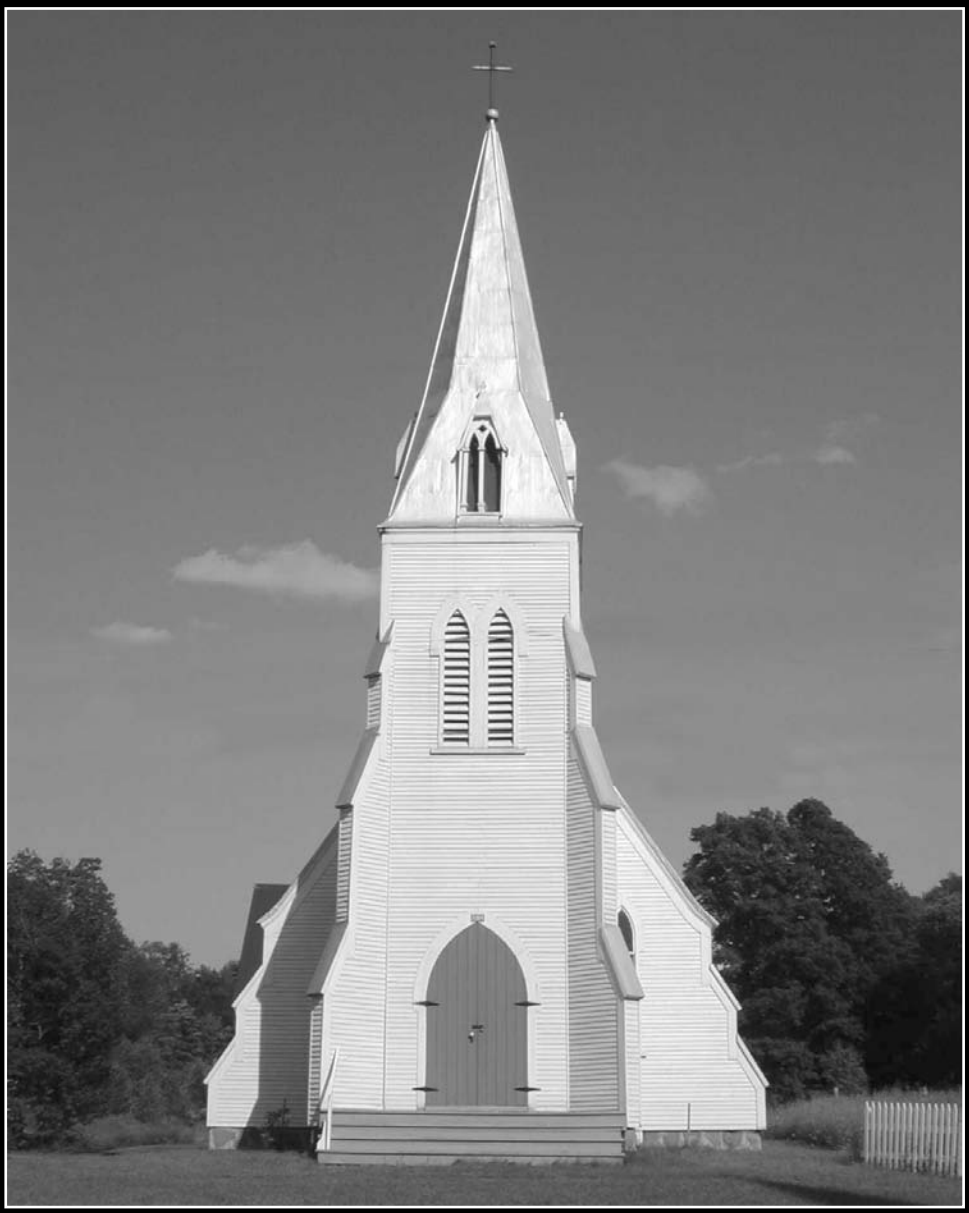
Journal of Eastern Townships Studies

Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est



Eastern Townships Research Centre / Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est

JOURNAL OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS STUDIES

REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS DE L'EST

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The *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies (JETS)* is a refereed journal published biannually (fall and spring). *JETS* is indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index, Canadian Index* and *CBCA*. The journal is accessible online in Micromedia's *CBCA Fulltext* database and Information Access Company's *Canadian Periodical Index* database. We welcome manuscripts relating to the Eastern Townships in all disciplines of the social sciences and humanities. Manuscripts in English should be between 2000 and 7000 words and conform to the principles of the *JETS* stylesheet. Please supply one copy of your text in manuscript, double-spaced throughout, and one copy on floppy disk (Microsoft Word or compatible equivalent). Articles and research projects should be accompanied by an abstract, in both French and English, of approximately 100 words. For a copy of the stylesheet or to submit manuscripts, write to:

ETRC, Bishop's University, Lennoxville, QC, J1M 1Z7

La *Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est (RÉCE)* est une revue scientifique publiée deux fois l'an, à l'automne et au printemps. Les articles parus dans la *RÉCE* sont répertoriés dans l'*Index des périodiques canadiens, Canadian Index* et *CBCA*. La revue peut être consultée dans la base de données *CBCA Fulltext* de Micromedia et dans celle de l'*Index des périodiques canadiens* de la Information Access Company. Nous invitons les chercheurs et chercheuses de toutes les disciplines des sciences sociales et humaines à nous soumettre des articles portant sur les Cantons de l'Est. Nous acceptons des textes de 2 000 à 7 000 mots, saisis sur traitement de texte à double interligne, et présentés selon les normes de publication de la discipline de spécialisation. Le texte imprimé doit être accompagné d'un fichier sur disquette (Microsoft Word ou un logiciel compatible). Les articles et les bilans doivent être accompagnés d'un résumé d'une centaine de mots en français et en anglais. Veuillez faire parvenir vos articles au :

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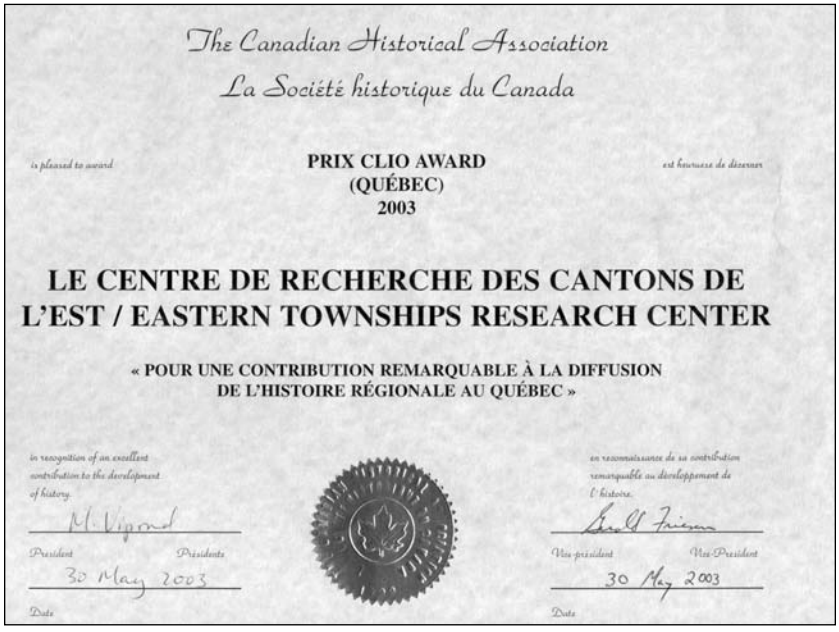

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M. Vipond

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30 May 2003

Date

en reconnaissance de sa contribution remarquable au développement de l'histoire.

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30 May 2003

Date

ETRC WINS THE CLIO AWARD

It is my pleasure to announce that ETRC has won the Clio 2003 Award by the Canadian Historical Association. The honour was announced on Friday, 30 May 2003 at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia during the annual meeting of the Canadian Congress of Humanities and Social Sciences. The Clio-Quebec prize recognizes the work of ETRC in promoting regional history. Similar awards were also given in other regions: The North, British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario and Atlantic Canada. In the words of the Canadian Historical Association, announced in on 3 June 2003 in Lennoxville:

> The Subcommittee recognizes the exceptional contribution of the ETRC to the dissemination of regional history in Quebec. Located at Bishop's University, the ETRC has offered, for the last 20 years, a commendable and praiseworthy research infrastructure for Eastern Townships' researchers. The ETRC has facilitated excellent state-of-the-art research by renowned historians, and made history more accessible to the public through book launches, the publication of a remarkable newsletter and Journal, and the organization of public lectures and conferences. Outstanding regional based research – bilingual research reflecting the Townships historical heritage and wealth – originates from the ETRC. To rightfully commemorate this organization's 20th anniversary, the Subcommittee sees fit to award the Clio-Award 2003 for the ETRC's collective contribution. The awarding of this prize highlights the remarkable quality of the ETRC and its importance to Quebec history. Further, it shows the level of interest fostered by the ETRC for the historical resources available in the Eastern Townships.

Tom Fletcher
Editor

LE CRCE REMPORTE LE PRIX CLIO

J'ai le plaisir de vous annoncer que le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est (CRCE) été attribué, le vendredi 30 mai 2003 au Congrès des sciences humaines à l'Université Dalhousie (Halifax), le prix Clio-Québec 2003 par la Société historique du Canada. Considérant que l'histoire des régions canadiennes est essentielle à la compréhension du passé du Canada, la Société historique du Canada décerne ce prix annuel à une société, une institution ou une personne qui a fait preuve d'excellence dans le domaine de la production, de la promotion ou de la diffusion de l'histoire, pour chacune des six régions suivantes : le Nord, la Colombie-Britannique, les Prairies, l'Ontario, le Québec et l'Atlantique. Cette année, le jury du prix Clio-Québec 2003 a émis l'appréciation suivante dans la catégorie « Organisme » :

> « Le sous-comité reconnaît la contribution remarquable du CRCE/ETRC à la diffusion de l'histoire régionale au Québec. Depuis maintenant vingt ans, à partir de l'Université Bishop's, le CRCE/ETRC offre aux chercheurs et chercheuses en histoire de l'Estrie un encadrement méritoire et digne de mention. Il témoigne à la fois de l'excellence de la recherche de pointe d'historiens et d'historiennes reconnus, ainsi que du souci louable de vulgarisation historique exprimé par cet organisme, grâce à ses lancements d'ouvrages, à la publication d'un bulletin exhaustif et à la tenue d'une conférence annuelle rejoignant un large public. Le CRCE/ETRC révèle l'effervescence d'une recherche de qualité produite en région, recherche qui s'exprime dans les deux langues à l'image de la richesse historique de l'Estrie. Afin de commémorer dignement le vingtième anniversaire de cet organisme, le sous-comité Québec tient à attribuer un prix Clio 2003 pour l'ensemble de l'apport du Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est/ Eastern Townships Research Centre. L'attribution de ce prix souligne à la fois la qualité remarquable du CRCE/ETRC à la production historienne québécoise. Plus encore, elle exprime le vif intérêt que le CRCE/ETRC a germé dans nos esprits à l'endroit des ressources historiques présentes en Estrie. »

Tom Fletcher
Rédacteur

AUGUSTIN C. BOURDEAU: PIONEER SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST PASTOR IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

Denis Fortin
Andrews University

Résumé

L'Église adventiste du Septième Jour fit son apparition au Canada dans les Cantons de l'Est au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle. Le pasteur Augustin C. Bourdeau fut l'un des pionniers de cette congrégation religieuse. Bien qu'il travaillât dans les Cantons de l'Est de façon intermittente à partir de 1850, ce n'est qu'en 1875 que Bourdeau y devint pasteur à temps plein. Sa détermination lui permit, en huit ans, d'établir une base permanente pour l'œuvre des adventistes du Septième Jour au Québec. En plus de fonder quelques églises dont l'église de South Stukely, la plus vieille de cette religion au Canada, il organisa, en 1880, la Fédération des Églises adventistes du Septième Jour du Québec. Bien qu'il eût été le pasteur d'une petite église à la fois marginale et protestante, ses activités pastorales témoignent néanmoins d'un aspect appréciable de la vie religieuse des Cantons de l'Est au XIX^e^ siècle.

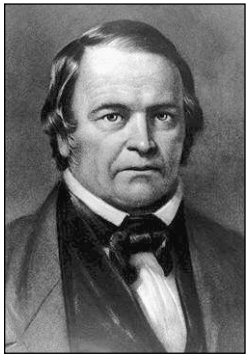
Abstract

The Seventh-day Adventist church in Canada started in the mid-nineteenth century in the Eastern Townships. Among the few pioneer pastors who helped in the formation of its first congregations stands Augustin C. Bourdeau. While Bourdeau served intermittently as a minister in the Eastern Townships in the late 1850s and early 1860s, he began to work full time in the region in 1875. For the following eight years, Bourdeau's work in the Townships laid the basis for a permanent Seventh-day Adventist presence in this area and succeeded in establishing a few more congregations including the South Stukely church and in forming the Quebec Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, their first conference in Canada. Although the pastor of a small and marginal Protestant denomination, Bourdeau's work and activities help us nonetheless to ascertain some aspects of religious life in the Eastern Townships in the nineteenth century.

Seventh-day Adventists in Canada celebrated in 2002 the 125th anniversary of the South Stukely Seventh-day Adventist Church, the oldest church of this denomination in the country. This milestone is, to a large extent, a commemoration of the dedication and work of Elder Augustin C. Bourdeau, pioneer Seventh-day Adventist pastor in the Eastern Townships, who founded this church on 30 September 1877. Although the pastor of a small and marginal Protestant denomination, Bourdeau's work and activities help us nonetheless to ascertain some aspects of religious life in the Eastern Townships in the nineteenth century. In this article we will consider his contributions to the establishment of this denomination in Canada.

Augustin and Charlotte Bourdeau
(photo ca. 1860)
Source: Archives and Special Collections.*
Loma Linda University

The Millerite Movement



William Miller

Although Seventh-day Adventists view themselves as a continuation of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and consider their doctrinal roots to go all the way back to the early Christian Church, their movement began as such in the mid-nineteenth century in the eastern part of the United States. Their roots in Canada go back to 1835 when William Miller, a Baptist preacher from upstate New York, came for the first time to the Eastern Townships to preach his revivalist message that Jesus would return to this earth around 1843. Miller's fervent preaching emphasized that people should prepare themselves for the end of the world and commit their lives to God. During his visits to the Townships, he preached in area churches and visited his sister, Anna Atwood, who lived at the Outlet. Apart from its strong emphasis on the end of the world, the Millerite doctrine was basically Protestant and evangelical, and was well received by hundreds of people in this area and caused much disruption in religious life and organizations, particularly in Baptist and Methodist churches. The Millerite movement was not a church and never intended to start a new denomination.

** Same source for all photos*

After the movement died out at the end of 1844, however, Adventist denominations slowly grew from it in the Eastern Townships. Two of them still exist; one is the Advent Christian Church with churches in Danville and Beebe Plain, the other is the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[1]

Following the end of the movement, groups of Millerites in the Eastern Townships and elsewhere in the northeastern part of the United States began to form Adventist congregations. Doctrinal divergences appeared early among them and, beginning in 1848, a few former Millerite preachers who believed that Saturday is the weekly day of rest began to establish small congregations of Sabbatarian Adventists in the Eastern Townships. These groups grew slowly through the 1850s as itinerant preachers visited the Townships to find new converts.

Augustin Bourdeau's conversion to Adventism

Daniel Bourdeau

One of the most significant events in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Quebec was the conversion in 1856 of two young French Canadians, Augustin Bourdeau (21 years old), and his younger brother, Daniel (20).[2] Born to French Canadian parents, the Bourdeau brothers were raised in northern Vermont and belonged to a French Baptist Church. It is through the influence of a family member that they heard about the doctrines of a new group of Christians who believed in the imminent second coming of Jesus and in observing Saturday as the weekly day of rest according to their interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the Bible. At first, Augustin and Daniel were very opposed to this idea of Christians observing Saturday as the day of rest. They became convinced, however, as they read about this doctrine and discussed it with other people. Saturday was in fact the true biblical day of rest; Jesus and his disciples keep the same day, and for them, the rest of the Christian world was worshiping on the wrong day.

Once convinced of these doctrines, both Augustin and Daniel Bourdeau began to spread their new faith to their relatives and friends, and accompanied Adventist preachers on their itinerant tours in northern Vermont and into the Eastern Townships. The intrinsic motivation that led these Sabbatarian preachers to exert great efforts at converting others, through their numerous lectures

and distribution of tracts, was their belief that a proper observance of God's commandments is necessary to prepare oneself for the imminent return of Christ. Convincing people of the biblical importance and relevance of these two doctrines was the major mission and purpose of a pastor's ministry.[3] In spite of opposition, the Bourdeau brothers' efforts were relatively successful and by the end of the 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventists were found in most villages along the border between Canada East and Vermont.[4] In 1860, these Christians took the name of Seventh-day Adventists.[5]

In the early 1860s, Augustin Bourdeau helped establish four small Seventh-day Adventist congregations in the Eastern Townships. These congregations were located in the townships of Potton, Sutton, Dunham, Westbury, and Eaton.[6] After a good start in the Eastern Townships, however, the ten-year period between 1865 and 1875 saw very few visits of itinerant Seventh-day Adventist pastors. Congregations were almost forgotten and by 1875, after years of neglect, the work of this new church in the Eastern Townships was dying.[7]

In the summer of 1875, however, church leaders in the United States decided that the time had come for more determined efforts in this province and Augustin Bourdeau was asked to work full time in the Eastern Townships.[8] Little remained of what he and other pastors had accomplished a decade before and few members were left to support this new initiative. Amid personal setbacks and lack of resources, Bourdeau worked tirelessly. Regrettably, this was pioneering work all over again. During the next eight years, he established a permanent presence of Seventh-day Adventists in the Eastern Townships, organized new churches, and formed the Quebec Conference of Seventh-day Adventists — the first in Canada.

Bible Lectures in Bolton and Waterloo

Bourdeau's renewed efforts in the Eastern Townships began with a series of Bible lectures under a tent in Bolton township on 3 September 1875. With earnest efforts, he hoped "to have an ingathering of souls in my native country — Canada." Right from the beginning the meetings were well attended. "At first," he noted, "some feared that we were a strange sect; but they soon changed their minds about us, and became more and more interested in the truths spoken." To his delight, three ministers of other denominations attended his lectures and appreciated what he had to say.[9]

After nearly six weeks of preaching (a total of forty-one lectures), and with the assistance of his son-in-law, Rodney S. Owen, Bourdeau

could confidently say that twelve people had decided to keep the Sabbath. Through November and December 1875, Bourdeau and Owen continued to hold Bible lectures in a rented hall and visited the homes of interested seekers in Bolton.[10]

The success of these meetings was overshadowed by a tragedy that struck the Bourdeau home in late December. The day after Christmas, Mary, his seventeen-year-old daughter, died of "inflammation of the stomach and bowels" (likely appendicitis) at their home in Vermont. Bourdeau's grief and loss did not diminish his faith as he remarked that his daughter's confidence "greatly increased our desires and determination to serve the Lord, and prepare for heaven."[11]

In spite of this personal setback, Bourdeau returned to Bolton in late January 1876 and continued his lectures in a schoolhouse. As more people acknowledged the relevance of his presentations and were persuaded to follow his teachings, pastors of other denominations in the area began to mount opposition. The opposition intensified later in the spring when the *Waterloo Advertiser* published negative reports of the lectures Bourdeau and Owen had been giving since April, a few kilometres north of West Bolton, in the village of South Stukely. As usual, it was his teaching on the doctrine of the Sabbath that sparked the most antagonism, this time from the Anglican pastor in South Stukely. Despite the opposition, by the end of June, the local paper reported that twenty families had converted to Adventism as a result of his labors in these villages and ten to twelve candidates were preparing for baptism.[12] Later that summer, three other families also accepted their doctrine in South Stukely. By then a small group of Seventh-day Adventists was meeting regularly in West Bolton or South Stukely.[13]

The town of Waterloo, ten kilometres west of South Stukely, was the next place Bourdeau and Owen preached their doctrines. On the first of July, they started a series of lectures under a tent in the public park. This series lasted nearly two months, with eight lectures a week, the *Waterloo Advertiser* carried an advertisement of the meetings for seven weeks and various detailed accounts of the lectures.[14] According to Bourdeau, the tent meetings produced good results. "Scores are convinced that they are hearing the truth…. In giving our lectures, we have endeavored, by the help of the Lord, to 'preach the word,' to manifest friendly feeling towards all, and to let Catholics and other denominations alone; and our meetings have been well attended, and we have had no disturbance in or about the tent." Bourdeau also decided to have some meetings in French to

accommodate the French-speaking population of the area.[15]

By the fall of 1876, after working in the Townships for a year, Bourdeau wished to bring to the Eastern Townships his family who had remained in northern Vermont while he worked in Quebec. For the first time, a Seventh-day Adventist minister had his permanent residence in Canada.[16]

The South Stukely Church

Bourdeau's efforts in the Eastern Townships since the summer of 1875 resulted in a small but steady growth of the number of believers in his doctrines. By the fall of 1877, the group in West Bolton was ready to organize itself as a church. On Sunday morning, 30 September 1877, "the Sabbath-keepers in Stukely, Bolton, and vicinity assembled together in the stone school-house, near Bro. William Booth, in West Bolton. Bro. Bourdeau dwelt on the subject of organization and church order, after which he invited those who proposed to enter into church order, to stand upon their feet. Several rose; and the names of those who were prepared to enter into church fellowship, were attached to the church covenant."[17] With the organization of this new church, Bourdeau ended a twelve-year period during which no new Seventh-day Adventist church had been organized in the Eastern Townships.

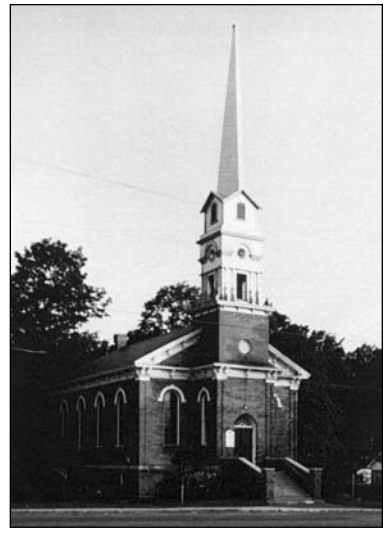
After its organization, the Bolton-Stukely congregation met in the schoolhouse in West Bolton or in members' homes in South Stukely. The need for a house of worship increased as more members joined the congregation. In November 1878, a few members met in South Stukely at the home of Harrison McClary and decided to erect a church. Since it was also their wish to have the Bourdeau family reside among them, Andrew Blake offered to donate a half acre of his land for a house for Bourdeau and another quarter acre on which to build a church. The church members readily agreed to this offer.[18]

The members worked first to complete Bourdeau's house. Then, in the spring of 1880, they started the construction of the church in South Stukely which they completed three years later. The community thought well of this new building erected in their town. A correspondent for the *Waterloo Advertiser* commented, "The Saturday Adventists under the management of Mr. Bourdeau are at work on a place of worship. They have selected a very good position, and if Mr. Bourdeau displays as good taste in the ecclesiastical architecture as he did in the residence he built for himself here, his synagogue will reflect honor upon his skill and add much to our village."[19] Things were off to a good start with the South Stukely community.

The Dixville Church

While Bourdeau and Owen were giving various lectures in towns near Waterloo in 1877, they heard the cheering news that a group of Christians in Barford township had begun, earlier that year, to keep the Sabbath after reading Seventh-day Adventist literature someone had sent them from the United States.[20] In early August, Rodney and Sarah Owen went to the town of Dixville to meet them and remained there for the next few weeks, visiting people and giving lectures.[21]

The Dixville group grew rapidly. By the end of March 1878, close to forty people were keeping the Sabbath in Barford, and Augustin Bourdeau organized the Barford (Dixville) Church on 23 March 1878, with sixteen members agreeing to the church covenant.[22] Earlier in the decade, in 1873, Advent Christians had begun the construction of a church in Dixville which had not yet been completed. Since this Adventist group was not very strong, the Seventh-day Adventists made arrangements to use their chapel and subsequently purchased it. After raising money to complete the construction, the members dedicated the church as the first Seventh-day Adventist church edifice in Canada during the weekend of June 16 and 17, 1878.[23]



The South Stukley Church. Source: ETRC.

The renewed growth in Quebec was evident when in September 1878, the two newly organized churches in the Eastern Townships, Bolton-Stukely and Dixville, were received into the Vermont Conference of Seventh-day Adventists which, up to that time, had been responsible for the Eastern Townships region of Quebec. The work of R.S. Owen was also formally recognized when he was ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister.[24]

Delegates at this session discussed the future of the church in Quebec and wondered whether the churches in the Eastern Townships (which was the only region in Quebec where they had a presence) should form their own conference. The separation of the two sectors occurred later that fall by an action of the General Conference committee, in Battle Creek, Michigan. Augustin Bourdeau was

given the supervision of the Quebec field. It functioned as a mission field under the supervision of the General Conference until it was able to organize itself as a conference two years later.[25]

The First Camp Meeting

Even though Bourdeau had had relative success in his work thus far, he had greater ideas to accomplish his mission and decided to organize a camp meeting in the town of Magog. In those days, a camp meeting was not only a time of revival for church members, as it is experienced now among some denominations, but it was also a means of evangelism, of sharing with others the particular and unique beliefs of a denomination. By the late nineteenth century, camp meetings had become large gatherings of believers and non-believers and, just like a fair or a circus, drew the attention of hundreds, if not thousands, of interested or curious people, particularly on Sundays. Adventists became particularly good at using these meetings to win new converts.[26]

Bourdeau published an announcement in the *Waterloo Advertiser* on 1 August 1879, announcing that a Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting would be held in J. J. Webster's grove in Magog, August 21 to 26.[27] This was the first Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting in Canada. George Butler, former General Conference president, Alfred S. Hutchins, President of the Vermont Conference, and Augustin Bourdeau were the Seventh-day Adventist ministers in attendance, along with about ninety church members. Elder Charles P. Dow, the Advent Christian Minister in Magog, also attended most of the meetings. The Sunday meetings on August 24 were well attended by the general population and to such a captive audience, the three ministers preached on three of their most important doctrines: conversion, the change of the day of worship from Sabbath to Sunday in early Christian history, and the law of God and the obligation upon all Christians to follow it.[28]

A Visit from James and Ellen White

Given the success achieved by this first camp meeting, a second one was scheduled for August 1880. The announcement in the local papers underscored the expected visit from church leaders and pioneers, James and Ellen White. For Bourdeau, the Whites' visit was an indication that the work he had accomplished was being noticed and appreciated, and their presence would strengthen the faith of his new church members. Also attending were Daniel Bourdeau and George Butler.

