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REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS DE L'EST

EDITOR'S LETTER

Dear *JETS* subscribers,

This special double issue *(JETS 32–33)* offers seven articles that are the result of carefully conducted, stimulating research on life in the Eastern Townships, its past and present, its nature and its people. We are especially happy to offer this high quality double number as *JETS* has been faced with tremendous challenges over the past year. Indeed, our editor has been battling a serious medical condition and two members of our Editorial Committee have left during that time. The Executive Director of the ETRC, Anne-Elisabeth Thibault, also left to pursue other career opportunities in Montreal, bringing in a new Executive Director at the end of 2008.

One new feature of this double issue is the inclusion of a student paper, the outcome of research conducted with the financial support of ETRC and under the supervision of Bishop's researchers. The ETRC believes that publishing the work of one of the most socially and academically involved Bishop's students will encourage other young adepts to scientifically explore our beautiful region and its preoccupations. Such a section, not uncommon in other scholarly journals, would serve as a window into the research interests of the future academic generation.

As the Centre itself is contemplating new research axes within its regional focus, *JETS* remains an integral part of this exciting reflection. We can assure you that we remain fully committed to maintaining the high quality of the journal and we are grateful for your continued support and interest.

We hope that you will enjoy this exciting double issue.

Sincerely,

Tom Fletcher, *Editor*
Jaroslava Baconova, *Editorial Assistant*
Cheryl Gosselin, *Chair, ETRC*

LETTRE DE LA RÉDACTION

Aux abonné(e)s de la *RÉCE*,

Ce numéro spécial de la *RÉCE* (numéro double, vol. 32–33) contient sept articles qui résument des travaux de recherche stimulants et soigneusement réalisés portant sur la vie dans les Cantons-de-l'Est, sur le passé et le présent de la région, sur sa nature et sa population. Nous sommes particulièrement heureux de vous offrir ce numéro double de la plus grande qualité, étant donné les défis auxquels la *RÉCE* a dû faire face au cours de la dernière année. En effet, le directeur de la revue luttait contre une maladie grave et deux membres du comité éditorial ont quitté leurs fonctions dans les douze derniers mois. La directrice du CRCE, Anne-Élisabeth Thibault, a également quitté son poste afin de poursuivre sa carrière à Montréal, et nous avons accueilli une nouvelle directrice au sein de notre équipe à la fin de l'année 2008.

Vous trouverez dans ce numéro double de la *RÉCE* une nouvelle section présentant un travail de recherche rédigé par une étudiante, sous la supervision de certains chercheurs de l'Université Bishop's. Le CRCE est confiant que la publication de textes rédigés par des étudiants dynamiques, tant sur le plan social que sur celui de la recherche, encouragera d'autres jeunes chercheurs à entreprendre des travaux de recherche sur notre merveilleuse région et sur les enjeux auxquels elle doit faire face. Une telle section, que l'on retrouve fréquemment dans plusieurs revues scientifiques, permettra en effet d'avoir un aperçu des intérêts de recherche de la prochaine génération de chercheurs.

Le CRCE évalue présentement de nouveaux axes de recherche, et la Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est demeure un pôle essentiel de cette réflexion. Nous vous assurons donc que la production d'une revue de la plus grande qualité demeure notre mandat principal, et nous vous sommes extrêmement reconnaissants de tout l'intérêt et le soutien que vous avez manifestés.

Nous anticipons donc tout le plaisir que vous aurez à découvrir ce numéro double fort passionnant.

Tom Fletcher, *rédacteur en chef*
Jaroslava Baconova, *réviseure*
Cheryl Gosselin, *présidente du CRCE*

THE POSTHUMOUS AMERICANIZATION OF JASON LEE, 'PROPHET OF OREGON'

J.I. Little
Simon Fraser University

ABSTRACT

Known as the "prophet of Oregon," the Reverend Jason Lee was born in Stanstead Township in 1803 and died there in 1845. This historiographical essay examines how Lee's Canadian origins were long denied by nationalistic American historians in their efforts to portray him as a heroic exponent of their country's expansionism. Although historical revisionists of the 1960s and 1970s shifted the emphasis to Lee's religious mission, they continued to discount the fact that he spent three quarters of his life in a British colony, assuming that this experience was of little or no relevance. The lack of material on Lee's earlier years makes it difficult to demonstrate otherwise, but this essay argues that he could hardly have avoided being influenced by the British Wesleyan missionaries who converted him, and by the increasingly conservative nature of the colonial society that he lived in. That influence helps to explain why, as historians in more recent years have discovered, Lee was more interested in saving Native souls than in wresting the Oregon Territory from British control.

RÉSUMÉ

Connu sous le nom de « prophète d'Oregon », le révérend Jason Lee est né dans le canton de Stanstead en 1803 et y est décédé en 1845. Cet essai historiographique examine comment les origines canadiennes du révérend Jason Lee ont été longtemps niées par les historiens nationalistes américains qui se sont efforcés de le dépeindre comme un héroïque défenseur de l'expansionnisme de leur pays. Malgré le révisionnisme des années 1960 et 1970, qui a davantage mis l'accent sur la mission religieuse de Lee, les historiens ont continué d'ignorer le fait qu'il a passé les trois quarts de sa vie dans une colonie britannique, présumant qu'il s'agissait d'un fait peu ou pas du tout pertinent. En raison du manque de documentation sur les premières années de Lee, il est difficile de faire la preuve du contraire, mais cet essai note qu'il aurait difficilement pu éviter d'être influencé par les missionnaires wesleyens britanniques qui l'ont converti et par le conservatisme grandissant de la société coloniale dans laquelle il vivait. Cette influence permet de comprendre pourquoi, comme l'on découvert récemment certains historiens, Lee démontrait plus d'intérêt à sauver les âmes autochtones qu'à ravir le territoire de l'Oregon au contrôle britannique.

In the spring of 1906, during an era when the public commemoration of founding heroes was at its height,[1] a large party of dignitaries assembled at Salem's Methodist church to re-inter the remains of the Reverend Jason Lee. Known as the Prophet of Oregon or alternatively as the Father of American Oregon,[2] Lee was credited with ensuring the victory of the United States over Britain in the Oregon boundary dispute by introducing a number of American missionary families and challenging the Hudson's Bay Company's authority. The prayers, sermons, and speeches, which began at 10:00 in the morning, did not end until well past 8:00 that night. The laymen who spoke included a newspaper editor, a university president, two judges, a former secretary of state from the State of Washington, and the lieutenant-governor of Idaho. Fifteen clergymen were designated as honorary pallbearers, and among the six active pallbearers were two ex-governors and a judge.

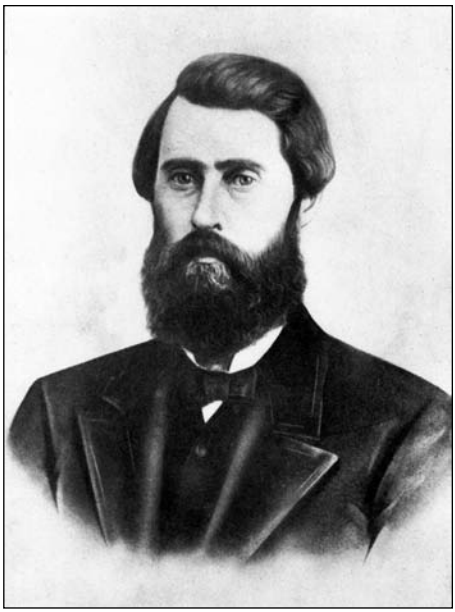
The speakers were effusive in their praise of the man who had died sixty-two years earlier, in 1844, when the Oregon Territory was still being fought over by the Americans and the British. The Honorable H.K. Boise declared that from Lee and his associates "emanated moral and educational influences that illuminated the darkness that overshadowed this almost barbarous region." In the same vein, the Honorable Allen Weir stated that

> the civilization of which he was the forerunner and founder swept across the continent, subduing the savage races, overcoming obstacles, and changing conditions; and now, at the dawn of the twentieth century, it has passed all former boundaries and has crossed the ocean to the Philippines, Hawaii, and other islands of the sea.

Lee had not only set these steps in motion, but, according to the Honorable W.D. Fenton, "with the eye of a prophet in 1834, [he] saw the great commonwealth of 1906. He saw the march and power of empire, and that the flag of his country would, in less than a century, wave from Panama to the Behring Sea." Judge Morland could only add that Lee "was a strong patriot and was ardently attached to the country under the flag of which he was born.'[3]

Depicted by a contemporary as "a large athletic young man, six feet and three inches in height, with a fully developed frame, and a constitution of iron,"[4] Jason Lee had become one of the Progressive Era's archetypal American heroes, representing as he did a combination of "primitive masculinity" and "civilized manliness."[5] Historians described how he had crossed the continent three times prior to the railway era, bravely facing the dangers of the western

American frontier in a determined attempt to Christianize the Indians and defend his Oregon mission. Moreover, as the speeches at the re-interment ceremony revealed, Lee was assumed to have played a key role in ensuring the realization of American manifest destiny. It was clearly considered to be inconvenient that this American hero had not only spent thirty of his forty-two years in a British colony, but had also died and been buried in his native Stanstead. The transfer of Lee's remains to Oregon and the impressive official ceremony of 1906, noted above, could correct this problem, at least symbolically.[6] However, the effacing of his Canadian origins, literally carved in the five-and-a-half-foot headstone that was also transported from Stanstead, required a careful manipulation of the historical record.



JASON LEE (1803–1845)
Affirming his status as the father of American Oregon, this portrait of Jason Lee was hung on the wall behind the Oregon state speaker's chair in 1920.
Source: Oregon Historical Society

One of the honorary 1906 pallbearers, the Reverend Albert Atwood, was first to address the question of Lee's birthplace in detail, in his book, *The Conquerors: Historical Sketches of the American Settlement of the Oregon Country Embracing Facts in the Life and Work of Rev. Jason Lee, the Pioneer and Founder of American Institutions on the Western Coast of North America*. This lengthy historical study, published a year after the re-interment ceremony, attempted to prove that Lee was a true American by pointing to his Puritan lineage as well as to the seventeen members of the extended Lee family who had fought in the War of Independence. According to Atwood, Lee's own father, Daniel, had "participated in the battles of Lexington, White Plains, Long Island, and other engagements of the Revolutionary War."[7]

While he did acknowledge that Jason Lee was born in Stanstead Township in 1803, several years after his family had moved north from Rutland, Vermont, Atwood insisted that the Lees "had entertained no doubt" but that they were still living in Vermont. Indeed, they were

"greatly disappointed […] to find themselves in Canada" when the Webster-Ashburton Treaty finally settled the boundary's location in 1842.[8] This myth became so accepted that Lee's biographer for the *Dictionary of American National Biography* states even more categorically that he was born in "Stanstead, Vermont (now part of Quebec, Canada)!" The fact is that the 45th parallel had been established as the boundary line as early as the Quebec Act of 1774 and ratified by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, nine years before the Eastern Townships were officially opened to settlement. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty did extend the Vermont boundary slightly further north, but there could have been little doubt that it would extend as far as the Lee homestead on lot 10 of the 10th range, for it lay three and a half miles inside the line.[9] Certainly, the young Jason Lee would have been aware that he was not living in the United States.

Most of the pioneer settlers of Stanstead Township were non-Loyalist families from the Merrimack and Connecticut Valleys, who had arrived around the turn of the 19th century in search of inexpensive land and freedom from taxes.[10] Neighboring Vermonters clearly did not have a strong sense of national identity themselves at this time, for smuggling through the Eastern Townships to Montreal grew more common during the years of Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812. However, cross-border invasions in both directions made the borderline more tangible to Vermonters as well as to the settlers of the Eastern Townships.[11] Furthermore, cross-border religious circuits were cut during the war. Then, in 1821, American Episcopal Methodist circuit riders were replaced by Wesleyan Methodist missionaries sponsored by London. With their Anglican counterparts, whom the London's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had selected and funded, the Wesleyans soon effected a dramatic change on the religious landscape of the Eastern Townships. The Church of England became the largest Protestant denomination in the region as a whole, followed by the Wesleyan Methodists, who were at least as determined to counter American republican influence in the region, and who had established a particularly strong position in Stanstead.[12]

While one of the most recent studies examining Lee in detail claims that he was converted through the efforts of his nephew, Daniel Lee, and an itinerant evangelist, the fact is that his headstone assigns the credit to Stanstead's two British Wesleyan missionaries.[13] The dramatic revival stimulated by the Reverend Richard Pope in the village of Stanstead in 1824 lasted a remarkable three or four years and converted over 200 people (including most of the village's leading citizens) to Methodism. It also extended to the outlying settlements served by

Pope's assistant, the genteel Reverend Thomas Turner.[14] After his conversion in 1826, Lee remained a manual labourer for three more years, but he finally enrolled in the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts in 1829. Upon returning home the following year, Lee taught in the Stanstead Seminary, which had recently been founded by local Methodists (including his cousin, Erastus Lee), and continued to study for the ministry under the tutelage of the local Wesleyan incumbent while serving as an unordained local preacher.[15]

But local prospects were not promising as religious enthusiasm declined with the severe economic hardship caused by crop failures during the early 1830s, and Stanstead's Wesleyans began to defect to the more radical American-based Reformed (or Protestant) Methodists. In August 1833, the Reverend William Squire lamented that "we have nominally twelve classes, out of these only one in the habit of meeting; all the rest, I may say, are formally given up."[16] Yet Lee, said by Atwood and other historians to have considered himself fully American, was not one of these deserters. Nor was his much older brother, Elias, who helped foster another Stanstead revival two years later.[17] By this time, however, Jason and his nephew, Daniel (Elias's son), had established a mission in the distant Pacific Northwest.[18]

This remote posting was not Jason Lee's first choice, for he had offered his services to an Indian mission launched in 1832 by one of his mentors, Thomas Turner, at Lake St Clair in Upper Canada, where a dramatic conversion process was then taking place.[19] Lee must have been aware that this mission provided the Wesleyan missionaries with the opportunity they were seeking to re-enter Upper Canada, which they regretted conceding to the American-based Methodist Episcopal mission in 1821.[20] He must also have been aware that the British missionaries had been accusing their American counterparts of fomenting disloyalty. The reason he did not join the British ranks in Upper Canada was simply that his appointment was delayed by the death of the Wesleyan Missionary Society's secretary in London. As a result, Lee accepted the offer made by Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of his alma mater, to establish a Methodist Episcopal mission in the Oregon Territory. Lee was then admitted into the New England Conference and ordained as "Missionary to the Flathead Indians."[21] As the Canadian Methodist historian, John Carroll, lamented in 1871, "but for the circumlocution and delay that then attended the introduction of a colonist, however talented, into the regular ministry, [Lee] might have continued to bestow his labors on his native Province."[22] In fact, the man said to have played a key role in ensuring that Oregon became an American state would have been aiding the British cause in Upper Canada.

American historians have not always denied Lee's Canadian origins.[23] The account published in 1870 by his Oregon acquaintance, William Henry Gray, suggested that the United States government chose missionaries as its agents in the Oregon Territory because the Hudson's Bay Company could not object to them the way it did to independent traders. Jason Lee, Gray claimed, had a particular advantage because of his Canadian birth.[24] However, no subsequent historical account would echo his assumption that the British fur-trading company's chief factor in Oregon welcomed Lee because he was a Canadian, much less speculate on the influence of Lee's initial British Wesleyan affiliation.

H.H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, ghostwritten by Frances Fuller Victor in 1886, depicted Jason Lee as a typical American frontiersman for whom "forest freedom proved a relief from the prison walls of prescribed forms." Lee's "brusque straightforwardness was but simple honesty, unalloyed with clerical cant," and his character "unfolded in beauty and fragrance under the stimulating prairie sun." However, Lee became more of a colonizer than a missionary when he "discovered that the tribes of the Willamette Valley and of the Columbia River west of the Cascade Mountains, were hopelessly diseased and depraved." Deliberately misleading his sponsoring society and those contributors who were "earnest in sewing-societies [and] church sociables," Lee focused his energies on recruiting American settlers for Oregon. Victor concluded, nevertheless, that Lee was neither "a bad man" nor "a good man becoming bad," and, while there was no evidence that he "ever became a naturalized citizen of the United States," he had endeavoured "to make the most of himself, to do the best for his country, whether laboring in the field of piety or patriotism." In short, Lee's work as a promoter of American colonization was "much more beneficial to mankind" than his efforts as a missionary to the Natives could ever have been.[25]

Subsequent studies would also emphasize Lee's role as a colonizer, though one without personal ambition or guile. In the first full-length biography, published nine years after the Bancroft volume, the Methodist clergyman, H.K. Hines, stressed the dying missionary's longing for Oregon, where his two wives had each died in childbirth:

> With every evanescent flash of the expiring embers of life, Oregon again arose on the horizon of his mind, and for the moment her vales and hills filled all the field of his vision. To reach Oregon, to live, if live he could, with and for her; to die, if die he must, under her peaceful skies, and lay his dust at last where she for so long had been his heart, was the measure of his earthly desires.

LEE HOUSE

Built by Elias Lee between 1804 and 1806, this substantial brick house would have been almost new when it became the young Jason Lee's home after the death of his and Elias's father in 1806. Descendants date this photograph of the house, which is still occupied, as being between 1869 and 1880. Source: Ray and Diana Baillie, Imprints II: Discovering the Historic Face of English Quebec (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 2002), 94. The photo is from a private collection.

Hines may have planted the seed for Lee's reburial seven years later by lamenting that in the Stanstead cemetery "there reposes precious dust that Oregon covets as her own […]. Surely the hero should rest by the side of the heroines." While he made no claim that the Lee family thought they had settled in Vermont rather than Lower Canada, Hines still insisted that "all that made and moulded [*sic*] him, blood, education, life-work, were American, and made him the fit representative of the most intense American ecclesiasticism on the continent in the great work of his life in Oregon."[26]

As we have seen, the Reverend Atwood's aptly titled *The Conquerors*, published eight years after Hines's biography, was still less restrained in its judgments. Not only did it declare that Lee was an American without qualification, it insisted that he was effectively acting as an agent of the United States government.[27] On a more global scale, Lee was God's own agent for "opening the doors of Asia and the islands of the sea to the Gospel, to Christian civilization, to the Bible, to schools, to commerce, and to all the potential instrumentalities that God has ordained for the betterment of human conditions and the uplift of the world."[28]

The assumption that Lee was essentially American would persist. In 1930, the Reverend John Canse published a history that again stressed Lee's role in the Americanization of the Pacific Northwest, paying little attention to his missionary efforts among the Aboriginals. Canse also stated that the Lee homestead was on the Derby Line / Rock Island border though, as we have seen, it was well to the north at the time Lee was born.[29]

Much the same stance was taken two years later, in 1932, in the biography by the University of Idaho's Cornelius J. Brosnan, which stressed that "Lee laid the foundations of the American state." While Brosnan declared that "Lee was first of all a missionary", he added that, "with characteristic New England clear-headedness he realized the futility of attempting to rescue the vanishing Indian race, and foresaw the future occupation of the country by white settlers from his own race."[30] Nevertheless, Brosnan did acknowledge Lee's Canadian birth, as well as being the only historian to mention that his eastern fundraising tour extended to the Eastern Townships early in 1839 when local Tories contributed financially to his Oregon mission.[31]

Nineteen thirty-four brought yet another hagiographic publication, when a special issue of the *Pastor's Journal* marked the centennial of the Lee mission to Oregon. Lee's Canadian origins were largely ignored, but Robert Moulton Gatke of Willamette University, stressed that "first, foremost, and always [Lee] was a Christian missionary to the Indians, certain careless historians notwithstanding."[32] This would become a major theme of the academic studies that eventually followed, beginning in 1961 with James Robert Decker's Indiana University dissertation. His was the first detailed study to argue that Lee was "at heart a Christian missionary, not a colonizer."[33] During the following decade, Robert Loewenberg went still further by arguing that Lee had promoted American settlement only "to provide a stable colony of pious and industrious men and women" so that he and his clerical fellows would be "free to itinerate among the Indians." Indeed, Loewenberg argued, Lee was quite willing to see the American claim restricted to the land south of the Columbia River, thereby acceding to the maximum pretension of the British.[34]

While Decker repeated the mistaken assumption that, because the exact location of the Vermont border was in dispute until 1842, Lee was "an American even though born in Canada,"[35] Loewenberg was the first historian not to ignore or attempt to explain away Lee's Canadian origins. He wrote: "the Connecticut valley town of Wilbraham and the border town of Stanstead, Canada, made up the two sides of Lee's eastern experience, and he cherished memories of

both places."[36] By insisting, however, that "Lee's missionary career in Oregon cannot be understood apart from its contextual underpinnings in American Methodism and American ideology," Loewenberg simply discounted the influence of the conservative British Wesleyan missionaries who converted him, as well as the colonial environment in which he grew up.[37]

Such a perspective is somewhat understandable given that Canada did not yet exist as a country during Lee's lifetime, that the border townships were originally settled by New Englanders including Lee's own democratically-inclined family, and that there were strong social and economic links across the border between Vermont and the Eastern Townships. In fact, Stanstead was one of the most persistently American townships in the region, resistant to the Church of England missionaries as well as to the strict discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Society.[38] But there were none of the cross-border political networks that characterize North America's First Nations borderlands or those in other continents,[39] much less the institutions of local government and taxation that fostered the democratic and political protest tradition south of the border. There had once been strong links between the Masons on both sides of the border, but these were broken by Vermont's anti-Masonic hysteria in the later 1820s.[40] When the Rebellion of 1837 broke out, Stanstead remained overwhelmingly loyal to the British tie, though Lee's nephew, Elias Lee, Jr., was arrested on spurious grounds.[41] Therefore, even though the New England origins and democratic politics of Jason Lee's family help to explain his easy transition into American mission work, the fact remains that he came of age during an era when the border was marking significant divergences in religious and political trajectories.[42] He, therefore, could not avoid being influenced by the more conservative religious and political culture that was developing in the Eastern Townships due in considerable part to missionaries such as the two who converted him.

How that influence manifested itself in Oregon can only be a matter of speculation, though this view of Lee does conform to the revisionist interpretation that he was more interested in saving souls than in American expansionism. Also, his preoccupation with attracting pious and educated Methodist laypeople to serve as 'missionaries' in Oregon brings to mind the persistent complaints of the British Wesleyan missionaries that Stanstead and the surrounding townships lacked a suitable lay-elite to supply the unordained local preachers and class leaders required by the itinerant Methodist system. For example, the Reverend William Squire of Stanstead complained in 1833 about his inability "to enforce our discipline as it can be done in societies where

there are sufficient Leaders."[43] The founding of the Stanstead Seminary to train the required local elite without the necessity of sending young men, such as Lee himself, to New England colleges would also have its parallel in his establishment of the Oregon Institute (which became Willamette University).[44] Finally, if Lee was a man wracked by indecision and self-doubt as the revisionist historians claim,[45] it may partly have been because -- like most English Canadians, to one degree or another -- he was torn between conflicting British and American influences. In the final analysis, however, what is striking about the Lee historiography from a Canadian perspective is how the construction and perpetuation of the American nationalist myth suppressed the influence of one border while celebrating the creation of another.

ENDNOTES

I wish to thank Chelsea Horton for her very helpful research assistance, Nick Guyatt and Jay Taylor for their critical comments, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its financial assistance.

1. Patrice Groulx, "In the Shoes of Samuel de Champlain," in Raymonde Litalien and Densi Vaugeois, eds, *Champlain: The Birth of French America* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 335.
2. Robert J. Loewenberg, *Equality on the Oregon Frontier: Jason Lee and the Methodist Mission, 1834–43* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 68.
3. Rev. A. Atwood, *The Conquerors. Historical Sketches of the American Settlement of the Oregon Country Embracing Facts in the Life and Work of Rev. Jason Lee, the Pioneer and Founder of American Institutions on the Western Coast of North America* (Tacoma, WA: Jennings and Graham, 1907), 197–204.
4. Quoted in Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon* (New York: MacMillan, 1932), 27.
5. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), chapter 1.

6. The process of moving Lee's body apparently began in 1904 with a letter from Mrs Smith French of The Dalles, Oregon to Colonel Frederick D. Butterfield of Derby Line, Vermont. Butterfield was a Civil War veteran and wealthy tap and die manufacturer who spent his winters in California. He superintended and covered the costs of disinterring and shipping Lee's body and tombstone to Portland, Oregon, where Lee's son-in-law, Professor F.H. Grubbs, placed them in the safety vault of that city's Title Guarantee and Trust Company. The re-interment was timed to mark the sixty-second anniversary of Willamette University. Lee's original tombstone was replaced with one flush to the ground in 1975. Atwood *Conquerors*, 197; Arthur Henry Moore, *History of Golden Rule Lodge* (Toronto: Willam Briggs, 1905), 150–1; Sylvia Mattson, *Missionary Foot Paths: The Story of Anna Maria Pittman (Mrs. Jason Lee)* (Salem: Mission Mill Museum Association, 1978), 66, 110.
7. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 207; Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 18–19.
8. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 207–8.
9. Richard Lates and Harold Meeks, "The Line Which Separates Vermonters from Canadians: A Short History of Vermont's Northern Border with Quebec," *Vermont History*, 44, no. 2 (1976): 74–7. The local history by B.F. Hubbard provides somewhat contradictory information, stating on one page that Daniel Lee settled on lot 10 of the 10th range in 1797 and on another that he "pitched" on lot 1 of the same range in 1800. The latter lot was directly on the international border, but Lee had sold this lot and was living on lot 10 by the time Jason was born. B.F. Hubbard, *Forests and Clearings. The History of Stanstead County, Province of Quebec* (Montreal: Lovell, 1874), 31–2, 155–6.
10. Joel Andres, "The Pattern of Pioneer Migrations to Stanstead County, 1793–1840," *Stanstead Historical Society Journal*, 7 (1977): 45–50.
11. See J.I. Little, *Loyalties in Conflict: A Canadian Borderland in War and Rebellion, 1812–1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
12. See J.I. Little, *Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792–1852* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), chapter 2.
13. Malcolm Clark, jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon, 1818–1862* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 75. For the full text on the headstone, see Atwood, *Conquerors*, 205.
14. Little, *Borderland Religion*, 182–4; John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, vol. 3 (Toronto: Welseyan Conference Office, 1871), 89–90.

15. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 26–31; Kathleen H. Brown, *Schooling in the Clearings: Stanstead, 1800–1850* (Stanstead: Stanstead Historical Society, 2001), 134–5.
16. Quoted in Little, *Borderland Religion*, 185.
17. Little, *Borderland Religion*, 186–7.
18. Jason reportedly lived in Elias's household for a time after their father died in 1806. (Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 22). The Reverend Daniel Lee was, until Loewenberg's revisionist work, depicted as the ineffectual counter to his uncle Jason. Robert J. Loewenberg, "'Not … by feeble means': Daniel Lee's Plan to Save Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 74 (1973): 71–8. See also Robert Boyd, *People of the Dalles: The Indians of the Wascopam Mission* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).
19. On this mission, see Elisabeth Graham, *Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784–1867* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975), 38–9; and John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 91.
20. See Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 182–4; and Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962).
21. For a detailed examination of the origins of this mission, see Albert Furtwangler, *Bringing Indians to the Book* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), chapter 1. Daniel Lee had not yet been ordained, but he had been traveling in the New Hampshire Conference for more than two years. H.K. Hines, *Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, Containing the Wonderful Story of Jason Lee* (Portland: H.K. Hines; San Francisco: J.D. Hammond, 1899), 46–54; Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 13–15, 33.
22. John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries, or The Canadian Itinerants' Memorial*, vol. 3 (Toronto: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871), 396–7.
23. On the earliest Oregon histories, see Chad Reimer, "Borders of the Past: The Oregon Boundary Dispute and the Beginnings of Northwest Historiography," in John M. Findlay and Ken S. Coates, eds, *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).
24. W.H. Gray, *A History of Oregon, 1792–1849, Drawn From Personal Observation and Authentic Information* (Portland: Harris and Holman; New York: American News, 1870), 622. On Gray, see Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 29.

25. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 57, 61, 166–8, 174, 209–10, 214, 220–1.
26. Hines, *Missionary History*, 316–19. Hines was the brother of the man who raised Lee's only child. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 25n38.
27. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 29.
28. Atwood, *Conquerors*, 178–80, 193.
29. John M. Canse, *Pilgrim and Pioneer: Dawn in the Northwest* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930), 39, 297.
30. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 276–7.
31. The most generous Canadian contributor to the Oregon mission in 1839 was the prominent conservative merchant and politician, Samuel Brooks. Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 21–2, 128–33.
32. Robert Moulton Gatke, "Jason Lee, the Trail Breaker," *Pastor's Journal*, 5, No. 1 (January 1933), 11.
33. James Robert Decker, "Jason Lee, Missionary to Oregon. A Reevaluation" (PhD dissertation, University of Indiana, 1961), 1. The older view persisted, however, in Dorothy O. Johansen, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*, 2nd edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 161–5.
34. Robert J. Loewenberg, "Saving Oregon Again: A Western Perennial?" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 78 (1977): 341–3. Loewenberg also claims that Lee discouraged immigration during his 1838–9 fund-raising tour, and that the migration that did take place to Oregon was caused "by factors having nothing to do with Lee." Robert J. Loewenberg, "New Evidence, Old Categories: Jason Lee as Zealot," *Pacific Historical Review*, 47 (1978): 354–5. See also Robert J. Loewenberg, "Creating a Provisional Government in Oregon: A Revision," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 68, 1 (1977): 13–24. Kent Richards had already revived the hint by Bancroft/Fuller that Lee and his associates were attempting to establish a Methodist theocracy. See his "The Methodists and the Formation of the Oregon Provisional Government," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 61, 2 (1970): 87–93. But Clark's *Eden Seekers*, published in 1981, simply ignored this revisionist interpretation.
35. Decker, "Jason Lee," 3–4.
36. R.J. Loewenberg, "The Idea of Equality in Ante-Bellum America: Oregon a Test Case" (Phd dissertation, Yale University, 1972), 57–8.
37. Loewenberg, "Idea of Equality," 59. Clark's *Eden Seekers* (75) repeats the spurious claim that Stanstead was considered Vermont territory at the time of Lee's birth, "but a boundary correction threw it into Lower Canada."

