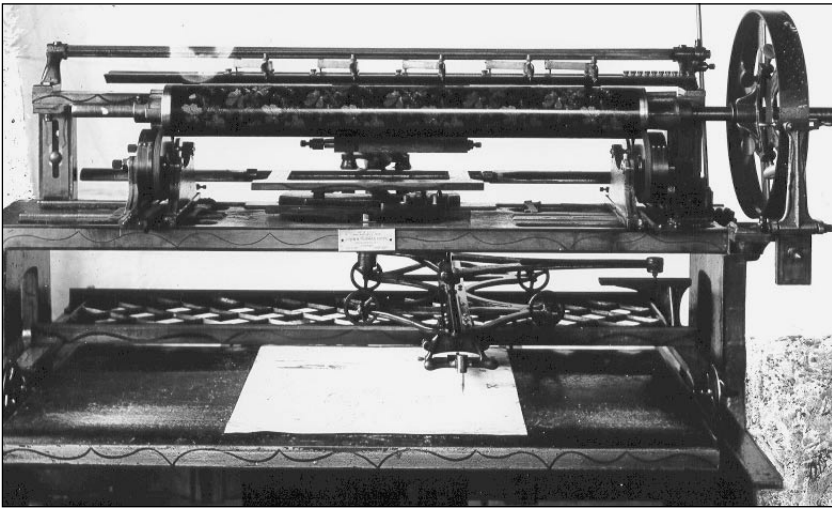


Photo 46 — Machinerie utilisée à l'imprimerie dans les procédés de gravure.

(Source : CRCE, fonds Newton Brookhouse)

Enfin, le fonds Newton Brookhouse nous offre aussi quelques photographies de la machinerie utilisée à l'imprimerie, notamment dans les procédés de gravure (photo 46). Importée d'Europe, possiblement même du Lancashire, cette technologie unique au Canada nécessite la présence de travailleurs spécialisés. C'est elle qui est mise à profit en juillet 1884 lorsque la Magog Textile & Print Co. écrit une petite page d'histoire en produisant la première pièce de coton imprimée au Canada.

Pour plus de renseignements sur l'histoire du textile à Magog, voir : Serge Gaudreau, *Au fil du temps : histoire de l'industrie textile à Magog (1883–1993)*, (s.l.), (s.n.), 1995, 239 p.

BIOBIBLIOGRAPHIES / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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