James and Ellen White (photo 1864)

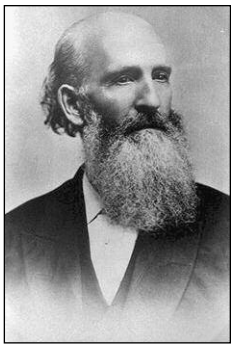
The camp meeting started on Thursday evening, August 12, and by then there were some twenty canvas tents and one big circular pavilion in Webster's grove. On Friday evening, James and Ellen White arrived on the camp ground. Later, in writing to her son Willie, Ellen White said that "when we came upon the ground the meeting was in session, but they gave a loud shout of victory. There was a joyous welcome for us."[29] Needless to say, the people were grateful for this visit.

The Sunday meetings were the most attended. Special trains, stagecoaches and boats brought an estimated crowd of 2500 people to the campsite. In the morning, James White, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, preached on their beliefs, and then gave a report on the progress of the Seventh-day Adventist work in the world. The local newspapers reported that "the venerable clergyman is a clear and ready speaker, and with his peculiar impressive manner, and rare courtesy, he wins the respectful attention of his audience." That afternoon, Ellen White spoke on the subject of temperance, a subject that drew lots of attention and good responses. This was a time when many attempts were made to pass prohibition laws and Adventists were strong advocates of such laws.[30] She commented in a letter to her children that "There had been a strong effort made to pass the prohibition law, but failed. Their head man said, 'If Mrs. White could have spoken in the cities when a few weeks ago the question was agitated, they would have carried the day.' They said they never heard anything by any speaker equal to that discourse on temperance."[31] For Bourdeau, such an encouraging response gave credibility to his efforts and hard work. Although marginal, his little group of scattered believers was making an impact upon the Eastern Townships.

The Organization of the Quebec Conference

Another important event at this camp meeting occurred on Monday afternoon, August 16, when the Adventist believers in Quebec assembled under the leadership of James White to organize their own conference. "On motion, it was voted that we organize a Conference, after the plan of other S. D. Adventist Conferences; also, that it be

called the Seventh-day Adventist Conference of the Province of Quebec."[32] The total membership stood at 132, and was distributed in three churches: Westbury-Eaton (organized in 1864), Bolton-Stukely and Dixville, as well as two companies,[33] one at Sutton, and the other at Brome. James and Ellen White, in their closing remarks, encouraged members to be faithful and to support their pastors.[34]



James White (photo ca. 1878)

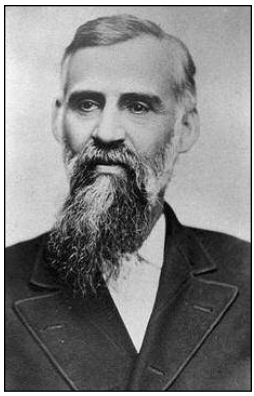
Such a small conference of 132 members could not survive without the support of dedicated lay members. At the time, only Augustin Bourdeau served as full time pastor in the conference and part of his responsibilities was to train lay members to take ownership and responsibility for many church operations in the Conference.[35] At the first annual business session of the conference the following year many resolutions adopted by the assembly indicate the extent to which lay members were involved in the work of the Conference. Various committees met to discuss the concerns of the Conference and of two societies formed to support the work of the Conference, the Tract and Missionary Society and the Health and Temperance Society.[36] Augustin Bourdeau was named as president of all three organizations but all the other offices were occupied by volunteer lay members.[37] In fact, a close look at the Conference officers for the first thirty years (1880–1910) indicates that the operation of the Conference depended upon the volunteer work of lay members. For twenty-six of those years, lay members served as secretary of the Conference and, in a similar manner, lay persons also served as treasurer of the Conference for twenty-four years.[38] It is obvious that without the caring support of dedicated lay people, the Conference would not have been able to function to the same extent.[39]

The South Stukely Church Dedication

After working on the construction of their church for over three years, the South Stukely members completed it in September 1883. This was a special occasion, and a celebration was in order. Earlier that spring, Augustin Bourdeau announced that it would be preferable not to have a camp meeting that year, but instead wait for the dedication of the South Stukely church, and hold the conference session and the annual meetings of the societies at that time.[40]

For the event, Bourdeau sought the presence of both Ellen White and George Butler, who had been reelected president of the Gener-

al Conference after James White's death. Because both were planning to attend the Vermont Conference camp meeting in early September, the church dedication could be held immediately after, he thought.[41] This plan did not fit with Butler, however, who preferred to go on to other camp meetings. Bourdeau decided to attend the Vermont camp meeting and personally plead with Ellen White. In the end, to Bourdeau's disappointment, White and Butler could not go to South Stukely, preferring instead to attend their other scheduled camp meetings.[42] Bourdeau rescheduled the dedication for October 4 to 8.[43]



George I. Butler (photo 1883)

For this occasion, a large tent was pitched near the church, and the pastors and members in Vermont were also invited to attend the dedication services. Bourdeau's description of their new church is still adequate after more than one hundred years:

> This new building, which is well finished inside and out, has two stories. The first has an entry, and a main room, or chapel, which is seated with good chairs, and is where we hold our meetings. The second story has an entry and stairway, a front room used as a depository for books, a rear room in which to store away tents, boxes, etc. All felt thankful that we had such a house.[44]

Within a year, this new church also became a church school — the first Seventh-day Adventist school in Canada.[45]

Sadness and Grief Again

After moving to South Stukely in 1879, the Bourdeau family enjoyed good community relations with neighbors and other churches. Although a few years earlier, the Anglican Minister in the village had not appreciated the presence of Sabbath-keepers, attitudes progressively changed. Augustin Bourdeau had a pleasant and friendly personality that won over many reticent villagers. When the local Christian community wished to establish a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in December 1880, Bourdeau was elected vice-president. Bourdeau also did not hesitate to lend the conference tents used at camp meetings to the Anglican Church for their Fall Harvest Festival, a gesture that was very much appreciated.[46]

The community truly rallied to support the Bourdeau family during Charlotte's fight with tuberculosis. Soon after the 1881 camp

meeting, Mrs. Bourdeau, who had already been ill for some time, left South Stukely to receive treatments at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, in Michigan. The local paper reported her illness and departure, and the Anglican Church responded by presenting a basket of cakes to Elder Bourdeau as a gesture of friendliness and comfort. The treatments, unfortunately, did not succeed in conquering the disease. Charlotte returned home but got worse and by summer 1883 — everyone knew she would not recover.[47]

As mentioned previously, when Augustin Bourdeau attended the Vermont camp meeting in early September 1883, he invited Ellen White to come to the South Stukely church dedication. At that time, he shared with her the news of his wife's poor health. Her illness may have been another reason why he wished for White and Butler to come to the dedication. Having known the Bourdeaus for many years, White wished she could go but unable to visit she wrote a short letter to Charlotte encouraging her to put her trust in God and in the hope of the resurrection.[48]

As expected, Charlotte's situation deteriorated until she died at home at the age of forty-seven on 27 November 1883, six weeks after the South Stukely church dedication. The *Waterloo Advertiser* expressed the community's sorrow: "It is with much regret that we record the death of Mrs. Bourdeau… after a long and lingering illness. She was much respected and her decease cast a gloom over the whole community." The funeral was held two days later at the Bordoville Seventh-day Adventist Church, near Enosburg, Vermont, where she was interred.[49]

Soon after his wife's death, Bourdeau relinquished the presidency of the Quebec Conference and joined his brother Daniel on the European continent. As Bourdeau left the South Stukely community, the *Waterloo Advertiser* paid him a special farewell tribute and wished him success as a missionary in Europe. Clearly, the community had appreciated his ministry in their midst.[50]

After Augustin Bourdeau left, his son-in-law, Rodney Owen, became the Conference president for nine years and built on the work began by Bourdeau. In 1888, Bourdeau returned to the Eastern Townships to help Owen in his work for two years and organized other churches in Fitch Bay, Way's Mills and South Bolton. In 1899, he returned again to help start the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Montreal. He came back for one last visit in 1914. He died the following year at the age of 81 and was buried in Battle Creek, Michigan.

Today, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada owes much

to Augustin Bourdeau. He was the first Seventh-day Adventist pastor to reside in Canada, and the president of the first conference in Canada. This pioneer French Canadian pastor was dedicated to see the success of his church in the Eastern Townships of Quebec and worked hard and long hours, often at personal sacrifices, away from his family. Bourdeau's influence is still felt in the churches he helped establish and the South Stukely church remains a memorial to his dedication and vision.

ENDNOTES

1. A third denomination, the Evangelical Adventist Church, died out in the early twentieth century. I have chronicled the history and impact of the Millerite movement in the Eastern Townships in the article "'The World Turned Upside Down:' Millerism in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, 1835–1845," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies, 11,* Fall 1997: 39–59.
2. Augustin was born on 7 March 1834 in St. Armand, Quebec. Daniel was born on 28 December 1835 in Bordoville, Vermont. Their parents, Augustin Bourdeau (b. 12 July 1808) and Sarah A. Bourdeau (b. 8 April 1813) were born in Canada but reared in northern Vermont.
3. Our main source of information about early Sabbatarian Adventists, and for all other Adventists for that matter, is the periodicals they published. These journals provided their followers not only with doctrinal teaching but also served as means of communication between them as the editors readily published their subscribers' letters and reports of activities. Many such letters and reports came from the Eastern Townships. For Sabbatarian Adventists the denomination's journal was the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (or *Review and Herald* as commonly referred to) published from Rochester, New York (1852–1855) and Battle Creek, Michigan (1855–1903). (All references to Seventh-day Adventist documents in this article can be found at the Center for Adventist Research at the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.)
4. See, for example, letter of Daniel Bourdeau to Uriah Smith, *Review and Herald*, January 27, 1859, 77; letter of A. S. Hutchins to Uriah Smith, *Review and Herald*, March, 31 1859, 149; D. T. Bourdeau, "Meetings in Vt." *Review and Herald*, July 21, 1859, 72.
5. I recommend George R. Knight's *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999) for more information on the history and beliefs of this denomination.

6. The names of these original congregations were formed by combining the names of the townships where the members resided. They were the Troy-Potton church with members residing in Troy, Vt. and Potton, C.E., and the Richford-Sutton church with members from East Richford, Vt and Sutton, C.E. A third church was the Westbury-Eaton church and a fourth one the Sutton-Dunham church. For a number of years before that, there had already been a congregation in Melbourne.
7. Various factors account for these years of neglect. Among the major ones are a lack of financial resources to support the work of itinerant pastors in the Eastern Townships and the emigration of church members to the United States, an emigration encouraged by Bourdeau and others. This situation led to the disbanding of the Troy-Potton and Sutton-Dunham churches in the mid-1860s. I have chronicled in more details this situation in the upcoming publication "The Challenge of Rural Adventism."
8. The minutes of the Vermont Conference session for 1875 do not include the usual resolutions voted by the delegates (see A.S. Hutchins and C.W. Stone, "Report of Vt. Conference," *Review and Herald*, September 9, 1875, 79). The minutes of the General Conference session for 1875 are also silent on this. It is my guess that an action referring to Bourdeau's work in the Eastern Townships was voted at the Vermont Conference session since the work of Seventh-day Adventists in Quebec (which was limited to the Eastern Townships at the time) was under its responsibility.
9. A.C. Bourdeau, "Bolton, P.Q." *Review and Herald*, September 23, 1875, 95; A. C. Bourdeau, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, September 30, 1875, 102.
10. The money to pay for this rented hall most likely came from offerings of people attending the lectures and from church members in Vermont.
11. "Obituary Notices" [Mary L. Bourdeau], *Review and Herald*, January 20, 1876, 23.
12. "South Stukely" and "Eastern Townships News," *Waterloo Advertiser*, May 12, 1876; "West Bolton," *Waterloo Advertiser*, June 30, 1876.
13. A.C. Bourdeau and R.S. Owen, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, July 13, 1876, 22.
14. "Religious Lectures!" *Waterloo Advertiser*, June 30, 1876. Bourdeau provided short accounts of the lectures in the issues of June 7, 14 and 21, under the heading "Tent Meetings."
15. A.C. Bourdeau, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, August 10, 1876, 54.

16. A.C. Bourdeau and R.S. Owen, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, October 5, 1876, 110; A. C. Bourdeau, "Vermont and Canada," *Review and Herald*, December 7, 1876, 182.
17. "Records of the Stukely and Bolton Church,": 1–3. The church covenant read: "We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together, as a church, taking the name, Seventh-day Adventists, covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ." Sixteen names are listed as charter members: Henry and Julia Beerwort, Horace, Melissa and Abigail McClary, Elizabeth E. Thomas, Betsey Booth [her husband, William, joined the church on November 3], Andrew and Jane Blake, Harrison McClary, John H. and Betsey A. Hammond, Charity Bradley, George Hill, and Augustin C. and Charlotte A. Bourdeau. The church members then proceeded to elect John Hammond as elder and Betsey Hammond as church clerk. The titles of Brother (Bro.) and Sister (Sr.) were often used in those days. An ordained pastor was usually called Elder (never Reverend) and sometimes Brother.
18. "Records of the Stukely and Bolton Church," 6.
19. "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, March 26, 1880.
20. R.S. Owen, "Barnston, P.Q." *Review and Herald*, December 20, 1877, 195.
21. A.C. Bourdeau, "A Cheering Report," *Review and Herald*, August 30, 1877, 77.
22. A.C. Bourdeau, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, April 11, 1878, 118.
23. "Appointments," *Review and Herald*, May 30, 1878, 176; S.N. Haskell, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, July 4, 1878, 15. For some reasons, the Dixville church had lost much of its vibrancy by the early 1900s. The congregation was disbanded, and the church sold in 1916. Some members of the congregation joined the Waterville church, which also inherited the Dixville church pews and pulpit.
24. A.S. Hutchins and C.E. Powell, "Vermont Conference," *Review and Herald*, October 17, 1878, 125. S.H. Haskell, member of the General Conference committee, already had recommended this action during his visit earlier in June (S.H. Haskell, "Canada," *Review and Herald*, July 4, 1878, 15).
25. A.S. Hutchins and C. E. Powell, "Vermont Conference," *Review and Herald*, October 17, 1878, 125; General Conference Session Minutes, October 9, 1878.
26. Large Adventist gatherings were nothing new in the Eastern Townships. Advent Christians and Evangelical Adventists already held yearly camp meetings that drew thousands of people. In

1878 alone, four major Adventist events occurred in the Townships. While Evangelical Adventists held their conference session at Fitch Bay (June 12 to 16), Advent Christians held three camp meetings, two at Beebe Plain (June 22 to 30 and September 17 to 22), and one at Magog (August 31 to September 9). On Sunday, June 30, over 9000 people attended the camp meeting in Beebe Plain. Such large crowds give evidence that Adventism was well known and thriving. In fact, the 1881 census records indicate that there were over 4000 people that year who declared themselves Adventists in the Eastern Townships (*Census of Canada, 1880–1881* [Ottawa: Maclean & Co., 1882], volume 1, 160). That figure includes all Adventists: Advent Christians and Evangelical Adventists were the largest groups. Seventh-day Adventists numbered between 100 and 200 members.

27. "Camp Meeting," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 1, 1879 and "Memphremagog Camp Meeting," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 7, 1879.

28. George I. Butler, "Camp-meeting at Magog, P.Q." *Review and Herald*, September 4, 1879, 85.

29. Ellen G. White, Letter 42, 1880 (To "Dear Children, Willie and Mary," 22 September 1880), published in Ellen G. White, *Manuscript Releases: From the Files of the Letters and Manuscripts Written by Ellen G. White* (Silver Spring, MD: E. G. White Estate, 1990), 5: 58–60. Two detailed and identical accounts of the camp meeting were published in local papers: "The Seventh-Day Adventist Camp-Meeting at Magog," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 27, 1880, and "Magog," *Stanstead Journal*, September 2, 1880.

30. "The Seventh-Day Adventist Camp-Meeting at Magog," *Waterloo Advertiser*, August 27, 1880, and "Magog," *Stanstead Journal*, September 2, 1880.

31. Ellen G. White, Letter 39, 1880 (To "Dear Children," 19 August 1880, published in *Manuscript Releases*, 5: 57–58). A few weeks later, she again referred to the Quebec camp meeting in another letter to her son Willie. This time, she gave more details of her travel and activities in Magog and how she felt God had wanted her to go to this camp meeting in spite of a severe cold (Ellen G. White, Letter 42, 1880 [To "Dear Children, Willie and Mary," 22 September 1880], published in *Manuscript Releases*, volume 5: 58–60).

32. James White and D.T. Bourdeau, "Organization of the S.D.A. Conference of the Province of Quebec," *Review and Herald*, 2 September 1880, 173.

33. A company was a group of believers too small, or relatively too new in the faith, to be organized as a church.

34. The delegates elected Augustin Bourdeau, president, Daniel Bourdeau, secretary and Andrew Blake, a lay member from South Stukely, treasurer (James White and D.T. Bourdeau, "Organization of the S.D.A. Conference of the Province of Quebec," *Review and Herald*, September 2, 1880, 173).
35. Owen was a pastor in Vermont and Daniel Bourdeau was also employed by the Vermont Conference and worked in Quebec as funds were available to sustain him and his family.
36. These two societies were formed to support the work of the Conference. The Tract and Missionary Society promoted the distribution of doctrinal tracts by lay members, while the Health and Temperance Society encouraged temperance and other good health practices.
37. Carrie E. Cushing, from the Dixville church, was elected secretary of the Conference and Andrew Blake (South Stukely) was elected treasurer. John Claxton (Westbury-Eaton) was elected to serve on the executive committee with Cushing and Blake. The committee responsible for the physical preparations of the camp meeting was made up of Horace McClary (South Stukely), C.P. Terrill (Dixville) and James Buchanan (Sutton). The Tract and Missionary Society elected C.P. Terrill as vice-president and Mary L. Cushing as secretary and treasurer. For its part, the Health and Temperance Society elected Carrie E. Cushing as secretary and treasurer.
38. Women also served in these positions of leadership. For twelve of those thirty years, a woman occupied the responsibility of secretary of the Conference, and for nine years the function of treasurer.
39. A. C. Bourdeau and D. T. Bourdeau, "Quebec Conference," *Review and Herald*, September 13, 1881, 187; A. C. Bourdeau and Carrie E. Cushing, "Quebec Health and Temperance Association," *Review and Herald*, September 13, 1881, 187; A. C. Bourdeau and Mary L. Cushing, "Quebec Tract Society," *Review and Herald*, September 13, 1881, 188.
40. A.C. Bourdeau, "To the Brethren in Canada," *Review and Herald*, April 17, 1883, 256.
41. A.C. Bourdeau, "Appointments," *Review and Herald*, August 28, 1883, 559.
42. See Ellen G. White, Letter W-26, 1883 (To "Dear Children, Willie and Mary," 3 September 1883), unpublished letter.
43. A.C. Bourdeau, "Meeting in Canada," *Review and Herald*, September 18, 1883, 605.
44. A.C. Bourdeau, "The Annual Meeting of Canada," *Review and Herald*, October 23, 1883, 667.

45. The school operated from 1884 to 1909 and again from 1916 to 1924. Its first teacher was Mary Cushing from Dixville (J. Ernest Monteith, *The Lord Is My Shepherd: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada* [College Heights, AB: Parkland Color-Press, 1983]: 173–174).
46. "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, December 24, 1880; "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, October 13, 1882.
47. "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, September 16, 1881, October 7, 1881 and August 24, 1883.
48. Ellen G. White, Letter B-28, 1883 (To Mrs. A. C. Bourdeau, 3 September 1883), unpublished letter.
49. "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, November 30, 1883; "Obituary Notices" [Charlotte Bourdeau], *Review and Herald*, December 18, 1883, 797.
50. "South Stukely," *Waterloo Advertiser*, March 21, 1884.

LES COUVERTURES DE PHOTOGRAPHIES AÉRIENNES DES CANTONS DE L'EST : INVENTAIRE ET UTILITÉ POUR LES ÉTUDES MULTIDATES, ET CAS DU CAMPUS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ BISHOP'S

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Résumé

La Cartothèque Jean-Marie-Roy de l'Université de Sherbrooke possède une importante collection d'environ 60 250 photographies aériennes des Cantons de l'Est, prises entre 1928 et 2000. Pourtant, l'acquisition de toutes les couvertures aériennes disponibles de la région représenterait plus du double des photographies actuelles. On dénombre plus de 125 couvertures aériennes, parmi lesquelles 23 couvrent toute la région ou de grandes parties de la région. Les principaux fournisseurs de photographies aériennes sont les gouvernements du Québec et du Canada ainsi qu'Hydro-Québec. Les photographies aériennes sont une source importante d'information, entre autres pour effectuer des études multidates à des fins historiques ou d'évolution de phénomènes naturels. Un exemple d'étude historique est présenté avec l'évolution des aménagements du campus de l'Université Bishop's.

Abstract

The Cartothèque Jean-Marie-Roy of the Université de Sherbrooke holds an important collection of approximately 60 250 aerial photographs, taken between 1928 and 2000, in the Eastern Townships. The acquisition of all the existing aerial coverage, however, would represent at least twice as many photographs. There are more than 125 aerial surveys, among which 23 cover the whole region or important parts of the Eastern Townships. The main sources of aerial photographs are from the government of Québec, the government of Canada and Hydro-Québec. Aerial photographs constitute an important resource for multitemporal studies of historical and natural phenomena. The authors present an example of a historical study of the Bishop's University campus.

Introduction

À l'automne 2001, J. Derek Booth présentait dans la section « Archives » de la présente revue une collection de 4 000 photographies aériennes que le Département d'études environnementales et de géographie venait de remettre au Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est de l'Université Bishop's (CRCE). L'auteur mentionnait l'intérêt que cette collection pouvait avoir pour les études historiques de la région, puisqu'elle couvrait une période de 45 ans grâce aux photographies prises en 1933, 1945, 1950, 1960, 1965 et 1978.

À l'intention des lectrices et des lecteurs de la revue, des chercheuses ou des chercheurs du CRCE ou de toute personne intéressée, nous voulons présenter ici une suite à l'article de Booth (2001). Notre objectif est double : le premier est de montrer que la région détient une autre collection importante, celle de la cartothèque Jean-Marie-Roy (fondateur du Département de géographie et télédétection) de l'Université de Sherbrooke. Nous en faisons un inventaire et nous en présentons les caractéristiques. Le deuxième objectif est de montrer, avec quelques exemples, les principaux usages de cette collection à des fins d'études géographiques et historiques, en mettant l'accent sur leur caractère multidate. Nous terminons avec un exemple de l'évolution du développement des bâtiments et de principaux aménagements du campus de l'Université Bishop's entre 1945 et 2000.

Inventaire et caractéristiques des couvertures aériennes

Une des missions de la Cartothèque Jean-Marie-Roy est d'acquérir de façon systématique des documents cartographiques et photographiques sur l'ensemble de la région des Cantons de l'Est, définie tant au plan physique qu'historique. C'est pourquoi la Cartothèque a acquis, au fil des années, une bonne partie des photographies aériennes verticales couvrant cette région de 1928 à 2000 (figure 1). Cependant, le coût des photographies ayant augmenté de façon vertigineuse depuis une dizaine d'années, surtout celles du Gouvernement du Québec, des choix ont dû être faits, de sorte que l'achat de plusieurs couvertures est en attente de l'approbation du budget nécessaire à leur acquisition. Actuellement, la collection des Cantons de l'Est comprend environ 60 250 photographies et la collection complète en comprendrait sans doute le double (tableau 1). Si on avait à acquérir de nouveau cette collection, son coût actuel serait d'environ 904 000 $ (moyenne de 15 $ par photographie, taxes incluses) et le coût d'acquisition des couvertures manquantes ou de parties

manquantes de certaines couvertures équivaudrait sans doute à une somme similaire.

Photothèque nationale de l'air, Ottawa, photographie A836-46 originellement au 1 : 15 840

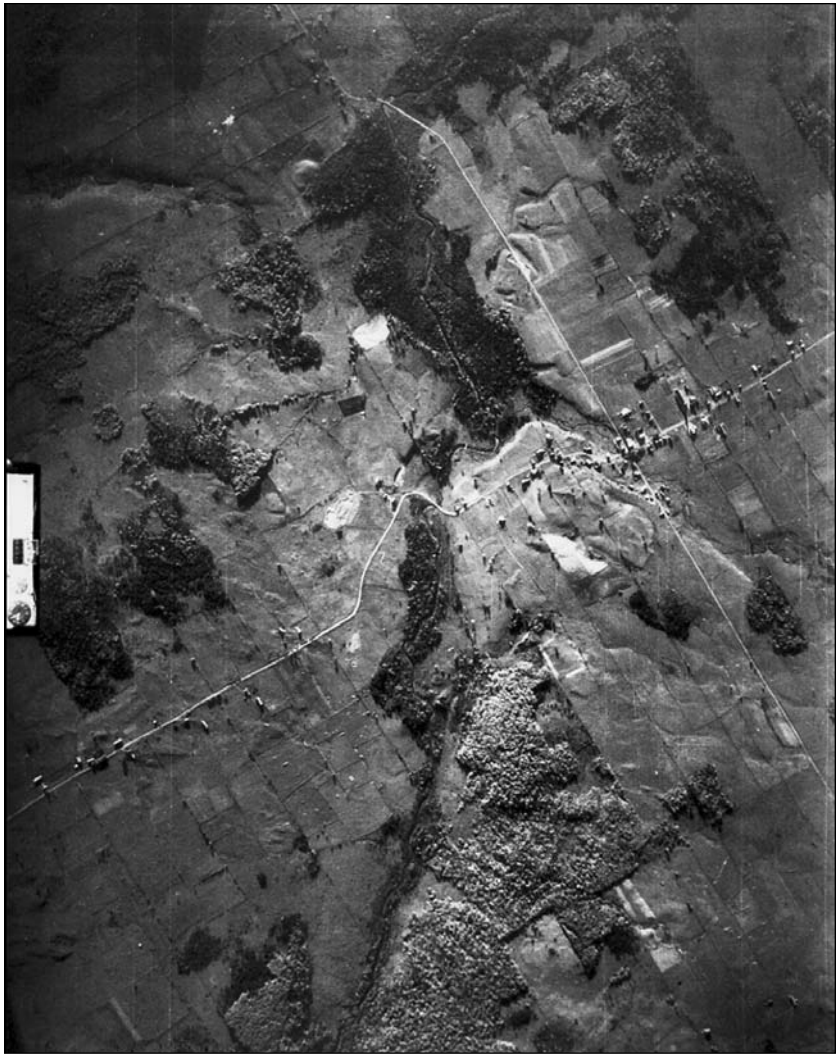


Figure 1 : Reproduction d'une photographie (village de Stratford, à l'est du lac Aylmer) de la première couverture aérienne verticale connue, prise en octobre 1928, dans les Cantons de l'Est. On peut remarquer la qualité de la prise de vue qui fait, entre autres, ressortir le relief.