38. See J.I. Little, "The Mental World of Ralph Merry: A Case Study of Popular Religion in the Lower Canadian – New England Borderland, 1798–1863," *Canadian Historical Review*, 83 (2002): 338–64; and J.I. Little "The Methodistical Way: Revivalism and Popular Resistance to the Wesleyan Church Discipline in the Stanstead Circuit, 1821–52," *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses*, 31 (2002): 171–94.
39. Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History*, 8, no. 2 (1997): 225. Most detailed studies of the Canadian-American borderland have focused on the impact of the boundary on the Native population. See, for example, Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 2006); Beth LaDow, *The Medecine Line: Life and Death on North American Borderland* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001); and Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005).
40. Moore, *Golden Rule Lodge*, 14–21, 66.
41. Elias Lee, Sr., had already been defeated as Stanstead's pro-Patriot candidate in the 1836 by-election.
42. On religious and political culture in Vermont, see David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont* (New York: AMS Press, 1966, reprint 1939); John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller, III, *Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); and Randolph Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). On religious and political culture in the Eastern Townships, see Little, *Borderland Religion*; and Little, *Loyalties in Conflict*.
43. Quoted in Little, "Methodistical Way," 178.
44. Loewenberg, *Equality*, 123.
45. Loewenberg ("New Evidence," 347–8) refers to Lee as a "fluttering soul" and ineffectual "bumbler who was easily swayed by stronger personalities." Clark (*Eden Seekers*, 105) claims that he was "possessed by confusion and vacillation." Somewhat more sympathetic is the recent portrayal in Gray H. Whalley, ""Trophies" for God: Native Mortality, Racial Ideology, and the Methodist Mission of Lower Oregon, 1834–1844," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 107, no. 1 (2006): 6–35.

AN OVERVIEW OF RECENT CLIMATE CHANGE AND STREAMFLOW IN THE MASSAWIPPI RIVER BASIN

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ABSTRACT

A study of the trends of climatic and hydrologic variables between 1960 and 2004 was completed for the Massawippi River basin in southern Quebec. Analysis of these trends was used to evaluate possible changes in streamflow in the basin. This basin is flood-prone, especially during the spring months, with portions of the basin having been inundated 95 times during the 20th century. Trends were analyzed initially using cumulative percentage departure from the mean plots, taken from the raw data. The graphical results indicate trends toward increasing winter and spring temperatures and a change in precipitation type from snow to rain. Decreases in winter snow accumulations are particularly evident. Graphical analyses show some trend toward decreasing maximum and total river discharges, but the trends are not statistically significant. There is no clear evidence that changes in the climatic variables are causing significant changes in river behaviour. Thus there is no evidence that changing climatic conditions are creating greater streamflows.

RÉSUMÉ

Une étude sur les tendances des variables climatiques et hydrologiques entre 1960 et 2004 a été effectuée pour le bassin de la rivière Massawippi, dans le sud du Québec. L'analyse de ces tendances a été utilisée pour évaluer les changements possibles dans ce bassin. Vulnérable aux inondations, en particulier pendant la période printanière, le bassin a été en partie inondé à 95 reprises au cours du 20e siècle. Les tendances ont été analysées dans un premier temps au moyen du pourcentage cumulatif d'écart par rapport aux courbes moyennes, établi d'après les données brutes. Les résultats graphiques indiquent une tendance à la hausse des températures printanières et hivernales et une modification du type des précipitations, qui passent de la neige à la pluie. La diminution des accumulations de neige en hiver est particulièrement évidente. D'après les analyses graphiques, on note que les débits (maximal et total) de la rivière ont tendance à diminuer, mais ces tendances ne sont pas statistiquement

significatives. Rien ne démontre nettement que les changements des variables climatiques causent des changements significatifs dans le comportement de la rivière ou des crues. Rien ne prouve donc que le changement des conditions climatiques fasse augmenter les débits de la rivière.

Introduction

Climate change, especially the concept of 'global warming', has become of increased public and scientific interest. Rapid climate change has been documented for past millennia (Harvey, 2000) and is anticipated for the future. One area of interest to geographers has been the effect climate change may have on river regimes. Numerous studies relating climatic and hydrologic changes have been completed in various regions of Canada.

Roy et al. (2001) anticipate serious increases in the volume of future streamflow in the Chateauguay River Basin of Quebec, based on their analyses of global warming predicted by general circulation models (GCMs). Dibike and Coulibaly (2005) use data output by GCMs to study changes in precipitation and streamflow in the Saguenay River Basin. They predict an increasing trend in temperature and precipitation values, leading to increasing trends in streamflow and earlier peak spring flows.

Burn et al. (2004), working in the Mackenzie River Basin, have also found a trend toward increasing streamflow, although they found most of the increase to be in winter and spring flows with a reduction in summer flow. Burn and Cunderlik (2004) found similar results for the Liard River Basin in northern Canada: increasing winter and spring flows, decreasing summer flow, and earlier spring and summer peak flows. Ashmore and Church (2001), in their pan-Canadian study, suggest these changes in streamflow regimes may be caused by increasing temperatures and precipitation, but decreasing snowfall amounts. However, they emphasize that the link between climate and hydrology is indirect and unknown.

Climate change is having, and will have, dramatically different effects in different regions of the country. For example, as glacier sizes diminish in western Canada, streamflows should drop significantly. In eastern Canada, increased precipitation amounts are expected to offset increased temperatures, resulting in total precipitation exceeding potential evapotranspiration and overall increased streamflows. Most previous research on this topic has been com-

pleted on large river basins (eg, Burn et al., 2004) or large geographic areas (eg, Ashmore and Church, 2001). The present study is a general overview of how some climate variables have affected streamflow in a relatively small drainage basin, the Massawippi River Basin, over the 45 year period from 1960 to 2004. This period has been chosen because hydrologic records for the basin begin in 1960.

The focus of the study is the relationship between regional climatic variables, such as temperature and precipitation amounts, and hydrological variables, such as average and peak flows, and how this relationship affects the quantity of water moving through a small river basin. The overall objectives of the research are, first, to determine whether there have been discernable changes in the climatic and hydrologic variables and, second, what effect any changes might have on surface water flow. Are the results of previous research in larger basins and areas, showing increases in temperature and precipitation leading to increases in streamflow, applicable in a smaller basin?

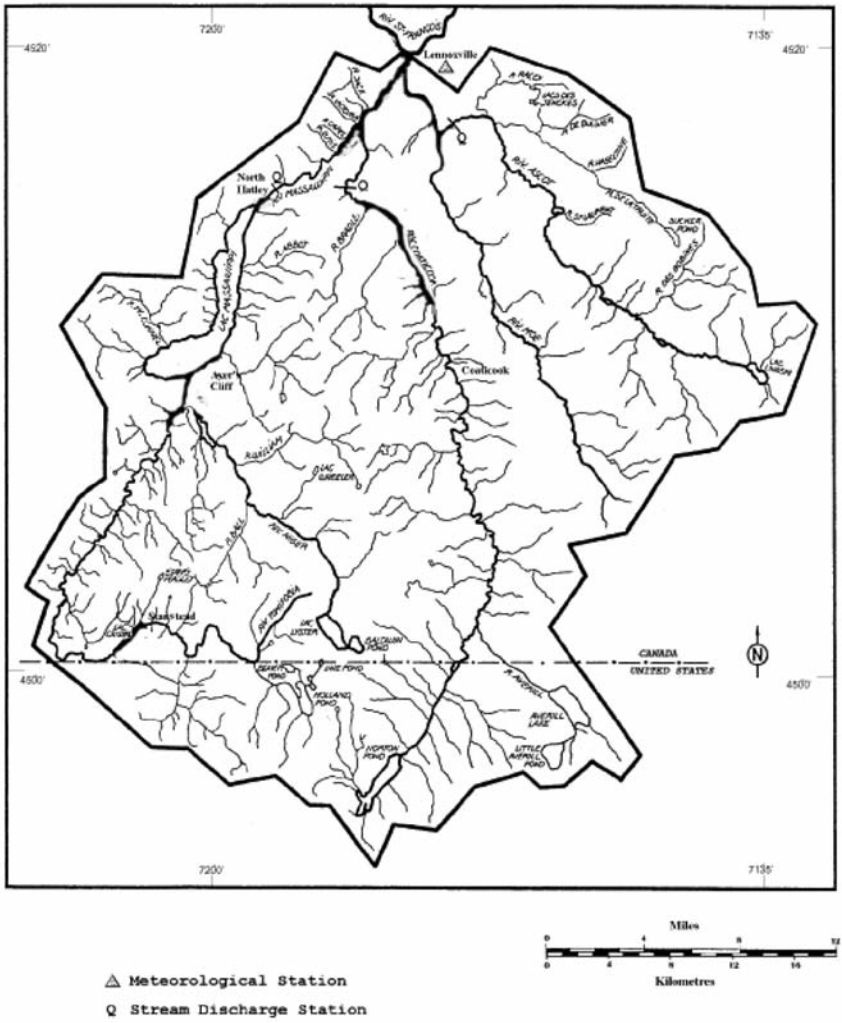
Methods

Trends in climatological and hydrological variables are assessed using a variety of statistical and graphical methods, both types of analyses being well suited for following recent trends in data. For this paper trends in data will be displayed using graphical plots of the data. Data plots present the data in its simplest form. Climate information is taken from the Environment Canada Lennoxville meteorological station which is situated at the north end of the study basin (Fig. 1). Temperature and precipitation data are available for the 1960 to 2004 period; hydrologic data from streamflow monitoring sites on the Massawippi, Coaticook and Ascot Rivers operated by *Le Centre d'expertise hydrique du Quebec* are available for the same period. Streamflow information for the Moes River has been calculated using a linear regression equation based on data from the adjacent Ascot River.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Previous studies (eg, Ashmore and Church, 2001) have shown that precipitation, rather than temperature, is the dominant climatic influence on streamflow. The graphical plots presented here are meant to show some of the possible relationships between precipitation, temperature and streamflow in the Massawippi Basin. The trends in the data, which can be highly variable, are identified by

Figure 1: Study Area Locations



plotting the raw data over time. Figures 2–4 contain raw data plots for all variables used in this study. The raw data plots are shown with a superimposed 5-year running mean trendline. This trendline allows a clear view of any overall trend in the raw data. Rising trendlines indicate short-term increases in the graphed variable, while falling ones indicate decreases. The strength of the increase or decrease can be assessed by the steepness of the line. Thus, a sequence of above-average years appears as an upward trend, below-average years as a downward trend and average conditions as a flat trend.

The following climatic variables from the Lennoxville meteorological station were used in the study: mean annual, winter (previous December, January, February), spring (March, April, May), summer (June, July, August) and autumn (September, October, November) temperatures, and mean annual and individual seasonal total precipitation amounts. Five streamflow variables are used to illustrate hydrological conditions in the Massawippi River Basin over the 45-year study period: mean annual and individual seasonal flows, all measured as stream discharge in cubic metres per second (cms) of water.

Analysis of Climate variables:

Of the ten climate variables analyzed only three show strong, observable trends according to the data plots: mean annual and winter temperatures, and total annual precipitation. Mean annual and winter temperatures show increasing trends, indicating increasing mean temperatures over the 1960 to 2004 time period. This positive trend has been strongest since approximately 1980 (Fig. 2a and 2b). There is evidence from the other seasonal plots for increases in the mean spring and summer temperatures, but these trends are weak (Fig. 2c and 2d). Mean autumn temperatures, according to the plots, have remained approximately the same over the study period (Fig. 2e).

The other strong climate trend is related to precipitation: total annual precipitation. This trend is a strong negative one and, along with the trend for mean annual temperature, is the clearest of all the variable trends. The raw data plots for the total annual precipitation variable clearly display the decrease in precipitation amounts, especially since the late 1970s. In 1976 annual precipitation reached its highest amount for the period of record, 1520.5 mm, then, despite a brief peak in the mid-1990s, one of the lowest precipitation totals on record was recorded in 2004, 918.4 mm. This represents a decrease in annual precipitation of over 600 mm from the mid-1970s to the early 2000s, mainly because of a reduction in winter precipitation (Fig. 3a). Seasonal precipitation trends are more complex and, thus, not as easily observed. The total winter precipitation data show a weak negative trend, but a highly variable one. Winter precipitation is decreasing from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, then becoming relatively stable for the remainder of the study period (Fig. 3b). In addition, there is a change in the percentage of total winter precipitation falling as snow from approximately 85% in the early 1970s to approximately 70% in the past decade

(Environment Canada, 2006). All the other seasonal precipitation plots lack clear trends. The total summer, spring and autumn data show no trends. The raw data plots are essentially flat (Fig. 3c, 3d and 3e).

Analysis of Hydrology variables:

Of the five hydrologic variables measured in this study only winter and spring show a strong, observable trend (Fig. 4b and 4c). Mean spring discharge has the strongest trend of these two variables. The raw data plot for this variable indicates that a decrease in spring discharge has been occurring since the early 1970s, when spring discharge levels were the highest on record. The mean annual discharge data trend is somewhat similar to the spring one, showing a very weak negative trend over the 45-year study period (Fig. 4a).

Mean winter discharge has the next strongest trend of the five hydrologic variables measured. A weak positive trend is indicated by the graphical analyses (Fig. 4b). Mean summer and autumn data show no graphically apparent trends (Fig. 4 d and 4e).

Discussion

The analysis of selected climate variables taken from the Lennoxville, Quebec climate station indicate that mean annual and mean winter temperatures have increased significantly over the 45-year study period. The mean annual temperature trend is especially strong. This strong positive trend in mean annual temperature is manifested most prominently in the strong positive trend in the mean winter temperature, and less prominently in the positive trends for spring and summer temperature. The positive mean autumn temperature trend is very weak. The presence of positive trends in all of the seasonal data, and their manifestation in the mean annual data, is an important indicator of a warming climate in the study area.

The precipitation trends, unlike the temperature trends, are not uniform. Only the total annual precipitation trend is easily observable, with a strong negative trend. In contrast, none of the graphical analyses of the seasonal precipitation trends support this strong annual trend. The winter, spring and autumn trends are negative, indicating decreasing precipitation totals, but all are weak trends and none of them are significant. The summer precipitation trend is the only positive one. However, despite being the relatively strongest seasonal trend, it is still quite weak.

In general, strong mean annual and mean winter temperature

trends, an overall positive trend in all other seasonal temperatures, and a contrasting strong negative trend in total annual precipitation, result in no significant changes in streamflow trends in the Masswippi River basin between 1960 and 2004. The two relatively strongest hydrological trends are, in winter, a positive trend, and in spring, a negative trend. This may represent a balancing of flow between these two seasons. Increasing winter temperatures should cause a change from precipitation as snow to rain, adding to the streamflow during this season. Reduced winter snow accumulation would lead to reduced snowmelt water in the spring, thus the negative trend in spring streamflow seen in the data. The strong positive mean winter temperature trend also helps to explain the weak positive trend in winter streamflow.

The results obtained in this study do not agree completely with previous studies completed in Quebec river basins. Both Roy et al. (2001), and Dibike and Coulibaly (2005), using data generated from GCMs, predict increases in temperature, precipitation and streamflows. The historical analysis presented in this study shows definite increases in mean temperatures, both annual and seasonal, some evidence for a decrease in total annual precipitation, complex changes in seasonal precipitation amounts, and no observable graphical evidence for changes in streamflows between 1960 and 2004. The predicted increases in streamflow may still occur, but there is little evidence for these increases in this 45-year historical analysis.

Conclusion

Based on the data available from the Lennoxville meteorological station, the Massawippi River environs have seen increases in annual and winter mean temperatures. Temperatures in the other three seasons have increasing positive trends, but they are not significant. In contrast, there has been a strong negative, decreasing trend in total annual precipitation. No seasonal precipitation trends are found. Also, no trends in Massawippi River streamflow trends, either annual or seasonal, are apparent in the data. There is a graphical indication of lower spring and higher winter streamflows but the trends are not strong.

The strong increase in winter temperatures should lead to more winter rain, less winter snow and, thus, less snow available for the spring melt period. There is some indication, especially in the graphical plots presented here, of increased winter and decreased spring streamflows. A more balanced flow between these two seasons may

be occurring.

In general, annual river volumes have not changed significantly over the 45-year study period and cannot be predicted to change significantly in the immediate future. None of the data presented in this paper support either a future decrease or an increase in the annual surface water flow in the Massawippi River basin. However, a seasonal shift in surface water flow from spring to winter is suggested.

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Dibike, Y.B. and P. Coulibaly, 2005. "Hydrologic Impact of Climate Change in the Saguenay Watershed: Comparison of Downscaling Methods and Hydrologic Models. *Journal of Hydrology*, 307, 145–163.

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Harvey, L.D.D., 2000. *Global Warming: The Hard Science*. Prentice Hall, Toronto, 336 pp.

Roy, L., R. Leconte, F.P. Brissette and C. Marche, 2001. "The Impact of Climate Change on Seasonal Floods of a Southern Quebec River Basin." *Hydrological Processes*, 15, 3167-3179.

Figures 2a–e
Historical trends in Temperature variables for the Massawippi River Basin.
(The 5-year running mean trendline is in bold.)

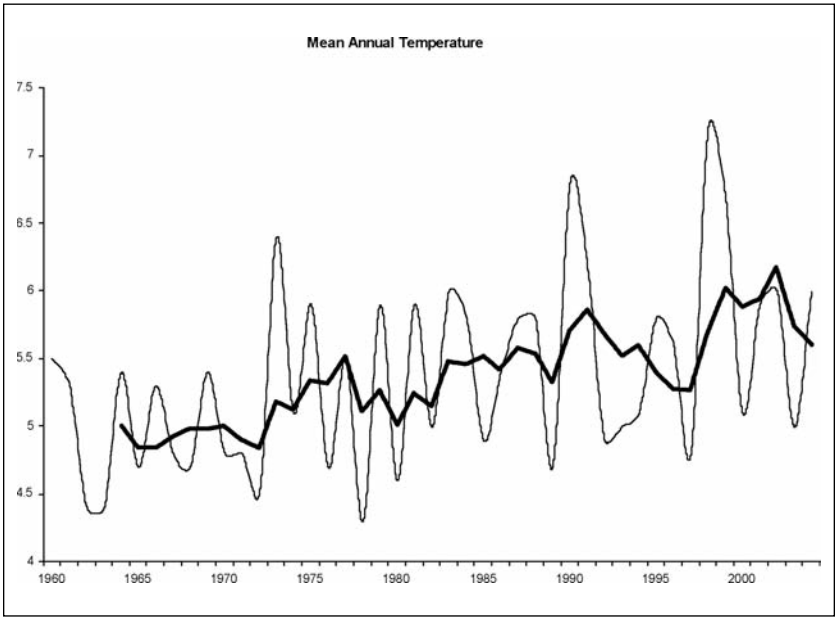


Fig. 2a

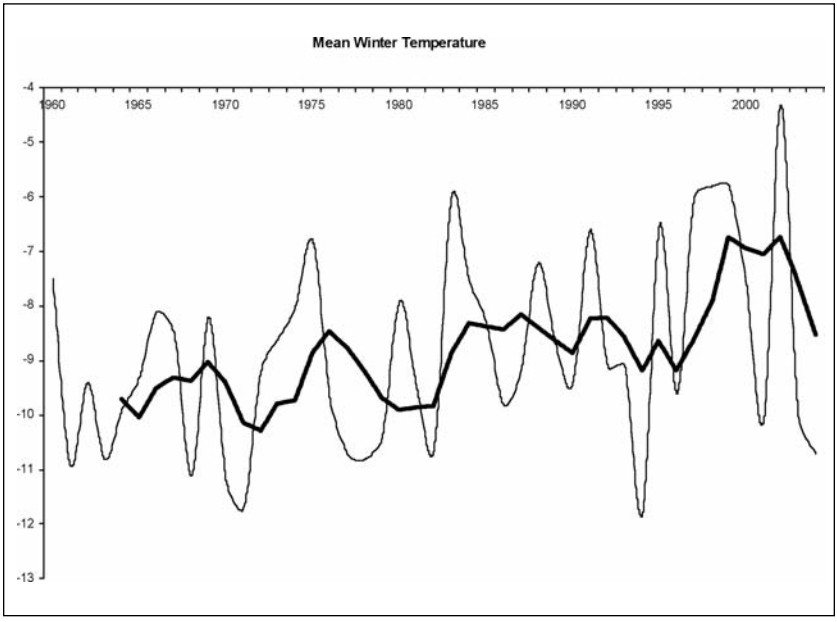


Fig. 2b

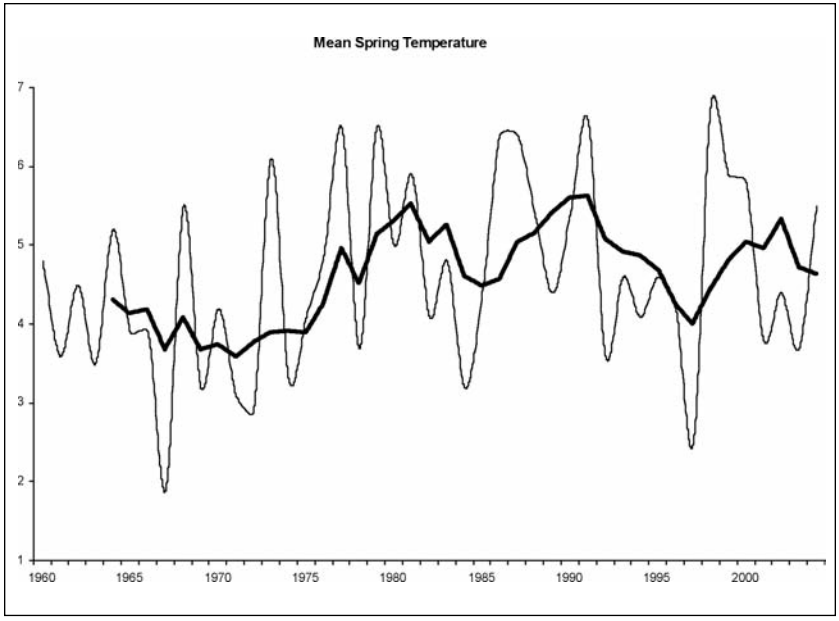
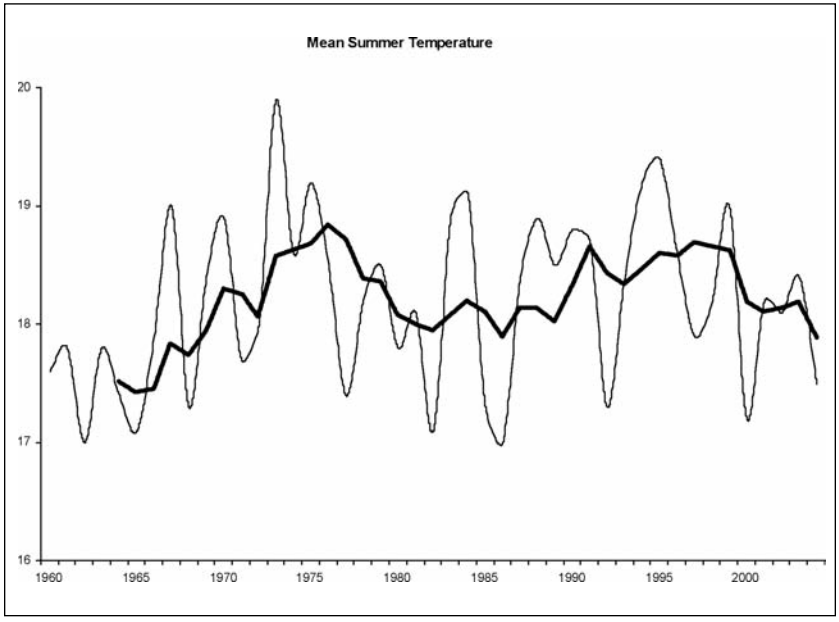

Mean Spring Temperature
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 2c


Mean Summer Temperature
20
19
18
17
16
1960
1965
1970
1975
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1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 2d

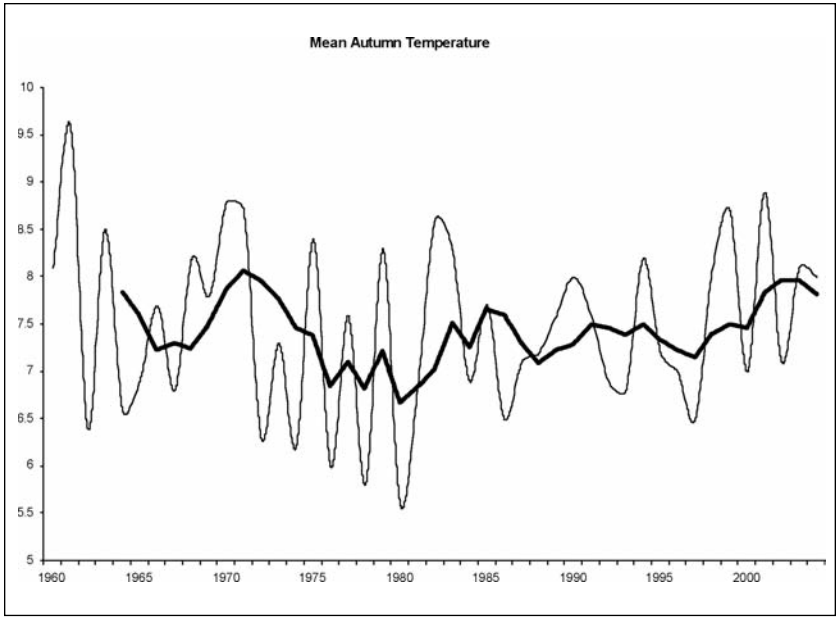


Fig. 2e

Figures 3a–e
Historical trends in Precipitation variables for the Massawippi River Basin.
(The 5-year running mean trendline is in bold.)

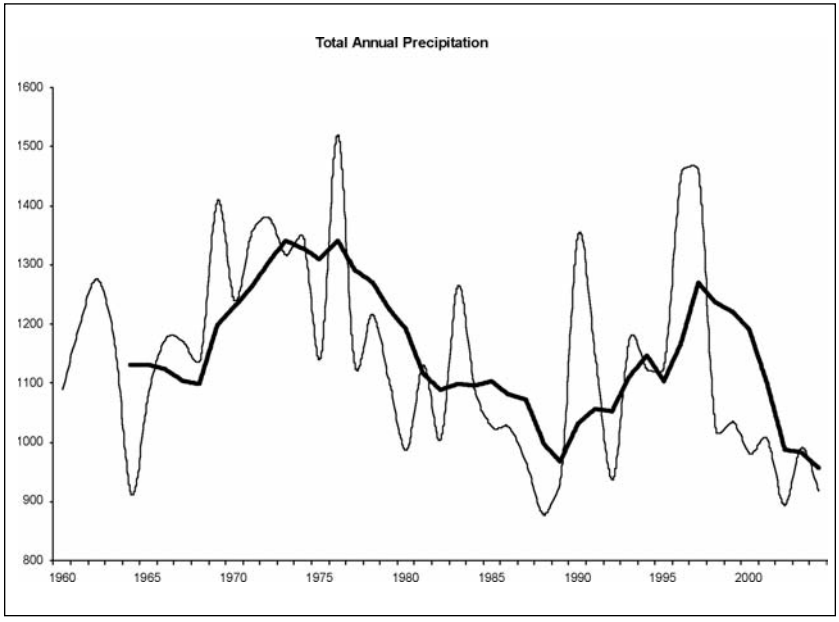


Fig. 3a

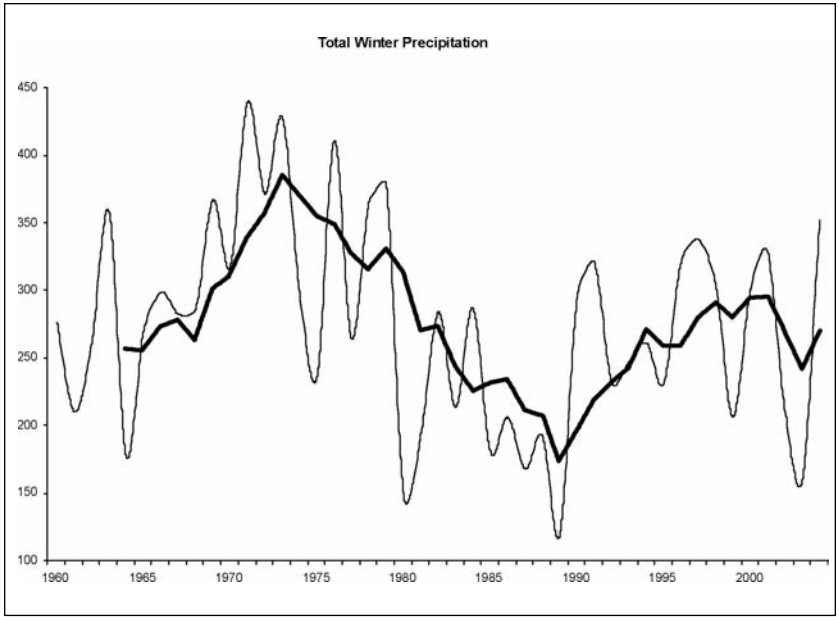
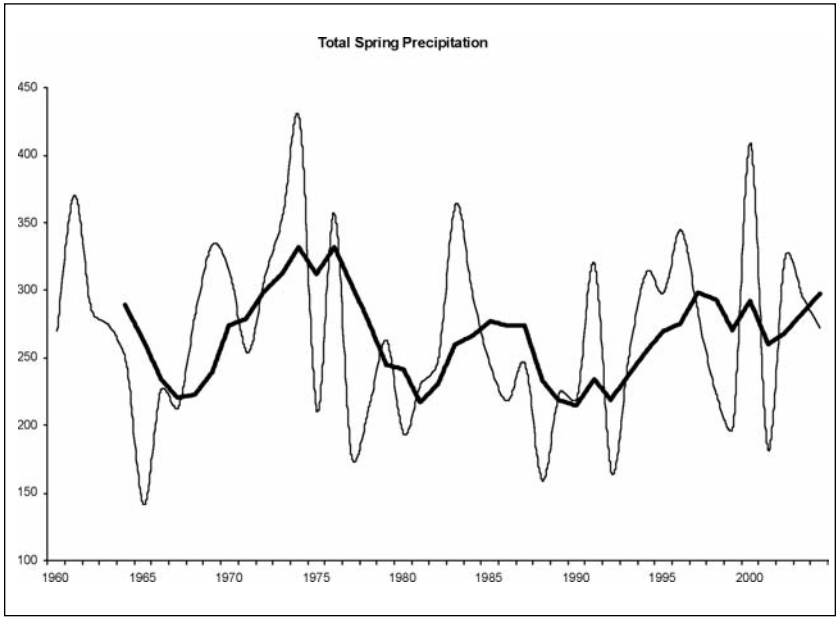

Total Winter Precipitation
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 3b


Total Spring Precipitation
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400
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300
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1960
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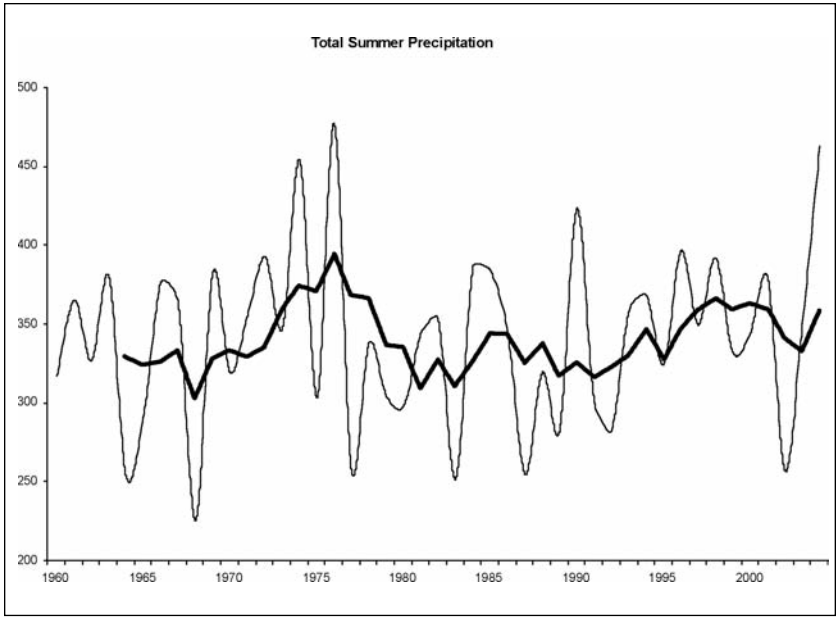
Fig. 3c


Total Summer Precipitation
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350
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250
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1965
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1990
1995
2000

Fig. 3d

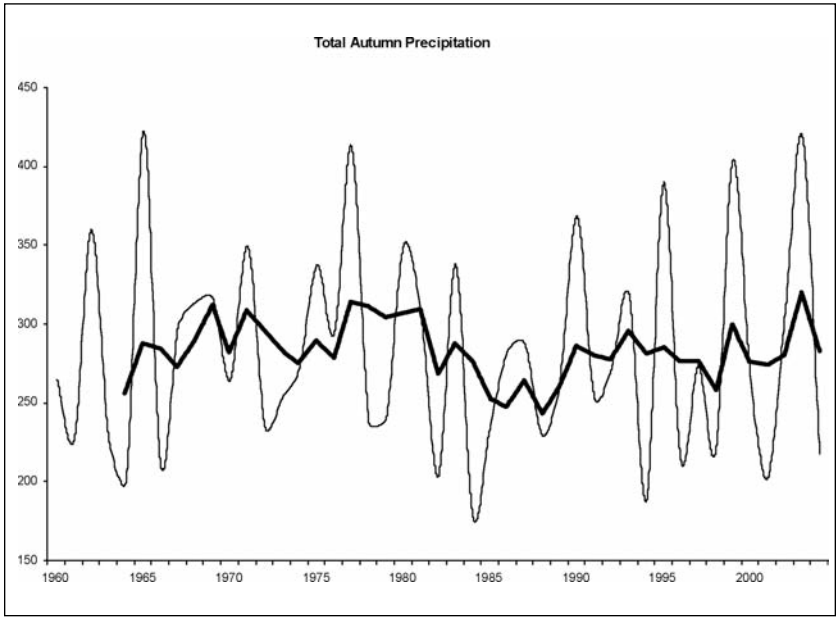
Total Autumn Precipitation
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 3e

Figures 4a–e
Historical trends in Stream Discharge variables for the Massawippi River Basin.
(The 5-year running mean trendline is in bold.)

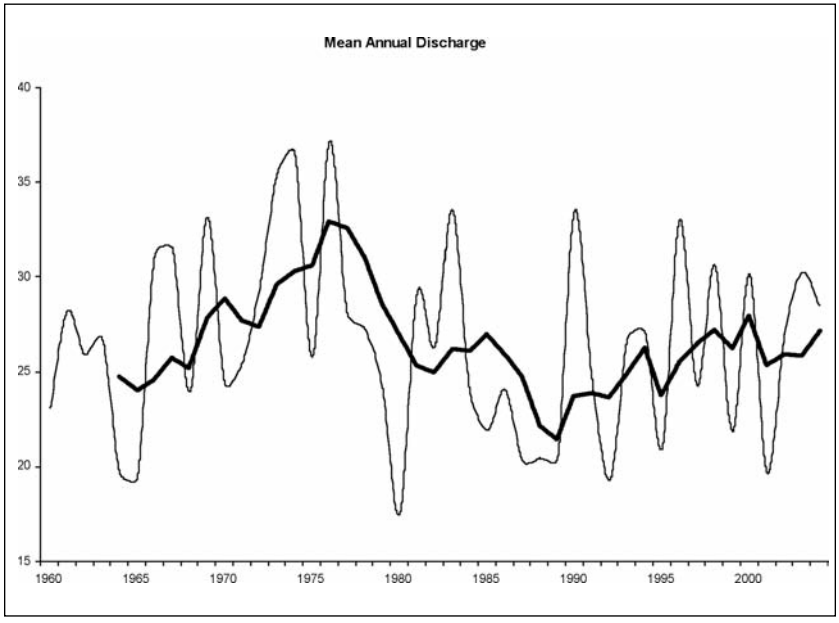

Fig. 4a

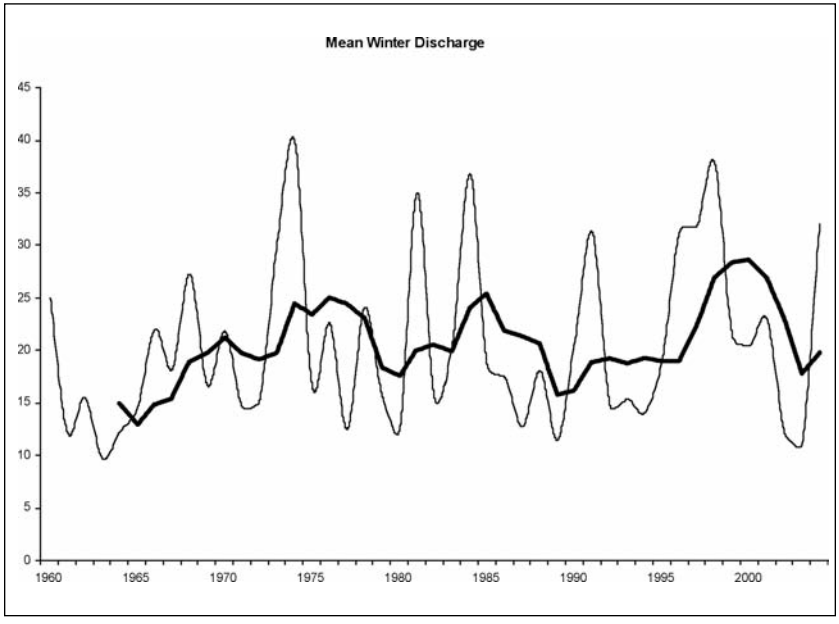

Fig. 4b

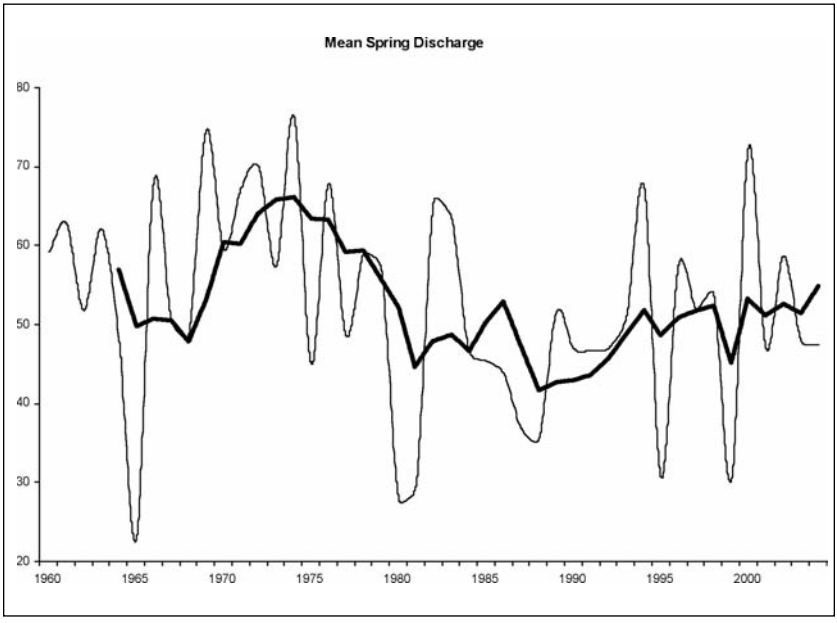
Mean Spring Discharge
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 4c

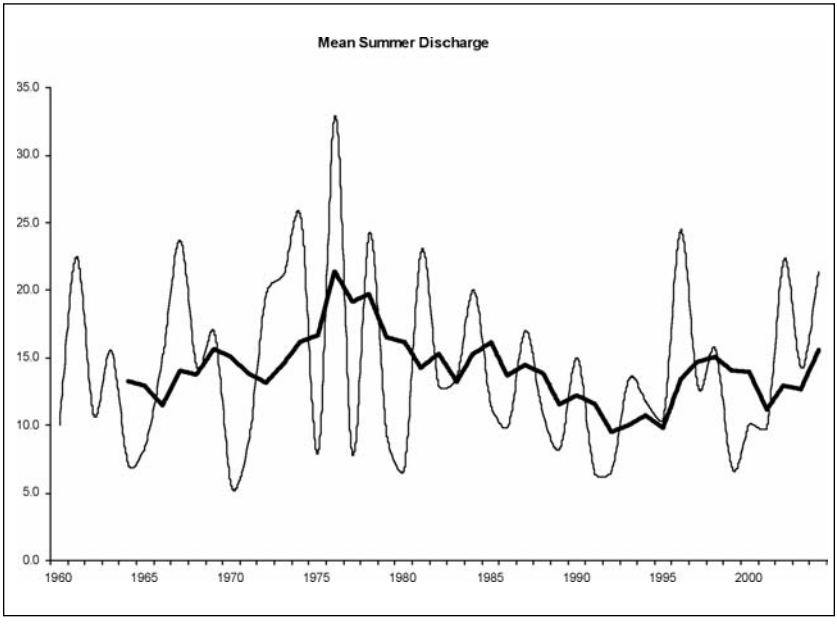
Mean Summer Discharge
35.0
30.0
25.0
20.0
15.0
10.0
5.0
0.0
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 4d

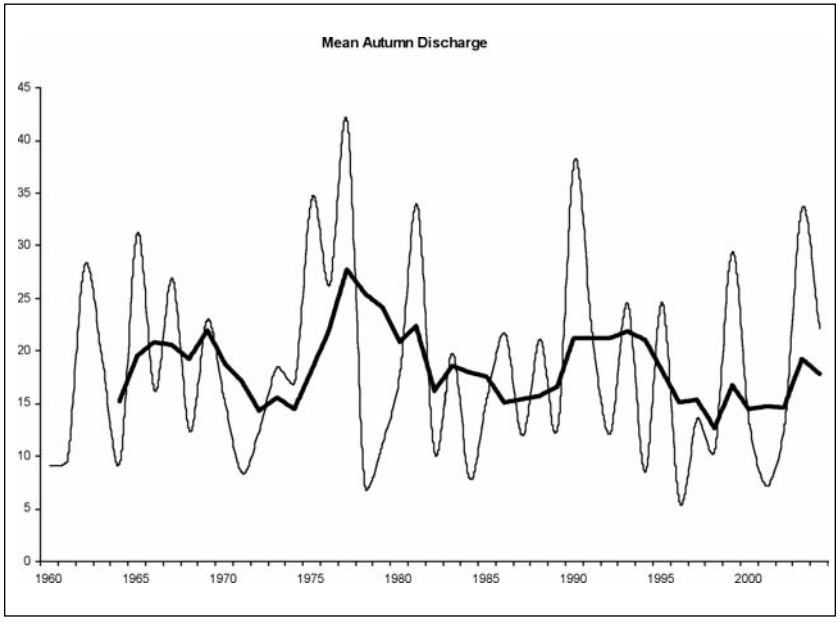
Mean Autumn Discharge
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
1985
1990
1995
2000

Fig. 4e

EMPLOYMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS: EFFECTS ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING, ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY

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ABSTRACT

Teenage workers are now common in the workforce and studies have identified both benefits and problems associated with balancing school and work. This study examines the effects of personal and work characteristics on the psychological well-being, academic performance, and occupational safety of working high school students in the Eastern Townships. Results suggest that self-employment and working for personal growth are associated with higher levels of psychological well-being, and that teenagers working for a family business are exposed to more occupational hazards. School-year employment does not appear to impact on grades.

RÉSUMÉ

Les étudiants sont nombreux à occuper un emploi, et les recherches identifient des avantages comme des inconvénients à concilier le travail et les études. Cette recherche analyse donc, chez des d'étudiants de niveau secondaire des Cantons-de-l'Est, l'influence de différents aspects du travail ainsi que de certaines caractéristiques personnelles sur leur bien-être psychologique, leur performance académique ainsi que leur sécurité. Les résultats démontrent que les travailleurs autonomes ainsi que les jeunes qui apprécient travailler jouissent d'un plus grand bien-être psychologique. Il est aussi révélé que les adolescents qui travaillent pour une entreprise familiale sont plus à risque de subir des accidents reliés au travail. De plus, les résultats soulignent que le travail à temps partiel pendant l'année académique ne semble pas influencer les résultats scolaires.

During adolescence, youngsters further define their identities, clarify their values and goals, and increase their independence from their families. As part of this process, they develop their work values and career aspirations (Erickson, 1968). During this transitional period, an increasing number of teens work on a part-time basis while going to school. These young workers face, besides the regular school requirements and expectations, work-related demands and challenges, which may influence their quality of life and affect their well-being.

The number of adolescents who balance work and school has increased over the years to the extent that in 2004-2005, 34% of female and 28 % of male high school students between the ages of 15 and 17 were employed during the school year. They worked an average of 13 hours per week. The majority (60%) were employed in two main sectors: namely, retail and wholesale trade (e.g., grocery, clothing, health and personal care), and food services and the hospitality business. Furthermore, an increasing number of teens worked in information, culture/recreation, and educational services, whereas a declining number worked in manufacturing, forestry and agriculture (Usalcas & Bowlby, 2006).

Several studies have evaluated the influence of student employment on aspects such as academic performance, mental health (anxiety, depression), injuries, personal development, career maturity (career planning and exploration), and work-related attitudes. Investigations that evaluated the impact of the number of hours worked on students' academic performance have found mixed results. Some findings suggest that working has a beneficial effect on academic performance. Working a moderate number of hours per week has been found to be associated with higher school commitment, higher GPA, decreased chances of dropping out, and greater intentions of attending college (D'Amico, 1984; Mortimer, Finch, Ryu, Shanahan, & Call, 1996; Paschall, Flewelling & Russell, 2004; Staff & Mortimer, 2007; Steel, 1991; Warren, 2002). Other studies, however, report that working many hours has a detrimental effect on academic performance, although there appears to be no consensus about how many hours is too many (Largie, Field, Hernandez-Reif, Sanders, & Diego, 2001; Schoenhals, Tienda, & Schneider, 1998; Warren, 2002). Some studies found that working decreases school performance independently of the number of hours worked (e.g., Steinberg, Fegley, & Dornbusch, 1993).

A number of factors may influence the relationship (positive or negative) between work and academic performance. These include

personal characteristics of the student involved, characteristics of the job, and social support. It has been suggested that the discrepancies in academic performance found between workers and non-workers may be explained by individual differences (e.g., age, gender, self-esteem, school commitment, and educational aspirations) rather than the number of hours worked (McNeal, 1997; Steinberg et al., 1993; Warren, LePore, & Mare, 2000). Moreover, the quality of the job (e.g., job type, skill variety, role clarity, role conflict, level of decision-making and autonomy) may influence academic performance and students' well-being (Barling, Rogers, & Kelloway, 1995; McNeal, 1997; Mortimer, Finch, Shanahan, & Ryu, 1992; Mortimer, Harley, & Staff, 2002), as could family cohesiveness and parental involvement which may act as intervening variables between academic performance and students' work intensity (Largie et al., 2001; Paschall et al., 2004; Roiseman, 2002).

A number of positive outcomes are associated with working part-time during the school year. Working high school students are more likely than non-working ones to be physically active in their leisure time (Carrière, 2005) and to be involved in positive community-based activities (Paschall, Ringwalt, & Flewelling, 2002). In addition, psychological benefits may result, especially when the job provides opportunities to develop skills valuable for the future (Charner & Fraser, 1988, in Yamoor & Mortimer, 1990; Mortimer et al., 1992; Mortimer, Harley, & Staff, 2002; Skorikov & Vondracek, 1997). One of the developmental tasks of adolescence is to identify one's vocational interests and aspirations (Erikson, 1963; Gottfredson, 1981). Working students may have the opportunity to explore and experience first-hand certain aspects of work that may be related to their professional aspirations (Loughlin & Barling, 1998). Accordingly, working during adolescence has been shown to be associated with present and future career planning and exploration (Creed, Patton, & Prideaux, 2007; Hill & Woolmer, 1987), and with the development of career maturity and career development attitudes (Creed & Patton, 2003; Loughlin & Barling, 1998; Yamoor & Mortimer, 1990). Early employment may be advantageous to future labor-force participation, employment status, and income (Carr, Wright, & Brody, 1996; Hamilton & Powers, 1990).

Although balancing school and work may generate a number of short- and long-term benefits, working (particularly long hours) during the school year has also been linked to adverse outcomes. Working students may experience symptoms of psychological strain, such as decreased sleep and somatic complaints, and physical

injuries (Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Weller, Cooper, Basen-Engquist, Kelder, & Tortolero, 2004; Weller, Cooper, Tortolero, Kelder, & Hassan, 2003). An increase in risk-taking behaviors such as smoking, alcohol use, and substance abuse has also been noted (Carrière, 2005; Mortimer et al., 1996; Weller et al., 2003; Wu, Schlenger, & Galvin, 2003). However, Paschall et al. (2002) described the association between part-time work and adverse outcomes as *spurious* and linked to basic demographic and socioeconomic differences between working and nonworking teens.

Occupational health and safety is a major concern. Canadian statistics show that one in seven young workers is injured on the job, and that injured young people (ages 15–29) represent one in every four injured workers in Canada (Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety). Almost every month, one young employee dies at work (Ledoux & Laberge, 2006). These statistics are particularly alarming given the proportion of students working in sectors associated with high levels of occupational injuries. According to Weller et al. (2003) the highest injury risks sectors employing adolescent workers are, in order, agriculture, restaurants, construction and yard work. Yet, workplace injuries remain underreported by teenage workers (Parker, Carl, French, & Martin, 1994).

Young workers are also exposed to several factors that may influence their well-being, such as organizational constraints (e.g., irregular schedules, lack of supervision, low pay, lack of training, etc.) and physical constraints (repetitive work, physical effort, exposure to high levels of noise, use of dangerous equipment, etc.) (Ledoux & Laberge, 2006). Some specific factors have been found to be associated with work injuries among teens. These include male gender, negative mood, physical hazards, heavy workloads, boring job tasks, depressive symptoms, and on-the-job use of alcohol and marijuana (Frone, 1998).

In summary, adolescents who work while attending school are faced with additional expectations and challenges. The literature shows that they are exposed to occupational circumstances that may influence their academic performance, psychosocial functioning, physical well-being and professional aspirations. The question, then, is not whether part-time work is either *good* or *bad*, but rather, what are the factors contributing to a more positive working experience for these youths?

Study objectives

This paper presents results obtained from a broader project studying experiences of senior high school students who work on a part-time basis during the school year. Specifically, the investigation examined whether findings of studies previously reported in the literature generalized to students living in the socio-cultural context of the Eastern Townships in Quebec. The aim of the study was to assess the influence of personal and work characteristics (i.e., age, gender, motivation for working, type of employment, number of hours worked) on students' psychological wellbeing, academic performance, and occupational safety.

Methodology

Study Sample and Procedure

A cross-sectional survey was conducted in May 2005 at a mid-sized English regional high school in Sherbrooke, Quebec. During class time, 263 students completed a booklet in which they identified socio-demographic information and answered questions about their job characteristics, grades, and goals for the future. Participants further completed standardized scales evaluating emotional exhaustion, psychological strain and work overload.

Emotional exhaustion resulting from work was measured with the 3-item scale reported by Iverson, Olekalns, and Erwin (1998). A sample item is "I have felt emotionally drained from my job." Responses are given on a 7-point scale ranging from "not at all" (1) to "all of the time" (7). Higher scores reflect an increased sense of emotional exhaustion. The internal consistency of the scale in this study was good ($\alpha = .86$).

Psychological strain was evaluated with the General Health Questionnaire-12. This 12-item scale is a context-free measure of overall psychological functioning and well-being (Banks et al., 1980). An example of an item is "Have you been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?" Items are rated on a sevenpoint scale ranging from "not at all" (1) to "all of the time" (7). Half of the questions are negatively worded. A higher score indicates greater psychological strain. The internal consistency of the scale in this study was good ($\alpha = .85$) and equivalent to those found in other studies.

Work overload was evaluated by a four-item scale (Kelloway & Barling, 1994), ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly disagree. A sample item is "There was never enough time to get

everything done", and the internal consistency was .75.

Parents were informed of the study and were given the option of excluding their child from participation. Students were told that they could withdraw at any time and that their participation was completely anonymous. Results were analyzed with nonparametric and parametric tests (chi-square, independent t-test, ANOVA, and multiple linear regression), and the significance level was set at $p < .05$.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Two hundred and sixty-three participants completed the survey. Of these, 75% ($N = 197$) reported that they worked during the school year. These students (98 males and 99 females) were in levels 11 or 12, and ranged in age between 14 and 18 yrs ($M = 16.3$). The majority of participants was able to communicate in French and English, with 85% reporting that they felt prepared to work in an environment requiring them to speak French.

Working was defined as any activity out of school that included employment in a family business (family farm, store, restaurant, etc.), a business or organization not owned by family, or self-employment (e.g., snow removal, lawn care, house cleaning, babysitting). Fifty-four students reported working for a family business, 111 for an outside employer and 87 were self-employed. One hundred and forty-nine students reported working one job-type (family, outside work or self-employed), 41 reported working two job-types, and seven reported working three job-types. On average, students worked 16 hours per week; 50% worked 13 hours or less and 12% worked 30 hours or more.

One half of the working and non-working participants planned to attend university (see Figure 1). As shown in Figure 2, over one quarter of working students stated that they hoped to remain in the Eastern Townships to live and work. When comparing the intentions of working and non-working students, a trend was found suggesting that a higher proportion of working students plans to remain in the Eastern Townships than non-working students (χ^2 (1, N = 263) = 3.07, $p < .08$).

Part-time Work and Academic Performance

The grades of working students did not significantly differ from those who did not work (25% of the sample). Contrary to findings of other studies, work intensity did not have an impact on students'

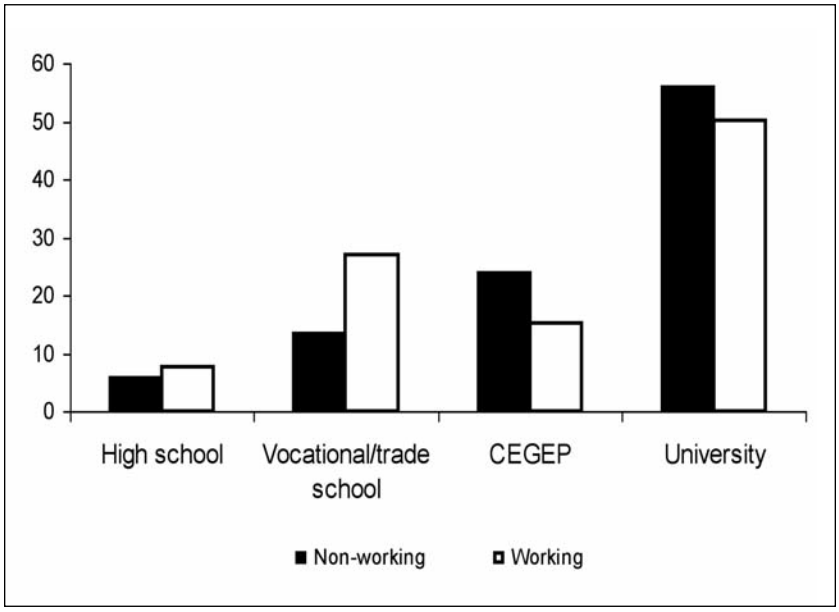

Figure 1

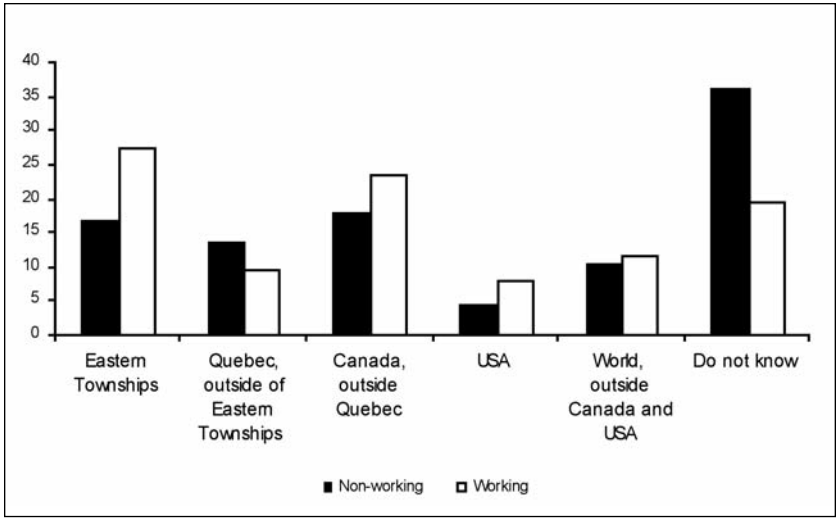

Figure 2

self-reported grades. Whether the number of hours worked was used as a continuous variable or divided into categories (high-low, high-moderate-low) with cutoff points identified in other studies (15, 20 or 30 hours), no significant differences were identified.

Impact of Reasons for Working and Job Type on Psychological Well-being

The reasons for working included: money (89%); because they liked it (32%); it's something to do (30%); to help the family business (10%); and to help out the family financially (8%). These reasons were systematically related to aspects of students' psychological well-being. For instance, teens who reported that they worked because they liked it, experienced significantly lower levels of emotional exhaustion (t (194) = 2.60, $p < .01$) and psychological strain (t (182) = 2.17, $p < .03$) than those who did not state this as a reason for working. Students who worked to help the family financially experienced higher levels of emotional exhaustion (t (194) = -2.68, $p < .01$) and psychological strain (t (182) = -2.11, $p < .04$) than those who did not. Levels of emotional exhaustion (t (194) = 3.12, $p < .002$) and perceived work overload (t (194) = 4.61, $p < .001$) were significantly lower when students were self-employed rather than working for an outside employer or for a family business.

Occupational Safety

Thirty percent of the respondents indicated that they had reported at least one workplace accident they personally experienced to management during the school year in which the survey took place; 28% experienced at least one workplace accident but did not report it. Boys experienced significantly more unreported accidents than girls, t (193) = 2.23, $p < .03$. Sixty percent came close to having an accident on at least one occasion (a near miss) during that same time-period. A multiple regression analysis conducted to determine factors predicting the frequency of near misses revealed that adolescent boys were more likely to experience near accidents than girls, and that emotional exhaustion and working for a family business predicted the frequency of near accidents, ($R^2 = .13$, F (3,193) = 9.12, $p < .001$). Age, motivations for working, and the number of hours worked did not predict the occurrence of near misses, and were consequently excluded from this regression analysis.

Discussion

The results of this investigation show that three quarters of the students surveyed were employed during the school year. They worked for various reasons and for different types of employers, and these factors had an impact on self-reported levels of well-being. In this study, the number of hours worked did not have an impact on academic performance. This may support Markel and Frone's (1998) suggestion that it is the combination of undesirable work circumstances and higher work intensity that leads to greater work–school conflict. Perhaps the students' work circumstances were sufficiently positive as to not affect their grades.

Students' reasons for working and type of employer are important, as they seem to affect their well-being. Psychological strain and emotional exhaustion are lowest when students work because they wish to and when they are self-employed. Self-employed students in particular report less emotional exhaustion. Perhaps self-employed students have greater control over their work experiences (e.g., tasks, hours, clients) which allows them greater autonomy and less work constraints. However, gender differences may partially explain these results, as a higher proportion of girls reported being self-employed. More research would be needed to understand the personal and job characteristics of self-employed youth that might contribute to the differences between them and youth working for others.

Adolescents' occupational safety must be emphasized. Consistent with the existing literature (Frone, 1998; Weller et al., 2003), adolescent boys experienced more unreported accidents and near accidents than girls. This may be related to the nature of the jobs held by adolescent boys or to personal attributes, such as higher levels of risk-taking behaviors. In addition, working for a family business predicted a higher occurrence of near accidents. Perhaps family businesses tend to be in more dangerous sectors (e.g., agriculture), and perhaps safety issues and guidelines are less promoted in these types of businesses. Moreover, young employees may not feel they have the power to demand the implementation of safety measures or to create safer work circumstances for themselves. CSST occupational safety programs (e.g., Escouade jeunesse, Défi prevention jeunesse!) should be promoted or made accessible in high schools in order to reach the working students, while ensuring that these programs are available to English-speaking youth. Moreover, efforts should be made to raise the students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities, as well as those of their employers, as they are

stipulated in the *Commission des normes du travail du Québec* (Quebec Labour Standards' Commission). Judging from these results, this may be of particular importance with respect to family businesses.

Based on Canadian census data, Flock and Warnke (2004) reported alarming rates of out-migration among Quebec's young English-speaking adults seeking economic opportunities. The present study reveals that only one quarter of students (working and non-working students combined) plan to remain in the Eastern Townships, therefore suggesting that this out-migration trend will continue. Furthermore, apparently many high school and vocational school students from the Eastern Townships expect to leave the region to pursue their education elsewhere (Brault, Karpenko & Kishchuk, 2005). Consequently, initiatives promoting regional employment and educational opportunities for English-speaking youth, such as *Topportunity* of the Townshippers of Tomorrow Committee, are particularly warranted. However, on a good note, a majority of students considered themselves capable of working in French and English, therefore the results of previous studies may not generalize to this sample.

As with any study, one must be careful of limitations in this study and avoid over-interpretation of the results. This study is foremost a descriptive study that cannot and should not be interpreted as an indication of causal relationships. All we can really say for sure is that we found relationships between the various variables reported and that certain factors seemed to be important towards understanding the students' work experience. We cannot firmly state that any one measure in this study causes another. Nonetheless, we have in these results an interesting snapshot of the current experience of English-speaking working teenagers from the Eastern Townships.

Overall, outcomes of the present study are in general agreement with those of other investigations conducted in the area that indicated that there are many benefits but also potential drawbacks to working while in school. The research suggests that the quality of the work experience is important (Kelloway & Barling, 1999), because part-time employment contributes to the formation of occupational aspirations and work attitudes (Loughlin & Barling, 1998, 2001), thereby having potential long-term consequences. It is therefore important that this work experience be as positive, safe and respectful as possible. These young workers are tomorrow's colleagues, managers and employers.