TABLEAU 1 :
CARACTÉRISTIQUES DES COUVERTURES AÉRIENNES DES CANTONS DE L'EST (1928–2000)

Année	Échelle	Type	Origine	Zone couverte
1928	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région à l'est du lac Aylmer
1929	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région du lac Saint-François
1930	1 : 18 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Frontière Canada-USA et du lac Champlain à Farnham
1933	1 : 7 800	Noir et blanc	Canada	Lac Memphrémagog
1945*	+/- 1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Canada	Carte 21E et est de 31H
16-06-1949	1 : 3 600	Noir et blanc	A.E. Simpson Ltd., Montréal	Université Bishop's
1950*	1 : 18 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région de Granby
1950*	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Canada	Carte 21E , est de 31H, sud-ouest de 21L et sud-est de 31I
1956	1 : 11 400	Noir et blanc	Québec(?)	Sherbrooke
1959-1960*	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Québec	Carte 21H, est de 31H et sud-ouest de 21L
1959**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Ferme d'Agriculture Canada à Lennoxville
1959	1 : 30 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Région de Sherbrooke et de Waterloo
1962	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Photographic Surveys	Sud-est de carte 31H
1962	1 : 36 000	Noir et blanc	Québec (?)	Région de la baie Missisquoi à Coaticook
1963	1 : 31 680	Noir et blanc	Québec	Lac Saint-François : 3 couvertures (printemps, été, automne)
1964	1 : 31 680	Noir et blanc	Québec	Est et sud-ouest de Sherbrooke
1964**	1 : 36 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Sud-est de carte 31I
1964-1966	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H, sud-ouest de 21L et sud-est de 31I
1965	1 : 31 680	Noir et blanc	Québec	Régions de L'Avenir et d'Asbestos
1966	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H, sud-ouest de 21L et sud-est de 31I
1966**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Carte 21E et sud-ouest de 21L
1966**	1 : 8 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Drummondville
1967	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Drummondville
1968**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Régions au nord et ouest du mont Shefford, et nord-est du mont Orford
1969**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Tronçon de la Yamaska et région de Valcourt
1969**	1 : 7 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Lennoxville
1969**	1 : 60 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Carte 31H et ouest de 21E
1970**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Région de Waterloo

Année	Échelle	Type	Origine	Zone couverte
1971	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Sud-ouest de carte 21E et sud-est de 31H, et Roxton Falls
1971**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Régions de Victoriaville et de Thetford Mines
1971**	1 : 4 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Roxton Falls
1972	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Aéro Photo	Région de Sherbrooke
1972**	1 : 25 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Régions de Granby et Farnham
1974	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Aero Photo	Parc du Mont-Orford
1974-1979	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Carte 21E et sud-ouest de 21L
1975**	1 : 31 680	Noir et blanc	Canada	Régions des monts Sutton et Orford
1975**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région de Bromont
1975**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région de la baie Missisquoi au mont Orford
1975**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Sud-ouest de carte 21L et sud-est de 31I
1975**	1 : 8 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Windsor
1975**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions à l'est de Coaticook et de Sherbrooke à Richmond
1975*	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Coaticook, mont Shefford, sud de Granby et région de Thetford Mines
1976**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Régions à l'ouest de Granby et de Drummonville, Coleraine
1976**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Aéro Photo	Régions d'Ayer's Cliff à Windsor et de Waterloo à Deauville
1976**	1 : 50 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Carte 31H, extrême ouest de 21E, sud-est de 31I et sud-ouest de 21L
1976	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Inondation du Richelieu
1976**	1 : 30 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région de North Hatley à Lennoxville
1976-1977**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Moitié est de la carte 31H et partie est de 21E
1978*	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Rivière Richelieu
1978**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région de Disraëli
1978**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions de Victoriaville et d'Asbestos
1978**	1 : 8 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Sainte-Clothilde-de-Horton
1978-1979*	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Nord-est de Drummondville et ISE de carte 31I
1978**	1 : 50 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Carte 21E et sud-ouest de 21L
1978-1979*	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H, sud-est de 31I et région de Victoriaville
1979	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Sainte-Clothilde-de-Horton et Granby
1979	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Lac-Mégantic, Warwick, Saint-Léonard-d'Aston, Princeville, Victoriaville et Coaticook
1979	1 : 8 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Magog
1979**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions de Saint-Hyacinthe à Acton Vale et à Sherbrooke

Année	Échelle	Type	Origine	Zone couverte
1979**	1 : 25 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région de Sherbrooke
1979-1980 21L	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Carte 21E, est de 31H et sud-est de
1980-1981, 1984*	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Tronçons des rivières Magog, Eaton, Saint-François, Yamaska et Richelieu, et des rives du lac Memphrémagog
1980	1 : 8 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Région au nord et au nord-ouest de Sherbrooke
1980**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région d'Asbestos
1980**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions de Waterloo et de Lac-Brome
1981**	1 : 50 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région de Drummondville
1981**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Ouest de carte 21E, sud-est de 31H, sud-ouest de 21L et sud-est de 31I
1982	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Aéro Photo	Université de Sherbrooke
1982**	1 : 15 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Régions d'East Angus à Malvina et de Malvina à Windsor
1982**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Régions de Sherbrooke, Magog, Orford et Granby
1983	1 : 25 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Cookshire
1983**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Nord-ouest de carte 21E, nord-est de 31H, sud-est de 31I et sud-ouest de 21L
1983**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Ouest de Cowansville
1984**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région de la baie Missisquoi à Bedford
1984**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Eastman
1984**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Région au nord de Drummondville
1984**	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec	Granby
1984**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Carte 31H à l'ouest de Drummondville
1984*	1 : 50 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Cartes 21E, 31H, sud-ouest de 21L et sud-est de 31I
1985	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge noir et blanc	Québec	Carte 31H
1985**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Certaines agglomérations urbaines sur carte 21E, aussi Adamsville, Bromont et Saint-Nicéphore
1985**	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Canada	Thetford Mines
1985**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Nord-ouest de carte 21E et nord-est de 31H
1985-1986* (neige en 1985)	1 : 30 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Carte 21E et est de 31H
1985-1987*	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Nord de carte 21E, sud-ouest de 21L et sud-est de 31I
1986**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Carte 21E et sud-ouest de 21L

Année	Échelle	Type	Origine	Zone couverte
1986**	1 : 15 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Carte 21E
1986**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région de Windsor à Warwick
1987**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Granby et Roxton Falls
1987**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Bromont
1987**	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Canada	Région de Sherbrooke
1988**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Les Trois-Lacs et Acton Vale
1988	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Région de Sherbrooke
1988**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Nord de Drummondville, Granby
1988**	1 : 12 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions d'East Angus et de La Patrie
1988**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région de Windsor
1988**	1 : 40 000	Couleur	Québec	Région de Drummondville
1988**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions de Saint-Hyacinthe, Granby, Bromptonville et Windsor
1988-1991	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec	Carte 21E et moitié est de 31H
1989**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Régions de Sutton, Orford, Magog, Bromptonville, Windsor, Richmond, Danville et Thetford Mines
1989**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Magog, Eastman, Stukely-Sud et Saint-Étienne-de-Bolton
1989**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Nord-ouest de carte 21E et région de Richmond et de Thetford Mines
1989**	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Nord de carte 21E, sud-ouest de 21L et région de Richmond
1989**	1 : 15 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Nord-ouest de carte 21E
1989**	1 : 15 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Nord-ouest de carte 21E
1990**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Agglomérations urbaines sur carte 31H/7 (Granby)
1990**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Drummondville et région de Saint-Hyacinthe à Cowansville
1990**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Région de Granby
1990, 1991, 1994, 1995**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Zones récréotouristiques : région de Farnham à Deauville
1990-1991**	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec	Sud-ouest de carte 21L
1991	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cookshire
1991**	1 : 10 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Régions de Windsor, Danville et Asbestos
1991**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région entre Saint-Hyacinthe, Drummondville et sud de Cowansville
1992-1993*	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H, sud-ouest de 21L
1993**	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec	Région à l'est d'Acton Vale
1993**	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Magog

Année	Échelle	Type	Origine	Zone couverte
1993**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région au sud de Granby
1993-1995*	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H
1994**	1 : 3 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Drummondville
1994**	1 : 10 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec	Région de Drummondville
1994	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Saint-Denis-de-Brompton
1995**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Farnham, Waterloo et Victoriaville
1995*	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec	Carte 21E et partie est de 31H
1996**	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec	Région de Magog à Sherbrooke
1997-1998*	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H et région de Victoriaville et Plessisville
1998**	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Rivière Richelieu
2000	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec	Cartes 21E et 31H

** Couverture incomplète à l'Université de Sherbrooke.*

*** Couverture non encore acquise par l'Université de Sherbrooke.*

N.B. la carte 21E est la carte au 1 : 250 000 de Sherbrooke et la carte 31H est celle qui couvre la Montérégie et la partie ouest des Cantons de l'Est à partir du lac Massawippi; on a inclus dans la région la partie sud-ouest de la carte 21L (région de Victoriaville et Thetford Mines) et l'extrême sud-est de la carte 31I (région de Saint-Léonard-d'Aston).

IMPORTANT : la Cartothèque possède tous les index des couvertures aériennes mentionnées en format papier ou sur microfiches.

Il y a deux sources principales de photographies aériennes : les gouvernements du Canada et du Québec. Ces couvertures de photographies aériennes sont prises à des fins d'inventaire, le plus souvent forestier, ou de mise à jour des cartes topographiques au 1 : 20 000 et au 1 : 50 000. Par contre, quelques couvertures aériennes ont été prises à des fins précises pour répondre aux besoins de municipalités et de compagnies privées ou parapubliques, principalement Hydro-Québec. Sauf dans le cas de certaines couvertures d'Hydro-Québec, elles englobent cependant des territoires très limités. Ainsi, l'ensemble de la région ou de grandes parties de la région sont couverts par 23 couvertures aériennes principales, soit celles de 1945, 1950, 1959–1960, 1964–1966, 1966, 1969, 1974–1979, 1976, 1976–1977, 1978, 1978–1979, 1979–1980, 1981, 1984, 1985, 1985–1986, 1986, 1988–1991, 1992–1993, 1993–1995, 1995, 1997–1998 et 2000 *(tableau 1)*.

Depuis le milieu des années 1980, les couvertures aériennes sont habituellement prises en noir et blanc. Cependant, certaines couvertures aériennes sont parfois prises avec d'autres émulsions (couleurs, infrarouge noir et blanc, infrarouge couleur) à des fins

spécifiques telles que le dépistage de certaines maladies des arbres.

Les échelles des photographies aériennes sont généralement entre le 1 : 15 000 et le 1 : 40 000, mais des échelles plus petites servent principalement à la révision de la carte topographique fédérale tandis que des échelles plus grandes servent à des fins municipales ou pour des problèmes précis, tel d'aménagement. Par exemple, à l'aide de couvertures à grande échelle, nous avons établi les zones inondables dans le bassin de la rivière Saint-François (1 : 5 000, 1980 à 1984) et nous avons relevé l'étendue de l'inondation du 4 avril 1976 le long du Richelieu (1 : 10 000). De plus, les couvertures aériennes d'Hydro-Québec ont servi à des fins de tracé et d'aménagement de lignes de transports d'énergie.

Les couvertures de photographies aériennes sont presque toutes prises en été, soit au maximum du développement de la végétation, ce qui présente parfois des problèmes pour l'identification de certains éléments au sol sous la végétation arborée. Quelques couvertures ont cependant été prises au printemps, avant la pousse des feuilles, comme c'est le cas de la plupart des lignes de vol de celle de 1959-1960, ou tard en automne, comme c'est le cas de celle de 1985, où le territoire est enneigé. Un cas particulier est celui de la région du lac Saint-François, où nous avons trois couvertures aériennes de la même année (1963) : une au printemps, une en été et une en automne.

Enfin, nous n'avons pas inclus dans le tableau 1 les photographies aériennes obliques. Par exemple, il existe des photographies de la ville de Sherbrooke prises dans les années 1920 et d'autres de l'Université Bishop's de différentes années dont 1949 (disponibles au Bureau des archives de l'Université Bishop's).

Exemples d'utilisation multidate des photographies aériennes

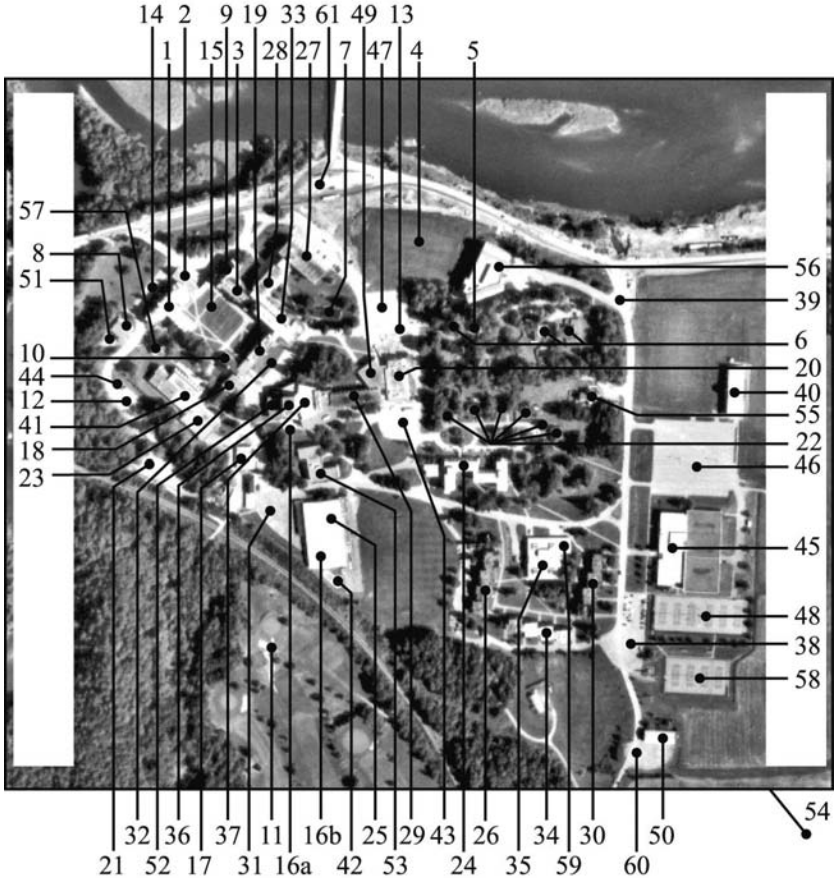
Depuis une cinquantaine d'années, en géographie, les photographies aériennes servent couramment à caractériser les milieux naturels et humanisés. Depuis qu'il est possible, voici de cela une trentaine d'années, de comparer des couvertures aériennes d'années différentes, les chercheurs (es) effectuent de plus en plus d'études multidates. Ainsi, on les utilise pour retracer l'évolution de l'occupation des terres (Dubois et Thouez, 1979; Dubois *et al*., 1984; Beaudoin, 1985; Chartier, 1985; Langlois, 1986; Croteau, 1988; Labbé, 1988; Chabot, en prép.) et celle d'éléments naturels, tels les cours d'eau et leurs berges (Roy, 1983; Morache, 1987; Dufault, 1995; Dufault et Dubois, 1995), ainsi que pour retracer le degré d'érosion des terres (Dubois et Provencher, 2000a,b). On s'en sert aussi pour faire un his-

torique des zones potentiellement contaminées (Schneeberger *et al*., 1994; Beauchemin, 1995; Bujold, 1996; Savoie, 1996) et dresser un tableau de la modification ou de la dégradation du milieu naturel à la suite d'aménagements (Boisvenue *et al*., 1988; Dubois, 1996; Schmitt, 2001; Dubois et Provencher, 2000a,b; Chabot, en prép.) Depuis 1969, l'Université de Sherbrooke offre des cours dans ce domaine au profit des futurs géographes.

En histoire, le caractère multidate de l'information consignée sur les photographies aériennes est particulièrement intéressant puisque l'on peut dater rapidement des aménagements, tout au moins avec une fourchette de quelques années, soit la durée entre deux couvertures aériennes. Par exemple, on peut suivre l'évolution des aménagements humains (Dubois *et al*., 1984; Chabot, en prép.), comme les voies de communication urbaines, (Dallaire, en prép.) et même faire la vérification des cartes historiques (Leblanc, 1994). Enfin, les photographies aériennes constituent aussi des documents à usage légal pouvant servir de preuve; les auteurs s'en sont servis à de nombreuses reprises, au cours des vingt dernières années, dans des expertises pour des bureaux d'avocats.

Exemple d'évolution de l'occupation de sol : le campus de l'Université Bishop's

Afin d'illustrer le potentiel des photographies aériennes pour les études multidates, nous avons retracé l'évolution du campus de l'Université Bishop's (figure 2), entre la première couverture de photographies aériennes verticales de 1945 et la dernière acquise, celle de 2000. Au tableau 2, on peut constater qu'il existe 33 couvertures aériennes, mais que la Cartothèque n'en possède que 21.



1. McGreer Hall
2. St. Mark's Chapel
3. Grammar School
4. 1er terrain de cricket, puis de football
5. Résidence (Dobson-Lagassé Centre)
6. Faculty Residences (1re série)
7. Morris House
8. Divinity House
9. Andrew S. Johnson Science Building (partie avant)
10. Bandeen Hall
11. Terrain de golf
12. The Lodge - Principal's Residence (démoli)
13. 1er court de tennis (défait)
14. Parking 8
15. Central Quad
16a. Première patinoire
16b. Deuxième patinoire
17. Boiler House
18. Pollack Hall
19. Norton Hall
20. Memorial House
21. Parking 7
22. Faculty Residences (2e série)
23. John Basset Memorial Library (1re partie)
24. Mckinnon Hall
25. W.B. Scott Arena
26. Abbott Hall
27. Jasper Hume Nicholls Building
28. John Hamilton Building
29. Bishop Mountain House
30. Kuehner Hall
31. Parking 4
32. Parking 9
33. Andrew S. Johnson Science Building (partie arrière)
34. Munster Hall
35. Dewhurst Hall
36. Centennial Theatre
37. Art Gallery (depuis 1992)
38. Parking 2
39. Entrée est du campus
40. Coulter Field (Football Stadium)
41. John Bassett Memorial Library (2e partie)
42. Ourdoor Pool
43. Parking 3
44. Parking 6
45. John H. Price Sports Center
46. Parking 1
47. Parking 5
48. Nouveaux terrains de tennis
49. Marjorie Donald House
50. Hangar
51. Parking 10
52. Studio Theater
53. Molson Fine Arts Building
54. Peter C. Curry Wildlife Refuge
55. Panda Day Care Centre
56. Champlain Regional College
57. Gazebo
58. Ajout de terrains de tennis
59. Agrandissement du Dewhurst Hall
60. Une partie du hangar démolie
61. Réaménagement de l'entrée du campus

Figure 2 : Localisation des bâtiments ou des aménagements repérés par photointerprétation sur le campus de l'Université Bishop's. Les numéros correspondent aux bâtiments ou aux aménagements dans la liste ci-jointe. Source : Bishop's University (2003) et photographie aérienne HMQ98131 (177)

TABLEAU 2 :
Photographies aériennes verticales disponibles pour faire une étude de l'évolution du campus de l'Université Bishop's

Date	Numéro	Échelle	Caractéristiques	Sour-
27-09-1945	A9458 (40-41)	1 : 17 000	Noir et blanc	Canada
16-06-1949	49-132 (5-8)	1 : 3 600	Noir et blanc	A.E. Simpson Ltd., Montréal
09-05-1959	1117 (156-157)	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc, printemps	Québec
1959	1340 (92-93)	1 : 30 000	Noir et blanc, automne	Québec
1962*	R6237 (1-3)	1 : 12 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
03-09-1966	Q66373 (61-62)	1 : 15 840	Noir et blanc	Québec
20-09-1966	Q66223 (30-31)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
1966*	A19680 (205-206)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Canada
1969*	A21322 (114-116)	1 : 7 000	Noir et blanc	Canada
01-06-1971	Q71117 (174-175)	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
17-11-1972	A7268 (98-100)	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Aéro Photo
10-1976*	HQ764002 (35-36)	1 : 30 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec
10-1977*	HQ77PLT002 (41-42)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec
15-08-1978	Q78350 (44-46)	1 : 10 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
23-09-1978	Q78877 (70-71)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
07-1978*	A24962 (179-180)	1 : 50 000	Noir et blanc	Canada
20-06-1979	Q79111 (79-80)	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
13-09-1980	Q80341 (67-69)	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
10-1981*	HQ81PLT012 (189-190)	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec
07-1982*	A26029 (220-221)	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Canada
09-1983*	HQPLT831527 (8-9)	1 : 20 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec
1984*	Q84353 (102-104)	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
21-08-1984	A26525 (101-102)	1 : 50 000	Noir et blanc	Canada
10-11-1985	Q85396 (25-26)	1 : 30 000	Noir et blanc, hiver	Québec
27-09-1986*	HQ86DLT007 (7-8)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Hydro-Québec
09-1986*	HQ86DLT101 (192-193)	1 : 15 000	Couleur	Hydro-Québec
31-10-1988	Q88856 (121-122)	1 : 5 000	Noir et blanc, automne	Québec
08-09-1988	Q88108 (163-164)	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec
24-06-1993	HMQ93133 (100-101)	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hauts-Monts
09-05-1995	Q95112 (49-50)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec
27-06-1995	Q95818 (229-230)	1 : 15 000	Infrarouge couleur	Québec
19-07-1998	HMQ98131 (176-177)	1 : 15 000	Noir et blanc	Hauts-Monts
12-10-2000	Q00819 (121-122)	1 : 40 000	Noir et blanc	Québec

* *Couvertures aériennes non disponibles à la Cartothèque Jean-Marie-Roy de l'Université de Sherbrooke*

Nous avons utilisé les 21 couvertures aériennes disponibles, mais nous ne présentons ici que les 8 principales aux fins d'illustration (figures 3 à 10). Nous décrivons d'abord ce que montre la photographie de 1945; il faut mentionner ici que nous n'avons évidemment pas tenu compte de bâtiments ou d'aménagements antérieurs de sorte que nous ne traçons pas un portrait complet de l'évolution du campus à ses débuts. Ensuite, nous mentionnons les principaux changements survenus entre chacune des autres photographies; nous pourrions cependant aller beaucoup plus dans le détail si besoin était. Par conséquent, nous obtenons parfois des dates précises pour certains aménagements, mais le plus souvent des fourchettes d'à peine quelques années, le maximum étant de 10 ans entre 1949 et 1959. Pour certains éléments de détail, il est préférable de visionner des couplets stéréoscopiques des photographies, mais pour la plupart des phénomènes, cela n'est pas nécessaire : une loupe est suffisante, surtout pour les photographies à une échelle plus grande que le 1 : 15 000. C'est l'une des raisons pour lesquelles nous avons agrandi ou réduit, selon le cas, toutes les photographies des figures 3 à 10 à la même échelle, voisine du 1 : 5 000, l'autre étant la facilité de la comparaison pour la lectrice ou le lecteur.

Afin de montrer la précision du travail historique qui peut être fait uniquement à partir de photographies aériennes, nous avons ensuite comparé les données avec les dates réelles des aménagements fournies sur le site Internet de l'Université Bishop's, dans le livre publié pour le 150e anniversaire de cette institution (Grant, 1994), et avec un complément d'information fourni par quelques personnes de cette même université (Ansell, 2003; Grant, 2003).

1945 *(figure 3)*

Les bâtiments et aménagements suivants sont déjà en place depuis longtemps, car il n'y a aucune trace de chantier sur la photographie :

- *McGreer Hall* (1), construit en 1846 (*Arts Building*) et l'aile ouest en 1848 (*Old Lodge*); incendié en partie en 1875 et reconstruit; l'aile sud est construite en 1909 pour loger la bibliothèque;
- La chapelle St. Mark (2), construite et consacrée en 1857 ainsi que la sacristie construite en 1861; incendiée en 1874 et en 1891 et reconstruite en 1895;
- *Grammar School* (3), actuellement partie centrale du *Andrew S. Johnson Science Building*, construite en 1861; incendiée en 1874 et reconstruite; incendiée de nouveau en 1891 et reconstruite en 1892;

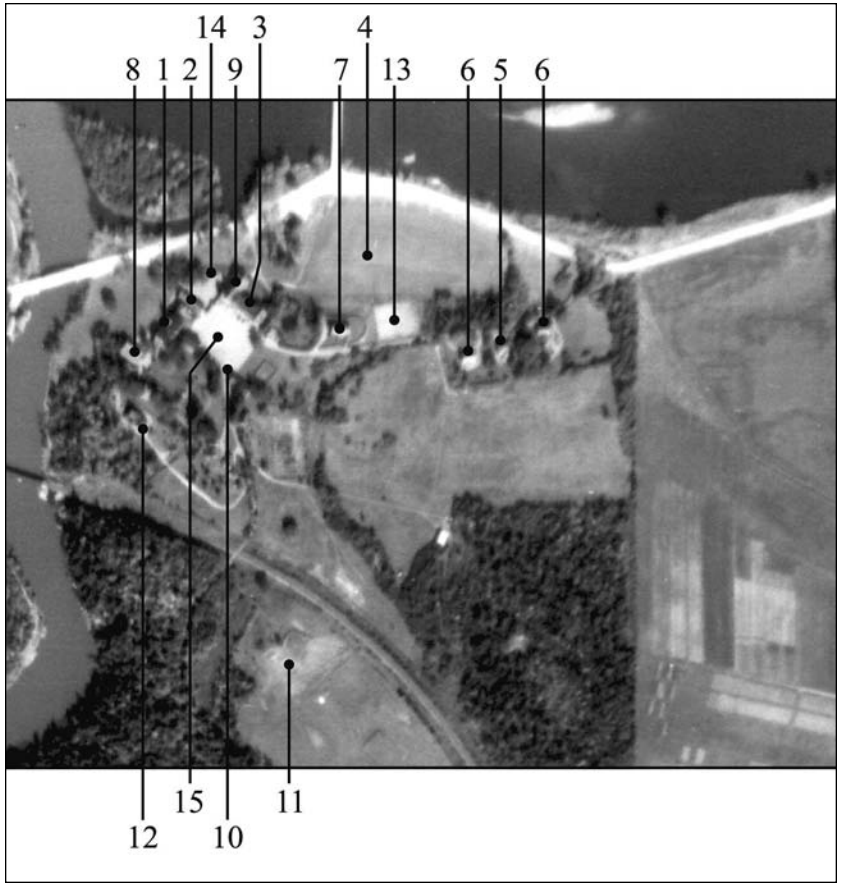


Figure 3 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1945.
Voir le texte pour la correspondance des chiffres avec les bâtiments ou les aménagements.
Photographie A9458(40)/

- Premier terrain de cricket, puis de football (4), aménagé vers 1873;
- Centre Dobson-Lagassé (5), construit vers 1900 comme résidence;
- Première série de *Faculty Residences* (6), construite entre les années 1900 et 1950;
- *Morris House* (7), construite en 1891;
- *Divinity House* (8), construite en 1891;
- Partie avant du *Andrew S. Johnson Science Building* (9), abritant le *Bishop William Hall*, construit en 1891, détruit par un incendie la même année et reconstruit en 1892;
- La salle Bandeen (10), construite en 1897 (inauguré en 1898);

- Terrain de golf (11), dont les premiers aménagements ont été faits vers 1897;
- *The Lodge – Principal's Residence* (12), construite en 1908;
- Premier terrain de tennis (13), aménagé avant 1920;
- Stationnement 8 (14);
- *Central Quad* (15).