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THE EFFECTS OF AGE AND CULTURE ON SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING: A CASE STUDY IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

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ABSTRACT

The present study of diachronous ratings of subjective well-being (SWB) was modeled on research undertaken by Staudinger, Bluck & Herzberg (2003). In addition, we were interested in determining the effects of culture and context (where one lives) on SWB ratings. To gage these effects, we included the factor of mother tongue and altered the Life Satisfaction Questionnaire by adding a question concerning *expected well-being in Quebec*. We asked 350 Anglophones and Francophones from the Eastern Townships, aged 18 to 95, to rate their SWB in the past, present, future, and future 'in Quebec'. The results concerning the effects of chronological age on diachronistic SWB ratings followed the patterns of previous research: young people (aged 18–38) rate past SWB lower than present SWB and future SWB much higher; middle-aged people (aged 39–64) rate their SWB the same regardless of time; And the elderly (67–95) rated past SWB higher than the present and their future SWB much lower. There were no differences between Anglophones or Francophones. Further analysis revealed the disturbing finding that the oldest participants rated their current SWB significantly lower than the other two age groups. In the second half of our study we found that by simply asking Francophones and Anglophones to rate their SWB in the future – first unspecified as to location, and then in a future 'if they stay in Quebec' – produced different response patterns. Both future SWB ratings were the same for Francophones, indicating that the questions were simply redundant. The Anglophones, on the other hand, rated their future SWB in Quebec consistently lower than an unspecified future.

RÉSUMÉ

La présente étude des évaluations diachroniques du bien-être personnel s'inspire des découvertes de Staudinger, Bluck et Herzberg (2003). Nous avons demandé à

358 anglophones et francophones des Cantons de l'Est d'évaluer leur bien-être personnel passé, présent et futur ainsi que leur bien-être personnel futur considérant qu'ils doivent demeurer au Québec. Les résultats concernant les effets de l'âge chronologique sur les évaluations diachroniques du bien-être personnel étaient conformes aux modèles obtenus lors de recherches antérieures. Le plus jeune groupe d'âge (17–39 ans) évalue son bien-être personnel passé comme étant inférieur à son bien-être personnel présent et son bien-être futur comme étant de beaucoup supérieur à son bien-être présent. Le groupe d'âge moyen (40–64 ans) évalue son bien-être personnel au même niveau au fil des années (passé, présent, futur). Le groupe d'âge le plus élevé (67–95 ans) évalue son bien-être personnel passé comme étant supérieur à son bien-être présent ou futur. Dans la seconde partie de notre étude, nous avons découvert nous obtenons des modèles de réponse différents en demandant aux francophones et aux anglophones d'évaluer leur bien-être futur, sans préciser de lieu, et d'évaluer leur bien-être futur dans la perspective de demeurer au Québec. Chez les francophones, les deux évaluations sont identiques. Les anglophones, quant à eux, évaluent systématiquement leur bien-être futur moins grand lorsque la perspective de demeurer au Québec est mentionnée.

The Effects of Age and Culture on Subjective Well-Being: A Case Study in the Eastern Townships[1]

We each occupy an interval of time and then we are gone. Kurt Lewin (1926) referred to this interval as our 'life space'. He gravitated to a geometric metaphor because he thought the meaning of psychological experience resided in the nature relationships. It is in geometry where an angle means nothing without lines, and angles and lines mean nothing without shape. For Lewin, 'life space' contained within it the reference points that made experience meaningful. How we feel about our life, the degree to which it is satisfying, reflects the coordination of internal and external factors extended through time. Our 'life space', in other words, involves us in an ongoing and complex temporal integration of our self. Our occupation of the present time nourishes continuity with a past and a future. Our sense of self is temporally multi-dimensional.

To suggest that our present is a temporal mongrel is not to say that the past and future occupy us in the same way. In this research, we have found that both culture and chronological age affect how time commingles. In the first part of our study, we show that Anglophones and Francophones living in the Eastern Townships follow the trends found by other researchers with respect to how chronological age

affects ratings of well-being. We did find that our oldest group, aged 67–95, showed a decline in current well-being, a trend that breaks with the findings of most previous research. This is troubling as it suggests that life in the Townships for our oldest members is not perceived as satisfying as it is for those who are younger (18–64 years). In the second part, and here the present research opens new ground, we show that expected future well-being, should one stay in Quebec, is different for Francophones and Anglophones. This difference holds even when we control for the effect of bilingualism. Let us first look at the relationship between chronological age and ratings of subjective well-being (SWB).

Life Space and Well-being

It makes sense that chronological age would affect the way we occupy time, this life space of ours, as Lewin would say. For a 20-year-old, the future tends to be welcoming and is greeted with imagined worlds, better worlds. The openness of the future contrasts with the brevity of the past. As we age, the past and future change spaces, the future becoming short, the past so long as to make parts of it difficult to retrieve. When we are 80, the past stockpiles our stories, and the future shrivels, getting both shorter and narrower. Middle age procures the balance, as the psychological space of past and future bears on us with equal force.

Our occupation of this 'life space' has not gone unnoticed by the research community. In 1977, S. Albert introduced temporal comparison theory. Albert drew from Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory (comparisons made between two individuals) but changed the comparison to a temporal one, in which the same person assesses two time-periods in their own life. Using Albert's paradigm, Wilson & Ross (2000) found that people tended to make as many temporal comparisons as social comparisons. It would seem that it is quite common for us to use temporal judgments in evaluating ourselves. They also noted that 'temporal past' comparisons tend to be gratifying for current levels of life satisfaction, producing a self-enhancement effect by focusing on achievements made over time. In a follow-up study in 2001, they noted that self-enhancement is maintained by disparaging the distant past.

Okun, Dittburner &. Huff (2006) decided to examine future states of well-being as a function of age. Their younger participants produced higher future well-being scores than did middle-aged participants. Their findings support the earlier work by Ryff (1991), who had noted that the oldest participants were less optimistic and foresaw a decline

in their well-being with advancing years. This perception of older people as less satisfied with life was the subject of a study by Lacey, Smith and Ubel (2006). They asked participants to compare their perceptions of the well-being of others at two target ages, 70 and 30 years old. They found that, regardless of the participant's chronological age, the well-being ratings for the older target group were lower than those for the younger target (aged 30). Yet when asked to rate their own subjective well-being, the older participant's ratings were higher than were those of the younger participants.

Most studies confirm this pattern of results. There is a tendency to perceive the well-being of older people as lower than that of younger age groups. Yet when people are asked to rate their current state of well-being, older people's self-assessments tend to be higher than are those of the younger age groups. So, although we dread the thought of growing old, people who are old tend to be just as happy (or happier) as younger age groups. This phenomenon has come to be known as the 'well-being paradox'.

The study, however, that caught our interest and on which we patterned our own research, was by Staudinger, Bluck & Herzberg (2003). Like other researchers, they thought of the present as anchoring our recollections and expectations. They reasoned that we accommodate the past and future by comparing it to our present. In our temporal sense of our self, then, the present serves as the pivot, providing the spin we will take when considering our well-being in the past and future. What made their study different was that they included all age groups (young, middle-aged and old-aged) with a view to comparing the participant's rating *patterns* of subjective well-being across time – past, present, and future. This involves making a 'diachronistic' evaluation. For example, they asked their participants questions like, "How would you rate your satisfaction with work, these days? Looking back 10 years ago? Looking ahead 10 years into the future?"

Staudinger et al. (2003) thought that people of similar chronological age would produce similar diachronistic rating patterns, while different age groups would produce different patterns. These patterns, then, would characterize the different chronological age groups. Their approach was more in step with Lewin's insight about the temporal integration of our self-concept. Staudinger, et al. (2003) used the "Life Satisfaction Questionnaire"[2]. This research found that the diachronsitic well-being ratings of the younger subjects were the most variable. That is, their temporal self-concept made little room for the past, thereby rating their subjective well-being (SWB) in the past as significantly

lower than their present state of well-being. This fits with Wilson & Ross's (2001) finding that there is a tendency to disparage the past to enhance self-assessment. The future for the young invites the possibility of change, and imagining personal transformation is seductive. These young participants rated their future well-being much higher than their present state of well-being. Staudinger showed that middle-aged people produce the smallest variation in their ratings of past, present and future well-being. This suggests that for middle-aged individuals, the present has enough stretch to incorporate the idea of a past and future not much different from the present state of things. Although Staudinger's group thought that their oldest subjects would be much like the middle-aged, they found something different. The older participants perceived their past more fondly and their future more darkly. The old-aged group presented a negatively sloping diachronistic pattern. This stood in striking contrast to the positive slope of the young group's ratings of well-being in the past, present and future.

For the most part, we replicated Staudinger's patterns in our research. However, there were some differences, which could be tracked to our older aged category. Before entering into the details of our findings, it is important to describe the participants in our study.

Description of our Participants

Research participants were drawn from across the Eastern Townships. Our aim was to have a diverse sample in terms of education, age, and type of employment. All contact was initiated through face-to-face meetings. We did not interview people over the telephone, nor did we solicit their responses through electronic means (email or other Web-based survey approaches). We approached people at shopping malls, country fairs, homes for the elderly, canvassing neighbourhoods and meeting them in their homes, at their workplaces, and through university classes. Although our sample was not randomly chosen in any technical sense, there was nothing systematic in our selection of participants. People were simply asked if they would like to take part in a survey. If they agreed, we asked them to read and sign the consent form. This form outlined the purpose of the study and their rights as participants, while providing them with contact information should they have any questions or demonstrate interest in our research findings. Following this, all participants were asked to answer questions on the Life Satisfaction Scale.In this way, we gathered 358 participants. Of these, 171 were Francophones and 176 were Anglophones. Eleven participants specified their mother tongue as

"other." Ages ranged from 18 to 95 years old. Genders were balanced (163 females and 172 males), while the remaining people did not specify their gender.

Because we wanted to replicate the results of Staudinger et al., we too categorized our participants into three age groups just as they had done. The young adulthood group, which included 103 participants, ranged in age from 18 to 38 years with a mean age of 26.5 years. The middle-aged group ranged in age from 39 to 64 years, with a mean age of 49. This was our largest category with 168 participants. Our last category, the older-aged group, was the smallest with 82 participants ranging in age from 67 to 95 years, with a mean age of 79. Five participants did not include their age so they were excluded from the study.

Our older-aged group differed from Staudinger et al's group. In their study, their oldest participants were only 74 years old and the group had a mean age of 63 years. In our study, not only did we have a higher mean age, but also our median age was 79 years. This means that 50% of our elderly participants were 80 years of age or older. In addition, because this group was elderly, we were concerned about their present state of well-being in terms of their health and finances. We were hoping that these factors would not contribute negatively to their overall present SWB score given that they are on fixed incomes and health declines with age. In terms of their present well-being ratings on health, they were not significantly different from the other two age groups ($F_{(2, 351)} = 1.80$, p. > .05). On their rating of finances, they were the most satisfied, though they did not differ significantly from the middle-age group. Both the older-aged group and the middle-aged group however, were more satisfied with their finances than were the younger adults ($F_{(2, 350)} = 7.44$, p. = .001).

Considering all of these factors, we believe that the composition of our older-age group is more representative in term of the age range than was Staudinger's. It is also worth noting that they are just as satisfied with their health and the state of their finances as the other two age categories. As a final point, it is to be noted that each of our groups was composed of a balance of Francophone and Anglophone participants.[3]

Diachronistic Patterns of Subjective Well-Being in the Townships

As indicated above, all participants were asked to answer the questions on the Life Satisfaction Scale, altered to reflect our interests in detecting the effects of place on subjective well-being. In keeping with previous

research, we expected that there would be different patterns for each timeline (rating the past, present and future), since chronological age has been shown to have an impact on ratings of subjective well-being (SWB). Figure 1 shows the pattern of SWB ratings as a function of chronological age rather than in terms of generalized age categories.

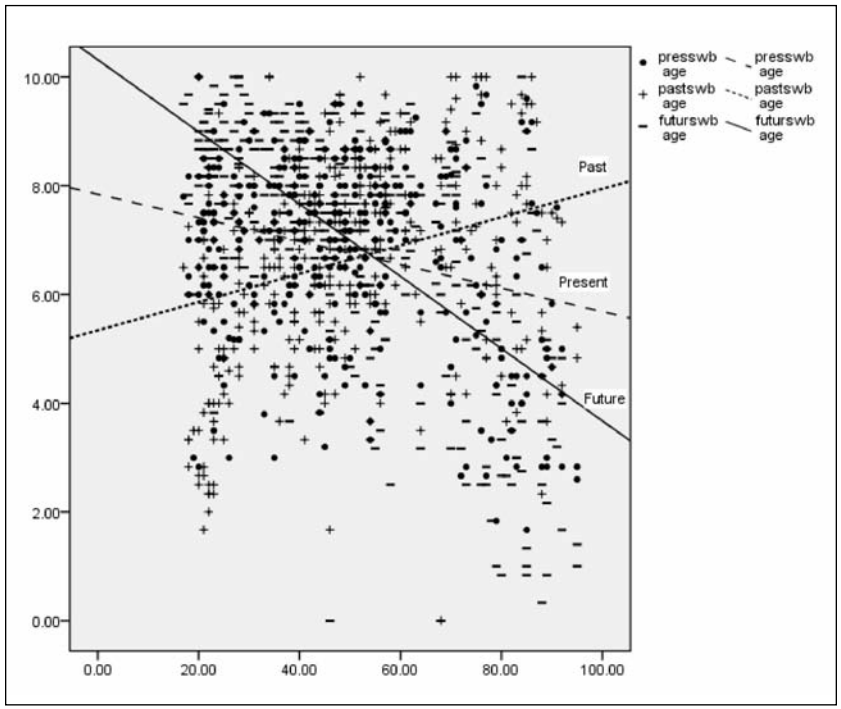

Figure 1: Age as a continuous variable, subjective well-being as a dependent variable: regressions lines indicate trends of past, present, future subjective well-being across age.

Looking at Figure 1, ratings of subjective well-being across time differ depending on the age of the participants – as expected. Asking people of different ages to think about their well-being across time, 10 years this way or that, is asking them to rate quite different temporal landscapes. Each line in the graph represents the subjective well-being rating at a *different time*. The large dashed-line indicates the regression line for SWB ratings in the *present*. There is a statistically significant negative slope to the line showing that present ratings of well-being decline with age (r = -.255, p. = .000, n = 350). This goes against the trend found in previous research, which contends that present ratings of well-being increase and become stable as people get older. Our results project a less optimistic view. We will return to this point later. The small dashed-line represents the regression line for ratings 10 years

in the *past*. This positive slope is statistically significant as well, suggesting that as we age there is a tendency to rate our well-being in the past as higher than our present well-being (r = .284, p. = .000, n = 350). This finding is consistent with previous research. The third line, the solid black line, shows the regression for *future* ratings. This is significant and suggests that as we age, we tend to be less optimistic about the future (r = -.618, p. = .000, n =350). Again, this pattern fits with what other researchers have found with respect to predicting future states of well-being. What Figure 1 shows, then, is that past, present and future ratings of SWB have different slopes as a function of chronological age.

We also wanted to show the 'diachronistic rating' profile for each age *group* to provide a more general view of the results. We did this by plotting each age group's mean SWB rating for past, present and future. The information is the same as that presented in the first figure, but this second figure draws attention to the diachronistic rating patterns within each age category. That is, instead of regressing diachronistic SWB ratings across age as in Figure 1, we plotted the mean SWB rating for each age category across time (past, present and future). We analyzed each group's mean subjective well-being scores (SWB) and compared them across time using a repeated measures analysis of variance.

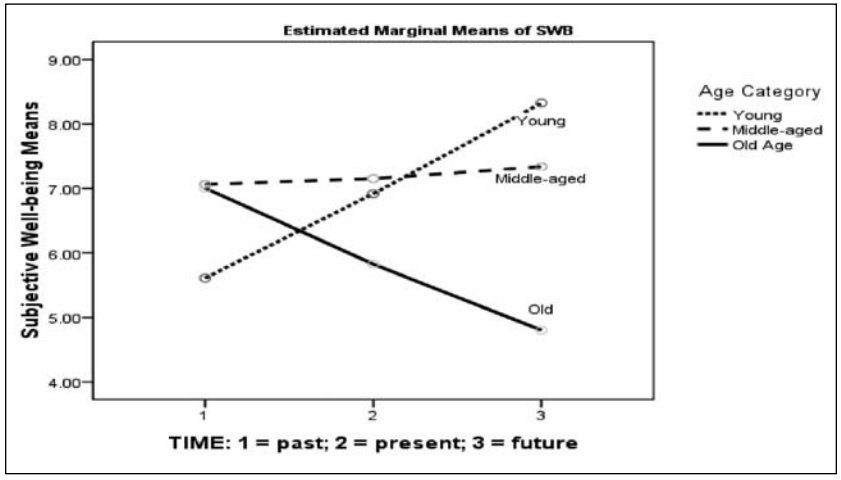

Figure 2: Age as a categorical variable, subjective well-being as a dependent variable: the lines show the age trends of past, present and future subjective well-being (SWB) means.

While the regression analysis depicted in the first figure showed the general trends of diachronistic SWB ratings *across age*, the analysis captured in the second figure attends to different patterns *within* each

age group. The younger group is indicated by the small dashed-line, the middle-aged group by the large dashed-line, and the old-aged group by the solid black line. Notice that the young (small dashed-line) generally find the past less satisfying than the present and the future more promising. This effect is called 'future self-enhancement'. A repeated measures analysis of variance on these ratings of subjective well-being (SWB) across time was significant ($F_{(2, 204)} = 126.27$, $p = .000$), indicating that the young rated their well-being in the past significantly lower, and their future well-being higher, than their present SWB. All of these mean differences were confirmed by a series of paired sample t-tests[4]. The large dashed-line of the middle-aged group is fairly flat and a repeated measures analysis of variance showed that these means were not statistically different from one another (Multivariate $F_{(2, 167)} = 2.48$ $p. = .087$). [5] These results are in line with the findings of Staudinger, et al. (2003), suggesting that, for middle-aged adults, ratings for remembered or expected well-being are not different from current ratings of well-being.[6] Finally, the old-aged group (the solid line) produced diachronistic ratings of SWB that were significantly different, as revealed by a repeated measures analysis of variance ($F_{(2, 162)} = 66.16$, $p. = .000$).[7]

What is most disturbing about the results from the oldest group, however, is not revealed in the pattern of subjective well-being ratings. It is not surprising that the past is rated higher than the present, which, in turn, is rated higher than the future. What is surprising, and what goes against previous research findings, is that this older-aged group rates their current state of well-being so much lower than the other two groups. This tells us that these older-aged Townshippers are less satisfied with their lives than are other age groups.[8] We return to this finding in the conclusion.

Life in Quebec

We were also interested in determining the effects of context (where one lives) and mother tongue on rating of subjective well-being. In the psychometry of well-being, there have been few attempts to isolate, and draw attention to, the sociopolitical & cultural dimensions of location as they bear on ratings of well-being. This may in part have to do with the fact that these dimensions are difficult to identify and isolate. Yet these are just as important as other more easily documented factors when examining patterns of happiness or subjective well-being. Just as it was germane to consider the effects of different chronological ages on perceived well-being, it seemed obvious that the culture in which we live would influence our sense of well-

being.

How we go about our daily life is reflective of where we live. The way we occupy Sherbrooke – its institutions, public bureaucracies, universities, schools, shops, restaurants, and grocery stores – is different from how we would occupy some other city, like Calgary. This is true, not just in what we see, but in what we are reminded of, and in what we can expect to receive from or give back to the community. If you are French-speaking and living in Calgary, you are reminded of your minority status. This probably affects how you think about yourself, and perhaps how satisfied you are with your life. If you are French-speaking and living in Sherbrooke, the situation is quite different. Now if you are English-speaking and living in Sherbrooke, you are likely to be reminded that you are a minority here, regarding language and perhaps culture.

Most researchers who tackle the issue of culture and its impact on perceived well-being use a cross-cultural methodology. They attempt to document the moderating effects of culture by comparing similar groups in different countries (Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006; Westerhof & Barrett, 2005; Duncan & Grazzani-Gavazzi, 2004; Diner, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003; Staudinger, Fleeson & Bates, 1999). Other approaches focus on the experiences of immigrants and their assimilation into their new countries and, in this way, hold constant the host culture. Many of these studies have found congruence between immigrants' expectations and their experience in the adopted country is predictive of well-being (Murphy & Mahalingam, 2006; Mirsky, Slonim-Nevo, & Rubinstein, 2007). Neither approach, however, is suited to our situation in Quebec. There may be two (or more) cultures in the Townships, but they occupy the same physical space. While studies on immigrants are valuable in determining possible factors that affect ratings of well-being, they are not applicable to the Francophone/Anglophone experiences of Quebec culture.

We thought Quebec provided an opportunity for investigating the integration of location into ratings of subjective well-being. Occupying the same space are French and English Quebecers who stand in different relations to the greater North American English culture and to the salient Quebec French culture. It may be that the Francophones and Anglophones have a different Quebec experience, insofar as expected well-being is concerned. The challenge, then, was in determining ways of discovering this difference. We wanted to explore the effects of physical location, with its sociopolitical and cultural resonances, on the subjective well-being of French and English speaking groups, while isolating key factors affecting these ratings.

We arrived at a modest solution. According to Lewin (1926, 1935), our life space involves the temporal integration of internal factors (like age and personality) and external factors (like location and culture). We have shown that chronological age affects rating of future well-being. If Lewin is right, it makes sense that physical location too should affect ratings of future well-being. Yet, strictly speaking, future location is undetermined, unlike past and present location. This means that if place affects ratings of future SWB, then these effects draw on past and present experiences.Because of this indeterminacy of place in the future, this left room for a simple manipulation. We could ask our participants to rate their future well-being under two conditions: one, a future unspecified as to place ("how would you rate your well-being looking ahead 10 years?") and the other, specified, as in "how would you rate your well-being looking ahead 10 years if you stay in Quebec?"

It occurred to us that if Francophones and Anglophones had different Quebec experiences affecting ratings of well-being, these might show up as different response patterns to our two questions about future well-being. Since our participants resided in the Townships for most of their lives, it is only their futures that remain open to a possible life outside of Quebec. When French and English participants think about their future, do they think about it as being lived in Quebec? When we ask our participants to rate their future well-being and their future well-being if they stay in Quebec, our question draws attention to place in the future. Do Francophones and Anglophones react differently?

It was this kind of thinking that led us to alter the Life Satisfaction Questionnaire. The 'Quebec' question was added to each of the six domain-specific categories used to assess well-being[9], and within each domain, participants were asked to provide an evaluation of their well-being 10 years ago, in the present, and 10 years from now. The Quebec question consisted in asking each participant to rate his or her well-being 10 years from now if they were to stay in Quebec. For example, we asked people to rate their health 10 years from now and then to rate their health 10 years from now if they were to stay in Quebec.

If you have never thought of yourself as living anywhere else, such a question is just odd. Rating your well-being 10 years from now and 10 years from now if you stay in Quebec should not make any difference. Nor should such a question make any difference if subjective well-being evaluations are not affected by our relationship to location. If location has no bearing on well-being ratings, you would expect the French and English speakers to be no different in their

ratings of future well-being for each question, thereby producing similar patterns. The Quebec question, posed as it is in the questionnaire, would appear superfluous. If, however, location structures our considerations of the future time, then a question drawing attention to one's life in Quebec will likely have an effect on future well-being ratings. We thought that our English- and French-speaking participants would differ in their response patterns on the two questions. We thought that the Anglophones would react differently, particularly the young, as they might very well conceive of their future as unfolding outside of Quebec. The idea of remaining in Quebec while wanting to be away might lead to lower ratings for future well-being. Reflecting on this future in Quebec, we also thought that the old-aged group would rate their future health lower in Quebec because of concerns about the availability of services in English. As for the young French-speaking Townshippers, it occurred to us that they too might envisage a future lived away from here. Should that be the case, would their future well-being if they stayed in Quebec have a lower rating than an unspecified future?

Future and Future in Quebec

As in earlier analyses, we used the total score on the questionnaire as the dependent measure. [10] The first thing to notice is that the chronological age patterns for future SWB ratings are the same for both Francophones and Anglophones. The young rated the future more positively than any other age group, middle-aged participants were also positive about their future but less so than the young, and the old were not very optimistic about their future. This pattern held as well for both linguistic groups as they rated their future well-being in Quebec. But there was a difference between Francophones and Anglophones that was picked up in an interaction, as demonstrated in the figures below.

The first graph in Figure 3 depicts the patterns of the French-speaking participants while the second portrays the patterns of English speakers. The negative sloping lines in both graphs reflect the fact that the older age groups rate their future well-being lower than the young, regardless of mother tongue ($F_{(2, 341)} = 82.66$, p. < .000). The solid line reflects their future rating and the dashed line reflects their future rating if they stay in Quebec. These lines are not significantly different from one another when they are averaged over both graphs, but the two graphs are significantly different from each other. This is suggested by an interaction between future/future in Quebec and language groups ($F_{(1, 341)} = 12.06$, p.< .001).

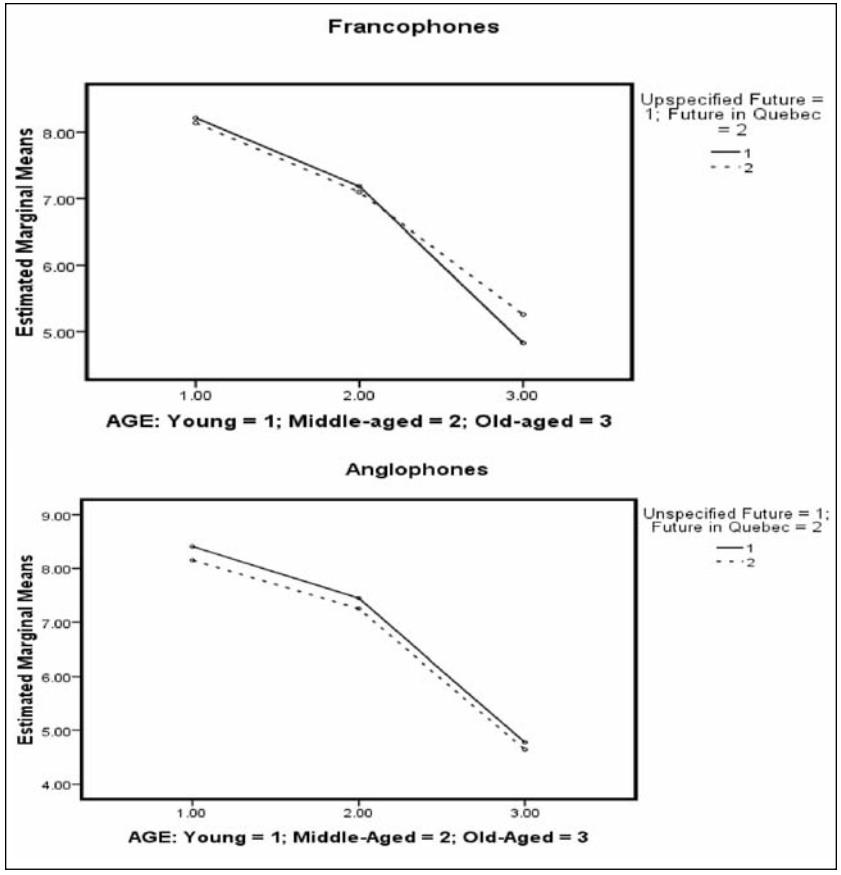

Figure 3: Future and Future Quebec Ratings.

What this means is that the ratings of future SWB and future SWB if you stay in Quebec differ depending on whether your mother tongue is French or English. This is visible in the graphs themselves. In the first graph, the solid and dashed lines indicating "future" and "future in Quebec", respectively, are essentially on top of each other, except for the older-aged group of Francophones. They see their future in Quebec as better than the unspecified future.[11] When we turn to the second graph, depicting the patterns of the Anglophones, we notice a separation between the two lines. Though this separation is small, it reflects significant differences in the patterns produced by Francophones and Anglophones.

Breaking down this analysis further in an effort to make better sense of the patterns, we carried out a series of paired sample t-tests. These analyses highlight the line differences depicted in the two graphs. We

found that *young* Francophones did not rate differently their future and their future if they stayed in Quebec ($t_{(54)} = 1.20$, p. > .05), yet *young* Anglophones did. They rated their future in Quebec significantly lower than their unspecified future ($t_{(44)} = 2.92$, p. = .006). We found the same pattern in the middle-aged groups. Whereas the *middle-aged* Francophones did not rate their 'future' and 'future in Quebec' SWB differently ($t_{(73)} = 1.94$, p. = .056)[12], *middle-aged* Anglophones did ($t_{(90)} = 3.51$, p. = .001). Finally, Francophones and Anglophones in the old-aged group rated their SWB in the 'future' and their SWB for their 'future in Quebec' as the same.

As stated above, the difference in the lines depicting an unspecified future and a future if you stay in Quebec is visually (and numerically) small. What provides the statistical significance is that, while the two linguistic groups are consistent in their response patterns, the patterns are different.

In order to highlight this difference between Francophones and Anglophones, we removed age as a factor. Our reasoning was that the age trends for SWB ratings being the same for both Francophones and Anglophones, suggests that age cannot be the factor differentiating these groups. Specifically, we know that as age increases, future SWB ratings go down. Because these patterns are the same for both Francophones and Anglophones, we collapsed the age factor to highlight the differences on their SWB ratings in the future (unspecified) and in the future if they were to stay in Quebec.[13]

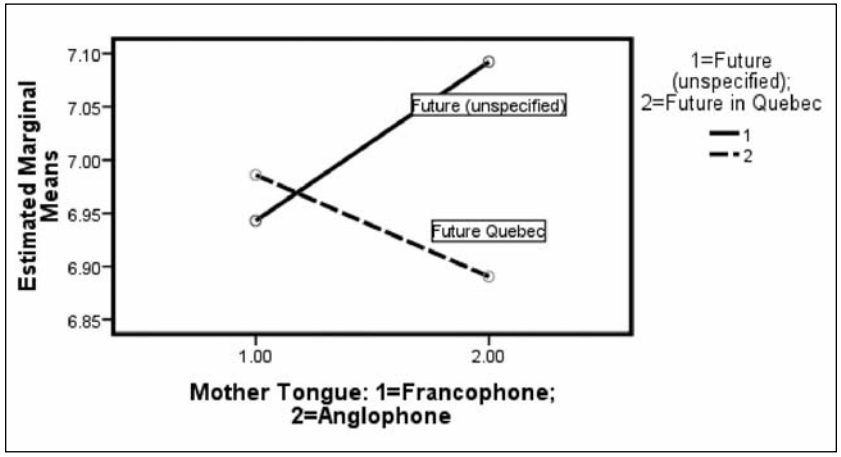

Figure 4: Future (unspecified) and Future Quebec: SWB Ratings for Francophones (1) and Anglophones (2)

What is evident in viewing this graph is that Francophones do not rate their well-being in the future differently under conditions of an

unspecified future or a future in Quebec. The reason for their slightly higher SWB score in the "'Quebec future" condition has to do with the fact that the older-aged subjects rated their Quebec future SWB higher, the only group to do so.[14] The Anglophones rated their future well-being in Quebec lower than the unspecified future (paired-sampled $t_{(178)} = 4.28$, p. = .000). These results reflect the fact that, while raw-score differences are small, they nevertheless are statistically significant and reflect a fundamental difference between Anglophones and Francophones' ratings of future well-being in Quebec.