1949

Le seul aménagement qui s'est ajouté depuis 1945 mais bien avant 1949 car il n'y a pas de trace de chantier sur la photographie, est une patinoire extérieure (16a) avec des bandes en bois et un bâtiment de service. Elle a été installée à peu près à l'emplacement actuel du théâtre Centennial. Cet emplacement était celui d'un premier aréna, construit en 1925 et incendié en 1944. Cependant, nous ne trouvons

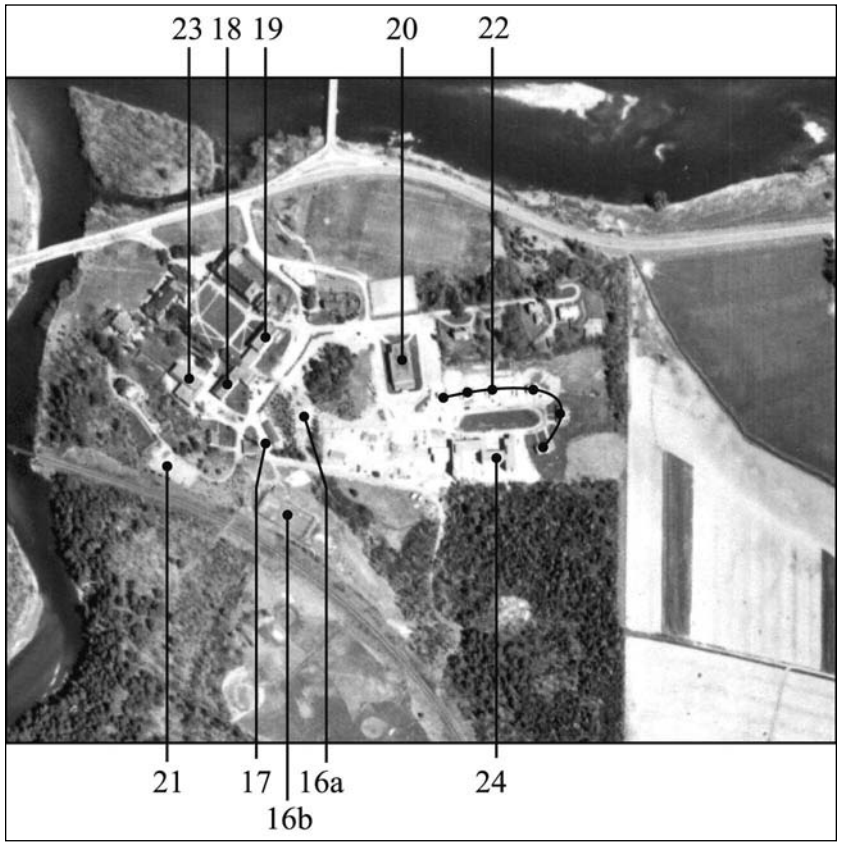


Figure 4 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1959 : bâtiments et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1945. Photographie 1117(156)

pas d'évidence probante de cet usage sur la photographie de 1945, sauf un rectangle de terre battue que nous n'aurions pu interpréter sans l'information de Grant (1994).

1959 *(figure 4)*

Les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés depuis 1949, mais bien avant 1959 car il n'y a pas de trace de chantier sur la photographie :

- Patinoire extérieure avec des bandes de bois (16b), dont on ne connaît pas l'année exacte d'aménagement, déménagée sans le bâtiment de service à l'emplacement futur de l'aréna;
- Emplacement dégagé pour la construction du *Boiler House* (17), construite en 1950; une annexe sera construite en 1962;
- *Pollack Hall* (18), construit en 1950;
- *Norton Hall* (19), construit en 1950;
- *Memorial House* (20), ancien gymnase, construit en 1950;
- Stationnement 7 (21), aménagé comme stationnement de la *Principal's Residence*.

Par contre, les bâtiments suivants ont été construits en 1959 puisqu'on remarque encore des traces de chantier sur la photographie :

- Deuxième série de *Faculty Residences* (22), dont une est déjà construite avant 1959 mais quatre sont en construction en 1959, sur Mackinnon Drive;
- Première partie du *John Bassett Memorial Library* (23);
- *Mckinnon Hall* (24).

1966 *(figure 5)*

Les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés depuis 1959, mais bien avant 1966 car il n'y a pas de trace de chantier :

- L'aréna W.B. Scott (25), construite en 1960 à l'emplacement de la patinoire extérieure;
- *Abbott Hall* (26), construit en 1962;
- *Jasper Hume Nicholls Building* (27), construit en 1963;
- *John Hamilton Building* (28), construit en 1963;
- *Bishop Mountain House* (29), construit en 1963;
- *Kuehner Hall* (30), construit en 1965;

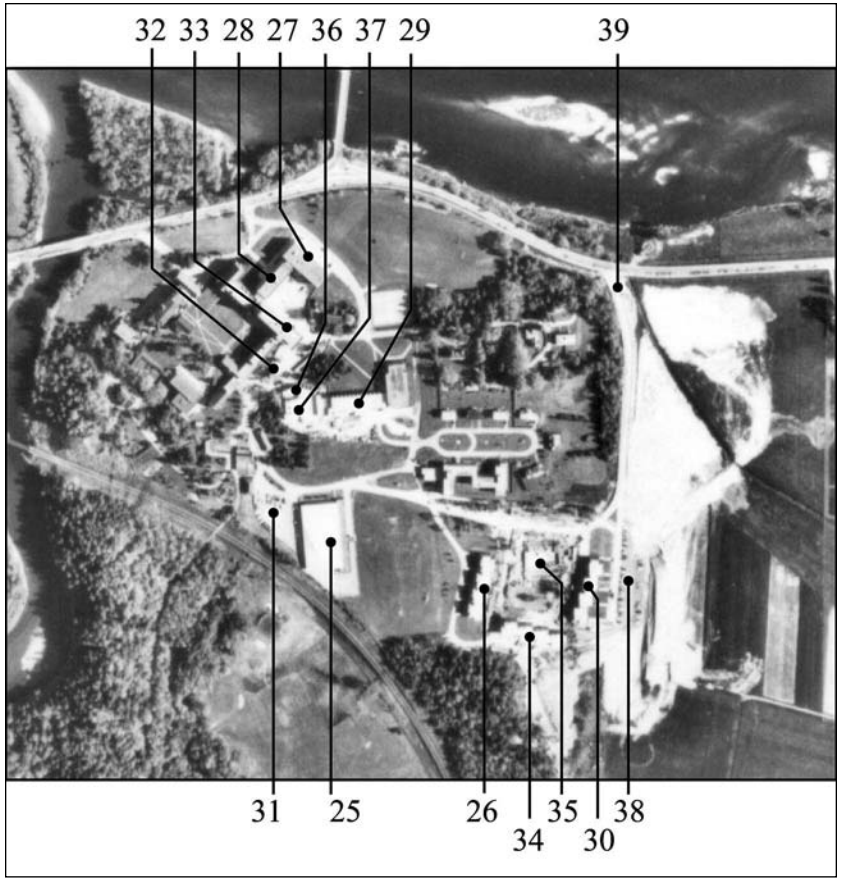


Figure 5 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1966 : bâtiments et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1959. Photographie Q66373(62)

- Stationnement 4 (31);
- Stationnement 9 (32).

Par contre, les bâtiments suivants ont été construits en 1966 puisqu'on remarque encore des traces de chantier sur les photographies :

- Partie arrière de l'*Andrew S. Johnson Science Building* (33); à cet endroit existait un petit bâtiment, la *Headmaster's House*, construite avant 1945 et démolie en 1965;
- *Munster Hall* (34);
- *Dewhurst Hall* (35) : il n'y a que les fondations sur la photographie du 3 septembre 1966 alors que la structure est montée sur

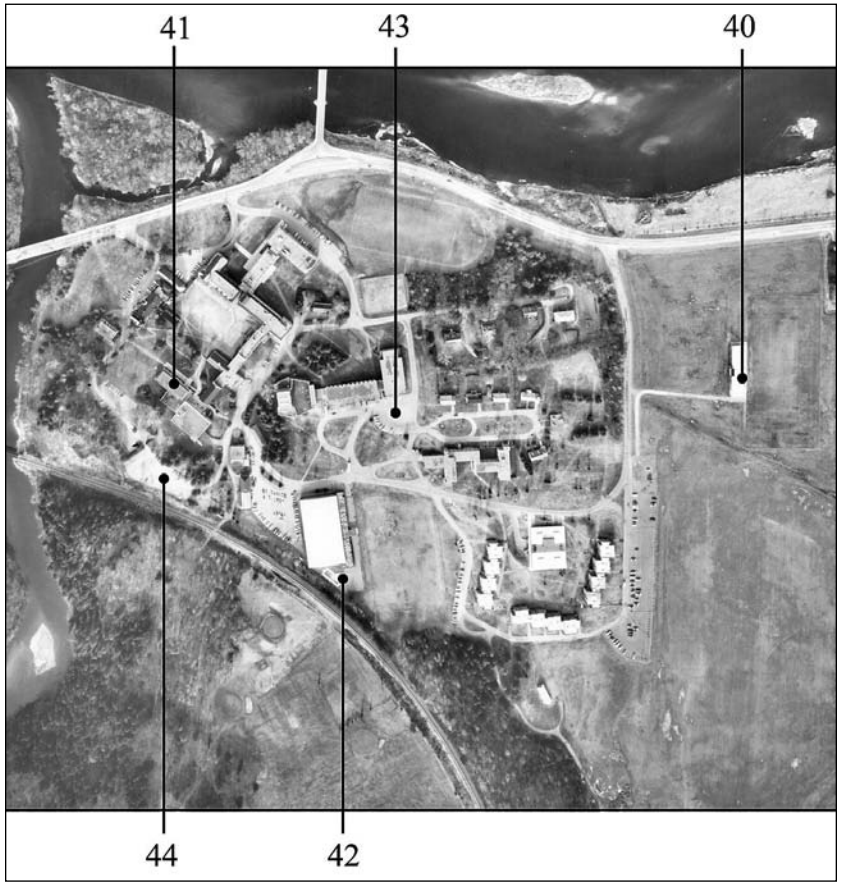


Figure 6 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1972 : bâtiments et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1966. Photographie A7268(99)

la photographie du 20 septembre;

- Théâtre Centennial (36), mais qui sera inauguré l'année suivante;
- Partie du bâtiment (37) du théâtre Centennial qui deviendra la Galerie d'art en 1992;
- Stationnement 2 (38);
- Aménagement d'une nouvelle entrée à l'est du campus (39) car le terrassement n'y est pas complété.

On aurait pu raffiner cette interprétation en utilisant les photographies aériennes de 1962.

1971

Depuis 1966, les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés :

- *Coulter Field* (Football Stadium) (40), construit en 1971;
- Deuxième partie du *John Bassett Memorial Library* (41); une troisième partie s'ajoutera en 1990;
- Piscine extérieure (42), construite en 1969;
- Stationnement 3 (43).

Par contre, le Stationnement 6 (44) a été aménagé en 1971, mais après la prise de photographie du 1er juin 1971, puisqu'on remarque des traces de chantier sur la photographie de 1972; il a été aménagé à l'emplacement du *Principal's Lodge*, démoli en 1969.

On aurait pu raffiner cette interprétation en se servant des photographies aériennes de 1969.

1972 *(figure 6)*

Depuis 1971, il n'y a que le Stationnement 6 (44) qui ait été aménagé récemment puisqu'il y a encore des traces de chantier.

1978 *(figure 7)*

Depuis 1972, les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés :

- Le Centre sportif John H. Price (45), construit en 1975, en partie au détriment du Stationnement 2;
- Stationnement 1 (46), probablement aménagé en 1975;
- Stationnement 5 (47), aménagé probablement en 1975 à l'emplacement du premier terrain de tennis;
- Nouveaux terrains de tennis (48), probablement aménagés en 1975;
- *Marjorie Donald House* (49), construite en 1977.

On aurait pu raffiner cette interprétation en utilisant les photographies aériennes de 1976, 1977 et peut-être celles de juillet 1978, qui ont été prises plus tôt que les deux autres couvertures de cette année-là.

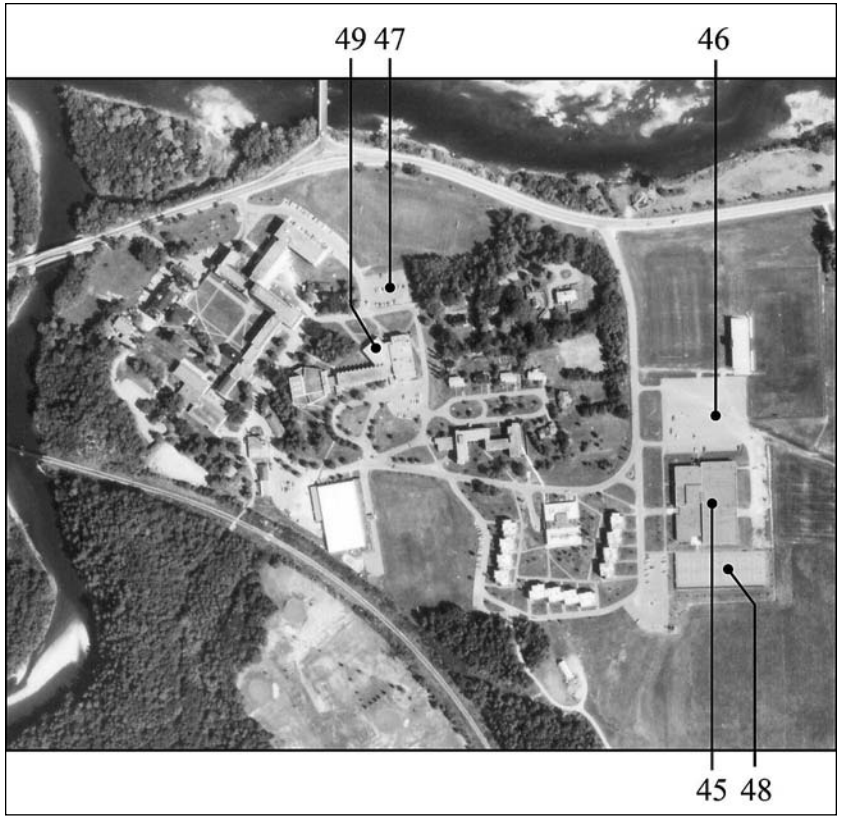


Figure 7 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1978 : bâtiments et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1972. Photographie A78350(45)

1979 et 1980

Il n'y a aucun changement par rapport à 1978.

1984

Depuis 1980, les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés :

- Hangar (50);
- Stationnement 10 (51).

On aurait pu raffiner cette interprétation en utilisant les photographies aériennes de 1981, 1982, 1983 et peut-être celle de 1984 du Gouvernement du Québec.

1985

Il n'y a aucun changement par rapport à 1984.

1988 *(figure 8)*

On ajoute le studio-théâtre (52) au théâtre Centennial depuis 1985, mais bien avant la photographie de 1988 car il n'y a pas de trace de chantier; il a effectivement été construit en 1988, mais a été inauguré en 1989.

On aurait pu raffiner cette interprétation en utilisant les photographies aériennes de 1986.

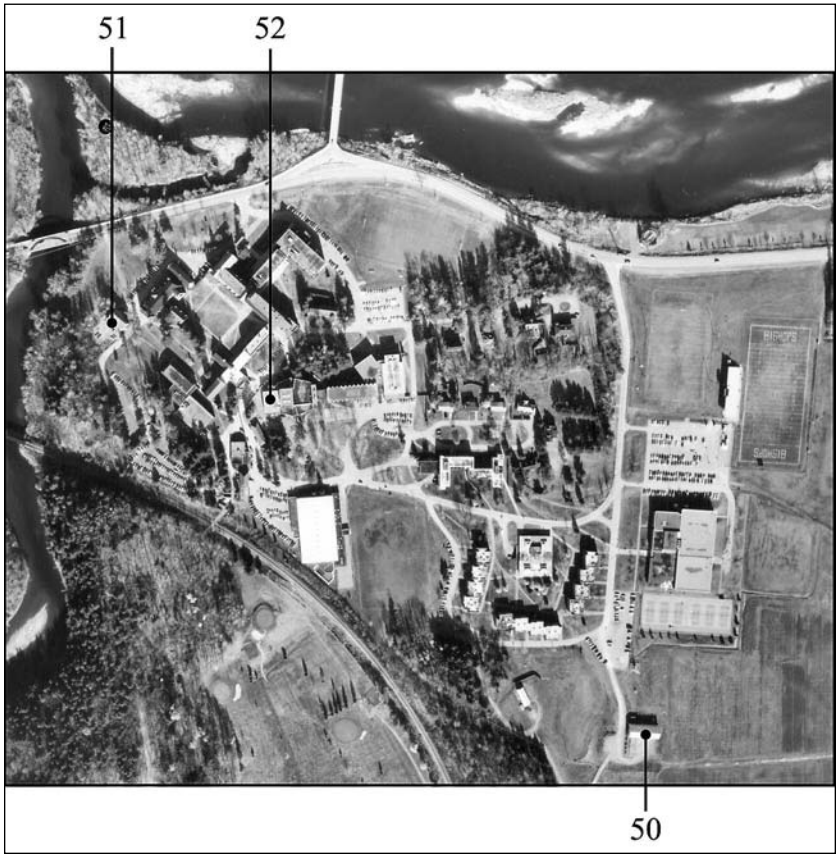


Figure 8 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1988 : bâtiments et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1978. Photographie Q88856(122)

1993 *(figure 9)*

Depuis 1988, les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés :

- *Molson Fine Arts Building* (53), construit en 1990;
- *Peter C. Curry Wildlife Refuge* (54), aménagé en 1991;
- Centre de la petite enfance Panda (55), construit en 1992;
- *Champlain Regional College* (56), construit en 1993.

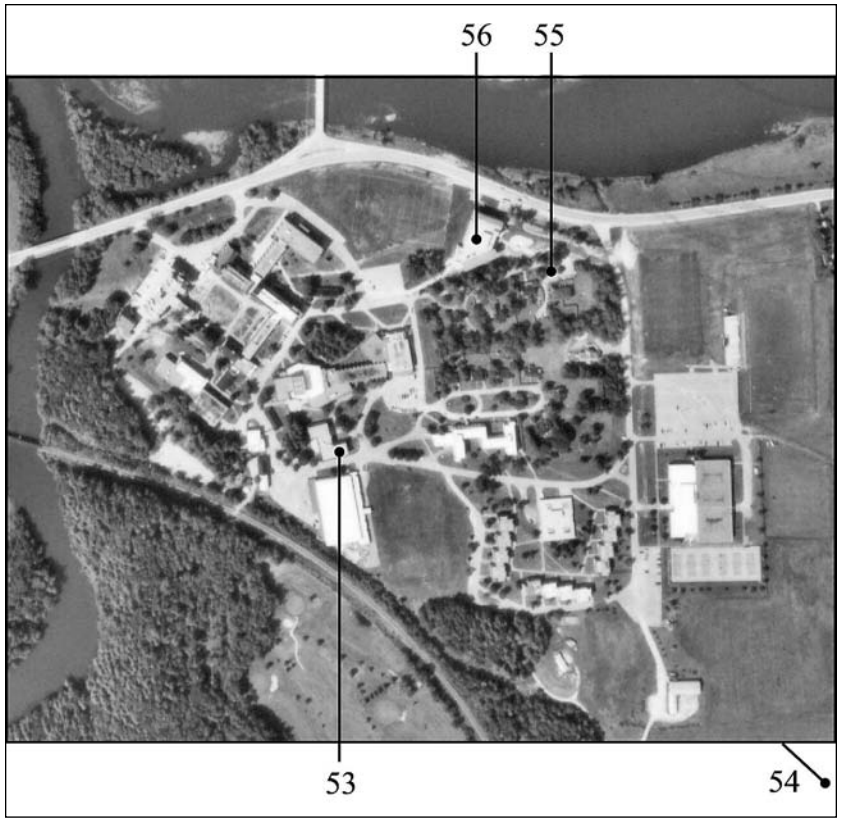


Figure 9 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1993 : bâtiments et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1988. Photographie HMQ93133(100)

1995

Depuis 1993, les bâtiments et aménagements suivants se sont ajoutés :

- Gloriette (57), construite en 1993;
- Ajout de terrains de tennis (58), aménagés au printemps de 1995.

1998 *(figure 10)*

Depuis 1995, les bâtiments suivants ont subi des modifications :

- *Dewhurst Hall* (59) agrandi pour héberger le service de sécurité;
- Une partie du hangar (60) a été démolie.

Les travaux de réaménagement de la route 108 et de l'entrée du campus (61) sont en cours.

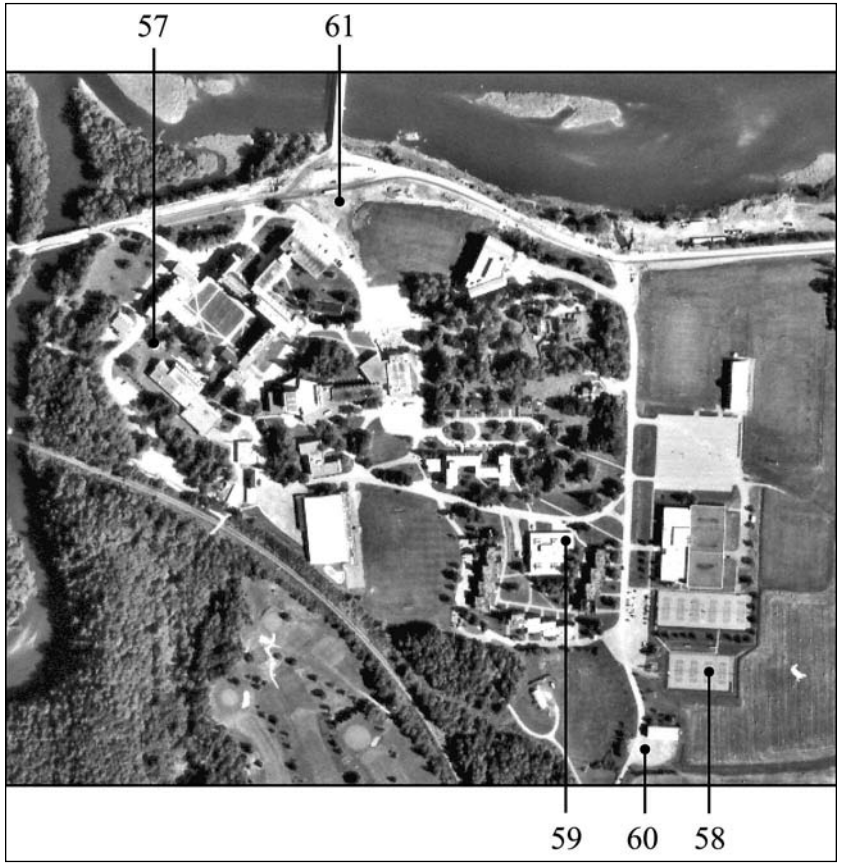


Figure 10 : Le campus de l'Université Bishop's en 1998 : bâtiment et aménagements ajoutés depuis 1993. Photographie HMQ98131(177)

2000

Depuis 1998, il n'y a pas eu de changement au niveau des bâtiments. Par contre, on a récemment terminé la reconstruction de la route 108 et de l'entrée du campus (61), probablement en 1999, car l'aménagement paysager est complété.

Conclusion

La voie qu'a ouverte J.D. Booth, en diffusant la collection de photographies aériennes de l'Université Bishop's auprès des chercheurs (es) autres que géographes, est une initiative à encourager. On la poursuit avec cet article sur la collection de l'Université de Sherbrooke. Par contre, nous savons qu'il peut exister d'autres collections dans les Cantons de l'Est. En 1974, nous avons répertorié plusieurs autres collections dans la région de Sherbrooke (Dubois, 1974). Cet inventaire pourrait d'ailleurs être poursuivi avec les cartes historiques. Par exemple, la Cartothèque Jean-Marie-Roy conserve toutes les éditions de la carte topographique de la région. Enfin, la Cartothèque est ouverte à tous, non seulement aux universitaires, pour la consultation des documents.

Il faut également dire qu'il y a un nouveau mode de prise de vues aérienne qui se développe de plus en plus : la vidéographie. C'est une façon de faire qui est beaucoup moins lourde que la prise de photographies aériennes verticales traditionnelle. En effet, les survols vidéographiques peuvent être réalisés, tant en mode vertical qu'oblique, rapidement et avec des avions légers ou en hélicoptère. Actuellement, deux entreprises de la région de Montréal, fondées par d'anciens étudiants de la région, sont en mesure d'en faire : Environnement Videographic (Martin Boisvenue) et GEO-3D (Denis Mercier). Dans le cas de cette dernière, les images sont géopositionnées et peuvent être visionnées en 3D.

Enfin, l'imagerie satellitaire est elle aussi entrée de la partie. Il existe de nombreuses images de la région depuis le début de la télédétection satellitaire en 1972. Les principales images sont celles prises avec les capteurs MSS, TM ou ETM$^+$ de Landsat et HRV de SPOT avec des résolutions spatiales variant de 80 m à 10 m. Cependant, depuis 2002, il est possible d'obtenir des images du capteur du satellite IKONOS avec une résolution spatiale aussi fine que 1 m, soit tout près de la définition d'une photographie traditionnelle. Il est probable que photographie et imagerie finiront par se confondre dans un avenir prochain.