What about being Bilingual?

Our findings prompted the question as to whether bilingualism might be a factor in altering the patterns of English- and French-speaking groups. Specifically, if we controlled for participants' level of bilingualism, would Anglophones and Francophones still produce different SWB ratings for an unspecified future versus a future in Quebec? We approached this question by using a hierarchical regression analysis.

We thought that SWB ratings for an unspecified future and a future in Quebec would be highly correlated. Indeed they are, the correlation was r = .94 (p. < .000. n = 337). Yet, while both future ratings are similar, the "future in Quebec" ratings are not predictable from unspecified future ratings. We also determined that bilingualism was significantly correlated to both unspecified future ratings(r = .329, p. = .000) and future in Quebec ratings (r = .306, p. = .000). This suggests that as bilingualism increases, so do both future SWB ratings: the more bilingual a person is, the more positive are their future SWB ratings. The question remained; does this correlation between bilingualism and SWB help us account for that portion of "future in Quebec" ratings that remain uncorrelated with unspecified future ratings? This is precisely what the hierarchical regression addressed.

When we entered bilingualism into our analysis, it did not result in any change in our ability to predict Quebec future ratings (F Change $_{(1,334)} = .04$, p. = .841). In the next step of the analysis, we entered mother tongue. This produced a significant change in the multiple regression (F Change $_{(1,333)} = 9.53$, p. = .002). What this suggests is that the different "future in Quebec" rating patterns associated with the two language groups remain even after we control for bilingualism. Irrespective of their level of bilingualism, the two linguistic groups respond differently when rating their future well-being if they stay in Quebec. As we have seen, Anglophones tend to rate their future in Quebec SWB lower than when it relates to an unspecified future.

Francophones do not show this relational pattern difference when rating their future well-being. For them, mention of an unspecified future and a future in Quebec makes no difference, SWB ratings are the same. The degree to which someone is bilingual does not affect these patterns.

Conclusion

The present study of subjective well-being in the Townships was modeled on Staudinger et al.'s (2003) method for evaluating diachronous SWB across age. We added in mother tongue because we thought that the sociopolitical & cultural dimensions of Quebec society would be reflected through the two dominant language groups. We reasoned that if culture affected SWB ratings, this would be reflected in the different response patterns of Francophones and Anglophones.

Overall, we replicated Staudinger et al.'s findings. We found that chronological age affects diachronistic ratings of well-being. Relative to the present time, young adults rate their future SWB much higher and past SWB much lower. Middle-aged adults show the most consistency in diachronistic (past, present, and future) SWB ratings. If well-being is a construct that is relatively stable over time then this may indicate that middle-aged adults are the most realistic and consistent in their evaluation of the past and the future. Their ratings reflect a maturity born of experience, while also suggesting fewer encounters with the hardships of declining age and the heartaches associated with the death of loved ones. However, these are exactly the kinds of experiences that form the crust of old age, turning us back toward the past as a better place: acts of remembering now occupy the time once used for planning futures. Thus, it was our oldest age group that contemplated their SWB in the past in a more positive light than their current well-being, while having a dimmer view of their future, rating it much lower than their present SWB.

Most troubling, however, was not the diachronistic *pattern* of SWB ratings among our oldest participants. Earlier studies had described similar results. Rather it was that our oldest participants rated their current state of well-being so low. This goes against the "well-being paradox". This paradox suggests that although we commonly believe that life will be less satisfying for the elderly, when we in fact ask older-aged people to rate their well-being, they often produce ratings that are equal to, or higher than, those from younger age groups. This was not the case with our 82 participants from the Eastern Townships. Their current SWB ratings were significantly lower than were those of both

young and middle-aged adults.

It is difficult to interpret this result. There are at least two possible readings. It may be that the results reflect something specific about life in the Eastern Townships for our oldest citizens. However, it may also have to do with the fact that we used a more representative sample of older-aged people, having a range of ages between 68 and 95 years. If this is the case, our results simply paint a more realistic picture of the elderly. Our immediate concern, however, is that the elderly in our region are not as satisfied with life as other age groups. We need to consider ways to make our culture more sensitive to the needs of the elderly. Further, we need to find ways to encourage their participation in our culture, to benefit from their experience. In other words, it is not enough to tend to the elderly; we must find our way to a sincere receptivity of their contributions to our own lives and to that of our culture.

In the second half of this study, we were interested in determining the effects of context (where one lives) and mother tongue on SWB ratings. We found that by simply asking Francophones and Anglophones to rate their SWB in a future, unspecified as to location, and in a future where they remained in Quebec produced different response patterns. Both future ratings were the same for the Francophones, indicating that the questions were simply redundant. The Anglophones, on the other hand, rated their future in Quebec consistently lower than their unspecified future. The Quebec question tapped into something of importance among the Anglophones, uneasiness about a future in Quebec. The rating drop in SWB is small, but it is there, nonetheless, a drone of discontent.

These pattern differences tell us something about the power of expectations and locations. We need to be cautious of our interpretations, however. A statement about a future remains a statement made in the present. Our questions seem to tap into a more prominent Anglophone restlessness, though one that exists, to some extent, in all age groups. The temptation is to focus on these patterns as a signal about Anglophone migration. A sensitive reading, however, is both more literal and telling: for Anglophones an unspecified future looks better than a future in Quebec *today*.

No one knows what Quebec's future will be like, but expectations are made of the fabric of previous experiences, melding together the fibres of a past and present Quebec. The composition is different for Francophones and Anglophones. We need a better understanding of the craft-knowledge required for future making. We need to make a present that invites a future for all of Quebec's people.

In closing, a quote from the psychologist and philosopher William James (1902) seems appropriate. He wrote in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*:

> If we were to ask the question: "What is human life's chief concern? One of the answers we should receive would be: "It is happiness." How to gain, how to keep, how to recover happiness, is in fact for most men at all times the secret motive of all they do, and all they are willing to endure (révérend 68).

What we have found in our study are robust statistical patterns when people answer specific questions about their well-being over time. What we now need to do is to find in these patterns the stories our participants have mumbled through numbers.

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ENDNOTES

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2. The "Life Satisfaction Questionnaire" was drawn from the on-going John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation survey of midlife experiences, also known as the MIDUS study. It consists of six domain-specific categories used to assess well-being. These domains included partnership, sexuality, finances, work, health and caring for the welfare of others. We made some modest changes to their questionnaire, but these will be addressed later.
3. In the young group there were 55 Francophones, 45 Anglophones. In the middle-aged group there were 74 Francophones and 91 Anglophones. In the older-aged group there were 42 Francophones and 40 Anglophones.
4. For present to past comparisons, $t_{(102)} = 6.77$, $p < .000$; from present to future, $t_{(102)} = 10.87$, $p. < .000$ for the young age category.
5. Exploring our data in more detail, what we found was that the past-present comparison was not significant ($t_{(168)} = .860$, $p > .05$), nor was the future-present comparison ($t_{(168)} = -1.85$, $p > .05$).
6. We found the past to future comparison significant ($t_{(168)} = 2.12$, $p = .036$) which shows a slight tendency toward a 'future self-enhancement effect' for the middle-aged group.
7. They rated their well-being in the past significantly higher than the present ($t_{(81)} = 6.31$, $p. < .000$) and their future significantly lower ($t_{(81)} = -5.66$, $p. < .000$).
8. The analysis of variance on 'present' SWB ratings showed a significant difference among the groups ($F_{(2,351)} = 18.77$, $p. < .000$). A follow-up analysis using Tukey's post-hoc test confirmed that the SWB rating for the oldest group was significantly different from both the young and middle-aged groups while these latter two groups were not different from each other on ratings of present SWB.
9. As noted above, these domains included partnership, sexuality, finances, work, health and caring for the welfare of others.
10. We conducted a 2 (Future/Quebec) X 2 (Language) X 3 (Age) repeated measures analysis of variance. The 'repeated' variable – where the same people rate their SWB across two factors – was on 'future' and 'future in Quebec'. The statistics that follow are taken from this analysis.

FACTORS MODULATING STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY AT A SMALL UNIVERSITY LOCATED IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

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ABSTRACT

A survey was conducted at a small Canadian university (Bishop's University) to examine possible predictors of students' attitudes towards homosexuality. Two attitude scales (the Index of Homophobia and the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale - short form) were administered to a sample of undergraduate students (N =263), recruited from across the academic divisions and years of university attendance. Scores on these scales were correlated against the demographic variables of age, gender, program of study, and years of education. The effects of religiosity, churchgoing, political affiliation, maternal tongue, living arrangements (on or off campus) and belief in the causes of homosexuality were also examined. Twenty-four percent of the participants were classified as either low- or high-grade homophobic on the Index of Homophobia. In univariate analyses, homophobia was found to be highest among Business students, and lowest among Humanities students; also, men were more homophobic than women, especially towards male homosexuals. Contrary to some previous claims, homophobia increased slightly with the number of years of higher education that the subject had received. However, in a multivariate analysis, homophobia was associated (R = .58) only with subjects who were of male gender, Francophone rather than Anglophone, and politically conservative.

RÉSUMÉ

Un sondage fut distribué aux étudiants d'une petite université canadienne (Bishop's University) afin de déterminer les facteurs déterminant les attitudes des étudiants envers l'homosexualité. Deux échelles d'attitudes (l'Indice d'homophobie et l'Échelle des attitudes envers les gais et lesbiennes) ont été appliquées à un échantillon d'étudiant de premier cycle (N=263), choisis parmi les facultés et selon les années de

scolarité universitaire. Les résultats obtenus selon ces échelles ont ensuite été mis en corrélation avec les variables démographiques suivantes: âge, sexe, programme d'étude et nombre d'années d'éducation universitaire. Ont également été évalués les effets de la religiosité, les pratiques religieuses, les attaches politiques, la langue maternelle, le lieu de résidence (sur le campus universitaire ou non), et les croyances quant aux causes de l'homosexualité. Vingt-quatre pourcent des participants ont été qualifiés d'homophobes de niveau faible ou élevé selon l'Indice d'homophobie. Dans les analyses à une variable, l'homophobie s'est avérée plus importante chez les étudiants de la Faculté d'administration et plus faible chez les étudiants de la Faculté des sciences humaines; de plus, les hommes étaient généralement plus homophobes que les femmes, surtout envers les hommes homosexuels. Toutefois, contrairement aux constatations antérieures, l'homophobie chez les étudiants universitaires augmentait avec le nombre d'années de scolarité. Cependant, dans une analyse à plusieurs variables, l'homophobie était associée (R = .58) de façon significative aux étudiants mâles, francophones plutôt qu'anglophones, et conservateurs sur le plan politique.

Although homosexuality was removed from the DSM list of disorders in 1973, and is generally regarded by scientists as a stable personality trait within the usual range of variation in sexual orientation (Garnets & Kimmel, 1991), some hostility to gay individuals is still evident in the educational system, even within the progressive North American culture (Pascoe, 2007).

Research in this area paints a discouraging picture for young homosexuals, with victimization frequently reported (Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995). After controlling for age, race, sex, education and area of residence, homosexuals on average have been found to earn 24.4% less than heterosexuals (Badgett, 1996). Although the university has traditionally been seen as a liberalizing influence on attitudes (Newcomb, 1943), a survey of 121 gay or lesbian undergraduate students at Pennsylvania State University found that 77% had experienced verbal abuse after revealing their homosexuality (D'Augelli, 1992). In addition, 27% reported being threatened with violence. Typically, fellow students were the victimizers and the harassment went unreported.

The functional model of Herek (1984), which provides a theoretical context for the present study, argues that symbolic sexual attitudes are liable to conform to the larger ideology of an individual's reference groups. In this view persons who identify themselves as liberal and support the ideologies of individual freedom and social justice will have more positive attitudes towards homosexuality,

because this reinforces their self-concept. This would suggest that by increasing the amount of time spent in the campus milieu an individual's homophobia should decrease. However, the converse applies to those who identify themselves as fundamentalist Christians and attend church frequently: they will have more negative attitudes in line with the traditionally conservative religious bias towards homosexuality (Estrada & Weiss, 1999; Marsiglio, 1993). In both cases the symbolic sexual attitudes function to identify the individual with the reference group.

Since Kinsey's pioneering studies of sexuality (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948), there has been considerable research concerning the correlates of homophobia, such as gender, age and race. One of the most consistent findings is that men are more likely to hold homophobic attitudes than women (Herek, 1988; Ben-Ari, 2001). Several other potentially important correlates of homophobia, however, have not been studied in detail. Surprisingly, there are few studies evaluating the importance of years of education (especially post-secondary education), and of the program of studies (Social sciences, Business, etc.) on homophobic attitudes. A recent survey of 364 students at a large Midwestern university found that upper-year students had more positive attitudes towards homosexuality than lower level students (Lambert, Ventura, Hall & Cluse-Tolar, 2006). This is consistent with the idea that education should not be limited to the acquisition of technical skills but should continue to foster social learning (Astin, 1993, 1997).

Only one study to our knowledge has looked specifically at attitudes towards homosexuals as a function of a student's choice as to program of study (Schellenberg, Hirt, & Sears, 1999). Conducted at the University of Windsor, a mid-size Canadian university, it showed that students in the Faculty of Arts and Social Science had a more positive attitude towards gay men than Science or Business students. These studies, however, were conducted at institutions of substantial size located within larger urban centers. In that sense, they cannot be said to be representative of the population as a whole or even to students in general.

The present study investigates the correlates of attitudes towards homosexuality in a small Canadian liberal arts college (Bishop's University), located in a semi-rural setting. Ideally the results could be compared directly to those from larger centers; however, Lambert, Ventura, Hall, & Cluse-Tolar (2006) did not employ a validated scale to measure homophobia, but used 19 questions relating to attitudes towards homosexuals, adopted from several studies. Schel-

lenberg, Hirt, & Sears (1999) did use a validated scale: Herek's (1988) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale – short form (ATLG). Herek's scale, although it lacks in specificity, serves an important function in this study as it allows for direct comparisons to be made with the work of Schellenberg, Hirt and Sears (1999).

Hudson and Ricketts (1980) view anti-gay responses as multidimensional, using the term *homonegativism.* One of these dimensions is "the responses of fear, disgust, anger, discomfort, and aversion that individuals experience in dealing with gay people" (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980, p.358), which they distinguish as homophobia. The ATLG scale measures the wider domain of homonegativism, while Hudson and Ricketts's scale is more focused on measuring homophobia. For this reason this study also uses their 25-item Index of Homophobia (IHP). Some differences between the two scales are expected, as they are designed to measure different aspects of homonegativism. Nonetheless, it was predicted that because the IHP and ATLG both measure attitudes towards homosexuality there should be a significant correlation between the two tests, supporting their validity as measures of attitudes towards homosexuality.

These two measures of attitudes towards homosexuality were correlated to years of education and program of study, and to the demographic variables of age, gender, living arrangements (resident on campus or not), religiosity and church attendance, and political party affiliation. Since Bishop's University also boasts a largely bilingual population, we also investigated the possible impact of the subjects' mother tongue (French or English). It would seem that this has never been formally investigated. It was expected that students whose mother tongue is French should be more tolerant than those whose mother tongue is English, reflecting the generally more liberal nature of French-Canadian culture as opposed to its English-Canadian counterpart (Conner, Richman, Wallace, & Tilquin, 1990).

There is some evidence that people who believe that homosexuality stems from genetic or biological causes rather than learned or social factors show less homophobia (Ernulf, Innala & Whitam, 1989). It was therefore expected that students with more years of education and students in selected programs of studies such as the Social or Natural sciences should also be more likely to believe this, and would show less homophobia. Indeed, the physiological bases of homophobia (e.g. Levay, 1991; Bailey and Pillard, 1991) are now well established within the scientific community.

Correlations of homophobia with subject variables were expected to conform to what has been found previously; that is, to be lower for older students, females and students having completed more years of education (Schellenberg et al., 1999). The impact of traditional religiosity and conservative political affiliations previously observed should also be seen here (Estrada & Weiss, 1999; Herek, 1984; Schellenberg et al., 1999).

Finally, we expected that the effect of program of studies observed in a large institution (Schellenberg, Hirt, & Sears, 1999) should hold, with the Social sciences and Arts showing less homophobia. However, we also predicted that homophobia as a whole would be considerably less than in that study. This was expected to be due to the passage of time (almost a decade) and the increasingly tolerant societal attitudes towards homosexuality today (Herek, 2006), as well as the nature of the small institution, where the focus on a Liberal Arts education and the importance placed on socialization should sensitize students to social issues.

Method

Participants

A sample of 263 Bishop's University undergraduate students (119 male and 144 female) signed a consent form and were asked to complete a survey. Participants were selected using a non-random, systematic convenience sampling design. They were drawn as a stratified sample from the five different divisions of study at the university: Natural Sciences, Business, Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education. The subjects were treated in accordance with the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct" (American Psychological Association, 1992). Participants were not categorized with respect to sexual orientation, due to ethical and methodological problems (false reports, bisexuality, relatively small homosexual sample, etc.). The sample should therefore contain approximately the same proportion of heterosexuals and homosexuals as the university population.

Materials

Two scales of attitudes towards homosexuals were used. The first, Herek's (1988) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale - short form (ATLG) contains 10 statements, in two subscales; one measures attitudes towards male homosexuals, and the other attitudes towards female homosexuals. Statements such as "Female homosexuality is a sin" and "Homosexual behavior between two men is

just wrong" are rated on a 9-point scale: 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). Scoring is reversed for positively worded items, yielding a score between 10 and 90, a high score indicating negative attitudes. This scale is reported to have satisfactory reliability, as well as construct and discriminant validity (Van de Meerendonk, Eisinga, & Felling, 2003).

Hudson and Ricketts' (1980) Index of Homophobia (IHP) was also used. This 25-item questionnaire yields scores ranging from 0 to 100, high scores again indicating more homophobic attitudes. The authors report reliability of .90, as well as good content and factorial validity for this scale.

A demographic questionnaire was administered to record the subject's age, gender, academic division of study, year of study, residence (on or off campus), maternal language, personal importance of religion, frequency of religious attendance, political affiliation, and belief in biological causes of homosexuality. The scales on the questionnaire were designed to allow comparison with previous studies (Lambert, Ventura, Hall, & Cluse-Tolar, 2006; Schellenberg, Hirt & Sears, 1999).

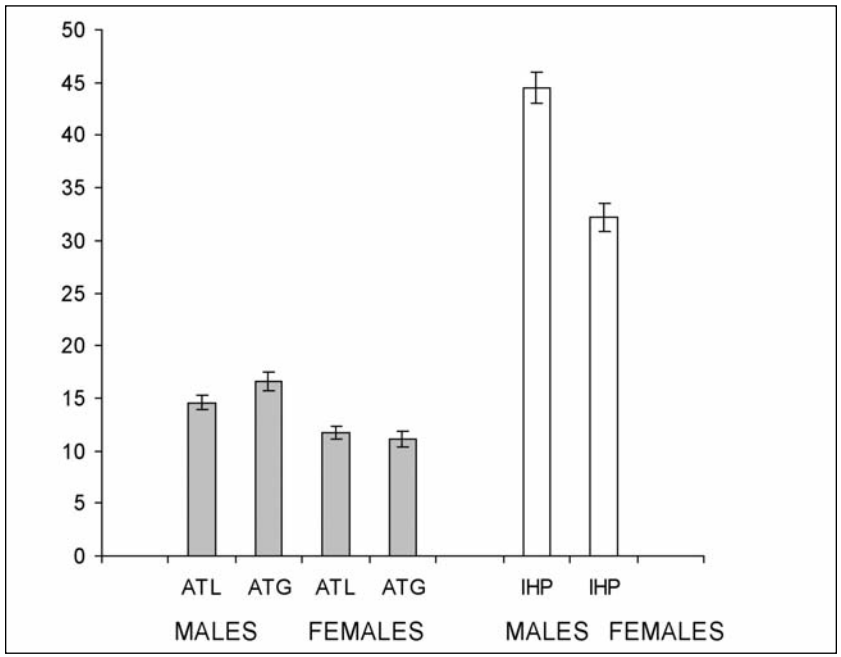

Figure 1. Homophobia shown by male and female subjects on the IHP and ATLG scales (ATL = attitudes towards lesbians; ATG = attitudes towards gays). Higher scores indicate more homophobic attitudes on either scale. Error bars represent SEMs.

Procedure

The experimenter obtained the professors' permission to gain access for the first or last ten minutes of classes, and entered 14 classrooms, each of approximately 20 students in the five divisions of the university, obtaining responses from students in all four years of study. The nature of the study was explained and it was emphasized that the survey was entirely voluntary.

Those agreeing to complete the survey received a consent form and were asked to sign it. Names were recorded on the consent form but everything else was answered anonymously. After finishing the survey, the participants were asked to hand the researcher the consent form and survey, which were immediately placed in separate envelopes. Due to the sensitive subject matter, the researcher was careful in handling the data to preserve the subjects' confidentiality. Participants were assured that no names would appear in the data, which was to be seen only by the supervisors, and destroyed once the study was complete.

Results

Overall Levels of Homophobia

On the IHP (Hudson and Ricketts, 1980), a score of 0 to 25 is classified as "high grade non-homophobic" attitude, 26 to 50 as "low grade non-homophobic", 51 to 75 as "low grade homophobic",

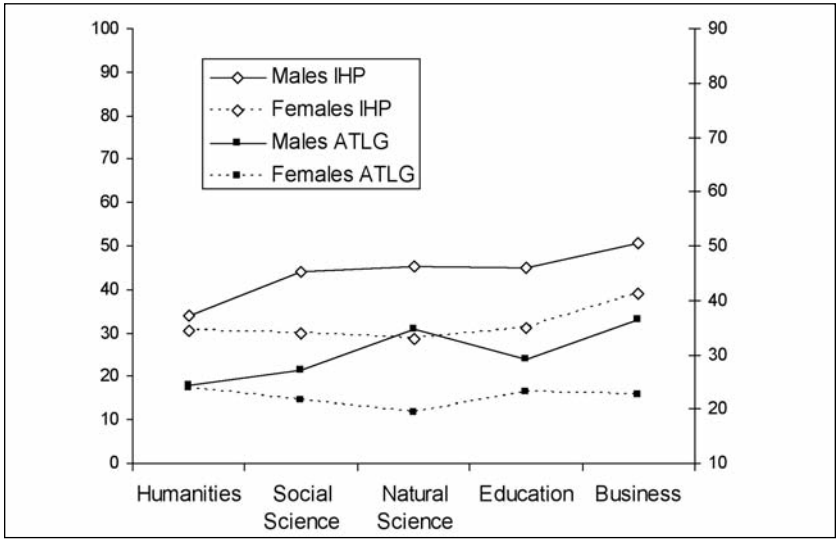

Figure 2. Homophobia as a function of subject's gender and academic division, on the IHP (scale range 0-100) and the ATLG (scale range10-90).

and 76 to 100 as "high grade homophobic." For the present sample 25.5, 50.9, 22, and 1.5 percent of respondents respectively fell into these four categories.

Categorical Predictors of Homophobia

Gender. A 2 × (2) mixed ANOVA (subject gender × attitude subscale) was conducted on the ATLG scores to compare the level of homophobia of male and female subjects, towards male and female targets. Males showed more negative attitudes towards homosexuality overall than did females, $F(1, 246) = 20.1$, $p = .001$. A Subject Gender × Target Gender interaction indicated that female students held similar attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, whereas males were more negative in attitudes towards gay men than lesbians, $F(1, 246) = 9.74$, $p = .002$. These data are shown in Figure 1.

A one-way ANOVA of IHP scores also showed that males ($M = 44.50$) showed higher levels of homophobia than females ($M = 32.22$), $F(1, 261) = 39.73$, $p = .001$.

Variable	Mean	SD	r(ATLG)	r(IHP)
Gender (1= Male, 2 = Female)	M=45%	F=55%	-.281**	-.363**
Age in years	21.53	3.82	.163*	.127*
Years of education	3.29	1.62	.164*	.103
Live in Residence (1 = yes, 2 = no)	31%	.464	.152*	.122*
Importance of religion (1 = great deal, 4 = not much at all)	3.10	1.00	-.317**	-.137*
Religious attendance (1= > once week, 5 = almost never)	4.37	1.02	-.349**	-.136*
Political affiliation (1= liberal, 4 = neutral, 7 = conservative)	3.00	1.49	.375**	.437**
Belief in biological cause (1 = not at all, 7 = very much)	4.01	1.73	-.199	-.166

(n = 258–263)
** p <.01 (2-tailed)
* p < .05 (2-tailed)

Table 1
Mean responses on the survey variables, with correlations to ATLG and IHP scores

Residence. The students living in university residences showed less homophobia than those who lived off campus, $t(246) = 2.42$, $p = .016$ for the ATLG, and $t(261) = 1.98$, $p = .049$ for the IHP.

Language. Seventy-three percent of the respondents' mother tongue was English, with 20% French, and 7% other. Those rated as "other" were excluded from analysis as the group was too small and variable to establish any conclusions. Anglophone students held less homophobic attitudes than Francophone students, $t(229) = 4.59$, $p = .0001$ for the ATLG, and $t(239) = 3.61$, $p = .0001$ for the IHP.

Division. Levels of homophobia were compared across the five divisions of study at the university, by means of a 5 × 2 ANOVA for each homophobia scale. Using the IHP, homophobic attitudes varied across the divisions, being highest among Business students and lowest in Humanities students, $F(4, 253) = 5.36$, $p = .001$. Business students were significantly higher than all other divisions according to the Tukey HSD test, $p < .05$. With the ATLG, the divisions were not shown to differ in homophobia towards lesbians, $F(4, 240) = 0.98$, $p = .42$, or towards gays, $F(4, 248) = 1.8$, $p = .13$. There was no significant interaction between division and gender, for either scale. The means are shown in Figure 2.

Years of post-secondary education. One-way ANOVAs indicated that those subjects having more years of post-secondary education were more homophobic on the ATLG, $F(14,230) = 1.81$, $p = .038$, but not on the IHP, $F(14,245) = 1.34$, $p = .18$. Likewise the positive correlation between education and homophobia was also significant when using ATLG scores, $r(245) = .164$, $p = .01$, but not with IHP scores, $r(260) = .103$, $p = .097$.

Bivariate Correlations

Means, standard deviations and standard errors for the variables used for correlation analysis are shown in Table 1, together with the correlations of these variables with IHP and ATLG scores. The subjects' IHP and ATLG scores were positively correlated, $r(248) = .64$, $p = .001$, suggesting that these scales are reliable measures of homophobia. The two subscales of the ATLG also showed a strong correlation to each other, $r(248) = .89$, $p = .001$.

Importance of religion. Approximately 8% of respondents indicated that religion played a great role in their lives, 21% rated it at a fair amount, 24% indicated not much, and 47% marked not at all. The more religious subjects showed more negative attitudes towards homosexuality, $r(247) = .317$, $p = .0001$ for ATLG scores, and $r(262) = .137$, $p = .027$ for IHP scores.

Frequency of church/religious attendance. Two percent of respondents indicated that they attended religious services more than once a week, 5% marked once a week, 11% indicated 2 or 3 times a month, 17% marked once a month, and 65% marked almost never. It was found that the individuals who attended church more frequently were more homophobic, $r(246) = .349$, $p = .0001$ for the ATLG, and $r(261) = .136$, $p = .028$. for the IHP.

Political affiliation. Measured on a 7 point Likert scale, liberals formed 65% of the sample below the neutral point, 23% were neutral, and only 14% were conservative. It was found that subjects with a more liberal political affiliation had more positive attitudes towards homosexuality, $r(257) = .437$, $p = .0001$ for the IHP.

Belief in biological causes of homosexuality. There was no significant correlation between belief in the biological causes of homosexuality, measured on a 7 point Likert scale, and IHP scores, $r(261) = -.116$, $p = .061$.

Age. It was found that older students were more homophobic than younger students, $r(262) = .127$, $p = 0.04$ on the IHP, and $r(248) = .163$, $p = .01$ on the ATLG. Although significant, the association is not large, possibly due to the restricted age range involved.

Multivariate prediction of homophobia.
A backward multiple linear regression analysis of IHP scores was performed. It employed the subject's division as a dummy-coded variable, established on the basis of its mean level of homophobia (Humanities = 1, Social Sciences = 2, Natural Sciences = 3, Education = 4, Business = 5). This analysis showed that IHP scores could be predicted with fair accuracy ($R = .581$) from the following three subject characteristics taken together: male gender, francophone language group, and political conservatism, with respective beta weights of .29, .26, and .38 (all $p < .001$). However, the addition of the other seven subject variables from the survey as predictors (all $p > .1$) increased the value of R only negligibly, to .598.

Discussion

Confirming previous findings (Logan, 1996; Davies, 2004), the results indicate that males overall were consistently higher in negative attitudes towards homosexuality than females, and showed an anti-gay bias which was absent from the female respondents. However, the absolute levels of homophobia appear relatively low in comparison to poll data for the general population, since 49% of all Canadians believe that homosexuality is abnormal, as compared to 46% who

think the opposite (Leger Marketing, 2005, p.17). This presumably reflects the generally liberal mores on a university campus.

As expected, age, gender, importance of religion, church attendance and political party affiliation, when considered individually, were all correlated to homophobia, as in past studies (Ben-Ari, 2001; Estrada & Weiss, 1999; Herek, 1984; Herek, 1988; Lambert et al., 2006; Schellenberg et al., 1999). However, two factors did not correlate with homophobia as predicted. The first was belief in biological causes of homosexuality. A number of studies have found that those who believe homosexuality to be due to genetic causes are less homophobic (Herek, 1984; Ernulf, Innala & Whitmam, 1989). It is apparent that participants often see homosexuality not as a choice but a biological product in these cases. The results of the present study, however, did not find significant results for this factor, perhaps because the assessment tool involved a single question.

Secondly, a surprising finding was that maternal tongue French students were more negative towards homosexuality than maternal tongue English students, contradicting our predictions. It may be that Bishop's University attracts French students from more traditional homes, and from rural areas rather than from metropolitan areas where feelings towards homosexuality are generally more liberal.

If we examine the two scales, the first critique of Herek's (1988) ATLG scale is that it is outdated. Most notable is question 2 of the scale, which states "Laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened", since after the construction of this scale in 1988 laws restricting homosexual behavior have been abolished in both the United States and Canada, making this question moot. This critique is confirmed by Ernulf, Innala and Whitam (1989), who removed this question from the ATLG scale because it was not applicable to the Swedish society they were studying. The second critique is that the scale is too ambiguous. The item of note is question 4 in the scale: "Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem". A few participants did not answer this question and some wrote comments on the survey saying they did not understand what the question meant. A third explanation for the varying results between the two scales may be based on past work. It was presumed in selecting the scales for the study that Herek's (1988) scale measured a wider domain of homonegativism, while Hudson and Ricketts's (1980) was more precise in measuring homophobia. Although they may

measure different facets of homonegativism, they are both measures of attitudes towards homosexuality and should correlate with one another. When the IHP was compared with the ATLG there was a significant correlation (.64), confirming our convergent predictions.

Concerning the relation of the subjects' faculty to homophobic attitude, our results at a small university and Schellenberg et al.'s (1999) study at a large university are consistent. Hopwood and Connors (2002) have also reported that Business students show the highest level of homophobia. It may be argued that male students, especially, could be encouraged to enroll in classes involving gender analysis, such as Women's Studies classes or courses on general human sexuality, which produce increased acknowledgement of diversity and foster more positive attitudes towards homosexuality (Macalister, 1999; Larsen, Cate & Reed, 1983). This would uphold the tradition of universities playing an instrumental role in shaping a progressive culture and society (Schellenberg, Hirt & Sears,1999; Macalister, 1999; Greenwood, North & Dollenmayer, 1999).

It was predicted that years of education would confirm the previous finding that as students pass through the years of higher education they become more liberal and homophobia decreases (Lambert, Ventura, Hall, & Cluse-Tolar, 2006). Indeed we would like to believe that higher education leads to citizens who are more tolerant and open-minded. However, the univariate analysis showed a significant positive finding, at first glance suggesting that higher education actually increases negative attitudes towards homosexuality. There are several possible explanations for this seemingly aberrant result. First, it was thought in the construction of the survey that the most accurate measure of education would be in years of post-secondary education as opposed to years in college. Bishop's University is in an unusual situation in that it has a large population of students who enter its degree program in the second year of study. This is due to the Québec system of junior colleges (CEGEPs), where students who finish high school in grade 11 spend two years, and begins university in the 2nd year of a four-year program. This is why university year was thought to be a suitable measure of education in this school's unique situation. However it did not take into account whether English students were coming from Québec or out of province. Most of the French students surveyed originate from Québec and thus had passed through the CEGEP system, allowing the survey to be biased by sampling French stu-

dents only in their 3rd year of study. Future research should correct the question of years of post-secondary education, by asking for additional information such as whether participants are from the province and if so how many years of CEGEP they have attended. There were also a number of outliers which skewed the distribution. These may have been adults returning to school after an extended break or perpetual students who may be older and more educated but who also show a cohort effect for homophobia. This would be congruent with previous findings that older cohorts are more homophobic than younger ones (Herek, 1984). A final explanation is that the range of educational level is restricted, since only university students participated.

When compared to a large Canadian university (Schellenberg et al., 1999), the Bishop's University community appears to have an overall more positive attitude towards sexual diversity. Two possible explanations arise for this. The first is that in the ten years since the collection of these data, societal views towards sexual diversity have become more accepting. The second is that Bishop's University's small size facilitates socialization and a reduction in prejudiced views towards homosexuality.

The fairly low level of homophobia at Bishop's suggests tolerance, perhaps promoted by its small size, which facilitates socialization and a closer-knit community. As students encounter a larger diversity of colleagues, some of whom will be gay or lesbian, this presumably leads to a reduction in prejudiced views towards homosexuals, in accordance with the contact hypothesis (Herek, 1993). This would agree with the results which, at least in the univariate analysis, suggested that students in residence are less homophobic than those living off campus.

We are presently involved in a follow-up study looking at the factors modulating attitudes towards homosexuality in the wider community of the Eastern Townships region. Surprisingly, few studies have looked at this issue outside of large urban centers. We are hopeful that the present study and its follow-up will help to dispel the myth that metropolitan dwellers are more open-minded and more tolerant that their counterparts in smaller centers.

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NINA MAY (PICKEL) OWENS, 1869–1959: ENGLISH QUEBEC'S EARLY "INDEPENDENT" WOMAN/ARTIST[1]

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Under the supervision of Bishop's professors, Dr. Jean Manore and Dr. Cheryl Gosselin, and with the financial support of the Eastern Townships Research Centre, Ms. Tarasoff had the opportunity to delve into the Margaret Owens archival holdings, the Brome County Historical Association archives and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Library and Archives, in addition to having the chance to review archival material collected by Margaret Owens, Nina Owens' granddaughter. Ms. Tarasoff's spent a year exploring the life and work of Nina May (Pickel) Owens and it can clearly be seen in the article below that the young 21st century student connected and indeed fell in love with the 19th century Eastern Townships artist.

—Editor

ABSTRACT

Nina May (Pickel) Owens, one of Canada's earliest women artists, was born in Bolton Centre, Quebec, on June 16, 1869. Though few have heard her name and seen her work, Nina's life and experiences as both a woman in the domestic sphere and as an artist provide a wealth of knowledge about women and women artists of her time. Nina is of particular importance because her life and experiences are independent of what is commonly known and believed about women and women artists of late-Victorian and early-twentieth century Canada. Indeed, she employed both her domestic and artistic identities without regret, consequently challenging conventional notions of femininity and the exclusivity of professionalism.

RÉSUMÉ

Nina May (Pickel) Owens, l'une des premières femmes artistes du Canada, naît à Bolton Centre le 16 juin 1869. Bien que peu de gens connaissent son nom et son oeuvre, la vie et les expériences domestiques et artistiques de Nina Owens sont particulièrement révélatrices. Elles éclairent non seulement les conditions des femmes et particulièrement des femmes artistes de l'époque, mais sont d'une importance toute particulière puisqu'elles contredisent les connaissances et croyances actuelles au sujet des femmes et femmes artistes au tournant du vingtième siècle. Nina affirmait sans regret ses rôles domestique et artistique, remettant en question par le fait même les notions conventionnelles de féminité ainsi que celles de l'exclusivité de la profession.

Only since the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s have Canadian women artists appreciably found their place in galleries and museums, history books, media, on collectors' walls and on the tips of our tongues. Yet, knowledge of Canadian female artists and exhibitions of their work remains sparse compared to that of male artists and "this is certainly not due to Canada's lack of female artists."[2] One reason for this inequality is found in Canada's art history.

From 1860 to 1940 "the number of societies, institutions, associations, galleries and educational bodies connected with our [Canadian] art increased enormously."[3] Yet, despite the founding of the Women's Art Association of Canada in 1890, well into the twentieth-century "women were denied the all-important recognition of acceptance into the Academy [...] and were given limited access to art education."[4] Though young women soon made up the majority of students, all of Canada's major art institutions were dominated by male teachers.[5] Canada's most esteemed art association, the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA), treated women as lesser members up until the 1930s.[6]

Today, Emily Carr is one of the few Canadian women artists recognized as an artist in her own right. Yet it was seemingly interaction with male artists that propelled Carr to fame. As Chadwick (2007) notes: "Carr's strong, brooding paintings of the Pacific Northwest and its Indians went almost completely unnoticed until the 1920s, when she met up with Mark Tobey and the painters of Canada's Group of Seven."[7] Like Carr, the Beaver Hall women did not receive a great deal of public recognition until they organized with A.Y. Jackson, Edwin Holgate and other male artists in the early

1920s to form the Beaver Hall Hill Group, and with members of the Group of Seven to form the Canadian Group of Painters in 1933.[8]

It is generally accepted and celebrated that early twentieth-century Canadian art was dominated by the landscape painting of the Group of Seven.[9] However, the Beaver Hall women believed in creating art for art's sake, rather than espousing the nationalist dogma of the Group of Seven.[10] Instead of emphasizing the Canadian landscape, the Beaver Hall women portrayed the complexities of Canadian life by adding powerful female figures to the geography.[11] Though their subject matter differed, when the Beaver Hall women partnered with male artists their professional status increased. Despite their heightened professional status, even today the works of the Beaver Hall women are rarely shown and few Canadians know their names.[12]

Critical examinations of Canadian art and artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century do exist, yet they scarcely, if at all, mention women artists. With the exception of a few women artists, such as Emily Carr and Anne Savage, early women artists, when mentioned, tend to be treated summarily. Though the literature concerning early women artists is growing, few authors extensively address the vital link between gender identity and professionalism. The works of Farr and Luckyj (1975) and Tippett (1992) are merely starting points for an examination of the challenges for women artists who occupied both a domestic and a professional role, as they too chiefly concentrate on many of the same illustrious and unmarried Canadian woman artists covered in Canadian art history surveys. While Tippett's *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women* (1992) may be considered the most comprehensive addition to the growing bibliography on Canadian women artists, it nonetheless lacks a critical examination of gender—as well as race and class.[13] Moreover, Millar (1996) found that "over two-thirds of the artists mentioned [in *By a Lady*] are listed only by name and birth/death dates or, at best, given two or three lines of text."[14] Though Meadowcroft (1999) addresses the struggles of the Beaver Hall women with regard to juggling their artistic pursuits and their families, her analysis is limited due to the fact that most of the Beaver Hall women were spinsters, who lived at home with overbearing mothers. Only one of the Beaver Hall women—Lilias Torrance Newton—was married (and divorced twelve years later).[15]

Hence, another explanation for the lack of recognition paid to early female artists may be because many of Canada's early women

artists have been lost and/or forgotten due to the fact that they did not occupy the traditional gender roles assigned to their sex. Specifically, a gap in the historiography concerning early women artists indicates that women artists who also identified as wives and mothers have been forgotten, suggesting that these women artists cannot be considered "professional" because of their domestic identities. One could indeed argue that the rigid definition of professional, "one who earns a living in a given or implied occupation," is exclusive of women artists who are also wives and mothers.[16]

As mentioned, the link between gender identity and professionalism is a much neglected area of study in Canada's art history. An examination of Nina May (Pickel) Owens' life (1869-1959) intends to fill this gap. An inquiry into Nina's life adds a gendered analysis to the literature on early women artists because Nina identified as a wife and mother *and* acted professionally as an artist. Her life demonstrates the reality that many women did not completely adhere to the Victorian ideal of femininity and also unearths the exclusivity of professionalism. Nina unconsciously challenged the ideal of traditional Victorian femininity and subsequently acted as a professional artist despite its rigid definition. Accordingly, Nina's life differs from or is independent of the historiography about women artists of her time as her gender identity was more flexible than the one assigned to her. As an exploration into Nina's life reveals gaps in historiography it too opens up the possibility of recognizing more of Canada's early women artists. By sharing Nina (May) Pickel Owens' story, the aim of this essay is to bring attention to other early women artists who identified as wives and mothers in order that they too may be recognized as professionals.

In the 1780s, the Pickel family left Albany, New York for Quebec, first settling in Dunham, then Knowlton, and finally in Bolton Centre.[17] Like many Loyalists fleeing the United States around the time of the American Revolution, the Pickel family settled in the Eastern Townships.[18] Irrefutably, the fertile land of the Townships and its "mythically-beautiful rural scenery" was the main attraction for settlers as well as artists in the nineteenth century.[19] As an artist, Nina was inspired by the scenery of the Townships and perhaps even influenced by the many artists who had illustrated the region before her. For one, Nina's early depictions of the Townships may indeed have been modeled after William Henry Bartlett's illustrations in *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, Vol. 2*. (London: G. Virtue, 1842).[20] Bartlett (1809–54), a British artist who visited the

Townships in the 1830s, "was the first to visually draw attention to the natural beauty of such Eastern Townships sites as Lake Memphremagog and Mount Orford."[21] One of the most popular nineteenth-century Canadian landscapists, Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–72), "painted Owl's Head Mountain between 1859 and 1861."[22] Other early male artists who depicted the Townships include the Royal Canadian Academy of Art's (RCA) first president, Lucius O'Brien (1832-99), illustrator Henry Sandman, RCA (1842–1910), and John Arthur Fraser, RCA (1846-98), one of the founders of the Ontario Society of Artists.[23] Royal Canadian Academicians Fredrick Simpson Coburn (1871–1960) and Aaron Allan Edson (1846-1888) also painted their native Townships.[24] Less known male artists and art patrons of the Eastern Townships include Sherbrooke Mayor and Bishop's University Chancellor Richard William Heneker (1832–1912) and banker John Carpenter Baker, who helped finance Aaron Allan Edson's studies.[25] In 1886 the first public art gallery of the Townships was opened in Sherbrooke by Samuel Morsey.[26]

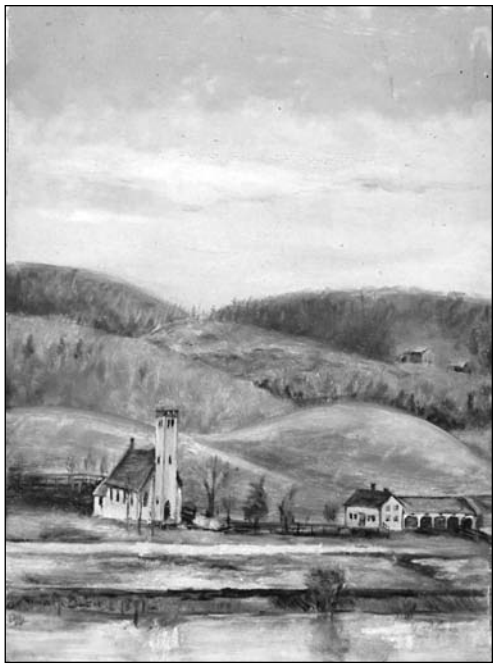

Figure 1: "The Farm": The Pickel Homestead and St. Patrick's Anglican Church, Bolton Centre, Quebec. "…a lovely setting for a dream world of my own." This is one of Nina's first oil paintings, 1891. Collection of Margaret Nina Owens.

As the art scene began to develop in the Townships, Jay Theodore Pickel and Anna Eliza (Harvey) Pickel welcomed the birth of their first child Nina May Pickel at "The Farm" in Bolton Centre on 16 June 1869[27] (Figure 1). Before Nina could read and write she was sketching her surroundings.[28] While Nina's surroundings inspired her, the Reverend F. H. Clayton encouraged her artistic talent; he began privately tutoring her in 1878.[29] Following her education in Bolton Centre, Nina attended Knowlton Academy and then Waterloo Academy, where she trained to become a teacher.

> A week or so after taking the matriculation exams at Waterloo I went to Sherbrooke Que[bec] to take exams for model school teacher. Before leaving for home the examiner came to me and told me that in looking over my papers the board had decided to give me a principal's diploma if I were willing to take up trigonometry and go up for an exam in that subject. I thought it over and decided not to. So I thanked him sincerely and forgot about it. I had spent long enough at school for the time being, *I wanted to get out, be independent and paint*. [Emphasis added][30]

Nonetheless, in the fall of 1889, Nina went to work as a practice teacher in Danville.

Though the limited and dated histories of the Eastern Townships do not recognize the Pickel family as founding members of Bolton Centre, in her writings Nina insisted that her family was "honourable and cultured and stood respected in the community." Nina's parents were much like other couples of the Townships in the late 1800s: "Father was a man of the open fields, and shady woods, very fond of nature, and well versed in that lore. Mother was a lady in every respect, refined and well-educated. She was musical, played and sang and had a wonderful memory for poetry."[31]

In many respects, Nina and her mother fit the mold of a traditional middle-class Victorian woman; "initiated into the 'polite arts' at an early age, [Victorian women] […] were taught to play a musical instrument, to converse in a foreign language or to paint delicate watercolours."[32] During the Victorian period most women were socially constructed to be feminine, and this definition of femininity included an aptitude for the arts. In fact, since the Renaissance, the decorative arts, those related to textiles as well as painting and sketching, have been seen as "extension[s] of womanliness," as if performing these "polite arts" was part of a woman "fulfilling her nature."[33]

However, a woman's practice of art was to be limited to the private sphere. Women were encouraged to paint but not to make a living doing it.[34] Young women were only to acquire artistic skills "to occupy their leisure hours and heighten their chance of winning suitors."[35] Once women were domesticated, art was only to be "a means through which they could enhance their 'private happiness' and 'create a healthy domestic environment in which their children could thrive and their husbands could find a refuge.' For the majority of women artists, painting thus remained merely a polite hobby."[36] Thus,

> Women artists existed in a contradictory relationship to the prevailing middle-class ideals of femininity. They were caught between a social ideology that prohibited the individual competition and public visibility necessary for success in the arts, and the educational and social reform movements that [debatably] made the nineteenth century the greatest period of female social progress in history. The qualities which define the artist—independence, self-reliance, competitiveness—belonged to a male sphere of influence and action. Women who adopted these traits, who turned their backs on amateur artistic accomplishments, accepted as beautifying or morally enlightening, or who rejected flower painting in watercolour for historical compositions in oil, risked being labeled as sexual deviants. Art reviews from the period are full of charges that aspiring women artists risk 'unsexing' themselves.[37]

Ironically, while women's artistic prowess was considered an extension of their femininity, women who pursued the arts publicly or professionally were deemed unfeminine and often accused of "disowning" their sex.[38]

Evidently, due to the fact that Victorian ideology reasoned that "femininity was to be lived out in the fulfillment of socially ordained domestic and reproductive roles, a profound contradiction was established between the identities of artist and woman."[39] Instead of working to become a "professional" artist, social theorists of the time maintained that "the adult role for which the Victorian middle-class girl was supposed to be preparing herself was that of wife and mother."[40] Victorian ideology too reasoned that women "were temperamentally different than men and naturally suited to their roles as wives and mothers," meaning that in addition to being deemed unfeminine, women artists were threatening the family and a woman's role in it.[41] Thus, "'artist' became increasingly associated with everything that was anti-domestic, outsiderness, anti-social, and the sublime forces of untamed nature."[42]

Nevertheless, many women still endeavored to become professional artists. For the most part, however, only affluent women who had more time and resources than their working-class counterparts could afford to become artists.[43] Yet it was not socio-economic class but the selling one's artwork that often defined a woman as an artist.[44] Generally, the definition of a professional artist is one who makes a living as an artist. However, because Nina sold very few paintings, she could not be classified as an artist given this exclusive definition. On the contrary, she did not need to sell her artwork to make a living.

As the remaining narrative of her life is revealed, it will become clear that Nina did act professionally in a number of other ways, and therefore deserves to be classified as a professional artist as well as one of Canada's early women artists. Despite her talent and prolific artwork, Nina remains unknown because she seems to have preferred to emphasize her identity as wife and mother rather than as artist. Yet her domestic and professional identities did not conflict but instead complemented each other, and so Nina was able to successfully employ both her domestic and artistic identities. Thus, Nina does not fit the traditional definition of a professional artist or of Victorian woman.

After domestic service, teaching was the occupation that engaged most women in the final decades of the nineteenth century, including Nina.[45] However, "whatever their occupation, women typically left the labour force when they married."[46] Nina's desire to leave the paid work force however had nothing to do with marriage; she wanted to "be independent and paint" long before she tied the knot.[47] Her desire to be independent here meant an independence from an occupation (teaching) that was designated as a particular occupation for women.

After a year in Danville, Nina again found Bolton Centre "confining" and in the fall of 1890 ventured further from home to work as a practice teacher in Montebello.[48] Evidently not giving up on her dream to "be independent and paint," Nina "arrived at Montebello with trunk, easel and paint box" in hand.[49]

By chance however, on her first day in Montebello, Nina met her future husband, Owen Ernest Owens. The two married at Bolton Centre on 16 September 1891 and soon made a home in Montebello.[50] Shortly after settling into married life Nina became a mother.[51] Owen Norreys Harrington Owens was born on 26 August 1895 and Carolyn Myriam Nina Owens was born on 3 May 1904 (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Nina with Carolyn and Norreys, 1909. Collection of Margaret Nina Owens.

In 1906, the Owens family bought a home in Montreal. While Nina stayed in Montreal with her children during the school year, Owen worked in Montebello. The family then spent the holidays and the summers in Montebello and in the Eastern Townships. The Owens' "lived unpreten-

tiously, but had service and a certain amount of ceremony."[52] Domestic servants, a sewing woman and a hairdresser frequented the Owens' residence.[53] Nina was very much a woman of the Victorian middle-class; she embroidered, made lace, played the piano, sketched, painted, and rode horse side-saddle. As a woman of the middle-class, with Norreys and Carolyn in private school, Nina did not have a great deal of domestic responsibilities; however, that is not to say that she did not have any at all.

Though Owen was a busy entrepreneur, Nina was able to pursue the arts as she had planned to before she got married – verification that she was indeed serious about becoming an artist and that she did not relinquish her job as a teacher to be a full-time wife and mother like many other women of her time had. In 1909 Nina began her professional art training. Just weeks after Nina had painted a portrait of her husband, on 22 January, 1910, Owen Ernest Owens died of pneumonia. Nina did not stop her art training after her husband's death, but managed the finances to maintain a comfortable middle-class lifestyle, without ever returning to the paid labour force.

Alongside some of the Beaver Hall women, from 1909 to 1920 Nina attended art school at the prestigious Art Association of Montreal (AAM).[54]

> The Art Association of Montreal school opened in October 1879. From the beginning, female students were in the majority, partly because men had other options. The Royal Canadian Academy, for example, offered free classes in life drawing, to men only. The Art Association of Montreal charged substantial fees, $40 a year, and attracted mainly middle-class students.[55]

At the AAM Nina studied under the direction of William Brymner (1855–1925), Canada's first great art teacher.[56] Born in Scotland, but raised in Montreal, Brymner was the first Canadian artist to study in Paris.[57] From 1886 to 1921 Brymner was the director of the AAM and acted as the president of RCA from 1909 to 1917.[58] Though Brymner's personal style was influenced by early nineteenth-century European artists, he encouraged his students to develop their own style.[59] Brymner taught some of Canada's most notable early twentieth-century artists including "Clarence Gagnon, Paul Barnard Earle, James L. Graham, Randolph S. Hewton, H. Mabel May, Lilias Torrance Newton and Charles W. Simpson—sufficient evidence of his skill as a painter and of his influence as a teacher."[60] Judging by Nina's paintings, it appears as though Brymner's personal style and

instruction had a significant impact on her as well.

At the AAM, the majority of Brymner's students were Anglophone "middle-class girls whose parents considered painting a desirable accomplishment for their daughters, rather than a means of earning a living."[61] As mentioned, some of these middle-class girls included the Beaver Hall women, many of whom grew up in Anglo-Protestant families living in or near Montreal's Golden Square Mile and received formal art instruction while attending Miss Edgar's and Miss Cramp's School before they attended the AAM.[62] Nevertheless, "Brymner encouraged his female students to adopt a professional attitude toward their work and to complete their training in Paris"—which many of them did.[63]

> The Art Association of Montreal was in many ways a protected space. Its high percentage of female students encouraged women to see painting as a normal activity for them. The school was small: the Advanced class usually numbered between 26 and 36, while the total enrolment varied from 60 in 1904, to about 100 in 1920. The atmosphere may have been rather exclusive, however, due to the many upper-middle-class students.[64]

Though Nina's time at the AAM was shared with some of the Beaver Hall women, there is no evidence that she participated in their art collective.

> The short-lived (1920–1921) Beaver Hall Hill Group was largely composed of women artists who, like Nina Owens, shared an English-speaking, upper middle class background. Nina did not get involved in this informal and somewhat heterogeneous artists' association, probably because she felt that the group did not offer a compatible artistic environment for her to work in. Certainly, factors of age and marital status, as well as Nina Owens' more traditional approach to subject matter, would have rendered less desirable her association with younger colleagues whose work was leaning towards an 'art for art's sake' modernist attitude.65

The closest Beaver Hall woman in age to Nina was Mabel May, who was eight years Nina's junior. Because of her age, 27 years older than Prudence Heward and Anne Savage, Nina may have been regarded as an outcast among her AAM classmates. Moreover, Nina's marital status and identity as a mother may have isolated Nina from her classmates. With the exception of Lilias Torrance Newton, the Beaver Hall women were unattached and childless.[66]

In contrast to Nina, the Beaver Hall women depended on their parents, teaching, and portrait painting to make ends meet.[67] Nina trained and worked as a teacher only before she was married. After marriage and after she was widowed, there is no evidence of Nina returning to the paid work force. However, as previously mentioned, it is doubtful that Nina would have ever sold her artwork, even if it had been deemed necessary.[68] Because Nina was professionally trained, exhibited her work and shared it with others, she can be classified as a professional artist. Nina did engage in professional artistic activities, therefore demonstrating that the definition of professionalism concerning art is exclusive of women artists who occupied domestic roles and chose not to sell their work.

Although it was produced in a limited quantity, which arguably made it difficult to get noticed, Nina's artwork was displayed alongside her classmates' in the Art Association of Montreal's Spring Exhibitions of 1910, 1911, 1913 to 1920, and 1927.[69] Also, in 1918, one of Nina's paintings was selected to be exhibited at the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. Though Nina was not well recognized within Canada, "she was invited by the Canadian Art Association to send pictures [paintings] to the International Exhibition in Rome, a year or two before the First World War."[70]

In addition to studying at the Art Association of Montreal, beginning in 1921, Nina studied sculpture at the francophone École des beaux-arts de Montréal, under the direction of Albert Laliberté (1878–1953), one of Quebec's most celebrated sculptors.[71] Although she never won an award for her work as a painter, in 1926 one of Nina's "modèle vivant" (living model) sculptures won third prize.

A dominant subject of Nina's works featured in the Art Association of Montreal Spring Exhibitions was the Knowlton area: "At Knowlton" (1914), "Knowlton Hills" (1917), "Knowlton Pond" (1918), as well as "Coldbrook Valley" (1918) "Brome Lake" (1919) "Bolton Hills" (1919) - not surprising as Nina spent many summers in Knowlton with her children after her husband's death.[72] While in Knowlton, Nina and her children often visited with the (Henry) Knowlton family.[73] In 1924, Nina created a print, Coldbrook, for the Knowlton family to identify their books; the print was named after their large farm.

Though Nina herself may not have considered these acts of professionalism, Nina produced two sketches to accompany her friend Helen E. Williams' article "Autumn Days in the Eastern Townships" in *The Canadian Century* (October 14, 1911) and a watercolour for Helen's "Yuletide in the Townships: Enjoying Christmas in the

Good, Old-fashioned Style" in *The Canadian Countryman* (December 14, 1912). Nina also created a print block for the Papineau family and illustrated the cover of a children's song book.

After her professional training, Nina, perhaps on the advice of William Brymner, traveled to Europe. "In middle age, in full possession of her artistic skills and having both leisure and adequate financial means, Nina Owens was finally able to fulfill her adolescent dream of discovering the world."[74] Nina's most memorable and extravagant trips, taken with her daughter Carolyn, include an eight-week guided tour of Europe in the summer 1925 and an eleven-month excursion around Great Britain beginning in November 1936. While "across the pond," Nina sketched and painted, visited galleries, attended gallery openings and art lectures.[75] According to Carolyn's journal, on these trips "Nina was in her element! She sketched like mad, on any available scrap of paper, if notepad was handy, from the boats and out of train windows." While in Europe, Nina copied the masters and noted that some of the architecture there resembled that of the buildings on the Papineau's land. On their second trip to Europe, the women had more freedom. Carolyn drove as Nina sketched and painted: "After lunch did 7 miles in 2½ hours! Mum did 3 sketches."[76]

Despite the fact that Nina was not active in the Canadian art scene like her younger AAM classmates, Nina did play a role in the Canadian art world during both World Wars, and accordingly, did act professionally as an artist. During the First World War, the Canadian War Memorial Fund was launched "to create a 'magnificent and lasting artistic record' of Canada at war."[77] While very few women were officially commissioned to artistically record the Great War, Nina did possess a certificate which allowed her to paint and sketch in Montreal's harbors "for the national purpose of Canada."[78] The Second World War also provided female artists with the opportunity to document war-time activities.[79] In 1946, at the age of 77, Nina was commissioned to paint a cypripedium sent over from England for safekeeping during World War Two.[80]

After their travels, Nina and Carolyn had a home built in Rosemere where Nina continued to sketch and paint well into her eighties. At eighty-five, Nina suffered a heart attack and cerebral hemorrhage, yet just weeks before her 86th birthday she finished one of her largest and perhaps greatest works, entitled 'The Wave': "At eighty-five and a half I started a picture – finished just before my eighty-sixth birthday—of a wave which turned out to be the finest I have ever painted…"[81]. 'The Wave' was then exhibited at

the Golden Age Hobby Show at the Royal Bank Auditorium in Montreal from June 2 to 4, 1955 (Figure 3).

Figure 3: "The Wave." Nina painted "The Wave" for her daughter Carolyn as a reminder of their 1936–1937 trip to Great Britain. Collection of Margaret Nina Owens.

Nina's "painting was always a solace to her," as was her family.[82] "I really have a wonderful family from the eldest to the youngest", wrote Nina on 6 May 1955. However, Nina's art seemed to be equally important to her. Just weeks after her 90th birthday, the adventurer, the wife, the widow, the mother, the grandmother, the great-grandmother, and the artist Nina May (Pickel) Owens died in Montreal on 28 June 1959.

An examination of Nina's life indicates that at times she did adhere to the ideal of Victorian womanhood, perhaps suggesting that she was not independent of the literature concerning women and artists of her time, and thus was not able to balance her domestic identity with her artistic pursuits. However, a number of things must be taken into consideration when examining Nina's life and comparing her experiences to other women artists and ideas about women artists. Some considerations include her socio-economic class, her marital status, and her age. Moreover, Nina lived during a time when Canada was growing and evolving politically, economically, and socially, a time when women began to question their political and legal status. Nina experienced "early adulthood in the years when the foundations of the Victorian liberal consensus were crumbling."[83] Though during Nina's youth "Victorian con-

ceptions of femininity and of feminine duty" were being challenged, Victorian ideas about women continued to affect Nina's nature and life choices to varying degrees.[84] It is also important to remember that the ideas about femininity during any time period are generalizations; in reality, there is no actual standard or model of femininity:

> Even though femininity was often represented as the unitary, homologous polarity of masculinity, femininity in the second half of the nineteenth century was far from being a unitary category or universal condition inhabited by all women in the same way. A woman's position in and understanding of (her) femininity could alter profoundly in the course of the year or the passage of a lifetime. Femininities were socially, psychically and historically formed; they changed and developed over a half-century fissured by massive social and economic changes. Crises in the state and in the society provoked from the 1880s onwards coincided with the emergence of discourses on the modern… these transformations profoundly restructured artistic practice and identities for the 'modern woman.'[85]

Cherry (1993) sums up the adaptability and variability of women artists well:

> Throughout the nineteenth century women practiced as artists in a social formation which constructed certain choices for them as women. They negotiated, often on a daily basis, between their career and marriage, business and household management, between the practice of art and their responsibilities to their home, husband and children. Shaped by changing historical circumstances, the organization of families, marriages and partnerships varied widely, as did women's experiences, expectations and pleasures in relation to a career and a home life, their definitions of domesticity or professional practice. *If for some the two were in conflict, for others they were woven together in productive and enjoyable ways*. [Emphasis added][86]

Thus, an examination of Nina's life suggests that there are varying definitions of femininity and professional, and, accordingly, the historiography concerning early Canadian women and women artists is incomplete.