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POSSESS THOU THE WEST AND THE SOUTH: THE FRONTIERS OF REVEREND JOSEPH HOMER PARKER: A SON OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

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RÉSUMÉ

Le révérend Joseph Homer Parker est le troisième enfant d'une famille de ministres congrégationalistes dont les carrières s'étendent sur toute la période du mouvement missionnaire américain. La saga familiale débuta en 1801, lorsque James Parker prêcha pour la première fois, à Underhill au Vermont ; elle se poursuivit pendant les années du ministère d'Ammi James, « évêque de tous les bois et les forêts », dans les Cantons de l'Est du Québec, et se conclut en 1915 avec la mort de Joseph Homer, « père du congrégationalisme en Oklahoma ». Joseph Homer fit ses études dans diverses écoles de Danville et obtint des diplômes de Middlebury College et du Chicago Theological Seminary. Il entreprit sa carrière religieuse dans plusieurs églises du Michigan, puis passa quelques années à Atlanta, où l'assemblée qu'il avait aidé à établir se retrouva dans une controverse liée à la ségrégation raciale. En 1885, il arriva à Wichita au Kansas et devint le premier « pasteur invité » à Plymouth Church. Il fonda Fairmount College, aujourd'hui Wichita State University. En 1889, Parker devint missionnaire général pour la Société des missions de l'intérieur dans le territoire de l'Oklahoma. Il mit sur pied de nombreuses églises, fonda le Kingfisher College et occupa aussi le poste le mieux rémunéré des territoires, celui de directeur de l'enseignement public et commissaire aux comptes.

ABSTRACT

Reverend Joseph Homer Parker was third in a family of Congregational ministers whose careers spanned the period of the home missionary movement. Their saga began in 1801 when James Parker began preaching in Underhill, Vermont, continued through the years of Ammi James' ministry as "Bishop of All the Woods and Forests" in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and concluded with the 1915 death of Joseph Homer, the "Father of

Congregationalism in Oklahoma." Joseph Homer attended Danville schools, graduated from Middlebury College and Chicago Theological Seminary, and launched his career serving churches in Michigan. He spent a few years in Atlanta where the congregation he helped establish became embroiled in a controversy over the "Color-Line." In 1885, he arrived in Wichita, Kansas, as the first "called" pastor of Plymouth Church. He founded Fairmount College, now Wichita State University. In 1889, Parker became General Missionary for the Home Missionary Society in Oklahoma Territory. He organized churches, started Kingfisher College, and also held the highest paying Territorial position, Superintendent of Public Instruction and Auditor.

Joseph Homer Parker at Middlelbury College, ca. 1868 Source: Reprinted with the permission of the Middlebury College Archives

Reverend Joseph Homer Parker was third in a family of Congregational ministers whose joint careers spanned the period of the home missionary movement. This great effort, initiated by New England Protestants, was aimed at preventing "the heathenising of Christians" through establishment of churches and schools on the frontier. The movement began in 1789 with The Missionary Society of Connecticut and grew into the American Home Missionary Society (AHMS), organized in 1826 as a joint venture of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Following the Civil War, however, denominational cooperation gave way to competition, and by 1893 the name was changed to The Congregational Home Missionary Society.[1]

This article focuses on Joseph Homer Parker, his definition of the home mission movement, and his battles with Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians for souls on the frontier. His father and grand - father clearly set the stage for his personal odyssey as he searched for a frontier like theirs, a land with new settlements awaiting churches and schools.

Reverends James, Ammi James, and Joseph Homer Parker continued a long line of active Congregationalists dating from 1633 when William Parker crossed the Atlantic and became one of the original proprietors of Hartford, Connecticut. These three, however, were the first ministers in the family, and their collective parishes spanned a

vast portion of North America, from the Eastern Townships of Quebec to the Oklahoma Territory. The saga began in 1801 when James began preaching in Underhill, Vermont, continued through the years of Ammi James' service as "Bishop of All the Woods and Forests" in the Eastern Townships, and concluded with the 1915 death of Joseph Homer, the "Father of Congregationalism in Oklahoma." Along the way they established schools, newspapers, and an untold number of churches.

James and Ammi James Parker

In 1789, James Parker (1764–1826) moved from Connecticut to Cornwall, Vermont, where he farmed, taught school, and was elected a deacon in the local church because he was "distinguished for his piety and discretion." The following year James married Mary Peck, who had recently moved there with her family from Connecticut. Soon after, he decided to study for the ministry with his pastor, Reverend Benjamin Wooster. In 1801, he traveled back to Connecticut and received one of the first commissions from the new Missionary Society of Connecticut and began preaching at Underhill. He was licensed in 1802 and formally called as the first pastor of the church in 1803. It is still active today as the United Church of Underhill.[2] At the Church's centennial, Reverend S.L. Bates noted that Parker was a "faithful pastor and an interesting preacher, and though not a man of finished education, he was sound in his religious views and possessed many rare gifts."[3]

Like many Congregational ministers of the day, James Parker opposed war. On 7 June 1812, with war clouds rolling over the new city of Washington, he reacted to the impending conflict with England by preaching what several members of his congregation felt was a "political sermon," sending "all Federalists (or Washingtonians) to Heaven and all Republicans to hell, and to the lowest hell." His senior deacon was a Republican and in the following conflict Parker resigned, although he requested an Ecclesiastical Council to provide him with a formal dismissal. The Council met and decided that it was best to dissolve the pastoral relationship between Parker and his flock, but concluded "nothing has come before us which in our opinion ought to destroy our confidence in him as Minister of the gospel, and we accordingly recommend him to the Churches as a faithful laborer in the vineyard of our Lord."[4]

James spent the remainder of his life expanding the frontiers of the Congregationalists, traveling over a large portion of Northern Vermont and into Canada, preaching in log houses and barns, orga-

nizing churches, and establishing a pattern his son and grandson were to follow. He is buried in North Troy with the hills of Quebec in the background. Many years later, on 15 November 1898, Reverend Edwin Pond Parker, pastor of Second Congregational Church in Hartford, commemorated the centennial of The Missionary Society of Connecticut at a meeting of the Connecticut Congregational General Assembly in Danbury. He recalled many missionaries who labored as servants of the Society. Of Reverend James Parker he said, "One of his grandsons [Joseph Homer] is now the superintendent to missions in Oklahoma and holds a commission from this Society, and another grandson has the honor of addressing you on this occasion."[5]

Ammi James (1802–1877), the fourth of seven children, was born in Underhill and apprenticed to a store keeper until "the Lord called me to leave merchandise to others, and to enter… the work of the Christian ministry."[6] He began his studies in the famous "woodhouse school" of Reverend Josiah Hopkins of New Haven, an attic over the woodshed where thirty young men were prepared for the ministry. By 1828, when he was licensed to preach by the Addison County Association at Middlebury, good farm land was scarce and Congregational ministers were surplus. Farmers were going west and also north into the Eastern Townships which offered hardwood forests and gently rolling land, far superior to the rocks and mountains of northern New England. For many, the land was far more important than any feelings of nationality. After seeing "the nakedness of the land, in reference to the stated ordinances and institutions of religion," the new Reverend Parker decided that, "God helping me, I would try Canada." His specific site was suggested by a former liquor salesman who told him about an area seventy miles north of the border where a group of hard-working Vermonters had "no preaching of any sort" and had "no bad habits, except that they use a good deal of whiskey."[7] Ammi visited these settlers, and they pledged $300 a year if he would become their pastor. He agreed and obtained the first commission given by the Canadian Education and Home Missionary Society. In 1829, he settled in the Maple Grove that became Danville and spent his life ministering to his home congregation, participating in church affairs in Montreal, and organizing churches throughout the Townships.

Ammi's accounts of traveling through forests and snow to spread the Gospel provide an interesting parallel with his son's experiences with dust storms on the endless expanse of the prairies. Ammi's second church building in Danville, constructed at the end of his

career in 1875, continues to be used today as Trinity United Church where the congregation still remembers him as Father Parker.[8]

The Parker Family in Oklahoma, ca. 1895
The daughters are, clockwise, Gertrude Griswold Parker Morgan on her father's lap, Edna Winifred Parker Prouty, Mary Adella Parker Bort, Harriet Evelyn Parker Camden, Gail Marguerite Parker Eaton on her mother's lap, and Grace Graham Parker in front.

A few months after starting his ministry in Danville, Ammi James returned to Vermont and married Eveline Squier whose father had frequently traveled to Montreal on business and who had been living with and assisting her relatives, Reverend and Mrs. Hopkins. Eveline too authored a memoir where she noted that following their wedding they journeyed home to "a portion of God's heritage of great destitution."[9] At first they lived with a widower, and Eveline cared for his family. Later they built their own home, and the Parkers had a family of six girls and two boys. Three daughters also became engaged in teaching and church activities. Maria, the oldest, taught in area schools for many years, Miranda married Reverend John McKillican who was long associated with the Canada Sunday School Union, and Edna and her husband, Reverend David Watkins, were missionaries in Mexico. Eveline concluded her memoir with the eloquent insight "I have seen the wilderness bud and blossom as the rose."[10]

Ammi Parker has received attention from historians in recent years because of the manuscripts, letters, and sermons he left behind plus his important impact on the character of the Eastern Townships.[11] Professor J.I. Little explores Ammi's community role as a spiritual, moral, and educational leader and notes that his "lack of evangelical self-confidence, combined with his rather pragmatic outlook… no doubt reinforced the tolerant attitude which was an important asset in an ethnically and religiously mixed environment."[12] His strong temperance convictions probably tested that pragmatism.

The Making of a Home Missionary

Joseph Homer was born in 1848, attended local schools and the academy his father organized in Danville. His father's extensive memoirs reveal little about the Parker family, but it is clear that they decided that Joseph Homer should continue his education, and in 1866 he departed for Vermont and Middlebury College. The catalog for that period notes that candidates for admission to the freshman class would be examined in Latin grammar and writing, Greek grammar, Cicero's Orations, Virgil, Homer's Illiad, geography, arithmetic, and algebra.

The young student lived in Starr Hall, joined the Philomathesian Society, and became a member of Chi Psi, a fraternity that dominated Middlebury social life for many years. The available bits of information about his college days do not suggest that he was contemplating the ministry. Most of the books he checked out of the library, for example, were not on religious subjects. After graduation in 1869, he taught for a year in a Vermont academy and then entered Chicago Theological Seminary. Unlike his father and grandfather, he did not record a reason for entering the ministry. A hint of a possible change is contained in a letter written in 1872 from a Middlebury classmate, then in a Chicago law firm, to Parker's college roommate. "Parker is not as he used to be, being muchly sobered down. His health is not good."[13] Although Parker led an extremely vigorous life for the next thirty years, he periodically suffered from severe migraine headaches, triggered by periods of intense physical and mental activity.

He graduated from the seminary in 1873, became a U.S. citizen, and assumed his first pastorate. Like his father, he choose to serve expatriate Vermonters. For perhaps the only time in his career, however, his match with his parishioners in Vermontville, Michigan, was not successful. An 1897 history of that community notes that Reverend J. Homer Parker "was liberal in his views, persuasive in his speech, and gifted with considerable eloquence; but his new ways were not quite to the liking of the old heads with their fixed New England notions."[14] It was there, however, that he met his wife and career partner, Carrie Adella Griswold, the daughter of one of the original settlers.[15]

In late 1874, Parker became pastor of the Congregational Church in Pontiac, Michigan. Although successful, his heritage apparently began to guide him away from established urban churches, and when offered the pastorate of a new Home Mission church in Bay City, Michigan, he quickly accepted. For three years he worked hard to

expand and serve the congregation, but the headaches returned and forced him to resign in 1879.[16]

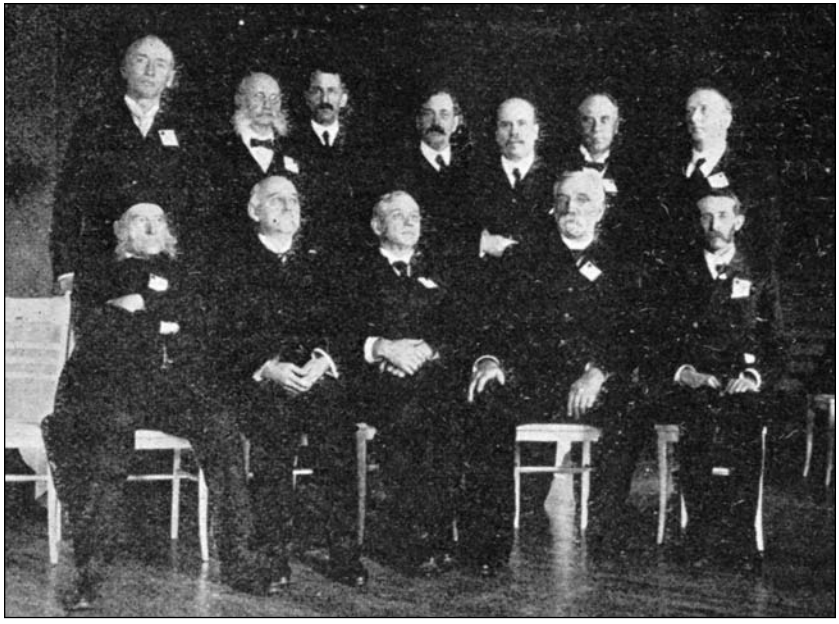
He recuperated, as he commented later, by obtaining a commission from the AHMS to conduct an exploratory tour of Chippewa County on Michigan's Northern Peninsula during November for the grand sum of eighteen dollars. The Parkers then spent almost two years in Peoria, Illinois, where he was an associate pastor. That too, however, was an established church, and in 1882 he was ready for a new frontier and decided to try the South.

The South

Atlanta, although not a frontier city when the Parkers with their three daughters journeyed there in April of 1882, was in the process of becoming the industrial leader of the post Civil War South. As such, it had many frontier characteristics: rapid migration from other parts of the country, industrial growth, land speculation, and new cultural and religious institutions. In addition, the entire South was essentially new territory for Congregationalists. First Congregational Church was founded in Atlanta in 1867, but its membership was predominately black. Northerners who were becoming part of Atlanta's growing business and professional core were not attending. Parker did not enter the South as a minister, however, but as secretary of the fledgling Atlanta YMCA, a role change that had little impact on his organizational style. YMCA activities were included in the church notes section of the *Atlanta Constitution,* gospel meetings were held on Sunday afternoons, a choral union was organized, and special meetings were scheduled for lawyers, merchants, mechanics, and boys under fifteen.

Within weeks of his arrival, Parker was also talking with Atlanta residents about forming a second Congregational Church, one that would appeal to Northern immigrants. To the later surprise of many Congregationalists, one of the major proponents was Reverend Joseph E. Roy, Atlanta field superintendent for the American Missionary Association (AMA). The AMA was a Congregational society whose domestic role was organizing schools and churches serving blacks and Native Americans. The group quickly enlisted the support of Reverend James H. Harwood of St. Louis, the AHMS superintendent for the area. Harwood traveled to Atlanta for a meeting on 6 September 1882, where a motion by "Bro. Parker" to begin regular weekly meetings in the YMCA was adopted.[17] Thus, Piedmont Congregational Church was organized with fourteen members.

A month later, Piedmont elected Reverend Parker as pastor at a



A Group of Superintendents, ca 1906.
Parker is seated second from right. Source: The Home Missionary, *March, 1907, 360.*

salary of $1,200 a year. He resigned from the YMCA and went to work exhibiting a pattern which became his hallmark for home mission activity. In addition to Sunday morning and evening preaching services, Sunday school, and Wednesday prayer meetings, he organized weekly groups for women, men, and young people and started a newspaper, *The Southern Congregationalist*. The paper's masthead carried the motto which reflected Parker's personal mission for his church and himself: "Possess Thou The West And The South." In addition, he immediately established mission churches at area cotton mills which included both day and night schools for mill workers and their children.

While his father had exhibited a conservative attitude toward distinguishing between church and society, Joseph Homer ranged far beyond church doctrine in his activities and sermons which were often addressed to those not familiar with the "Congregational Way."[18] "Citizens and strangers" were invited to hear sermons titled "Gifts of God," "Significant Saloon Signs," and "Mind Thine Own Business." Like his father, he was active in the Temperance movement and was appointed a state organizer by the Grand Lodge of the Knights of Temperance.

Parker's schedule was punishing, and the headaches returned in

the summer of 1884, compelling him to resign. He held an AHMS commission at one of the cotton mill missions for several months, however, with a growing family that included four daughters, he needed full-time employment. Early in 1885, he accepted a pastorate in Storm Lake, Iowa.

Although Piedmont was launched with the blessings of the leadership of both missionary societies, it immediately sailed into a storm. As the excellent centennial history of the congregation reports, creation "of a Congregational church for whites touched off a debate within denominational circles that would last almost to the end of the century."[19] The Congregational press, led by its national journals the *Advance*, the *Independent*, and the *Congregationalist*, entered into a heated discussion over the "Color-Line," the popular name for segregated churches. The debate was focused not only on the issue of separate churches – although Piedmont was never mentioned by name – but also on the geographical assignments of the two missionary societies.[20] Parker was probably hurt most by the Vermont *Chronicle* which devoted the front page of its 21 September 1883, issue to a letter and an editorial telling the AHMS to stay out of AMA territory. The argument continued through the October issues, including a letter by Harwood defending the AHMS. In the first issue of the *Southern Congregationalist*, Parker responded:

> We invite the editor of the Vermont Chronicle and all C. L. Congregationalists down to visit us. If there is no better work in the Green Mountain State than setting up a man of straw to fire at we will furnish you, brethren, the "man of sin" down here to aim your weapons at, if you load them with gospel ammunition. Get facts, brethren, before you *blackball* all "us white folks."[21]

Parker was riled, and his response did not reflect his normal, educated and deliberate, writing style. Dealing with the controversy, however, fell to Parker's successors, and he apparently guided the congregation in selecting them. Immediately following was Reverend Zachary Eddy from Detroit who had preached at the dedication of Parker's new building back in Bay City. Eddy considered Piedmont the pastorate of his "old age." George Turk, a Canadian Methodist served as interim pastor for a year and was followed in 1888 by Reverend Alvin Foote Sherrill, another "son of the Eastern Townships." In 1837, Ammi Parker had attracted E.J. Sherrill from the States as pastor of the church at Eaton Corner, and Alvin Foote was born there in 1842. He graduated from McGill and Andover Theological Seminary and was pastor in Omaha, Nebraska, for seventeen years

before moving to Atlanta. He was later professor and dean at Atlanta Theological Seminary.

The evidence is inconclusive concerning whether Parker was a participant in a strategy developed by the two missionary societies to organize a second church in Atlanta or whether he was merely there at a time when a local group decided to form a church with the blessing of both the AMA and the AHMS. In 1954, Professor Richard Drake of Berea College reviewed the debate and concluded that "Congregationalism, like the country as a whole, began accommodating itself to the Southern attitude on race, and 'Jim Crow' had found a home even in the 'pure church' of the Pilgrims…."[22]

The West

Wichita, Kansas, was evolving from its "cow town" days into a rail and manufacturing center by 1885. Growth was rapid, and land speculation was a popular game. During the first five months of 1887, for example, the young town trailed only New York and Kansas City in real estate transfers.[23] Religious denominations were "competing for souls" in Wichita much as they had in the Eastern Townships a century earlier. Congregationalists were among the last to organize, but a group of New Englanders began to meet and, with the aid of the AHMS, they established Plymouth Congregational Church. During the summer of 1885, they invited Reverend Parker to preach and a few weeks later selected him as their first "called minister." The Parker family left Iowa after only a few months and headed west to Wichita, their seventh home in twelve years.

With the exception of the comment from Vermontville there is little evidence that Parker was spellbinding in the pulpit. His skills were organizational and entrepreneurial. His wife Carrie wonderfully complemented these skills. While her primary responsibilities were running a home with young children, supervising their frequent moves, and cooking for the constant flow of people Joseph Homer brought home for dinner, the record is clear that she was a pastor's wife exemplar. Plymouth immediately held Sunday morning and evening services plus Sunday School, Bible study on Monday, prayer meetings on Thursday, and groups for women, men, and young people throughout the week. Carrie was the key to organization and production of church activities, particularly music, women's groups, and church suppers. The monthly theme suppers were fundraisers with the Parker daughters providing music. An orchestra was organized, and Parker started a newspaper, the *Western Evangelist.* In November, Joseph Homer's sister and her husband, Edna and David

Watkins who were missionaries in Mexico, spoke at a number of Wichita churches.

Early in 1886, a small church building was ready for occupancy. Parker's Sunday morning sermons were traditional, but for the evening service he turned his attention to the city with such topics as "Is There a Devil?" "God in Wichita and How He is Treated," "The Ethics of Baseball," "The Best Bank in Wichita to Deposit In and Check From," and "Should Women Vote?" The suffrage movement in Wichita met at the Parker home and at Plymouth Church.

By the summer of 1887, Plymouth membership had grown to 113, and Reverend Parker began his third year in Wichita with a sermon titled "Congregationalism in America." In it he provided an explanation for the zeal with which he carried out his role in the home missionary movement and in, as well, the larger American concept of "manifest destiny." He noted that "this American Republic belongs to Congregationalists. We have a preemptive right to this vast domain."[24]

When the Parkers arrived in Wichita, most religious groups were in the process of starting or planning a college, and Joseph Homer was not to be left behind. Early in 1886, he began talking with Wichita businessmen about forming a school. Many denominational colleges were one part religion, one part community building and one part land speculation. The Parker group formally organized in December of 1886 and announced plans for Wichita Ladies' College. Why a college for women? Available documents hint at no answer to the question. Perhaps it was because all of the other proposed schools in Wichita were for men, or perhaps because the Congregationalists already had a college in Kansas (Washburn in Topeka) which was for men, or perhaps it was because the fifth Parker daughter arrived in 1886.

Responding to the practices of "boom town" Wichita, the new college Board of Trustees, with Parker as president, advertised for bids for location of the college. The best offer of land and money came from a group promoting a development several miles from the city on Fairmount Hill, overlooking the Arkansas River Valley. In recognition, the name was changed to Fairmount Ladies' College. Work began on a building which broke with the tradition of New England liberal arts colleges where the main building usually faced inward to a campus quadrangle, or oval, surrounded by other buildings. Instead, Parker directed his building to the west, facing away from the proposed campus but toward the frontier. He also organized Fourth Congregational Church to be the college church even though

the AHMS opposed a fourth congregation in Wichita. This church exists today as Fairmount Church.

In the summer of 1887, he spent several weeks visiting Smith and Wellesley to prepare for the new college. By 1888, however, the headaches returned and he was often absent from the pulpit. In late August, he resigned because of "ill health" and began working full-time for the college with the title of Fiscal Agent at a salary of one hundred dollars a month plus travel expenses. Parker filled the Plymouth pulpit on occasion for several months and was greatly missed by the congregation. One Wichita newspaper editorialized, "There are some men whose places cannot be filled by others and their removal creates a condition something like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out of the cast."[25]

The record is not clear concerning whether or not Parker intended, at any point, to become the college president. The question becomes moot, however, because the economic depression that began in 1887 hit Wichita exceptionally hard. Construction stopped on the building and, in late 1888, plans to open the college in January 1889 were cancelled. The recession forced many college supporters to leave and the building stood unfinished on Fairmount Hill. The Board finally opened an academy in 1892 which was expanded to a coeducational, four-year institution when Fairmount College began classes in 1895. Of the many colleges started and planned in Wichita in the 1880s, only Fairmount survived. One important reason was Parker's selection of key businessmen in the community to serve on the Board. He was not concerned with their specific church affiliation and, in fact, the Board had a Jewish member in 1887, a rare happening in the nation for that era. In 1926, Fairmount became the Municipal University of Wichita and in 1964 it entered the Kansas system as Wichita State University. Of the more than forty American colleges and universities founded by the Congregationalists, Wichita State University is the largest.[26]

When plans for the college collapsed in 1888, Parker needed a job. He became pastor of Bethany Church in Chicago, however, his family remained in Wichita. Parker was in Chicago on Easter Sunday in 1889 when Oklahoma Territory opened for settlement the next day with the first of its famous "land runs."[27]

Our Possibilities Will Be Grand

Although the AHMS, now solely supported by Congregationalists, was not officially represented on that exciting day in 1889, Reverend Richard Baxter Foster did accompany the land seekers, and in the

afternoon he preached from a wagon in the instant city of Stillwater. Foster, whom Parker had wanted as minister of his Fairmount College church, was pastor in Cheney, a town near Wichita. He had commanded black troops in the Civil War and then founded what is now Lincoln University in Missouri. When Foster returned to Kansas a few days later, he wrote the AHMS and recommended that the Congregationalists should "enter the field" with Parker as General Missionary. The Society agreed, and soon Parker was in the Territorial capital of Guthrie organizing his first church in the shanty of a couple he had married years before in Bay City. The new Territory contained about 3100 square miles, less than half the size of the Eastern Townships, but Joseph Homer Parker had found his frontier and the role he wanted to play in it.

The job of the general missionary was to organize churches and recruit ministers, skills that were Parker's strength. He enticed a number of Kansas colleagues to join him, including Reverend Jeremiah Evarts Platt to be in charge of Sunday schools. Reverend Foster was asked to form a permanent church in Stillwater, and it was in Foster's church that today's Oklahoma State University held its first classes.

Abraham Jefferson Seay was a justice of the Territorial Supreme Court and a proponent of Kingfisher as the permanent Territorial capital. Seay and Parker became friends, and Parker elected to locate his "mother" church in Kingfisher. Kingfisher ultimately lost the contest to Oklahoma City, a serious setback for both the town and for Congregationalism which, in its fierce competition with other denominations for members, ultimately found itself geographically disadvantaged. Men with Parker's ability were in short supply and he was selected as county superintendent of schools. He maintained his home in Kingfisher, although he spent much of his time either traveling or in Guthrie twenty miles to the east. His diary for December 1891 records that he visited 17 congregations in 21 days, covering 300 miles by rail and buggy.[28] In 1892, Seay became Governor and appointed Parker to the highest paying Territorial position, Superintendent of Public Instruction and Auditor. With two territory-wide jobs he was busier than ever, however, as he was fond of saying, "we are in Oklahoma, not for sightseeing, but for soul-saving."[29]

By 1893, the Territory, greatly expanded in area, wanted its own missionary district, separate from St. Louis. Opinion was divided, however, on whether or not Joseph Homer should be appointed superintendent as long as he held public office. The national headquarters in New York also expressed concern. Parker fought back, as

had his father 60 years earlier when confronted with what he thought were bureaucratic colonial rules.[30] He marshaled letters of support, and on 23 March 1893, wrote Reverend William Kincaid, Secretary of the AHMS, a ten-page letter stating that he would accept a salary of $1,300 (less than other Superintendents) and would need no traveling or office expenses. He pointed out that he could handle both jobs when traveling and save the Society funds that could be devoted to additional missionaries. His heart was with the Society, however, and he wrote "there is no work in the world I love as I do this," agreeing to resign the Territorial position if required.[31] His arguments won: Reverend Parker was appointed Superintendent of both Oklahoma and Indian Territories and allowed to keep his public office.[32]

Parker organized the Gospel Wagon in 1891 to reach the numerous scattered settlements. Staffed with a young minister and two recent college graduates, equipped with an organ given by Bethany Church in Chicago, utilizing song books donated by Plymouth Church in Wichita, and pulled by a good team of horses, the Gospel Wagon set off on a two year tour of Oklahoma. The climate was always a challenge with swollen summer streams and frozen winter rivers the norm. Miss Dean Moffatt, a visiting missionary from Boston, wrote of traveling through the Territory with Reverend Parker in 1894 and of stopping at a sod house near the first church they were to visit to remove some of the accumulated dust. "I got the outside of it off, but it took me a long time to get the sand out of my ears; and as I met the twinkling eye of Mr. Parker, I knew he was enjoying one of my first impressions of Oklahoma."[33]

Reverend W. G. Puddefoot, Field Secretary of the AHMS, wrote of his 1895 travels with Parker to dedicate three churches west of Enid. Waiting at one church and looking over the prairie Puddefoot saw dark spots that grew larger, turning into people, and commented, "'They appear as if rising from the ground.' 'Well, [said Parker, referring to the dugout homes] most of them are.'"[34]

The 16 September 1893, opening of the Cherokee Outlet, popularly but erroneously termed the Cherokee Strip, was probably the most storied of the Oklahoma land runs. In one sense it represented the pinnacle of the frontier as on that day one hundred thousand settlers, including more than a few malcontents and ruffians, sought their vision of the American dream. The Strip was a rich prairie, more than fifty miles wide and extending along the Kansas border for three times that distance. Today it has a population of more than 110 000, including the city of Enid.

Parker envisioned this future, but as usual he was short of funds and the Congregational requirement that ministers devote full-time to serving a single church seemed to place him at a disadvantage when competing with the Methodists and their circuit riders and the Baptists whose pastors often had their own farms. For months he had been pleading for funds from Society headquarters and informing them in almost military terms that he had good men ready to go in and "occupy" a few of the "pivotal points." Secretary Kincaid responded with $1,500. On April 5, Parker wrote back to thank him but also commented:

> It is far too small, but I believe the Com. did the best it could under the circumstances. Is this our absolute limit? Can we stretch this somewhat? Some of the largest towns in the Territory will be in there, and we ought to have a strong connecting link with Kansas.... Our possibilities there will be grand.[35]

On the eventful day, Parker was on the starting line north of Hennessey and close to the Rock Island Railroad, a point where 10 000 entered the Strip. There were horseman, buggies, heavy wagons loaded with merchandise, and a train with three engines and forty stock cars "filled and covered, sides and top, with living humanity." Eleven minutes before noon a false signal was given, and "the prairie was covered with the myriad racers." He followed in his buggy for several miles and told his readers:

> I wanted to shout with the shouting thousands on the train one moment, and then I found my throat filling and my eyes weeping the next. I went home a much more thoughtful man than I went to that scene, and suffered with ache of head and heart for forty-eight hours upon my bed as I have seldom suffered.[36]

Reverend Parker continued his article with a plea for funds and a comment on the nature of the Oklahoma land runs which he said aided "the gambler, the adventurer, and the dishonest speculator."

> Hundreds of souls can be saved, if God's people will give us but a few hundred dollars to tide over until titles are settled and owners compromise, or the better one kills the other; when with the aid of the Congregational Building Society, we will build permanently for our work.[37]

The Strip spawned a number of growing communities and by 1894 Oklahoma Territory, by then about half the size of today' state, had 63 churches with 1563 members.[38] Guthrie had a separate congregation for blacks. Both Parker and Governor Seay pushed for "equal

school privileges" for black children, and children of both races attended the public school in Kingfisher at that time.

For Parker, a church newspaper and college were necessary components of settlement, thus, the *Oklahoma Outlook* was launched. Kingfisher College, where Parker Hall faced the West, opened in 1895, the same year as Fairmount, and the two soon became football rivals. He also started academies in Cushing and Carrier to serve rural areas without high schools and to function as feeders for the College. Kingfisher College pioneered the development of work programs to support students with broom and concrete stone factories and a college farm. The College produced several Rhodes scholars but was isolated from what became the population centers, and it could not compete with state institutions. It closed during World War I and did not reopen afterward. It lives on, however, in the Kingfisher College Chair of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics at the University of Oklahoma.

Homespun fun was a part of Oklahoma life a century ago. Gail, the youngest of the Parker daughters, wrote a fascinating account of growing up in Kingfisher and attending the college there. Her memoir begins when her father, who was at his office in Guthrie, received a telegram stating "Come home and see Number 6." She reports her father as observing, "What chance does one lone man have in a house with a wife and six daughters? It is surely 'The House of the Seven Gabblers.'" According to Gail:

> Our home was free food and lodging for all ministers and their families.... The "gabblers," young and older, gave up their beds, slept, though it might be grumbling secretly to each other, on the floor, and ate at the second or third table.... How excited we always were when the missionary barrels arrived from the East, and how very often we were disappointed when the contents, often motheaten and buttonless, were unpacked.... When I was still very young my parents bought acreage just outside Kingfisher, and Mother, though she had sworn as a girl that she would marry neither a minister nor a farmer, now was the wife of both.... Those were busy happy days. Hayrides, taffy pulls, tacky parties may sound like tame entertainment to the young people of today, but no one had more fun on less money than we did in those days.[39]

Another daughter, Harriet Parker Camden, wrote the words and music for "Oklahoma, A Toast," the official Territorial and State song until it was replaced in 1953 by Rogers and Hammerstein's popular hit, "Oklahoma."

Parker retired in 1906, a year before Oklahoma became a state. He was only fifty-eight, but contemporary photographs reveal the impact of his active frontier life. He had carried Oklahoma Congregationalism to its pinnacle. In 1911, there were 63 churches with 3745 members. By 1947, shortly before their merger into the United Church of Christ (UCC), the Congregationalists had declined to 26 churches with 2208 members, concentrated in the larger cities. The New England business community and the Congregational Home Missionary Society had lost interest in aiding struggling churches on the essentially settled frontier and shifted their attention to growing immigrant populations on the east and west coasts. In similar fashion, Fairmount College faced closing as Eastern support for buildings and operating expenses withered, but it found a new beginning as the first municipal university west of the Mississippi.

Membership in the Kingfisher Church also was declining, and Joseph Homer came out of retirement to again serve as its pastor. He officiated at the marriage of his youngest daughter on Christmas day in 1914, and in the summer of 1915 the Father of Congregationalism in Oklahoma died after several months of illness. Joseph Homer and Carrie Adella Griswold Parker are buried in Kingfisher Memorial Cemetery.

A Century Later

Ultimately, the frontiers of the New World did not embrace the *Congregational Way* to the extent envisioned by the Reverends James, Ammi James, and Joseph Homer Parker. Church buildings and members, however, were not the only product of the home mission effort, particularly during the last half of the nineteenth century. Joseph Homer's congregation-building activities – the clubs, dinners, newspapers, music groups, schools, social activism like advocating women's suffrage – placed him at the hub of that which brought cultural and social enrichment to the people who ventured into unsettled forests and prairies. And it was all fostered with an undiminished dream of a better tomorrow.

More directly, the Parker's legacy continues today as students fill classrooms at Wichita State University and as congregations occupy pews in churches across the continent. Among them are United Church in Underhill, Trinity United Church in Danville, Plymouth-Trinity United Church in Sherbrooke, First Congregational UCC in Bay City, Central Congregational UCC (Piedmont) in Atlanta, Plymouth Congregational and Fairmount Congregational UCC in Wichita, Mayflower (Pilgrim) Congregational UCC in Oklahoma

City, and Federated Church in Kingfisher. Like so many unsung heroes, Joseph Homer Parker created futures in many locales.

NOTES

1. For a general account of the American Home Missionary Society (AHMS) in the United States, see Joseph B. Clark, *Leavening the Nation: The Story of American Home Missions* (New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1903); and Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1939). Another excellent source is *The Home Missionary,* the monthly magazine of the Society which was first published in 1828 and merged with *The American Missionary* in 1909.
2. The AHMS established religion on the frontier by initially giving commissions to ministers who would help communities organize and then by providing financial assistance to pay pastors until a church became self-sufficient. Usually each state or territory had a resident superintendent, although sometimes they were grouped.
3. S.L. Bates, *The Continuity of Labor, An Historical Sketch of the First Congregational Church, Underhill, Vermont* (Burlington: M.D.L. Thompson, 1901), 9.
4. United Church of Underhill, Vermont, *Record Book* (typescript), pp.119–121.
5. Edwin Pond Parker, *Historical Discourse in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, 1798–1898* (Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1898), 24. Other sources for James Parker's ministry include John M. Comstock, *The Congregational Churches of Vermont and their Ministry, 1762–1942, Historical and Statistical* (St. Johnsbury: the Cowles Press, 1942); and Azel Washburn Wild, "Early History of Congregationalism in Vermont," manuscript, Congregational Library, Congregational House, Boston.
6. Ammi James Parker, manuscript, United Church of Canada Archives, Eastern Townships Research Centre (ETRC), Bishop's University (5/PAR/4), 33. The Parker collection contains three manuscripts, sermons, letters, and other related items.
7. Ammi James Parker, 38, 40.
8. In 1949 Reverend Albert Hinton, who served as minister of Trinity United Church in Danville during the Second World War, commemorated Ammi's life with an historic poem, "Father Parker of Danville." United Church Archives, ETRC, 5/PAR/6, d.

9. Eveline Parker, "Squier Family Record," 14 March 1884, manuscript in Parker collection of the author, photocopy, 2.
10. Eveline Parker, 2.
11. Portions of Ammi Parker's manuscripts have been published. See Douglas Walkington, "To Prevent the Heathenising of Christians: The Memoirs of Rev. Ammi James Parker," *Bulletin of the Congregational Library, 31*, 2 (1980); Nathan H. Mair, ed., *Ammi Parker's Memorial of the Pioneers of the Eastern Townships of Quebec: Write this for a Memorial in a Book* (Montreal: The Archives Committee of the Montreal and Ottawa Conference of the United Church of Canada, 1985); and J. I. Little, "Perils in the Wilderness: Pioneer Tales from the Reverend Ammi Parker's 'Memories of Life in Canada,'" *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, *5,* fall 1994: 99–125.
12. J. I. Little, "Serving 'The North East Corner of Creation': The Community Role of a Rural Clergyman in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, 1829–1870," *Histoire sociale/Social History, 30*, 59 (1997): 52. See also Françoise Noël, *Competing for Souls: Missionary Activity and Settlement in the Eastern Townships, 1784–1651* (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke, 1988): 179–195.
13. Letter to Frederick Draper Mussey, 22 June 1872, Frederick D. Mussey file, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vermont. The author of the letter is unknown. Mussey, a journalist, was president of the Washington D.C. Gridiron Club in 1890.
14. Edward W. Barber, *The Vermontville Colony: Its Genesis and History, with Personal Sketches of the Colonists* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Company, n.d.), 58.
15. George M. Platt, "Carrie Adella Griswold, Fairmount's Founding Lady," in *Presidential Partners: First Ladies of the University*, ed. James J. Rhatigan (Wichita: The Wichita State University Foundation, 2002): 1–5.
16. *A Souvenir Booklet* (Bay City, MI: First Congregational Church-BUCC, 1990).
17. Central Congregational Church of Atlanta, Georgia, *Book I* [of the church records], 5. Piedmont changed its name twice in a short period, first to Church of the Redeemer and then to Central Congregational Church. In the 1960s it relocated from downtown Atlanta to a suburban site.
18. Professor Little discusses Ammi Parker's "reservations about quick conversions" in *Community Role of a Rural Clergyman*: 29–36.
19. Robert C. McMath, ed., *A Southern Pilgrimage: Central Congregational Church of Atlanta, Georgia, 1882–1982* (Atlanta: Central

Congregational Church, 1982), 21. Although Joseph Homer Parker probably had little contact with blacks before Atlanta, his father, according to Eastern Township legend, played a significant role in bringing Reverend Alexander Twilight to teach in the Eastern Townships in 1847. Twilight, who graduated from Middlebury in 1823, was the first black citizen to earn a degree from an American college. Bernard Epps has written an interesting article about him: "Pioneer Teachers in the Townships: Twilight's Academy in Richmond," *Sherbrooke Record*, September 9, 1988, 5.

20. In September 1883, the AMA devoted a major portion of its magazine, *The American Missionary* (*33*, 9: 267–278) to opinions printed in various Congregational publications concerning "The Color-Line."

21. *Southern Congregationalist*, November 1883, 3.

22. Richard B. Drake, "The Growth of Segregation in Congregationalism in the South," *The Negro History Bulletin, 21* (March 1958): 137.

23. L. Curtise Wood, *Dynamics of Faith: Wichita 1870–1897* (Wichita: Wichita State University, 1969), 106.

24. *Western Evangelist*, September 22, 1887, 1.

25. *Wichita Eagle*, January 14, 1889, 4.

26. For a history of Wichita State University, see Craig Miner, *Uncloistered Halls: The Centennial History of Wichita State University* (Wichita: Wichita State University Endowment Association, 1955) and George M. Platt, ed., *Standing Proudly On the Hill*: *A Pictorial History of Wichita State University 1895–1995* (Wichita: Wichita State University Centennial Committee, 1995).

27. Prior to 1889 the land now comprising the state of Oklahoma, with the exception of the Panhandle, was open for settlement only to Native Americans. Then in a series of openings culminating in 1896, homesteads and town lots were made available to the public. A variety of methods were used, including allotments, sealed bids, a lottery, and the most famous, at least in folklore, the *land runs* where prospective claimants were required to wait at starting lines until a specific time and then race to physically occupy parcels which they could then claim. Runs were used in the initial opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889 and the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. For further information about the runs, see H. Wayne Morgan and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977): 42–71.

28. J.H. Parker, "Oklahoma," *The Home Missionary, 54* (March 1892): 523–524.

29. J.H. Parker, "Oklahoma," *The Home Missionary*, *64* (July 1901): 22.

30. See Little, "Community Role of a Rural Clergyman," 36.
31. J.H. Parker to William Kincaid, 23 March 1893, Parker collection of the author, photocopy. The Amistad Research Center at Tulane University has a collection of the AHMS papers which includes a few Parker letters. The Amistad Center also has the archives of the Congregational Church Building Society which include many Parker letters about construction of churches. The Congregational Library in Boston has yearbooks and minutes of the Congregational Association of Oklahoma from 1890–1918, except for 1896 and 1912.
32. In one sense, the issue became moot when Cleveland was again elected President and appointed a new Territorial Governor. Parker refused to resign, claiming he was appointed for a specific term, leading to a landmark court case in the United States concerning tenure of appointed officials (Cameron v. Parker, 2 Okl. 277; 38, 14, 1894).
33. M. Dean Moffatt, "First Impressions of Oklahoma," *The Home Missionary, 57* (August 1895): 226.
34. W.G. Puddefoot, *The Minute Man on the Frontier* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1895): 309. Puddefoot does not identify Parker by name.
35. J.H. Parker to William Kincaid, 5 April 1893, Parker collection of the author, photocopy.
36. J.H. Parker, "Opening of the Cherokee Strip," *The Home Missionary,* 56 (January 1894): 451.
37. J.H. Parker, "Opening of the Cherokee Strip," 455.
38. Data about church numbers and membership are from the yearbooks published by the Congregational and Congregational Christian Churches through 1947.
39. Gail Parker Eaton, "The House of the Seven Gabblers," n.d., manuscript in the Parker collection of the author, photocopy, 1, 2, 6.

RÉMI TREMBLAY, LA PRESSE FRANCO-SHERBROOKOISE DU XIX^{E} SIÈCLE ET LE FAIT FRANCO-AMÉRICAIN

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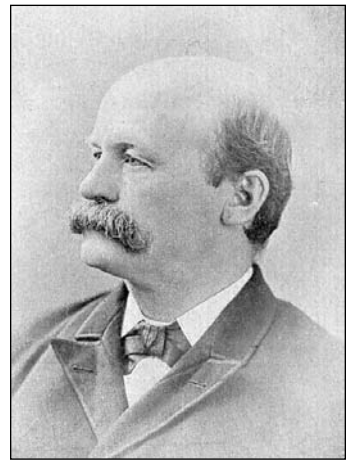
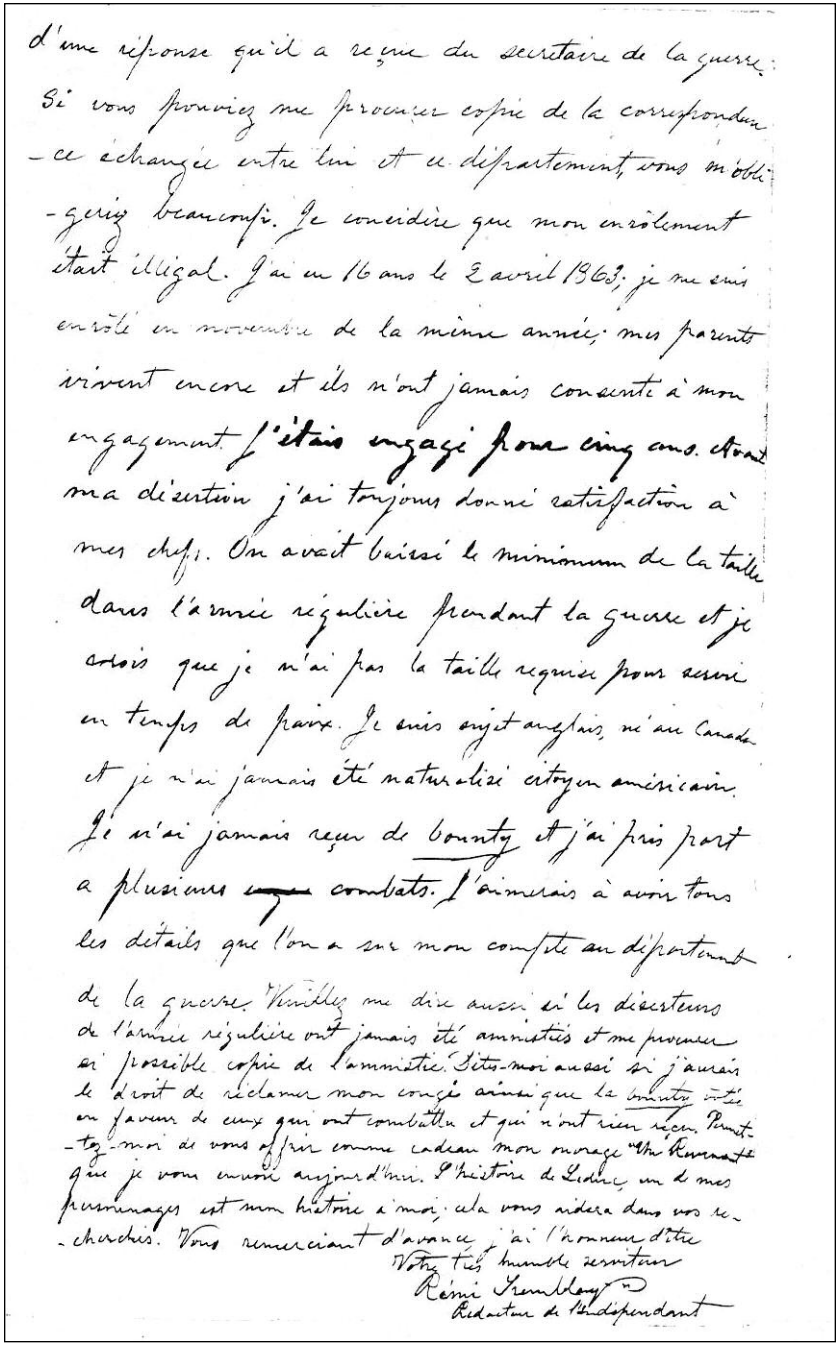
Rémi Tremblay : aventurier, journaliste, homme du monde

Journaliste d'indubitable réputation, l'estrien d'adoption Rémi Tremblay a publié, au cours de sa fructueuse carrière, plusieurs milliers d'articles et collaboré à toutes les revues et périodiques importants de la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} siècle et du début du XX^{e}. Il est l'auteur de deux romans, dont un seul est aujourd'hui connu, et de trois pièces de théâtre. Animateur culturel énergique, il a fondé et participé à de nombreuses associations communautaires, tant aux États-Unis qu'au Canada. Intransigeant, conscient de sa valeur, souvent arrogant dans ses interventions médiatiques, assuré de son droit, Rémi Tremblay s'est coupé bien des ponts des deux côtés de l'échiquier politique (libéral et conservateur), et son incapacité à passer l'éponge l'a très souvent empêché de rétablir des liens qui auraient autrement été naturels. Assoiffé de connaissances et de culture, cet autodidacte devenu polyglotte se fit, au crépuscule de sa vie, grand voyageur; il effectua deux fois le tour du monde et ses récits, publiés dans les journaux, bercèrent sans doute les rêves de bien des lecteurs et lectrices.



Rémi Tremblay dans les années 1880. Photographe inconnu.

Né le 2 avril 1847 à Saint-Barnabé (comté de Saint-Hyacinthe), Rémi Tremblay passa son enfance dans les campagnes du Québec avant de participer, en mai 1859, à l'exode américain des familles canadiennes-françaises désireuses de profiter de l'essor économique de



d'une réponse qu'il a reçue du secrétaire de la guerre.
Si vous pouviez me procurer copie de la correspondance échangée entre lui et ce département, vous m'obligeriez beaucoup. Je considère que mon enrôlement était illégal. J'ai eu 16 ans le 2 avril 1863. je me suis enrôlé en novembre de la même année; mes parents vivent encore et ils n'ont jamais consenti à mon engagement. J'étais engagé pour cinq ans. Durant ma désertion j'ai toujours donné satisfaction à mes chefs. On avait baissé le minimum de la taille dans l'armée régulière pendant la guerre et je crois que je n'ai pas la taille requise pour servir en temps de paix. Je suis sujet anglais, né au Canada et je n'ai jamais été naturalisé citoyen américain. Je n'ai jamais reçu de bounty et j'ai pris part à plusieurs ~~une~~ combats. J'aimerais à avoir tous les détails que l'on a sur mon compte au département de la guerre. Veuillez me dire aussi si les déserteurs de l'armée régulière ont jamais été amnistiés et me procurer si possible copie de l'amnistie. Dites-moi aussi si j'aurais le droit de réclamer mon congé ainsi que la bounty [illegible] en faveur de ceux qui ont combattu et qui n'ont rien reçu. Permettez-moi de vous offrir comme cadeau mon ouvrage "Un Revenant" que je vous envoie aujourd'hui. L'histoire de Lisbeth, un de mes personnages est mon histoire à moi; cela vous aidera dans vos recherches. Vous remerciant d'avance j'ai l'honneur d'être
Votre très humble serviteur
Rémi Tremblay
Rédacteur de l'Indépendant

Lettre de Rémi Tremblay au major Edmond Mallet, 10 septembre 1885 (Université d'Ottawa, Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française, Fonds Suzanne-Lafrenière. — p. 142).

la Nouvelle-Angleterre et fuir la misère des campagnes. La famille Tremblay, riche de ses neuf enfants, vendit sa résidence de Sainte-Victoire pour tenter l'aventure américaine. Après de brefs séjours à Worcester et Bremen, elle s'établit pour un temps à Fisherville où garçons, filles et parents trouvèrent emploi dans la manufacture de la municipalité. Puis, l'on déménagea à East Douglas, Woonsocket et Manville avant de revenir, en 1860, à Woonsocket, petit village de 3 000 âmes, dont une trentaine de familles canadiennes. Elle revint au pays à l'aube de la guerre de Sécession, mais le jeune Rémi reprit rapidement le baluchon pour marcher jusqu'à Rouse's Point, à la frontière américaine, et annoncer son désir de collaboration avec l'armée chargée, entre autres, de mettre fin à l'esclavagisme.

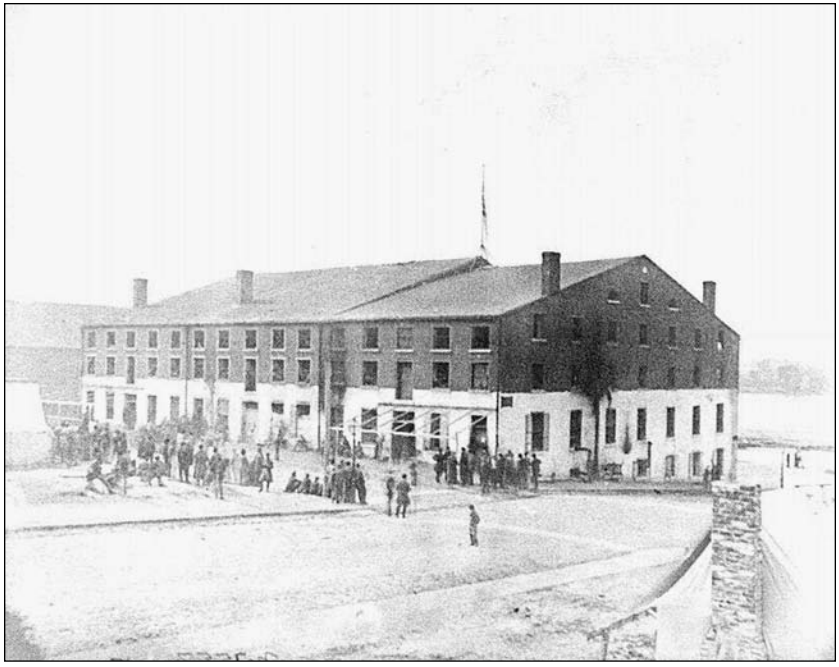
Son séjour dans l'armée américaine et sa participation à la guerre de Sécession seront à la source de son roman *Un Revenant*, paru en 1884 dans le journal *La Patrie*, puis quelques mois plus tard sous format livresque.[1] Lors d'une querelle au sujet de la différence entre la portion autobiographique de son roman et la fiction, il écrira au major Edmond Mallet, Canadien français héros de guerre :

> J'ai eu 16 ans le 2 avril 1863; je me suis enrôlé en novembre de la même année […] J'étais engagé pour cinq ans. Avant ma désertion j'ai toujours donné satisfaction à mes chefs. […] Je n'ai jamais reçu de bounty et j'ai pris part à plusieurs combats.[2]

Et il ajoutera ensuite, à la façon de Flaubert pour sa Mme Bovary : « l'histoire de Leduc [le protagoniste du roman], un de mes personnages, est mon histoire à moi.[3] »

Membre du XIV^e^ régiment d'infanterie régulière des États-Unis, le soldat Tremblay participa à plusieurs des grands affrontements de l'année 1864 : les batailles de Wilderness et Spotsylvania (5–7, 8–21 mai 1864), la bataille de la North Anna (22–26 mai), la bataille de Cold Harbor (1–12 juin), la bataille de Petersburg (16–18 juin) et son interminable siège (18 juin–2 novembre), le fiasco des mines du général Burnside (30 juillet) et la bataille du chemin de fer Weldon (18–21 août). Il fut ensuite, semble-t-il, capturé par les forces confédérées et dut subir pendant six mois les affres de l'une des plus atroces prisons du système pénitentiaire confédéré : la prison Libby, située à Richmond (Virginie). Libéré durant les derniers jours de la guerre, il affirme avoir alors déserté et être revenu au pays. En juin 1865, il fit un stage à l'École militaire de Montréal et obtint son brevet en février 1866.