As Nina's life has demonstrated, historiography often limits definitions and understandings of what people were and should be; Nina does not fit comfortably into the boxes that the available historiography provides. Nina is independent of the Victorian ideal of femininity and the exclusivity of professionalism, and thus the lim-

ited historiography concerning women artists of her time. When we deconstruct rigid definitions and ideals, we find that in her own way Nina was a professional artist. Nina May (Pickel) Owens was a revolutionary Canadian woman and artist because she was able to employ both her domestic and professional identities, and consequently challenged conventional notions of Victorian femininity and the exclusivity of professionalism.

NOTES

1. This work was funded by the Eastern Townships Research Centre (ETRC). This article would not have become a reality without the generosity of Margaret Nina Owens, who shared her grandmother's story, artwork, and journals, and supervisors Dr. Jean Manore and Dr. Cheryl Gosselin for creating this opportunity. The author also extends thanks to Monique Nadeau-Saumier and to my family for their patience.

2. Joyce Millar, Review of *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women*, by Maria Tippett; *New Perspectives on Modernism in Canada: Kathleen Munn and Edna Taon*, by Joyce Zeman, Elizabeth Burrell; Elizabeth Hunter, *Woman's Art Journal* 16, No. 2 (Autumn, 1995-Winter, 1996): 47.

3. Mayo Graham, *Some Canadian Women Artists*, Exhibition Catalogue (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975): 67.

4. Paula Gillett, *Worlds of Art: Painters in Victorian Society*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1990): 133; Maria Tippett, *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women*, (Toronto: Viking, 1992): 40; The National Council of Women of Canada, comp., *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work*, At the request of the Hon. Sydney Fisher for distribution at the Paris International Exhibition (1900): 216.

5. Tippett, *By a Lady,* 39.

6. Dorothy Farr & Natalie Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada*, Exhibition Catalogue (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, December 12, 1975–February 1, 1976): 3; Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, (London: Routledge, 1993): 65; Robert J. Belton, "Important Moments in Canadian Art History: 1868-1918," *UBC Okanagan: Faculty of Creative and Critical Studies* (Last updated on November 10, 2005) *http://web.ubc.ca/okanagan/creative/links/timeline/1918.html*. For more information about the RCA's early treatment of women see Tippett, *By a Lady*, 38-39; Newton MacTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto: MacMillian Company of Canada, 1925): 25-26; *The National Council of Women of Canada*, 217.

7. Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society, Fourth Edition*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007): 307.

8. Named after the studio space they shared at Beaver Hall Hill in Montreal in the early 1920s, the women today known as the Beaver Hall women include Henrietta Mabel May (1877-1971), Emily Coonan (1885-1971), Mabel Lockerby (1882-1976), Lilias Torrance Newton (1896-1980), Nora Collyer (1898-1979), Ethel Seath (1879-1963), Sarah Robertson (1891-1948), Kathleen Morris (1893-1986), Prudence Heward (1896-1947), and Anne Savage (1896-1971). [As noted in Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting, Second Edition*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988): 191; Sandra Gwyn, *Women in the Arts in Canada*, Catalogue No. Z1-1967-1-1-7 (Ottawa: Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1971): 12; Anne Newlands, *Canadian Art: From Its Beginnings to 2000*, (Willowdale, Ont.: Firefly Books, 2000): 345; Alison Gillmor, "Quebec's Group of Seven: Remembering the Canadian art collective Beaver Hall Group," *cbc.ca*, January 9, 2006. *http://www.cbc.ca/arts/artdesign/beaverhall.html*]. The Canadian Group of Painters, though short-lived, was co-founded by Prudence Heward and nearly one-third of its members were women (as noted by Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 128; "Prudence Heward," *Women Artists in Canada*, Reference and Information Services Division, Library and Archives Canada, October 2, 2000, Updated April 12, 2005. *http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/women/002026-512-e.html)*.

9. Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975): 21.

10. "Art for Art's Sake," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. *http://etext.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv1-18*: "The phrase 'art for art's sake' expresses both a battle cry and a creed; it is an appeal to emotion as well as to mind. Time after time, when artists have felt themselves threatened from one direction or another, and have had to justify themselves and their activities, they have done this by insisting that art serves no ulterior purposes but is purely an end in itself. When asked what art is good for, in the sense of what utility it has, they have replied that art is not something to be used as a means to something else, but simply to be accepted and enjoyed on its own terms."

11. Graham, 59; Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 77; Natalie Luckyj, *Visions and Victories: 10 Canadian Women Artists, 1914–1945*, Exhibition Catalogue (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983): 22; Farr and Luckyj, 1. The humanity presented in the work of women artists can be interpreted as a reaction to women's exclusion in the art world. After centuries of discrimina-

tion, including being denied the opportunity to study from the nude figure, many women artists turned "to their own sexual reality as a source and subject" (Chadwick, 315).

12. Despite the increased presence of women artists in Canadian galleries, in *Painting Friends* (1999) Meadowcroft notes that "the National Gallery, which has a large collection of Heward's paintings, seldom exhibits more than one work at a time. The same is true of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Most Canadians could name the Group of Seven, but few people outside of Montreal have heard of Prudence Heward or Anne Savage" (17).
13. Millar, Review of *By a Lady*, 47; Kate O'Rourke, Review of Review of *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women*, by Maria Tippett, *Archivaria* 36 (Autumn, 1993): 252–253.
14. Millar, Review of *By a Lady*, 48.
15. "Lilias Torrance Newton," *Women Artists in Canada*, Reference and Information Services Division, Library and Archives Canada, 2 October 2000, Last updated 12 April 2005. http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/women/002026-517-e.html.
16. "Definition of professional," *Yahoo Education*. *http://education.yahoo.com/reference/dictionary/entry/professional;_ylt=AoPhzFyyDSDgE.Y32sly66OsgMMF*.
17. The Pickel family history, as recorded by Nina and updated by her granddaughter Margaret Nina Owens, dates as far back to the time of Archibald Campbell, the 4th Earl of Argyll, who was the first Scottish noble to adopt and promote Protestantism. In Reverend Ernest M. Taylor's *History of Brome County Quebec: From the Dates of the Grants of Land therein to the Present Time, with Records of some of Early Families, Vol. 2*. (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, Ltd., 1937) he notes that a Jacob Pickel was sold West Brome in or around 1815 from Ebenezer Collins, the brother of Brome's first settler Henry Collins (p. 18). It is quite possible that this Jacob Pickel was Nina's great-uncle (1757–1842).
18. George McAleer, *Reminiscent and Otherwise: Life in the Eastern Townships of the Province of Quebec, Canada, Fifty Years Ago*, (Worcester, Mass.: Lucius P. Goddard, 1901): 4; John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec, Second Edition*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1993): 72. For more information on the settlers of the Eastern Townships see Catherine Matilda May, *History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, Dominion of Canada, Civil and Descriptive, In Three Parts*, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1869); Philip James Handrick, *Institutions, Ideology and Power: Social Change in the Eastern Townships of Quebec*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan State University/University

Microfilms International, 1984); J. Derek Booth, *Summary of the Historical Geography of Brome County 1800–1911* (1966); J.I. Little, *State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships, 1838–1852*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); J.I. Little, *The Other Quebec: Microhistorical Essays on Nineteenth-Century Religion and Society*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

19. Victoria Baker, "Establishing a sense of Community: Early Representations of the Eastern Townships," *The Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 14 (Spring 1999): 21, 27.
20. Baker, 23; Charles P. deVolpi & P.H. Scowen, *The Eastern Townships: A Pictorial Record*, (Montreal: Dev-Sco Publications Ltd., 1962): 1.
21. Baker, 24–25; "William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854)," *Townships Heritage WebMagazine*. *http://www.townshipsheritage.com/Eng/Hist/Arts/bartlett.html*.
22. Baker, 25.
23. Baker, 26–27; "About RCA Members," *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts*. *http://www.rca-arc.ca/en/about_members/since1880.asp*.
24. deVolpi & Scowen, 1; Baker, 26; "Frederick Simpson Coburn (1871–1960)," *Townships Heritage WebMagazine*. *http://www.townshipsheritage.com/Eng/Hist/Arts/coburn.html*.
25. Eva Major-Mahorty, "The Private Side of a Public Family: The Heneker Album and Diary," *The Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 2 (Fall 1993): 43–44; George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, Francess G. Halpenny, & Ramsay Cook, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XI, 1881 to 1890*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966): 296.
26. Baker, 29. It is possible that Nina visited Samuel Morsey's gallery while in Sherbrooke for her teaching examinations.
27. It is believed by Nina's granddaughter Margaret that Nina's mother gave Nina the middle name 'May' after her friend Clementina Trenholme Fessenden, the one-time organizing secretary of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and mother of the radio pioneer Reginald Fessenden. Today, Clementina is most famously remembered as the founder of Empire Day [now Victoria Day] in Canada. According to Carolyn Owens' family history, Nina was a member of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. Reginald Fessenden was born in East Bolton in 1866 and it is believed that he was a friend of Nina's, particularly as a number of undated paintings indicate that Nina spent time in Bermuda, where she was believed to have stayed with Reginald Fessenden, who had a large home (and died) there.

28. (Mrs. O. E.) Nina M. Owens, "Arts and Crafts and You," *Northern Beacon*, February 1956: "My first masterpiece was done at the age of two years, according to my dear grandmother, who cherished and preserved it for me. It is a chicken with a few feathers, legs far apart, a scared look, and running for dear life, I had copied it from a picture which took my fancy. That was eighty-five years ago. Although drawing, painting and modeling in clay have been and still are the joy and comfort of my life they have brought me little fame or fortune but they are giving me a better fuller life…" Though in 1956 Nina recalled having created her first sketch at age two, Nina's journals and her granddaughter Margaret informed me that she was four years old when she sketched the running chicken.
29. Nina's first try at portraiture was of Dr. William Henry Drummond (1854–1907). The Irish-born Canadian physician, professor and poet was a friend of Nina's father. According to Nina's journal, Dr. Drummond "was the life of the party." For more on William Henry Drummond see Brown et al., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XI, 1881 to 1890*, 284–287.
30. Written in a number of Nina's journals reflecting her life course. These are arguably Nina's defining words.
31. As written by Nina.
32. Tippett, 9.
33. Rozsika Parker & Griselda Pollack, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981): 58.
34. Personal correspondence with Monique Nadeau-Saumier.
35. Tippett, 9
36. Ibid.
37. Chadwick, 176–177.
38. Gillett, 133.
39. Parker & Pollack, 99.
40. Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, (London: Croom Helm, 1982): 101.
41. S.J. Wilson, *Women, Families, and Work, Third Edition*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1991): 18; Alison Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women: A History*, (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada, 1988): 142–143; Ramsey Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society* (Toronto : Oxford University Press, 1976): 6.
42. Parker & Pollack, 99.
43. Farr & Luckyj, 1; Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, (London: Women's Press, 1987): 3.

44. Nunn, 36.
45. Prentice, et al., 129.
46. Ibid., 17.
47. See quote/note 31.
48. Nina received her Teacher's Certificate on May 6, 1891.
49. See quote/note 31.
50. The Owens' bought some of their land in Montebello from Louis-Joseph-Amédée Papineau and Joseph-Napoléon-Henri Bourassa (1888), the son of artist Napoléon Bourassa and the grandson of Louis-Joseph Papineau. In 1890 Henri Bourassa became mayor of Montebello.
51. With motherhood came heartbreak, however; Nina lost two of her four children as infants. Tragically, it was not uncommon for women of Nina's time "to speak in the same breath of the number of children they had raised and the number they had buried" [Jane Lewis, *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): 3; Françoise Noel, *Family Life and Sociability in Upper and Lower Canada, 1780-1870: A View from Diaries and Family Correspondence*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003): 144].
52. According to Carolyn Owens' Family History, her father Owen Ernest Owens, her grandfather Thomas Owens, and her great-uncle William Owens together owned "several mills, at least 10 farms in and near Montebello, about 30 houses and nearly one quarter of the village." Margaret Nina Owens however suggests otherwise; according to Margaret, the Owens' owned only one mill and seven farms. Nonetheless, the Owens' were fairly well-off. The Owen E. Owens' "family lived in Montebello in the house … across the lane from the Owens' office and store. The home farm stretched behind the house and the store with stables and barns well out of sight. On the far right side of the house was a large garden and badminton court." According to Nina's writings, their home in Montebello "was an old log house, large for its kind. There were 9 rooms, and running water and a bathroom had been added." Owen was asked to act as Mayor of Montebello and was even asked to sit in parliament in Ottawa but refused because he preferred to stay out of the limelight. Owen's uncle William Owens (1840–1917), however, was an MPP (1881) and became a Senator in 1895.
53. Carolyn Owens' Family History.

54. The Art Association of Montreal is now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Included in Margaret Nina Owens' collection of her grandmother's (Nina's) work are sketches of the AAM classmates Emily Coonan (dated November 29, 1909), Henrietta Mabel May (dated March 6, 1911), and Mabel Lockerby (dated January 26, 1913).
55. Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 38.
56. Gwyn, 12; "William Brymner," *Horizons: Canadian and Russian Landscape Painting (1860 1940), Virtual Museum of Canada. http://virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Horizons/En/bio-406.html.* Also included in Margaret Nina Owens' collection of her grandmother's (Nina's) work is a sketch of William Brymner (dated November 14, 1910).
57. Reid, 93.
58. Evan H. Turner, Introduction to *Eleven Artists in Montreal, 1860-1960*, Exhibition Catalogue (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, September 8-October 8, 1960): 2; Reid, 105; MacTavish, 56; Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 38, 46; Newlands, 57; Albert H. Robson, *Canadian Landscape Painters*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1932): 82. Also see Janet Braide, *William Brymner 1855–1925: A Retrospective*, (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1979).
59. Turner, 2; J. Russel Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History, Second Edition*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977): 212; H.O. McCurry, Introduction to *Memorial Exhibition: Prudence Heward, 1896–1947*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1948): 7.
60. William Colgate, *Canadian Art: Its Origins and Development*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943): 132–133.
61. Barbara Meadowcroft, *Retrospective Exhibition: Lilias Torrance Newton (1896-1980)*, Exhibition Catalogue (Montreal: La Galerie Walter Klinkhoff, September 9–23, 1995): 2.
62. Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 21–22. Today the Beaver Hall women are most celebrated for their figure painting and portraiture. For example see Prudence Heward's *Girl on a Hill, Dark Girl, Sisters of Rural Quebec,* and *At the Theater*, Lilias Torrance Newton's *Self-Portrait*, *Portrait of Louis Muhlstock*, and *Nude in a Studio*, and Emily Coonan's *Girl in Dotted Dress*.
63. Meadowcroft, *Retrospective Exhibition: Lilias Torrance Newton*, 2; Reid, 191. Though there is no evidence of Nina continuing her professional training in Paris, she did visit many galleries in Paris.
64. Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 42.

65. Monique Nadeau-Saumier, *Nina M. Owens (1869-1959)*, Exhibition Catalogue (Sherbrooke, Quebec: Musee des beaux-arts de Sherbrooke, 1992): 25.
66. Mary Macdonald Trudel & Chantal Généreux, *The Beaver Hall Group*, Exhibition Catalogue (2007): 27; Meadowcroft, *Retrospective Exhibition: Lilias Torrance Newton (1896-1980)*: 1; "Lilias Torrance Newton," *Women Artists in Canada*.
67. Macdonald Trudel & Généreux, 3; Millar, 4.
68. Nina sold very few paintings in her lifetime, and those that she did sell brought very little money; Nina's artwork did not contribute to her financial situation. In fact it seems that Nina was independently wealthy, living off of the money made by her late husband. And even after the stock market crash of 1929 Nina continued to live comfortably, as noted by daughter Carolyn: "the crash did not affect Nina's financial standing very much."
69. Evelyn de R. McMann, *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Formerly Art Association of Montreal: Spring Exhibitions 1880–1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988): 416. Throughout her career as an exhibiting artist, the greatest number of Nina's pieces exhibited at once was six in 1919. Nina's most expensive piece exhibited was worth $75 (in 1920), whereas Emily Coonan's most expensive was tagged at $300, Mabel May — $500, Prudence Heward — $700, and William Brymner — $1000.
70. According to Carolyn Owens' Family History, Nina had to refuse this invitation because she could not afford to have the paintings framed properly at the time.
71. Officially founded in 1922, the provincially-funded École des beaux-arts de Montréal merged with other institutions in 1969 to create Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). "Alfred Laliberte (1878–1953)," *Townships Heritage WebMagazine. http://www.townshipsheritage.com/Eng/Hist/Arts/laliberte.html*: Laliberté was a native of the Eastern Townships.
72. Pages from AAM Spring Exhibition catalogues in Margaret's collection; McMann, 291. Though the titles of the rest of her exhibited works are vague, it is likely that a number of Nina's other exhibited works also depicted the Townships. Nina was not the only artist at the AAM school whose subject was the Eastern Townships; many of the Beaver Hall women also painted the Eastern Townships—See Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 77; Joyce Millar, "The Beaver Hall Group: Painting in Montreal, 1920–1940," *Woman's Art Journal* 13, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1992): 3; Evelyn Walters, *The Women of Beaver Hall: Canadian Modernist Painters*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press Ltd., 2005): 25.

73. If Baker (1999) is correct in considering art as a legitimate tool "in the historical construction of an identity for the community of the Eastern Townships," Nina's art adds to the history of the Eastern Townships (p. 20).
74. Nadeau-Saumier, 29.
75. In addition to the pursuit of art, Nina's journal notes that one of the reasons she and Carolyn went to Great Britain in the mid-1930s was to witness the Coronation of Edward VII. However, Edward VII quickly abdicated and in May 1937 they arrived bright and early to witness the Coronation of King George VI: "Wednesday May 12, 1937. Coronation Day. At last! The Great day is here… Dressed at 4 am and breakfast came up at 5:30. We were off about 6 … We walked on in a glorious dream of splendid reality. Colour, music, acute but restrained excitement filled the loving air while happy humanity covered every inch of available space (or allowable) on sidewalks… The procession was 2 ½ miles long! We listened intently to the age old consecrations and ceremonies reverently with hearts full of thankfulness…" Nina was very interested in the European royal families. She kept extensive notes in her journals detailing the royal family trees as well as newspaper clippings of featuring the royals' visits to Canada.
76. January 11, 1937, Carolyn Owens' Journal (1935–1938).
77. Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 49-50; Tippett, 55; Graham, 57; Walters, 19; Belton. For more information concerning women's involvement with the Canadian War Memorial Fund see Maria Tippett, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).
78. Nina's Canadian Registration Board certificate states the following: "This is to certify that Mrs. Nina M. Owens residing at 26 Summerhill Ave, Montreal, was duly registered for the national purpose of Canada this 22nd day of June 1918." Farr and Luckyj, 5; Sharon Ann Cook, Lorna R. McLean, & Kate O'Rourke, eds., "The Road Less Taken – The Single Woman as Artist," In *Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2001): During the First World War, Henrietta Mabel May was commissioned to paint women working in munitions factories (66).
79. Luckyj, 19.
80. Full name: Phragmipedilum Macrochilum Gigantuem. A cypripedium is a flower belonging to the orchid family.
81. (Mrs. O.E.) Nina M. Owens, "Arts and Crafts and You," *Northern Beacon*, February 1956.

82. Carolyn Owens' Family History.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Cherry, 10.
86. Ibid., 19-20.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE D'HISTOIRE DES CANTONS DE L'EST • SUPPLÉMENT 1985–2008

HISTORY OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY • SUPPLEMENT 1985–2008

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La bibliographie que l'on trouvera ci-dessous constitue un supplément à celle que nous avons publiée en 1986[1] et qui comptait quelque 1575 titres. Elle contient plus de 500 nouveaux titres, dont une quarantaine, antérieurs à 1985, n'avaient pas trouvé place dans l'édition de 1986; ces derniers sont marqués d'un astérisque (*).

Notre *Supplément* d'aujourd'hui ne prétend nullement à l'exhaustivité, comme le visait la *Bibliographie* de 1986. En sont volontairement exclus, notamment, les instruments de travail et la grande majorité des histoires de villages, notamment celles publiées par les Albums Souvenirs Québécois, parues aux Éditions Louis Bilodeau & Fils à Sherbrooke, et dont on trouvera facilement la liste dans les catalogues de bibliothèques. Ainsi, sur le catalogue Iris de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, nous avons trouvé 96 titres publiés entre 1986 et 2006, dont au moins 38 traitent de municipalités ou de paroisses des Cantons de l'Est. De même, nous n'avons pas inclus dans ce *Supplément* la liste des biographies du *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, souvent consulté sur Internet (*DBC en ligne*), et très facile d'accès. Depuis la publication de la première édition de la *Bibliographie*, le *DBC* a publié en 1987 et 1988 les volumes VI et VII (personnages décédés entre 1821 et 1850), avec 14 biographies de personnages des Cantons de l'Est, dont 9 rédigées par Marie-Paule R. LaBrèque; puis sont venus, de 1990 à 2005, les volumes XII à XV, pour les quatre décennies allant de 1891 à 1930, chacun ayant de 5 à 10 biographies de personnages des Cantons de l'Est rédigées par 25 auteurs différents.

Le classement des titres suit celui de la *Bibliographie* de 1986, surtout dans sa section thématique. Nous avons cependant regroupé plusieurs sections, espérant conserver tout de même une certaine cohérence.

Évaluation de la production

Est-il possible d'évaluer, ne serait-ce que rapidement, cette production des deux dernières décennies, de manière globale? Essayons d'en esquisser quelques traits. Parmi les faits majeurs, je citerais d'abord la publication en 1998 de l'*Histoire des Cantons de l'Est* par Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Peter Southam et Diane Saint-Pierre, dans la collection « Les régions du Québec » de l'IQRC. C'est là un travail de longue haleine, un travail de fond, où tant d'ouvrages sont mis à contribution, tant de sources, statistiques notamment, analysées, tant d'hypothèses et d'analyses neuves proposées qu'on en reste littéralement ébloui. Un ouvrage de référence, et pour longtemps. Un spécialiste sur l'histoire de la région des Cantons de l'Est au 19e siècle s'est particulièrement démarqué: il s'agit de J.I. Little, dont la production est aussi remarquable par sa quantité que par sa qualité. Depuis 1976, il a publié au moins 46 articles et cinq ouvrages de fond. Aucun aspect de l'activité des « Townships » ne lui a échappé.

Un troisième fait notoire de ces années 1985–2008 est l'apparition de la *Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est/Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, en 1992. Nous l'avons dépouillée aux fins de ce *Supplément* et, sans que notre dépouillement se prétende exhaustif, nous avons relevé 85 articles en 16 ans intéressant particulièrement l'histoire, soit une moyenne d'un peu plus de cinq par année. C'est là une contribution non négligeable. Par ailleurs, du côté des revues de comtés, celle de Missisquoi a publié trois numéros (1986, 1990, 1996), celle de Brome en a fait paraître cinq entre 1985 et 2000; seule celle de Stanstead poursuit régulièrement sa publication bisannuelle, du volume 11 en 1984 au volume 22 en 2007.

Quatrième trait d'importance : les thèses et mémoires. Sept thèses de doctorat ont porté, d'une manière ou d'une autre, sur les Cantons de l'Est : nous les énumérons dans la section anglaise de cette introduction. Quant aux mémoires de maîtrise, nous en avons retrouvé 67, dont 42 au département d'histoire de l'Université de Sherbrooke. La liste de ces mémoires se trouve sur le site Internet du département. Les 25 autres proviennent de dix universités différentes; notons particulièrement 7 mémoires provenant de l'Université Bishop's. Les mémoires du département d'histoire de l'Université de Sherbrooke ont surtout porté sur des thèmes qui relèvent de la spécialité des directeurs. Ces 42 mémoires déposés entre 1987 et 2007 ont été dirigés par douze professeurs différents, dont 13 par Peter Southam (histoire sociale, histoire de la santé et de la médecine), 6 par Peter Gossage (histoire sociale, histoire de la famille), 6 par Guy Laperrière (histoire religieuse), 5 par Micheline Dumont (histoire des femmes). Ces mémoires

explorent souvent de nouvelles archives, notamment les recensements décennaux et les archives judiciaires; les archives notariales ont toutefois été peu exploitées.

Parmi les thèmes où la production est abondante, deux domaines restent importants : la religion, avec 54 titres et l'éducation, avec 42. Le présent *Supplément* ne comporte pas d'index[2].

In this English introduction, the essential characteristics of the following bibliography will be summarized, and a few additional details that do not figure in the preceding French version will be presented. The first edition of the *History of the Eastern Townships: A Bibliography* (Département d'histoire, Université de Sherbrooke, 210 p., 1575 titles) was published in 1986. Since then, we have kept track of all the titles we happened to find, though many certainly escaped us. Some titles have been voluntarily left out, notably the local histories of towns or parishes, as well as all the research aids, maps and so on. There still remain more than 500 new titles, including some published before 1985, marked here by an asterisk (*). We have also omitted the biographies published by the excellent *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, that can now be easily consulted on *DBC Online*. The classification used here is identical to that used in the 1986 edition. It is mainly thematic, and the number of entries has been reduced, thus facilitating its consultation.

Main Features of the Production

What are the main features of the production during this 1985-2008 period? Three or four are certainly worth mentioning. The first is the publication of *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est*, by Jean-Pierre Kesteman, Peter Southam and Diane Saint-Pierre, in 1998. This book has become the standard reference on Townships history. For the 19th century, we must single out the impressive work done by J.I. Little, of Simon Fraser University, but native of the township of Inverness, which gives him solid roots in the region. Dr. Little is a most productive historian, having already published five major titles on the Eastern Townships, not to mention all his articles in many venues, which point to the breadth of his invaluable scholarship. His name figures on nearly every page of this bibliography (44 occurrences).

Thirdly, the appearance of the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* in 1992 has brought new incentive to the publication of historical research on the region. The 30 first issues, up to 2007 (29–30 is a

double issue) contain at least 85 articles of historical interest. We have listed them here: 48 are in English, 34 are in French (40 %), and 3 can be considered bilingual. As the journal is published by the Eastern Townships Research Centre, located at Bishop's University, it is quite natural that many of its authors are from that institution. The various counties' history journals, on the other hand, seem to have known diverse destinies these last years. Missiquoi County Historical Society has published three issues between 1986 and 1996, *Yesterdays of Brome County* had five issues from 1985 to 2000, while the Stanstead County Historical Society's *Journal* is the only one still active with its biennial publication of very good quality. We have signaled their more substantial articles here.

Another feature of the production is the important quantity of Ph.D. and M.A. theses. Seventy-four of these are presented here, and the list is certainly far from complete. Seven are Ph.D. theses, from six different universities. Françoise Noël has worked on Gabriel Christie's *seigneuries* in the Upper Richelieu valley (1760-1854), and her thesis has since been published (1992). Denis Fortin has researched Adventism in the Eastern Townships; his thesis was written in French at Laval University but was published in English (*Adventism in Quebec*) in 2004. In a completely different field, Kraig A. Schwartz has worked on class formation in the asbestos industry at Thetford Mines, 1885-1925; he received his Ph.D. from the University of Maine (1997). Anyone who has worked on Townships history in the 1990s will remember Prof. Wolfgang Helbich and his research on Waterloo; his most talented student, Elke Jahnke, presented her thesis in 1999 at Ruhr-Universität Bochum on the relations between French and English communities in Waterloo between 1850 and 1920.

Three other theses have been completed these last few years. I thank Jack Little for drawing my attention to a dissertation by Kathleen Ruth Simonton on Ulster Irish Immigration to the Eastern Townships (1814-1850), at the University of California in Santa Cruz (2005). Also in 2005, Philippe Charland defended his thesis at McGill University (written in French) on the Abenaki toponymy. Last but not least, Monique Nadeau-Saumier, a well-known figure at Sherbrooke and Bishop's University, completed her doctorate in art history at Université du Québec à Montréal in 2007 with a dissertation on the history of the Art Building in Sherbrooke, from 1887 to 1927; a reduced version has been published in 2008. The M.A. production, more abundant, has been presented in the French section of this introduction.

The reader will be able to note that of the many topics treated,

religion, with 54 titles, and education, with 42, are among the most popular. There is no index to this *Supplement*, but the fact that *JETS* is available online makes the bibliography very easy to use. There are still many copies of the 1986 *Bibliography* left. Interested readers can request one by e-mail, and a free copy will gladly be sent: *Guy.Laperriere@USherbrooke.ca*. Enjoy the discoveries!

NOTES

1. *Bibliographie d'histoire des Cantons de l'Est*, Département d'histoire, Université de Sherbrooke, 210 p. Les lecteurs désireux d'en obtenir une copie gratuite peuvent s'adresser directement à l'auteur à l'adresse courriel suivante : *guy.laperriere@usherbrooke.ca*.
2. La *Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est* est disponible en ligne pour les membres de toutes les grandes bibliothèques; en consultant la version électronique de cet article, le chercheur pourra retrouver rapidement les renseignements recherchés.

Bibliographie d'histoire des Cantons-de-l'Est – SUPPLÉMENT 1985–2007 / History of the Eastern Townships : A Bibliography– SUPPLEMENT 1985–2007

JETS / RECE = Journal of Eastern Townships Studies / Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est[1].

*Indique un titre antérieur à 1985/signals a title edited before 1985, and absent of the 1986 Bibliography.

Cantons de l'Est / Eastern Townships

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'HOME SWEET HOME, THAT WORD SINKS DOWN DEEP IN MY SOLE': A SELECTION OF LETTERS HOME FROM FAMILY ABROAD (P173 ELVYN M. BALDWIN FAMILY FONDS)

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In the course of my work at the ETRC, researches frequently ask me to help them add to their family tree. As they trace their family's travels and actions, researchers are often hoping to find a narrative for their family's history that goes beyond simple names and dates. They want answers for their questions, such as why did these relatives leave their family and move to a foreign place? What kept them from going back? Did they keep in contact with their loved ones back home? Did they find what they were looking for? Unfortunately these questions often remain, many of the answers having been buried with their relatives long ago. However, every so often, they are lucky enough to stumble upon correspondence, or other similar gems left by their ancestors, that give them a unique opportunity to help them understand their emotions, experiences and influences.

One such case is that of the Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, which was recently donated to the Archives Department. This fonds consists of documents created by the Baldwin, Stevens, and May families, who settled in Baldwin's Mills, Stanstead, and the surrounding areas in the 1800s. The materials donated include a large collection of correspondence as well as numerous photographs and postcards, and date from circa 1860 to 2005.

Without a doubt, the Baldwin family itself is an interesting and influential family in the region's history. However, the earliest documents contained in the Baldwin family fonds come primarily from the May and Stevens families. They are fascinating for their description of life during the latter half of the nineteenth century and for this reason are profiled in this article. Given the complicated nature of these family trees and the large number of people mentioned in the letters, the May, Stevens, and Baldwin family trees are included in an annex at the end of this article.