L'année suivante, incapable de se trouver emploi qui vaille dans sa région natale, Rémi Tremblay retourna vers Woonsocket. En 1868, il se commit à ses premiers actes publics, patriotiques et communautaires :



Prison Libby, Richmond (Virginie) où le soldat Tremblay passa 6 mois.
[Richmond, Va. Front and side view of Libby Prison]. Gardner, Alexander, 1821–1882, photographer. 1865 April. No. 0462. Civil War photographs, 1861–1865 / compiled by Hirst D. Milhollen and Donald H. Mugridge, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977. Libre de droit.

la cofondation de l'Association Saint-Jean Baptiste de Woonsocket ainsi que celle d'un Club dramatique. Il décrocha à ce moment son premier emploi de journaliste correspondant, au *Protecteur canadien* de St-Albans, au Vermont (Antoine Moussette, dir.), rédigé alors par un abbé Druon, le premier prêtre canadien-français ayant exercé, aux États-Unis, la profession journalistique. Par l'intermédiaire de l'oncle de son beau-père, Louis-Charles Bélanger, l'autodidacte Rémi Tremblay, alors parfaitement bilingue et passionné par la langue française, obtint alors un premier poste dans un journal canadien, *Le Pionnier de Sherbrooke*, où il signa régulièrement, pendant près de trois ans, une chronique sur les États-Unis.

C'est à l'intérieur de ces pages qu'un Tremblay aux visions encore relativement conservatrices affronta pour la première fois les autorités ecclésiastiques, et perdit. Il dut mettre la clé dans la porte de sa résidence américaine, déménagea ses pénates dans les Cantons de l'Est et s'établit, en principe pour une vie plus paisible, sur une ferme de Clifton-Est, à quelques kilomètres de Sherbrooke. Durant cette période, il occupa semble-t-il divers emplois, tout en poursuivant son travail de

journaliste au *Pionnier de Sherbrooke* puis, temporairement, au *Progrès* de cette même municipalité. Ses trois fils naquirent dans la région durant les années 1870.

Le projet de recherche

Le projet de recherche actuellement en cours comporte deux volets. Le premier, ci-dessus introduit, consistera à retrouver, cataloguer, interpréter et évaluer, d'un point de vue sociohistorique, l'ensemble des articles écrits par Tremblay et publiés dans *Le Pionnier de Sherbrooke* et *Le Progrès*. Parallèlement, et dans la mesure du possible, des investigations seront entreprises afin de mieux saisir la participation de Tremblay dans sa communauté durant son long séjour dans les Cantons de l'Est, particulièrement durant la décennie des années 1870.

Le second volet du projet aura comme objectif l'examen de l'ensemble de la présence franco-américaine du XIX^{e} siècle dans ces deux journaux sherbrookois ainsi que, dans la mesure du possible, dans *Le Progrès de l'Est*. Il était en effet presque traditionnel, dans les journaux québécois de l'époque, de tenir une chronique plus ou moins régulière traitant de la vie des émigrés canadiens-français. En effet, à partir des années 1850, l'émigration occasionnelle de Canadiens français vers les États-Unis d'Amérique se transforma en véritable hémorragie, le Québec perdant à ce moment une portion importante de sa jeunesse. Le presque million de citoyens qui alla y habiter, majoritairement dans les états limitrophes du Québec et dans les états manufacturiers de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, ne coupa cependant jamais ses liens avec le territoire qu'il venait de quitter. Les quelques douzaines de journaux francophones que ces nouveaux Franco-Américains fondèrent se firent ainsi un devoir de garder en leurs pages une place de choix pour des chroniques le plus souvent intitulées « Nouvelles du Canada ». Inversement, et ce malgré une campagne fort négative envers eux – les conservateurs de l'époque traitaient souvent les émigrants de traîtres à la nation et de canailles – les journaux canadiens offrirent à leur tour aux Franco-Amércains des chroniques du type « Courrier des États-Unis ». Rémi Tremblay fut pour Sherbrooke le premier de ces correspondants.

L'objectif recherché sera la mise en lumière de l'image des Franco-américains véhiculée par l'ensemble des correspondants aux deux journaux sherbrookois et par le journal lui-même. Le dépouillement de ces deux journaux et l'obtention d'informations biographiques sur les divers correspondants (franco-américains et canadiens) permettront de dresser les grandes étapes de l'évolution idéologique des médias sherbrookois en regard du fait franco-américain.

NOTES

1. Une édition critique est actuellement en préparation et devrait paraître en automne 2003 : Rémi Tremblay, *Un Revenant. Épisode de la guerre de Sécession*, Jean Levasseur, éd., Sainte-Foy, Éditions de la Huit, 2003.
2. Université d'Ottawa, Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française, Fonds Suzanne-Lafrenière. — p 142. — Lettre de Rémi Tremblay au major Edmond Mallet, 10 septembre 1885.
3. *Idem*.

SOUVENIRS D'UN CANADIEN FRANÇAIS DE LA 13E GÉNÉRATION : M. GEORGES-ÉDOUARD FORTIER

Sylvie Fortier, *recherchiste*
Université Bishop's

Jean Levasseur, *directeur de projet*
Université Bishop's

L'ancêtre normand de M. Georges-Édouard Fortier, Noël Forestier (première génération), vint s'installer au Canada au début des années 1660. Nul ne peut dire avec certitude s'il était membre du Régiment de Carignan venu défendre la colonie contre les poussées guerrières iroquoises, mais l'on sait toutefois qu'il vint au pays en compagnie de son fils, Antoine. Après quelques années de durs labeurs à Beauport, les Fortier s'installèrent à l'Île d'Orléans. À la fois pêcheurs et cultivateurs, ils demeurèrent, d'une génération à l'autre, dans la région immédiate de Québec jusqu'en 1845. Le Québec compte alors près de 700 000 âmes et est aux prises avec de sérieux problèmes économiques. Après avoir pris possession peu à peu des basses terres le long du fleuve Saint-Laurent, les habitants avaient dû, sous les effets de l'intense poussée démographique des années 1820 à 1840 – la population avait augmenté de 270 000 habitants en vingt ans – se déplacer vers les plateaux laurentiens et appalachiens. Le monde agricole vivait alors des problèmes en apparence insolubles. L'ignorance en agronomie était endémique – on ne procédait ainsi à aucune rotation des sols – les infrastructures, responsabilité des seigneurs, étaient pratiquement inexistantes, la

Enfants de G.-E. Fortier.
Été de 1950 (photo de famille).

G.-E. Fortier.
Circa 1950 (photo de famille).

population explosait, mais l'intérêt pour la colonisation demeurait encore et toujours très limité, en raison des immenses difficultés et sacrifices qu'elle imposait à ses tenants. Pour ces raisons, près d'un million de Québécois profitèrent, dans le demi-siècle suivant, des avancées dans la construction des chemins de fer pour aller tenter fortune aux États-Unis, particulièrement en Nouvelle-Angleterre.

En 1845, les trois frères de la huitième génération de Fortier, Jacques, Joseph et André, choisirent au contraire de relever le défi du développement des régions et se firent colons défricheurs à Brougthon, en Beauce. L'histoire se répéta trois générations plus tard (onzième génération) alors que Léon Fortier (fils de Damase) acheta une terre à Saint-Isidore d'Auckland dans les Cantons de l'Est, au début des années 1900. Son fils aîné Joseph (douzième génération), à l'instar de ses frères d'ailleurs, fit à son tour l'acquisition d'une terre à défricher dans la paroisse. Quels souvenirs nous reste-t-il de cette valeureuse époque de défricheurs ?

Dans le projet de recherche intitulé *Souvenirs d'un Canadien français de la 13e génération : M. Georges-Édouard Fortier*, Georges-Édouard (1914–…), fils de Joseph, partage avec nous les multiples détails de sa vie et des souvenirs qu'il tient de ses grands-parents Léon (1871–1963) et Delvina Vachon (1869–1936) et de ses parents. Sa mère, Antoinette Roy, s'occupait de ses huit enfants ainsi que des cinq enfants de Joseph, issus d'un premier mariage. Elle battait la crème et cardait la laine, avant de cuisiner et coudre pour toute la famille. Elle s'occupait bien sûr de l'entretien de la maison et du lavage, ce qui ne l'empêchait pas de donner un coup de main à son mari et à ses fils pour les travaux des champs. Antoinette avait également un talent fort particulier, qui faisait ponctuellement accourir les cultivateurs de toute la région : elle tenait de Dieu le don de pouvoir prédire la température, et tous tenaient à savoir ce que l'été leur réservait. Ses prédictions, toujours très justes, permettaient par exemple de bien choisir les jours pour étendre le grain à sécher.

Doris et Angèle, filles aînées de G.-E. Fortier. Cabane en bois rond de Saint-Mathias. Circa 1940 (photo de famille).

Joseph Fortier (3e à gauche, rangée du bas) et Antoinette Roy (3ème à droite, rangée du bas), parents de G.-E. Fortier (2ème à droite, rangée du haut — photo de famille). Circa 1940.

Quant à son père Joseph (1889–1983), Georges-Édouard prend fierté à étaler ses nombreux talents pour la construction de cabanes à sucre et ses habiletés manuelles en général, qui lui permettaient de fabriquer adroitement quantité d'objets utilitaires, des raquettes aux traîneaux en passant par les plats de fonte. Toutefois, Joseph était d'abord et avant tout un cultivateur et un bûcheron, nouveau métier apparu avec le développement des régions au milieu du XIXe siècle. Georges-Édouard était très attaché à son père et partageait avec lui toutes les tâches : le train, les semences, les récoltes, les brûlis, le transport du bois, la chasse, les tournées pour aller porter la crème au village… Le jeune Georges-Édouard quitta donc rapidement l'école, où il avait déja l'honneur et la responsabilité de chauffer le poêle et de charrier l'eau, pour venir prêter main-forte à son père.

Le conservatisme religieux battait alors son plein et le clergé, soucieux de ne pas perdre d'âmes aux mains des séditieux protestants, s'assurait de maintenir pour ses ouailles un encadrement moral décent, qu'importe le lieu. Ainsi, d'un fort raisonnable ratio d'un prêtre pour 1080 fidèles en 1850, la société québécoise se targuera, quarante ans plus tard, d'un ratio encore plus impressionnant d'un prêtre pour 510 catholiques. Sous l'égide des paroisses, l'Église sera omniprésente, fondant partout, tant dans les villes que les campagnes, cercles, ligues, associations caritatives et organisations syndicales. À l'école de Georges-Edward, les enfants récitaient une prière le matin et le

Famille et enfants de G.-E. Fortier et Lucienne Bernier. Circa 1945 (photo de famille).

chapelet au début de l'après-midi. Les gens du village achetaient leur banc à l'église et parcouraient de grandes distances, beau temps – mauvais temps, pour célébrer la messe du dimanche. Il y avait également de nombreuses autres célébrations religieuses (les vêpres, le mois de Marie…) et les divers sacrements (baptême, confirmation, mariage…) étaient scrupu - leusement respectés. Les Fortier, comme tous les bons catholiques de leur époque, célébraient Noël après la messe de minuit et la messe de l'aurore. C'est avec un soupçon de douce nostalgie que Georges-Édouard Fortier nous raconte ces grands moments : les enfants de la campagne revenaient à la maison impatiemment pour sortir de leur bas une orange, des caramels, du *candy* ainsi que des arachides en écales, pendant que les grands festoyaient… de façon bien différente !

Quiconque a lu *Jean Rivard, défricheur* d'Antoine-Gérin Lajoie se souviendra du caractère particulièrement réservé, et familial, des fréquentations entre jeunes hommes et jeunes filles. Si cette forme n'était pas, au pays, universelle, elle répond toutefois fort bien à la tradition des liens pudiques qui se sont peu à peu tissés entre Georges-Édouard et sa future épouse, Lucienne Bernier, qu'il a rencontrée dans une soirée paroissiale organisée par les religieuses. Il a commencé par la reconduire chez elle, simplement, après les célébrations du mois de Marie où Lucienne chantait. Puis, plus tard, il commença à aller veiller à la maison familiale des Bernier, le samedi soir, après avoir fait le train et récité le chapelet avec sa famille. Il eut ensuite droit aux importantes et symboliques visites du dimanche soir; pendant ces rencontres, tant les parents que les enfants veillaient dans la cuisine où on jasait et jouait aux cartes.

Quoi de plus naturel donc que la célébration de leur mariage, en l'an de grâce 1936, après deux ans et demi de douces fréquentations ! Comme il se doit, Lucienne dut quitter son emploi d'institutrice, qu'on réservait alors pour les femmes célibataires. Les règles de travail des enseignantes étaient à l'époque on ne peut plus strictes : « Vous ne devez pas vous marier pendant la période de votre contrat » ; « Vous ne devez pas être vue en compagnie d'hommes » ; « Vous devez être disponible chez vous entre 8 h du soir et 6 h du matin » ; « Vous ne devez pas vous promener en voiture avec un homme à moins que ce ne soit votre père ou votre frère » ; « Vous devez porter vos jupes pas plus

Partie de sucre à Saint-Isidore. Circa 1910 (photo de famille).

que deux pouces au-dessus de la cheville », etc. Lucienne se consacra donc alors tout entier à son travail d'épouse et de mère.

Pendant ce temps, Georges-Édouard travaillait sur des terres et bûchait. Après quelques années vécues dans divers logements du village de Saint-Isidore, dans les Cantons de l'Est, le couple s'en fut, en compagnie de leurs deux jeunes filles, habiter à Saint-Mathias dans une cabane en bois rond que Georges-Édouard avait construite avec l'aide de son frère. Puis vint finalement l'achat d'une petite terre à Saint-Isidore ; en 1946 elle était cependant déjà trop petite pour suffire aux besoins de toute la maisonnée, et était en plus située un peu trop loin de l'école pour les besoins de leurs filles. Le couple opta donc pour un déménagement et l'achat d'une autre terre, à Abercorn, dans le comté de Sutton. Dans ce village où se côtoient tant les francophones que les anglophones, Georges-Édouard Fortier dresse un portrait de la vie quotidienne entre ces deux groupes.

Leurs conditions de vie n'étaient toutefois pas plus faciles qu'à Saint-Isidore et, l'hiver, Georges-Édouard devait faire comme plusieurs de ses compatriotes : s'expatrier aux États-Unis dans des camps de bûcherons pour suppléer à la faiblesse des revenus familiaux. Entretemps, Lucienne s'occupait des enfants, de la maison et des repas, tout en aidant son mari sur la terre durant la saison estivale. Couturière et tricoteuse adroite, elle habillait fièrement ses enfants. Elle jouait également de l'orgue et chantait aux messes du village.

Éventuellement, les femmes mariées purent reprendre leur profession d'enseignantes, et Lucienne redevint institutrice, cette fois-ci de la classe unique de l'école de Sutton Junction.

Les souvenirs de cet homme de la treizième génération sont en fait l'histoire de la participation des Canadiens français à toute la colonisation des Cantons de l'Est. Sur une période de quatre mois, durant l'été 2002, Mlle Sylvie Fortier, étudiante en Éducation à l'Université Bishop's, a procédé à une série d'entrevues avec son grand-père, se concentrant chaque fois sur des thèmes bien précis et historiquement représentatifs de la vie et de la société de son époque. Présenté, pour la première fois au Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est, sous format DVD, un format vivant, durable, simple à manier et permettant des recherches rapides, *Souvenirs d'un Canadien français de la 13e génération : M. Georges-Édouard Fortier* témoigne avec passion et clarté du passé de nos courageux défricheurs. Le DVD est maintenant disponible à la salle de consultation (Old Library) de l'édifice McGreer de l'Université Bishop's.

FORM AND FUNCTION OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS: STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL

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Cedric Bourgeois, *research assistant*
Bishop's University

The Eastern Townships has an undeniably unique landscape. This uniqueness can be attributed to the many cultural groups that began settlement of the region as early as 1790. The first settlers came from the New England states and were followed by immigrants of British origin (i.e., English, Scottish, Irish) in the 1820s and migrating French Canadians in the 1850s. The presence of each one of these cultural groups in the region is reflected in the landscape. Churches have become important distinctive elements of the region's landscape characterising the presence of these different cultural groups at different times and in different locations. Over the last few decades many of these churches have experienced decreasing membership while increasing costs have compelled their congregations and communities to develop strategies for survival. (The word survival in the context of this study is not used in reference to the survival of a particular religious denomination, but rather the survival of a church structure as an element of a community.)

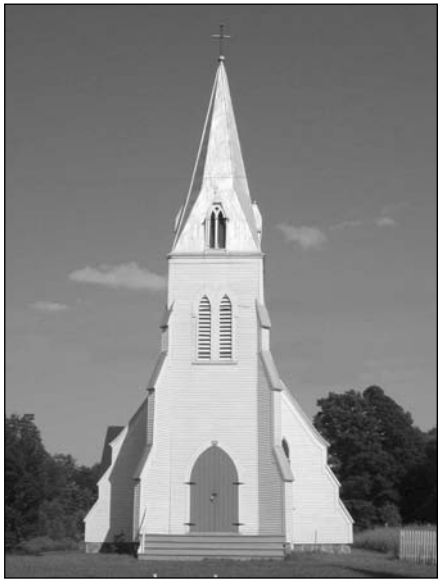

*Figure 1**
Isolated: Church of the Epiphany (1889), Ways Mills.

**(All pictures taken by Meredith G. Watkins and Cedric Bourgeois.)*

Figure 2
Rural: Sawyerville Baptist Church (1889), Sawyerville.

Articles in local newspapers surface every so often detailing the plight of particular churches in the region. Protestant churches face closure due to the ever-decreasing English-speaking population and to a lack of capital. Congregations are faced with the ever-growing challenge of raising enough funds to cover basic costs. Many of the structures in question were built over 100 years ago and congregations are faced with onerous maintenance costs. (Other costs might include heating, electricity, telephone, insurance, cleaning, administration and minister's salary.) The age profile of all congregations in the Eastern Townships is becoming elderly; one can safely estimate the majority to be over the age of 50. Thus, the individuals who now sit on boards, raise funds and participate in Sunday services will not be able to continue to be the main source of support of their churches in the near future. What then does the future hold for rural and urban Protestant churches in the Eastern Townships? What are the denominational solutions to decreasing numbers and increasing costs? What are the objectives of strategies undertaken to prevent church closure?

The aim of this study was twofold. We proposed to analyse the strategies employed by congregations, church officials and communities in order to maintain churches (by maintain we mean state of repair and continued religious function); and, to investigate the sale and subsequent change of function of church structures when sold to private interests. Since the Eastern Townships region boasts over 100 Protestant churches, it was necessary to sample a few representative case studies from this total population of churches. The first step was to establish a method of sample selection. The following constitutes the criteria used to select the initial case studies:

Location — Three types of location were identified: isolated, village/town, urban. We attempted to select a representative number of case studies for each category to allow for comparison. We worked with the assumption that isolated and rural churches had greater significance in the lives of local residents than urban ones, primarily due to family heritage (Figure 1, 2, 3).

Denomination The Eastern Townships, having been settled by numerous cultural groups, is represented by many different denominations. A sample list includes Adventist, Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and United.

Function This category classifies the function of the church structure, whether it continues to hold services or has been sold and has experienced a change of function such as becoming a restaurant, library, cultural centre, art gallery, music hall, garage, or dilapidated ruin (Figure 4).

Participation The willingness of church members (ministers and parishioners) to participate in the study. We did encounter a few church officials that were either unable to devote their time to the project or did not wish to discuss the current status of their churches with us – in which case we were required to select another case study.

There were two historical events that surfaced in the majority of interviews with clergy and laypersons with respect to the current challenge of maintaining congregation sizes. The first circumstance was the regionalisation of the English school boards in the late 1960s. Many communities experienced the closure of local schools resulting in the necessity of bussing local children lengthy distances in order to attend larger, regional schools. The systematic removal of younger generations from the local area tended to create a fragmented community. Friends, sports and other activities for the youth were likely to be held outside the community in the proximity of the regional school. This has been interpreted by some as a cause of the dissolution of communities.

Figure 3
Urban: St. Paul's United Church of Canada (1887), Magog.

The second was the election of the Parti Quebecois to power in the province in 1976. The ensuing political climate in the Eastern

Figure 4
Tomifobia United Church (1892), Tomifobia. Sold privately in 1985.

Townships was such that communities experienced a mass exodus of English-speaking Townshippers to other provinces. It should be emphasised here that dwindling congregation sizes aren't necessarily a result of individuals (i.e., English-speakers) in the community not attending church, but rather it is more commonly a result of the fact that there aren't enough individuals remaining to make up a sufficient congregation, especially when villages and towns have more than one denomination to support (thereby splitting the existing English population). Such a case is evident in Sawyerville, Quebec where the Baptist Church reports to have lost about 25 families in 1976 alone, further evidence of the dissolution of English-speaking communities.

The diminishing number of parishioners has a significant impact on the amount of funds that are raised to support the church. There are many church organisations such as the Anglican Church Women that are active fundraisers in their communities but, as has been previously mentioned, these individuals are ageing and are not being replaced. In the majority of the case studies, churches have had to decrease a minister's salary in order to balance the budget. Such is the case at Grace Anglican Church in Sutton, Quebec. Reverend Tim Smart works part time at the church and part time with the Diocese of Montreal. This reduction allows for the reallocation of funds to other expenses incurred by the church. Further evidence of cutbacks is also seen in the Anglican Diocese of Quebec with the fusion of parishes such as the 8-point parish of Coaticook overseen by the Reverend Canon Curtis Patterson. This parish includes St. George's, Ayer's Cliff; St. Stephen's, Coaticook; St. James the Less, Compton; St. Cuthbert's, Dixville; St. Matthias, Fitch Bay; St. James', Hatley; Christ Church, Stanstead; and, Church of the Ephiphany, Way's Mills. Sunday services are rotated among the various locations. The United Church also has multi-point pastoral charges, like that of the Reverend Lynda Harrison. Since 2000, she has been in charge of the United Churches in Hatley, Waterville and North Hatley. These

churches continue to hold services at each location every Sunday; Reverend Harrison feels that it would make more sense to have only one service on Sundays on a rotational basis at each location. This would be an example of one of the first steps taken in the avoidance of closure.

Stronger roots in isolated rural areas seem to aid in the preservation of church structures and function. The Universalist Church in Huntingville serves as an example. The church has but four services a year (July, August, October, and December) and a different, visiting minister delivers each service. Heritage Huntingville, a board of trustees officially incorporated in 1996 as Patrimoine Huntingville/Heritage Huntingville acquired the church property and land. The church, through this organisation, received governmental funding after a labourious application procedure. It enabled the committee to undertake the essential repairs to the church structure. Money has been invested and the church relies heavily on donations made by the congregation. The Huntingville Universalist Church continues to operate as a church because of the time and effort of the many committee members dedicated to preserving the function and structure of the church (Figure 5).

It is difficult to assess exactly who is involved in the decision process behind church closure and eventual sale. It varies with each denomination, but for the most part it is essentially the decision of the remaining parishioners. Attempts are made during the sale to maintain the exterior of the structure as is and to have a respectable function for the building in the future. Such was the intention for the United Church in Tomifibia when it was sold privately in 1985. However, the current state of the church is one of dilapidation. The interior has been stripped, the roof is caving-in and the windows have been broken and smashed. It would be surprising to see the church remain standing by next spring (Figure 4). In contrast, the former Anglican Church of the Good Shepherd (built 1877) in Glen Sutton was

Figure 5
Huntingville Universalist Church (1844), Huntingville.

Figure 6
Church of the Good Shepherd (1877), Glen Sutton.
Picture taken during an intermission of a public concert held in August of 2002.

also sold to private interests. Miklos Takas, (Directeur General & Artistique, Societe Philarmonique de Montreal) who purchased the church in 1999, has maintained the integrity of the building. Its current function is that of a music studio, which Mr. Takas opens to the public for free concerts (Figure 6).

When discussing the value of the church in the landscape, ministers continually expressed no attachment to the church structure. They attributed their lack of attachment to the fact that it is more important to have faithful parishioners and to hold services worshipping God than it is to have a building. Such sentiments are seen in the following statements made by Reverend Walter Gawa (Sawyerville Baptist Church) and Reverend Tim Smart (Grace Anglican Church, Sutton) respectively: "The building is not important; it's only a shelter from the weather"; "… the church is not the building, it's the people". Their lack of attachment to these structures also has to do with the fact that most are not from the area and therefore do not have any particular emotional loyalty to the structure. They do sympathise, however, with those members of the congregation who feel great attachment to the churches. Many of these members are long time residents of the villages/towns and in some cases are

descendants of the individuals who took part in building the church. To them the church is of great significance to the community and to their heritage. Many were baptised or married in the churches and the structures have been an important part of their communities. They constitute essential community elements within the landscape.

The future of these churches depends upon younger generations. In the case studies selected for this study an overwhelming majority of them are having great difficulty attracting younger parishioners. Only two of the twelve churches actually have enough children to hold Sunday school classes. If this trend continues what will happen to the churches? Who will take over their administration? The fate of the Protestant churches in the Eastern Townships depends upon outside funding. The *ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec* has recently funnelled large sums of money into the preservation of selected churches throughout the Townships. These churches were evaluated and assigned a patrimonial value, which can be loosely broken down to the age of structure, state of structure, and aesthetic value of structure. The allocated monies are used for renovation and maintenance. But once renovated, whom do they serve? What use does a church perform without a congregation? Do they simply become museums dotted throughout the countryside there to remind us of other times when church attendance assumed an importance place in the lives of its inhabitants?

GLOBALIZATION AND THE SINGLE INDUSTRY TOWN: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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It is sometimes assumed, perhaps wishfully, that "single-industry towns" are a thing of the past, mere nostalgic relics or signposts of how far we have collectively "advanced." Paradoxically, however, many of the same characteristics, vulnerabilities, and engines that promoted such "company towns," in the 19th and early 20th centuries, in Canada, the United States, the Former Soviet Union, and Australia, persist with today's globalization. Indeed, single-industry towns can tell us a lot about both the "upsides" and the "downsides" of globalization today. Such communities have always had their impetus and their vulnerabilities linked to international trade and to both industrially-spurred resource production and manufacturing. Canada has been second only to the Former Soviet Union as home to such towns. This bibliography recognizes both the global and particular logic of their development and fate. Hence, though often isolated in their experience and problems, they are best studied and understood in comparison. For they reflect the real-life, day-to-day human experience of a sort of development that resulted from capital investors' seeking out the cheapest and latest sources of forest, mine and energy resources and linking these to international, industrial markets. These communities' boom and bust cycles of vulnerability to rapid growth, closure or shutdown have a long, if muted, history. Their growth, social conflict and community sacrifice remain microcosmic enigmas from which we can learn a great deal today.

With a primary focus on the Eastern Townships of Quebec, whose landscape is dotted with such communities based in pulp and paper production, asbestos, copper and other mining endeavors, we have sought to give those multiple, though often isolated experiences, a clearer voice and a broader context. Taking an interdisciplinary approach allows a multiplicity of experiences to be examined, understood and compared.

We have examined a variety of media on the topic to make this tool useful to both the lay public and a broad range of scholars. Journals, books, and news items in print and internet form, dissertations, theses and films are included. As well, various perspectives, theories, methods and data are used in understanding these phenomena. Annotations, though brief, are accompanied by "key words" and "key place names," each indexed at the end, providing additional means of sorting for topics of special interest, like "gender," "closure," "multinationals," and the like.

When I undertook graduate studies in sociology at McMaster University and was researching my dissertation – later published as the book, *A Staple State: Canadian Industrial Resources in Cold War* – I became interested in Canadian social history and political economy. I discovered a number of classic approaches and studies relevant to and included in the present bibliography. Indeed in reviewing this bibliography in order to pull forward examples for this brief report, I was struck by how wide-ranging, how timely, and how stimulating of new research this topic has proven to be, not only for sociologists, geographers, historians, and city planners, but for the community generally.

Rex Lucas produced the first comprehensive study of single-industry towns in Canada, called *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*. Harold Innis invented the first and longest-relevant theory about their development, called the "staples approach"; first developed in the 1930s, in both *The Fur Trade and Settlement and the Mining Frontier*. It was republished in the 1970s and sparked interest in understanding economic dependency worldwide. For, traditional economic theories about development were being challenged anew by Latin American and European "dependency" theorists and critics of multinational expansionism or "neo-colonialism." Innis first theorized the peculiarity of Canadian boom and bust development as driven by staples (worldwide, industrially marketed resources) in shaping this country's original settlement and long-term economic development. Vulnerable work camps, company towns, and later single-industry towns were a typical result of domestic and international capital's interest in Canadian forest, mine and energy resources. Meanwhile, the largest resource multinational corporations began undertaking enormous new forestry, mining and energy-related mega-projects, especially in the Canadian North, but also throughout the world, in an effort to monopolize and mobilize as many sources as possible. Thus, the staples approach, dependency theory, and other critical theories surfaced, to examine these dynam-

ics and the fallout for ordinary workers and communities of such "forced growth," "staples traps," or "global" expansion of control over production.

I examined its relation to post-war Canadian and American policies. Wallace Clement analyzed INCO's investment and technology strategies and their impacts on class formation and control in *Hardrock Mining*. Pat Marchak described community and job control impacts in British Columbia's forest industry, in *Green Gold*. Meg Luxton investigated gender relations in the single industry town of Flin Flon, Manitoba's mineral mega-projects, in *More than a Labour of Love*. Elliot Leyton provided an account of the class conflicts, dangers and health consequences for miners in *Dying Hard*.

As early as 1848, Burton Ledoux had investigated massive premature deaths among mine-mill asbestos workers in Quebec. Indeed, Liddell and McDonald have recently traced mortality statistics for miners and millers of Asbestos and Thetford Mines, Quebec, from 1904 to the present. This kind of morbidity and mortality study is crucial to bringing justice and aid to such small communities, since, all too often their employers and insurance companies (sometimes abetted by governments) downplay environmental and health risks.

Once I began teaching sociology at Bishop's University, I worked with others in a variety of disciplines to put on a nation-wide, bilingual, conference on single-industry towns. Another colleague, geographer Gill Ross, has studied the closing and environmental impacts of local mining villages in his book, *Three Eastern Townships Mining Villages in Quebec. 1836–1972*, which was republished in 1996. Indeed, our focus in this bibliography began with the Eastern Townships of Quebec, but necessarily expanded to encompass, not only the whole of Canada, but also comparisons found with Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

These comparisons as well as anthologies and longer-term studies on shutdown are very important. One key series of about forty articles involves closure at Elliot Lake, Ontario. Mawhiney and Pitbaldo's 1999 book, *Boom Town Blues: Elliot Lake, Collapse and Renewal in a Single-Industry Community*, is a culmination of that work. John Bradbury and McGill University's Centre for Northern Studies and Research have likewise been prolific sources, notably treating the decline and recent shutdown of Quebec-Labrador's Iron-Mining Region. The best known and in some ways most important Quebec study is still Pierre Trudeau's landmark: *The Asbestos*

Strike. Such class conflicts and threatened or actual shutdowns persist in the most recent news and internet sources on Schefferville and Murdochville, asbestos and paper mills. Recently the Canadian Press notes: "Asbestos Mine Faces Bankruptcy," "Jeffrey Mine Pulls Plug" and "Noranda to Shut Quebec Smelter, Lay Off 300." In more scholarly syntheses and analyses of these phenomena, Angus and Griffin used oral histories and archival sources in their 1996 book, *We Lived Life and then Some: The Life and Death of a Mining Tow*n; and, Neil, Tykkylainen and Bradbury edited a 1992 international anthology on this called, *Coping with Closure: An International Case Study of Mine Town Experiences*.

The "company town" also serves today as a metaphor for the contemporary phenomena of both continued globalization and for the design of professional workplaces, as seen in Kooijman's 2000 article, "The Office Building: Between Globalization and Local Identity" and Jerry Useem's 2000 article in *Fortune*, "Welcome to the New Company Town," describing how *Fortune*'s "100 Best Companies to Work for List" includes those that provide take-home meals, concierge services, clubs and support and study groups, a bit like the old "company store" syndrome, if less harmful. Chris Eipper uses the metaphor in its more fundamental or dynamic sense: "The World as Company Town: Multinational Corporation and Social Change" in *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*.

The authors are especially grateful for the summer-projects financial support from the Eastern Townships Research Centre, which made this research possible and will be making it available in print form, as well as the Belanger-Gardener Foundation for its generous support in its publication.

THE MALVERN CEMETERY COMPANY

Text and Transcriptions by Daniel Bromby
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President of the Malvern Cemetery Company

Ron Husk
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In 2001, Dr. Brian Young of McGill University was the guest speaker at the annual Robin Burns Lecture. In his lecture entitled "Protestant death in Urban Quebec" Professor Young examined the particularities of death in Quebec's Protestant communities. Dr. Young presented how the history of a cemetery mirrors the evolving social makeup, changing mores and tragic events in the community. Professor Young further suggested that Protestant cemeteries – in their architecture, their epitaphs, their landscaping, and their constitutions – have not merely buried the dead but have acted as powerful way stations of Protestant culture.[1]

It is therefore interesting to note that in 2002, the administrative records of the Malvern Cemetery Company of Lennoxville was donated to the Eastern Townships Research Centre (ETRC). It is with great pride that the ETRC take over the preservation and dissemination of the archival records of this Cemetery, which includes: minute book, accounting records, grave owner registers, lists of

Photo of Malvern Cemetery Monument. Source: ETRC, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds.

internments, correspondence and a map of the cemetery. In the following, a brief administrative history of the founding of the Malvern Cemetery Company will be presented through an examination of its archives.

Administrative History:

Officially incorporated in 1871, the Malvern Cemetery Company has seen to the care and management of the Malvern Cemetery. For over one hundred and thirty years, the Malvern Cemetery has been a celebrated and permanent feature of the Lennoxville landscape. As one visits the Malvern Cemetery; many families who figure prominently in the town's history can be seen. Without a doubt, Malvern Cemetery was, and in many ways still is, the final resting place of some of the town's most distinguished and prominent citizens. Family names such as Brooks, Speid, Mitchell, Henry, Stephens, Paddon, Lane, Bown, Atto, Chapman, Abbott, (and the list goes on) attests to the importance of the Cemetery.

The Malvern Cemetery is located along the Moulton Hill Road, just across the street from Bishop's College School. At the time of the establishment of the Malvern Cemetery there were two protestant congregations in Lennoxville: St. George's Anglican Church and Lennoxville Methodist Church (later becoming the Lennoxville United Church). As each of these congregations grew, there was more and more need for a new public Cemetery.

The Establishment of the Malvern Cemetery Company

On 3 November 1869, a public meeting was held at the Lennoxville Town Hall with the purpose of discussing the prospects of establishing a public Cemetery.

> *Those present at public meeting November 3, 1869*
>
> *A. Stephens, J.B. Paddon, C. Henry, R. Oughtred, Wm McCurdy, D. McCurdy, E. Chapman, C. Mears, C. Andrews, Wm. Hall, CJ Andrews, Wm Mitchell, I. McFadden, Rev. AC Scarth.*[2]

Artimus Stevens was elected to chair the meeting and John B. Paddon was elected as secretary. Those present at the meeting agreed to the need of establishing a public protestant cemetery for the area's protestant community, by the proposing and carrying of a motion that the lot on Moulton Hill be acquired for the purpose of a public cemetery. This motion was followed by the adoption of the following resolution:

> [November 3, 1869]
>
> Moved by Mr. Oughtred, seconded by Wm McCurdy that a committee of six be appointed to take such steps as may be necessary to acquire eight acres on the Moulton Hill. Such Land having been considered suitable for the purposes [of a public Cemetery] and so reported by Mr. Oughtred after said examination, that they endeavour to obtain purchasers for at least thirty lots large enough to contain eight graves at twenty dollars a lot. That on obtaining that number, they be empowered to purchase the land at fifty dollars per acre and to take the necessary steps to obtain an act of incorporation."[3]

John B. Paddon, Charles Brooks, Edward Chapman, William Hall, Charles Henry, and Robinson Oughtred were elected to the committee.

Land for a Cemetery

Over the course of the next two years this committee worked toward following out their duties as outlined by the resolution, meeting on occasion with fellow "shareholders"[4] to deal with minor details of the committee's work. At a meeting on 30 November 1871, the following announcement was made:

> [November 30, 1871]
>
> The Chairman informed the meeting that the necessary steps for the incorporation of the Malvern Cemetery Company had been taken in accordance with the Cemetery Companies incorporation act of 1870 and that the deed of sale for six and a half acres of land on the Dudswell Road[5] to be used as a Cemetery had been confirmed by the Lieutenant Governor of the Province by Order in Council (See figure 1)[6]

Following this announcement, it was decided that a meeting of all shareholders be held on 5 December 1871 at the Lennoxville Town Hall for the purpose of electing directors, choosing plots and transacting other necessary business. On 5 December 1871, the Malvern Cemetery Company met to draft the company's Bylaws, and begin its activities as a Cemetery Company.

The deed of sale for 6½ acres of land along the Dudswell Road occupied the North East portion of the lot Belonging to Mrs. Cynthia Edgell. The portion of land purchased from Mrs. Edgell, is highlighted in figure 2.

The preamble to the Bylaws includes a transcription of the essential points of the Order-in-council (see figure 1) by which the

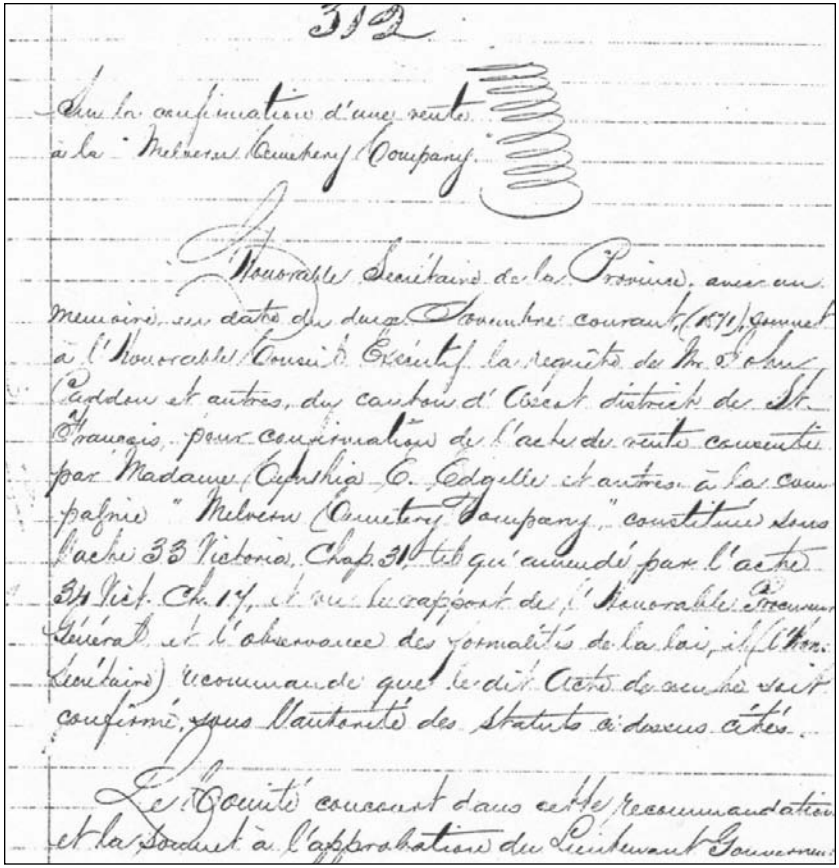

Figure 1: Copie Conforme: Le greffier adjoint du conseil Exécutif
Signed by Jean Pierre Vaillancourt. Source: ETRC, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds.

Malvern Cemetery Company was officially incorporated.

[December 5, 1871]

Preamble:

"[...]His Excellency The Lieutenant Governor under the authority of 33 Vié.CUP 31, Approved the sixth instant confirmed the deed of sale dates the first day of May [1871], consented to by Cynthia E. Edgell and others in favour of John B. Paddon, Charles Brooks, William McCurdy, Charles T. Henry, Robinson Oughtred. Esquires under the title of Malvern Cemetery Company. Which deed of sale together with said order in council have been registered in the registration division of Sherbrooke. Public notice of which has been given to the Quebec Official Gazette".[7]

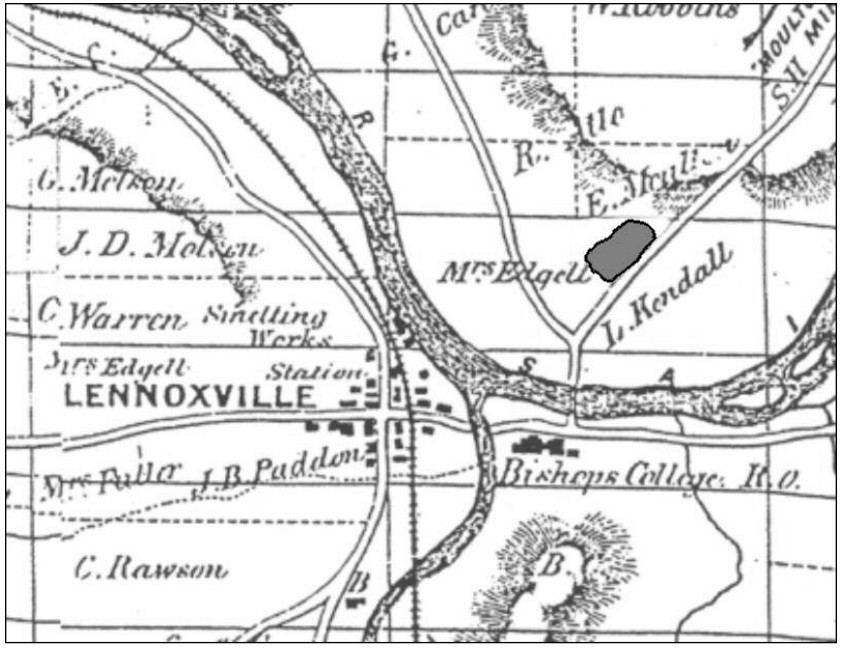

Figure 2: Map of the Township of Ascot, *Sherbrooke: A.S. Witcher, 1864*
(Source: ETRC, P996/096/031/001)

The Bye Laws:[8]

#1 The members of the Corporation shall consist of all persons who shall have purchased not less than one quarter lot in the Cemetery

#2 Each member shall have one vote for each quarter of a lot but no one member shall have more than four votes

#3 The officers of the Corporation shall consist of six trustees, to be elected at the annual general meeting of the shareholders, which meeting shall (after this year) be held in the Town hall of Lennoxville, on the second Monday in December, in each year of which eight days notice be given by the secretary.[9]

#4 Special meetings may be called by order of the chairman of trustees or shall be called at the request of five members. Of such meetings, eight days notice be given by the secretary.

#5 It shall be the duty of the trustees – three of whom shall form a quorum at the first meeting to appoint a chairman from among themselves. They shall also appoint a secretary treasurer. They shall take charge of the maintenance and embellishment of the cemetery and shall meet from time to time as may

be agreed upon among themselves. And shall frame such rules and regulations as may be needful for their guidance provided they do not conflict with any of the bylaws of the corporation.

#6 The secretary treasurer appointed by the trustees – who shall also be secretary treasurer of the Corporation shall accuse and disburse all monies accruing from the sale of lots or from other sources and shall keep an account of the source. He shall also keep regular accounts of all proceedings of meetings of the corporation, and also of meetings of the trustees and shall record them in a book provided for the purpose. He shall also dispose of lots and keep a list of lot holders and shall delivery over all records and documents and monies to his successor, and in all things act under the direction of the Trustees. All documents and accounts shall be open to inspection of lot holders.

#7 Whenever the holder of any lot or part of a lot wishes to dispose of the same he shall give the Company the option of purchasing at the original price.

#8 The price of a full lot shall be fixed at twenty dollars and in the same proportion for fractional part of a lot. Not less than one quarter of a lot shall be sold. The plan submitted by Mr. Oughtred is the plan of the Cemetery (Copy of plan Figure

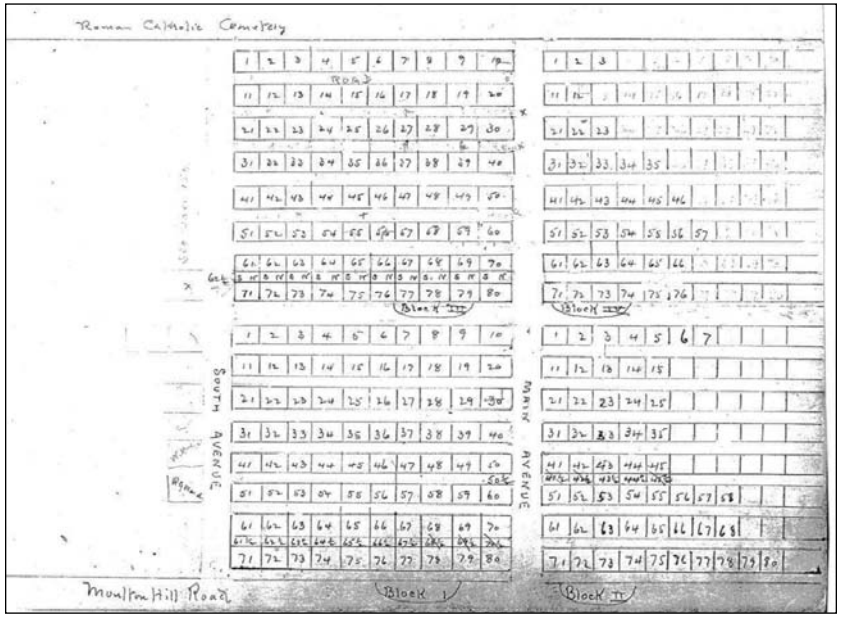

Figure 3[11]

Source: ETRC, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds.

3)[10]

#9 The revenues of the Company shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance and embellishment of the Cemetery and in paying the necessary expenses incurred in the management of the same.

#10 Any party or parties owning contiguous lots in the same range shall have the right of doing away with the cross sheet between them and of making use of the same.[12]

#11 The south half of block no. 3 and the North half of block no. 4 as exhibited in the plan may be reserved for free graves.[13]

#12 Parties wishing to purchase half or quarter lots only, shall be restricted to the south half of block no.1 and the north half of block no.2 and the south half of block no. 4. The rights of parties having already purchased half lots being reserved to choose lots where they please.[14]

#13 All plots purchased shall be paid for in advance and upon such payment the entry of the purchaser's name with the number of the lot in the secretary's book shall be considered as sufficient {..} to the ownership of the same and it shall be the duty of the secretary to furnish the purchaser with a certificate according to a form to be drawn up by the Trustees.

#14 No alterations of the byelaws shall be made except at the annual meeting of the shareholders, or at a special meeting called for the purpose. The object of which meeting shall be specified in the notice. And a majority of two thirds of the voters present shall be necessary to change any bye laws.

The first trustees elected at the December 5 meeting were Charles Brooks, Robinson Oughtred, Edward Chapman, William Hall, William McCurdy, and the Reverend A.C. Scarth as chairman.

The other reason for the meeting on December 5 was for the "shareholders" to choose their lots.

[December 5, 1971]

[..] The choice of lots were made as follows:
Rev. A Scarth: for Miss Cummins, Miss Fuller, Mrs. Edgell and himself, chose lots no. 63, 64, 65 + 66 in Block 2.
Mr. Paddon chose lot no. 54 in Block 2.
Messrs Stevens and & Oughtred lots 11 + 12 in Block 2
Messrs Wm & John Hall lots 21 + 22 in Block 2
Messrs Wm & George McCurdy lots 31 + 32 in Block 2
Mr. Chas. Henry lot 41 in Block 2

> Mr. Chapman for Mr. Jackson + himself, lots 51 + 52 in Block 2
> Lot no.1 in Block 2 was confirmed for Mr. John Johnston
> Lot no.2 in Block 2 was confirmed for Mr. McFadden
> Lot no. 73 in Block 4 was confirmed for Mr. Eccles
>
> It was understood that parties might change any of the above lots for others provided they were unoccupied and such changes did nor interfere with the rights of others.[15]

With this, the Cemetery was now officially ready to begin its work. The Cemetery was officially consecrated by the Rt. Rev. J.W. Williams.[16]

The Malvern Cemetery is now in its one hundred and thirty second year of existence and continues to stand as a permanent reminder of the presence of a vibrant and very significant English-speaking Community in the town of Lennoxville. Thus, it is no wonder that the Malvern Cemetery stands as one of Lennoxville's most highly treasured landmarks. The Cemetery remains a well maintained and highly respected protestant burial ground, and will continue in this, as long as the Malvern Cemetery Company continues to exist. The success of the Malvern Cemetery Company can be attributed to the hard work and dedication of those people (past and present) who have devoted their time and efforts to see to the management of the Cemetery through the Malvern Cemetery Company.

Chairpersons of the Trustees of the Malvern Cemetery Company [17]

Rev. A.C. Scarth	1871–1888
A.F. Simpson	1889 (Rev. Scarth was ill)
Rev. A.C. Scarth	1890–1892
William Morris	1893 (Rev. Scarth was ill)
Rev. A.C. Scarth	1894–1904
W.H. Abbott	1904 (Rev. Scarth died in April 1904)
Rev. E.W.Wright	1905–1923
W.H. Abbott	1923–1924
C.J. Lane	1924–1929
A. Speid	1929–1937
D. Harrison	1937–1942
R.G. Ward	1942–1950
W.A. Bown	1950–1955
W.R. Baker	1955–1956
K.G. Herring	1956–1964
W.R. Baker	1964–1966
E.W. Gilbey	1966–1974

D.M. Bennett	1974–1985
R.M. Lane	1986–1993
R. Reed	1993–1997
Barbara Ward	1997–1999
Angus McElrea	1999–2000
Ron Husk	2000–2001
Angus McElrea	2001–

For more information on Protestant death in urban Quebec we suggest Brian Young's forthcoming book *Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, which should be available in June 2003 and will present the results of his research on cemeteries. "*Respectable Burial* is a social history of death, burial, and a cherished public space […] This history of a model rural cemetery […] illustrates changing attitudes to burial and commemoration — including the relationships between Protestantism, Romanticism, and death [...] Incorporating a rich collection of archival illustrations, walking maps, and a colour photo essay by photographer Geoffrey James, *Respectable Burial* will appeal to anyone interested in Canadian history, parks, and cities." [18]

NOTES

1. This exert is taken from aspects of Dr. Brian Young's lecture which took place on 8 November 2001 in the Old Library, McGreer Hall, at Bishop's University.
2. ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Minutes, P130/001/001.
3. ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Minutes, P130/001/001.
4. All persons who had purchased lots were referred to as "shareholders."
5. The Moulton Hill Road was also often referred to as the Dudswell Road.
6. ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Minutes, P130/001/001.
7. ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Minutes, P130/001/001.
8. It is important to note that what is presented here are the Company's original bylaws as they were drafted on the fifth of December. Source: ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Minutes, P130/001/001. As expected, some of these bylaws have be been amended on many occasions, some have been repealed

and new bylaws have been added. Amendments and repealed laws that are eluded in notes 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13, are the amendments and repeals that were entered directly into the Company's minute book.

9. Amended to the third Tuesday in April.
10. Amended in 1887: The prices of a full lot shall be 25$, ½ lots be 15$ and ¼ lots be 8$. The payment of the amount due for a full lot or the fractional part of a lot shall entitle the holder to have the same kept in order without any extra charge it being understood that the same be moved at least 4 times a year.
11. ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Map, P130/004/001.
12. Repealed in 1877
13. Amended December 1884 by striking out " the south half of block no. 3"
14. Amended December 1875 by adding after "block no.2" the words "and the north half of block no. 3". Further amended 1887 by striking out the last clause and inserting "Nevertheless no ½ or ¼ lot shall be taken in an unoccupied lot until these lots partly occupied shall be taken up.
15. ETRC Archives, Malvern Cemetery Company fonds, Minutes, P130/001/001.
16. *Lennoxville*, Vol.2 [Lennoxville, Quebec] : Lennoxville-Ascot Historical and Museum Society, 1975.
17. This chart was inspired by Robert Smith's chart "Officers of Malvern Cemetery Company", appearing in *Lennoxville*, Vol.2 [Lennoxville, Quebec] : Lennoxville-Ascot Historical and Museum Society, 1975.
18. Taken from an abstract of the book as written by McGill-Queen's University Press and presented on their Website. For a complete abstract of the book please visit the McGill-Queens Press website: *www.mqup.mcgill.ca/book.php?bookid=1612*

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