Setting the Context of the May letters

In 1832, Sylvester May moved from Stanstead Township to Baldwin's Mills, where he purchased land and established what the locals would come to know as 'May Farm'. While Sylvester apparently had ten children by his three wives, record of only eight can be found, and only five lived to adulthood.[1] In 1863, his son Lyman moved from the family farm in Baldwin's Mills to Lynn, Massachusetts and his daughter Melvina (for she went by 'Melvina' rather than 'Amanda') followed in 1864. While the letters never explicitly state the reason for their move, it seems likely that they went in search of paid work. Their youngest sister, Ida, also moved to Lynn to work in 1873-4, but only lived there for approximately a year before returning home. Both Lyman and Melvina remained in Lynn until their respective deaths and, as a result, we have a wonderful collection of their letters written to their father and brother, dating from 1863 to 1885. However, what really makes the letters interesting is their mention of a variety of topics, which include employment opportunities and wages, the economy, children, presidential elections, health and sickness, the Civil War, the Fenian Raids, and religion. While each letter alone is frequently brief and the content is often forthright, when taken together, they paint a fascinating narrative of the lives, experiences, and sentiments of these people, who lived more than 100 years ago.[2]

Amanda Melvina May Taylor

Melvina, a dressmaker, spent some time in Boston before finally settling in Lynn. In a letter to Darius, who remained back home on the farm, Melvina describes her brief and discouraging time in Boston. She writes, "I almost made up my mind to go home before I left Boston. I was not very well & my bording Mistress dismissed all her borders & is going to move onto N.Y. […] I think I can do better here [in Lynn] than I could to do up there."[3] It is unclear if Melvina ever intended to move back to Canada but, in the end, she stayed in Lynn until her death in 1900. In an early letter home to her brother, she inadvertently provides readers with an interesting perspective on the effects of city life on her and Lyman, as well as its contrast to rural life.

June 11th, 1865
Dear Brother

After a long delay, I write you to let you know I have not forgotten you. I am quite well at present except I have worked

so steady I feel very tired. Lyman's health is very good for him. He is very lively and cheerful and full of jokes he has changed in that respect very much you know he used to be quite steady and sober. I suppose you work as steady as ever and do not go visiting much, have you been to see Carrie since I left home. If you have not, you had not better put it off much longer. If I could go as well as you could am sure I would go to see her quite often. We have had a very early spring here, had some very warm weather. Sunday 18 I will now try to finish this letter. I went up to Boston last Tuesday. I saw Cousin Martha Marsh, she tends store there, she is in the same Store she was last Summer. She is a very Smart capable Girl in the Store & is liked very much. I suppose you would laugh to see Girls tend Store up there, it is very common in Lynn & Boston in some Stores they are 25 or 30 Girls all buisy [*sic*] selling goods. There will be a grate [*sic*] celebration here at Lynn the 4 July. I wish you could be here. I expect they will have a grate [*sic*] time. I expect you will see Lyman up there the first of August if nothing happens to prevent. I think some of going with him, I have not decided yet. I would like to go very much, if I can spend the time & money I shall go. I do not think of any thing that would be interesting to you. I hope you will be good, be kind to Father, *improve?* your leasure [*sic*] time in searching good books. Please write as soon as you receive this not wait as long as I have. I want to hear from home, respects to all. Good by

Your affectionate Sister,
A. M. May[4]

Two years after her move, in 1865, Melvina married Hollis Taylor. Interestingly, Hollis was also from the Eastern Townships. He was born and raised in Hatley but had moved to Lynn sometime before 1853, when he married his first wife, Elvira Marsh. Before her death in 1856, Hollis and Elvira had one son, Julian, who became Melvina's stepson. Melvina and Hollis never had any children of their own and Julian died young, probably in his late teens or early twenties. Melvina describes his death in a poignant letter back home. Unfortunately, only one page of the letter survives and, thus, we have neither a date nor a complete account of the event but it is heart-rending nonetheless:

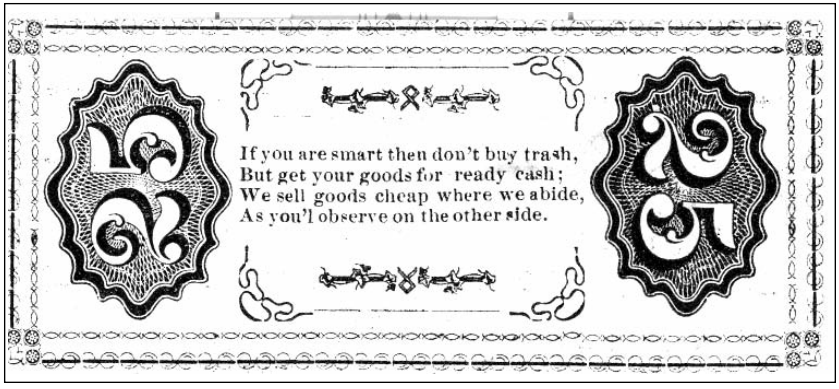
"[…] say here that in a few moments after [Julian] woke and called for his Father. He said the Lord has been good to me.

> The Lord has done everything for me. How good the Lord has been to me. I have put my trust in God and he has saved me. I am soon going home. Jesus is with me, he is here now. How I wish you all could see him, he looked so happy. He talked some more during the evening and night. His Father read to him in the Bible in the evening. At 3 oclock in the morning as Hollis was moving him a little, Julian put his arms around his Father's neck and kissed him and said Father how much you have done for me, you have done everything you could. That was the last words he said, and passed sweetly away. He was carried from the Church Tuesday and a discourse was preached by Rev. J. Burnham Davis from 2 Corinthians 5 chapter first verse. For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were disolved [*sic*] we have a building of God's house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. I would say here that Julian seemed better for the first week after we got home. We felt some time encouraged as the weather was very pleasant. We thought perhaps the change would be a benefit. He soon began to fail and gradually failed the whole time. His Father got him up and dressed him as long as he could bear his weight on his feet. After his Father had raised him up he was only entirely confined to his bed but 10 days and for the last week of his life was obliged to lie in one position. He was" [end of page][5]

A few themes are recurring throughout her letters: children (her nieces and nephews) and a longing for her family back in Canada. After her marriage to Hollis, Melvina does mention Julian on occasion but, after Lyman's children are born, she writes of them in detail in almost every letter. Similarly, after Darius' children are born, she consistently asks for news about them. After receiving word that Darius' first child had been born, Melvina even provides her own input regarding what fashionable name Darius and Emma should choose for their baby girl:

> Lynn Mass. July 5th, 1874
> Dear brother and sister,
>
> I will now try and answer your kind letter which was dually [*sic*] received. We was [sic] glad to hear from you and to hear that you was [sic] well. My health is quite good. Hollis is quite well, Lyman is very tired staying in the store he has so much to look after. I think he has too much business to see to. I think he ought to have a rest, his head troubles him consider-

ably when I think of how hard he works and how much head work he has I don't wonder that his head troubles him so much. We are all glad to hear that you have such a nice little girl we would like to see her very much if she lives she will be a great deal of company for you. I think that Gertrude is a very pretty name but I think that Maud is a homely name with May. I think it sounds very well with some surnames Maud May I think is not pretty. I should call her Gertrude Maud if you have decided on the names, if you have not, I think that Ada or Laura or Elvira are pretty names, either would be pretty middle name[s] if you call her Gertrude. Maybell I think is a pretty name. I know five or six little ones named Maybell. It is called a very pretty name. No more of this, I wish you could see Frankie he is pretty and cunning as he can be, he can talk quite plan [*sic*] he can mimic most anything. I wish you could see our garden we have some very nice vegetables. I have some very nice flowers. How I do wish you could come see us. I would like to step into your house unexpectedly and have a

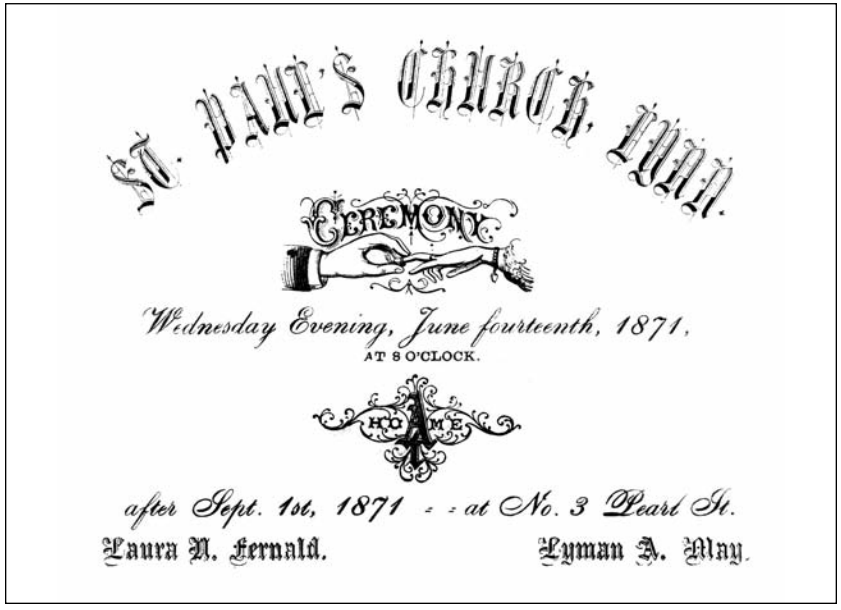


good long visit with you.

July 12, I will now try and finish this letter, Laura has a daughter born last Wednesday July the 8, weighed 9 pounds, it was as fat as a butter ball and has a thick head of hair and very black, and deep blue eyes and its skin is quite white. I think it is pretty for a little baby. Laura is quite smart, Franky is 19 months old, he is very much pleased with baby. We have picked 25 boxes or quarts of strawberrys [*sic*] in our garden and they were sweet and nice. We have new potatoes very good. Tell Father we have been hopeing [*sic*] to see him this Summer, tell him to make up his mind to come in the Fall if not before, he aught to see is [*sic*] grandchildren. Please give my love to Ida and tell her to write and come and see us as soon as she can. Good by,

From your affectionate sister, A. M. T.

From Melvina's letters over the years, it seems as though she never really stopped missing 'home' and her siblings, even after she had been in the United States for over a decade. In one letter, alone, she writes that she "would like to see [Darius'] Girl and Boy very much. I want to see you all, but I do not know when I shall," "I wish [Father] could come and stay with us a good while," and "I received a letter from Carrie a short time ago. I began to think she had forgotten she had a sister in Lynn, it was so long a time I did



not hear from her. You don't know how much good it does me to hear from you and from my Sister".[6]

Lyman Albert May

When Lyman first arrived in Lynn, he found work in a shoe factory, which was where the majority of Lynn residents were employed during the mid-nineteenth century. In early letters home, Lyman sent the family some of his impressions as a Canadian living in an American city:

> "I have changed my boarding place, to a minister's house. I like the place very well. They have three boarders besides me. They have a good many books & papers & I have considerable time to read. Their living is good, & plain, like farmers living; which I like very well. The queer questions that they ask about Canada make me think of what you said about the questions they used to ask your brothers when they were down here. They think that they are all canucks & fools in Canada. I am ashamed to tell them that I am Canadian sometimes. But, then, they do not make much of it, for I generally give them an answer. […]"[7]

However, it was not long before he was "sick of working in doores [*sic*]" and found other work as a peddler, selling house wares door-to-door.[8] Over the years, Lyman went from fairly humble beginnings to owning his own store selling glass- and plate-ware, stoves and other home furnishings. From inferences made throughout the correspondence, it appears that Lyman was able to establish himself as quite a successful businessman in Lynn.

In 1871, in Lynn, Lyman married Laura F. Fernald, who had grown up in New Hampshire. Although Darius was invited to the wedding (his invitation can be seen below), it does not seem that any of the Canadian Mays were able to make it down for the wedding. Unfortunately, Lyman does not mention Laura in any of his letters leading up to their wedding, but he does ask Darius about Emma as early as 1870, two years before their marriage.[9]

Lyman and Laura had four children: Frank, Cora, Phillip and Rachel. Interestingly, Lyman wrote of his children frequently in his letters, in often endearing passages that give us a window into a nineteenth-century paternal perspective of children. A few of these passages are quoted and transcribed below.

Lynn Mass. June 21, 1874
Dear brother,

I have just been reading the letter from you and Emma to Melvina. I am glad to hear from you if it is not direct, and know that you are all well and prospering. Was not much surprised to learn that you had a newcomer a little one to bless your home. No home is complete without the little ones. We are all well and healthy, Frank Lyman May is a great healthy boy one year and six months old the 10th of this month. He is a very active little fellow and makes a great deal of noise about the house, he talks quite plain and will run away down the street every chance he gets. He is not afraid of the men but is a little shye [*sic*] of the women. He is quite a favourite with his uncle Hollis. In fact he is a remarkable child as all fathers are apt to think their first children are. Without doubt you think so yourself. You will find enclosed a photograph (small one) of Frank that was taken when he was three months old. […] We call it a very good picture for so young a child. I do not mean handsome but natural. It is difficult to get a good expression in a picture of a three month old baby but this is very good. You will also find enclosed a large picture of Frank taken when he was sixteen months old. It is very difficult to get them to sit still at this age. He had to sit six or seven times before getting anything that would do. It is a very good picture and shows him to be a fat healthy boy. His hair you will notice points every which way and looks like his grandfather May's. His aunt took him to the barbers and had his hair cut which improves his looks very much. I threatened to do it and she took him to the barbers as a joke on me. I hope that this will not be broken and damaged in coming through the mail. You also find another picture in this package which you will doubtless recognize as your brother taken about one year ago. In compairing [*sic*] this with one taken about the time that I was at home last you will see quite a difference between the lean and the fat. It is said that Frank looks very much like me but you can judge for yourself. […] Tell Father I have been expecting him down hear [*sic*] and have not given it up yet. Laura sends her love to all. Write a long letter and give us all the news.

Yours truly,
Lyman A. May

P.S. Show this large picture to Mother & Father, see what they think of their only boy grandchild. Would like to send a picture to them but we only had 6 taken and have to be verry spairing [*sic*] of them.

L. A. M.[10]

Lynn Sept 15 1878
Dear Brother

I take this opportunity to write a few lines. We are all well and prospering. My wife is away to Quinsey about 20 miles from here on a short vacation. Cora is with her. And the hired girl with Frank and Phillip (the baby) and myself are keeping house. We are just weaning Phillip and I have him to take care of nights. […][11]

Lynn April 28th 1885
Dear Brother

Yours of the 19th was received, and it was with great sadness, I learned of the death of your little one. It is hard to part with them for they bring a great deal of sunshine with them and take a great deal away with them. May God's grace strengthen you and your wife, and may it be the means of drawing you nearer to God, who doeth all things well, she had only gone before. We know nothing by experience of your loss but our little Rachel is just your baby's age, fourteen months, and if she should be taken from us, from the oldest to the youngest would mourn and miss her. […][12]

Letters from Cora Lovell to Ruth May

Skipping to the next generation, there is another set of engaging letters, which are addressed to Ruth May. Ruth was the youngest surviving daughter of Darius and Emma May, who would eventually marry Harold Baldwin in 1921. Before her marriage, she worked as a school teacher in the Townships and helped her older sister, Rose, manage the May household. Similar to the above correspondence, these letters come from a Barnston family that also chose to move the United States; in this case, to California. However, these letters were written by a young woman during a very different time period and their content is vastly different from that of the May siblings.

The letters were written by Cora Lovell, who was born in 1893 to Hazen I. Lovell and Adelaide May. She grew up in the Coaticook area and attended school with Ruth May; from some remarks in the letters, it appears they were also distant cousins. In October 1912, along with her parents and siblings (Martin, Artemissa or 'Artie', Alta, John and Allen) moved to Glendale, California. As a young woman, Cora worked as a telephone operator and, possibly, as a secretary in an office. Around 1916, she married Paul Dilley and they would have two children together: Pauline and John.

Although the letters transcribed below date from the 1910s, other correspondence in the fonds shows that Cora and Ruth continued to write to each other until at least the 1940s. Like Lyman and Melvina, the Lovells seem to have gone California, possibly following other friends or relatives, in search of a better life than what the small town and rural living could offer. However, unlike the Mays in Lynn, Cora never seemed to miss Canada very much, with the exception of missing some of her old companions. Nonetheless, many of her later letters mention money troubles for the family, stating, "It sure is tough to be poor. The last two years have been rather bad for the Folks and me. Surely hope '49 will prove better."[13]

Taken as a whole, Cora's letters back to Ruth are an opportunity to catch a glimpse of what it was like to be a young, working woman in California during the 1910s – with dreams and the world at her feet.

115 N. Central Ave.
Glendale Cal.
Dec 11th [1913]

Dear old Snukums:-

Pearl has gone home and I am alone again. There is not much doing so I will start a letter to you.

This has been a perfectally [*sic*] lovely day and this evening is grand. The moon is shining so brightly, it is nearly as light as day, it seems almost a sin to stay in doors on so nice a night.

I bet your new hat is pretty, I would like to see it. I have a new one too, it is a black beaver trimmed with a persian band a white fluffy maralum feather. It is quite pretty. Artie just got her new dress home to-day, it is out of an alice blue, tirmmed [*sic*] with persian silk, it is just as cute as it can be.

Mamma is having a blue suit and hat.

What are you doing for Christmas? I am nearly ready now.

I got thirty-five cent hand-kerchiefs for all the girls in the office, embroidery scissors, fixed up fancy with brass rings and rubber for Fannie & Gertie, a cute little embroidered apron for Hazel, etc. etc. I am giving Artie a bracelet (Mamma went in with me on that) & [*illegible word*] a watch pin.

I am going to give Mamma a fine dollar gold piece and Papa a jack knife.

I haven't decided what to give Everett yet but I don't think it will be much.

Yes Mollie is still giving me advice. I don't know what she has got against Howard, I have asked her over and over again and she has made me no answer. We are nothing but friends now anyway. He always signs his letters now. "Your sincerely friend" or "Your loving brother" so you see about how things are between us. I don't care what any one says, Howard is a good kid.

Mollie makes me sore, what did she say about it anyway I should worry.

Thanksgiving afternoon Lolita and her father took me Auto riding. We went over twenty miles in and out among the mountains, say but that was great.

Sunday afternoon Pearl & I went again, we were over at the park, imagine sitting under the trees with flowers all around you in the middle of Dec. After that we went for a long ride all over everywhere. In the evening I went to church. There were several baptized, we like our new minister fine. He is dandy.

Say kiddo, do you ever remember of noticing, or of me telling you about the enlargement of my neck. Anyhow something has been coming there for about two years. It does not look any worse on the outside now that it did when we left Coaticook, but it sort of choked me so something I do not know exactly what, but I thought it was time I was having it looked after, so I went to Town and saw a doc. He said it was caused from my heart and must be attended to at once or there would be no cure for it. So now I am at it. I go to Los Angeles every Monday and Thursday for treatment. He treats it with electricity and then injects some kind of *dope?* into it. Believe me it hurts like the old Harry, especially when he put the needle in and again when he takes it out. He told me the first time he thought it would take at least six months to fix me up. I have been going three weeks now. He is also giving me two kinds of pills, all told I am taking nine a day. He says

my heart and nerves are in a terrible condition but I am trying to stay on top of them. I am still holding down my job. I almost feel that I have got to, it is costing me so much. I have been paying my way since I left school so kind of hate to give up now.

I feel pretty well most of the time of course my neck is awfully stiff and sore after the treatments but my general health is good.

Well, my dear, I guess I have talked about myself long enough for this time so will change the subject.

Goodness me, I guess it is time I was changing the subject as the night girl is coming up the stairs so I will say goodnight.

Oceans of love,
Cora Write soon.[14]

December 29, 1913
Dear Ruth,

I am at the office and have no writing paper therefore I am going to use this.

Say Ruth did you think it queer of me to not write you when I heard of your father's death. Mama tried to make me but I wouldn't, I did not know what to say. I thought you would know that we all felt for you without writing it.

It is beginning to rain a little now I hope it won't start in hard until after I get home as I have no hat, rubbers, umbrella, not a thing but my sweater. I will be going in about forty five minutes now. It rained nearly all day for Christmas. I had to work from four until seven, it was awfully busy, kept me jumping now believe me. We were alone all day but had a pretty good time. I got a lot of nice things […]

I am still going to Los Angeles twice a week for treatment, guess the Dr thinks I am a hard case to manage, he kind of wants me to give up my work, guess he thinks it is a bit to hard on my nerves. He told me to day I aught to marry a rich man then I would never have to work any more but never to marry one who did not have the price. I told him I would not marry one at any price, and how he did laugh. When I got through there I went and got more cloth for a shepherd plaid dress. I think I will have a red silk collar on it.

I hear Irene has a daughter, and that *Fan?* & Hugh are married, in her last letter she [said] not until April, I wonder what

the hurry was.

Well my dear it is time Alma was here so I will say good bye. I haven't an envelope so may write a little more tomorrow. Lovingly, Cora. Write soon.[15]

115 N. Central Ave.
Glendale Cal.

Jan 28th/14

Dearest Ruth,

Here I am again writing on scratch paper, with a pencil, at the board, but it will soon end, as right away now they are going to put in a new position & four dials. That means we will each have to ring all our own Los Angeles number while now we simply plug them up and let her answer them. Believe me we are going to have some work. And I think it is going to make the service longer instead of improving it. Howard says their telephone Com. failed or at least the Bell took it over. Poor kid I am afraid he is not very well from what he writes. He has been under the Doc's care for over six months. Mamma says she does not wonder he is sick from the way I use him. Oh by the way did Mollie ever say anything to you about him or me. She has no use for him but I have never been able to find out why except that his sister Jessie used to be very wild and was talked about considerable. I do not know if there is any other reason or not. She seems to think now that I am a little peeved at her. But I do not think I am except I think she might tell me her reasons. Don't you?

We have been having some very heavy rains lately, bridges and car lines washed out etc., etc. I had do wade in the water over my shoes two nights going home. Up north there was thousands of dollars damage done to the fruit growers, tree we all washed out. It was nearly as bad as the first last year. The papers stated it was one of the seven greatest rains the state had ever known.

Grandpa has been in bed nearly a week with grippe. He is getting better now but he is so childish. John has a bad cold and I am getting it. Artie stepped in a rusty nail at the factory yesterday, Mamma *doped?* it (her foot) all night and all day to day. I guess it is going to be all right if nothing sets in. Her new brown silk dress is awfully pretty, but my black one looks pretty well to.

I think if it is a good day Sunday (evening) I will go down town to the Temple Auditorium. I have heard the singing is just great. I have never been in any of the larger churches down there yet. There was a great time over at our church at the banquet the other night. I cold [*sic*] not get a relief so was not there.

One afternoon last week I went way out on the west side of Los Angeles to a Kodak exhibit. It certainly was fine, wish you could have come to.

What did you think of Everett going to Stanstead. I wonder what he will finally decide to do for a living. He seems rather changeable now. I had a letter from Ruth England when she was home Christmas, said she was making over all the cloths [*sic*] as she had gained seventeen pounds. I bet she is a pretty girl.

And so Muriel is married to. Who will be next. If we do not luck out soon we will be old maids. (We should marry) Fannie is awfully happy but I don't think I would care to change my place with her.

Well my dear it is time for Alma again so must say good night.

Lovingly yours, Cora

P.S. It rained Monday so I did not go down to see the Doctor. Have not been yet this week, but am going Friday my day off. He seems to think I am getting on fine.

Byebye, Cora

Glendale Cal

April 9th/14

Dear Ruth:-

I am all alone now, waiting for the night girl to come, but she won't be here for nearly an hour. It is slow tonight. I guess everyone is run down and I hope they will stay so for at least a week.

We are having all kinds of excitement these days, as the men are here putting in our new board. I see where we have got to work the same, when it is completed we have about all we can handle now and this is going to make a whole lot more work.

Ruth do you know we were two darn fools not to have gone

to Sherbrooke and take a business course when we left school. *Mollie?* was taking me at that time, we could have boarded with her and think of the times we could have had.

Now she is fitted to draw good pay and we work for starvation wages. I hope you will get on well with your course and get a good position. It certainly is the best paying business I know of. The girl that works in our business office gets seventy-five a month works in a bank in the city and gets a hundred every month. Rob is planning in taking a business course. I wish you and Rose were out here, all settled in a nice little cosy house and had good positions. You don't know how happy I would be. I really do not know of anyone I would rather see than my old man. Wouldn't I have some fun showing you around. We were glad to hear Rose was getting on so well, wish I could say the same about Papa. He is nothing but skin and bones. I don't see how anyone can stay sick in such a lovely place with good things to eat. We have gree [*sic*] peas, string-beans, all kinds of vegetable and even fresh strawberries. We are only paying about six cents a basket now. We get four large baskets for a quarter and perhaps we don't have some nice short cakes. Papa eats almost anything and eats hearty and I don't see why he does not gain faster. He doesn't sleep very wel [*sic*] and coughs a good deal, so probably that is the reason.

Are you having anything new for Easter. I am not having a pesky thing. I have had two pair of shoes, tan & black and a couple of work dresses lately and to-day I got cloth for a little fancy dress. The cloth is a good deal like that blue I had for Harry's wedding only it is tan. If I think of it I will pin in a sample. Oh yes and I had a white skirt to wear with different waists. Well honey I must go now will write a little more tomorrow if I have time. I have a day off and (it will seem) and goodnight. Cora[16]

115 N. Central Ave.
Glendale Cal.

May 24th/14

Dear Ruthie:-

Hello Honey did you think I never was going to write to you again. I don't know what excuse to give this time, will it be too busy or just pure laziness. I was just looking at my note book

and find I have been owing Addie a letter since Jan first, Mr. Terry Jan 7, Mrs. Johnson Jan 30, Ruth Chelsey Feb 20th, Ruth E. March 9th, Howard S. April 21st Gladys April 27th, & Howard Wright 25th of April, so you see there are others who do not get treated very well.

I thought my hours were going to be changed about a month ago but if you would believe it I am still working evening hours and don't know how much longer it will be. Sometimes I think I would marry the first guy who came along who had five thousand dollars a nice house and a machine. Do you suppose he will ever come along? He wouldn't if he knew how much I wanted, would he?

I just finished a long letter to Everett, the first decent one I have written for ages. If he gets through his course all right, he is going up to Ontario some place to get work. Did you know that on his birthday which was in April, his father gave him his time and one hundred dollars. Isn't that the limit. I think if I was his father and only had one child I would not be so pig headed. It hurt E. feeling terribly and it made me sore. Don't say anything about it, as I do not know if he wanted me to mention it. I did not to anyone else of course I have to tell you everything. Last Sunday the Sharmans and us took our lunch over to the Park and had dinner. It is just lovely over there. In the afternoon, we younger one climb the mountain. They had a team for the older folks and the grub while the rest of us walked. Coming home a man & his wife came along in their big machine and brought us way home. We thought it pretty nice of them being perfect strangers.

Friday was my semi-monthly day off. So Papa & I took our lunch early in the A.M. and started for the country. We called at a ranch near Burbank, where they were planting sweet potatoes. I could not begin to tell you how they do it, but will show you when you come out. Then we struck for the river and followed it all the way back. It sure did seem good to get out into the country once more.

Say Ruth do you remember how pig headed Uncle Fred's folks used to be when they were living in Coaticook, then how awfully nice they were to us when we first come out here. Well is just as we expected, it did not last. All the time Papa has been sick they never came near, never even offered to take him out in their auto and if you would believe it I have only been in it twice.

I have worked with her every evening for a year and we have never had a bit of trouble but just the same they are not as they were at first. About a month ago she gave her notice at the office. She never mentioned to me that she had any notion of leaving. I knew nothing of it until the Chief operator told me. And now comes the finish Thursday afternoon about four o'clock, up they drive, and all come in, the first time they have been in the house for at least four months. After a little Pearl says well I am going East tonight and came over to tell you good bye. Now what do you know about that. Didn't you think they are darn mean.

Don't for the love of make say a word to a living soul that she is on her way for she gave us strick [*sic*] orders not to tell, as she is going to surprise that them at that end as well as this. She is going to make several stops, so will be about fourteen days on the way. Maybe she thinks she is smart, but I don't.

I wish you would come out honey. I would just go crazy over you. Wouldn't we have some old times. I am sure you would not treat me the way our mean cousin has. She certainly has hurt my feelings and I never can feel just the same toward her again no matter what she does to make up. Well sweet heart I must go to bed. Love to all and Oceans of it for your own dear little self.

Cora[17]

115 N. Central Ave.
Glendale Cal.

7-31-14

Dear Ruth:-

As I am not working this evening I will write you a line although it is nearly time I was in bed. I have been thinking of you and just had to write.

When are you coming out?

Artie had a letter from Ella Marsh yesterday, she is still in Arizona and is come to make us a visit in Sept. she is going home from here and wants Artie to go with her. I have gotten somewhat over the feeling of going back, don't know why I am certain I would not care to go in the winter time. Really Ruth we are having the finest summer imaginable. Our hottest day so far was ninety. Then there was our refreshing Ocean breeze. I expect we will get some hot weather yet, but I doubt

it will be any worse than it has been in the East. One thing we never have a thunderstorm.

Have you seen Pearl yet? I came out of my mad fit and wrote her a long letter last night. Told her all about the office girls and everything, now she can do as she likes about answering it. I don't even know if she is mad at me, she certainly has no reason to be.

What are you doing this Summer, have you had anything new. Did I tell you that I have had my black silk dress made over and a little blue & white [*illegible word*], beside a couple of work dresses.

Last Sunday afternoon (I worked from six until two) Dorothy Morgan a little friend of mine one of the decent girls who work in the office and myself when out to Eagle Rock Park. We took our books and layed [*sic*] on the grass under the trees and read til all of a sudden we missed John (of course he had to go with us). Well we hunted for him until nearly dark before we found him, we were nearly scared out of our wits as we had to walk nearly four miles before we could get a car. When we finally did get there the power was off and we had to wait about two hours for a car. It was nearly nine when we got home, we certainly had some time.

To day I cleaned my room up, washed the curtains & got them back up, took a bath and got ready to go to town at two o'clock. I went up to the office to get my check. Met one of the [*illegible word*] men & he took me into the Drug store for a cold drink, then I went on to Town, took my treatment and the Dr. asked me to ride home with him, so I went out to the stores, bought me some cold cream, powder, toilet water and a comb, then I went back up to the office. He had to go on a call into the West and therefore I had a nice long ride. We came home by Hollywood. It sure is a pretty ride.

How is Mr. Dale? I never hear any more about him as I very seldom hear from Everett any more. I do not know if he is made [*sic*] at me or just naturally tired and wants a new one. I have come to the conclusion that it matters very little to me, which it is.

I have also cut out writing to Howard Wright entirely. For no reason at all. Had three letters from him and never answered them. I have no excuse, it sure is not other fellow. I am just tired and sick of the whole bunch. Guess I will cut it all out and settle down an old maid.

What do you think of that?

The girls are here now and making so much noise I can hardly hear myself think, so will close and go to bed.

Kindly remember me to all. Oodles of love to dear little Ruthie from your old pal,

Cora[18]

I forgot to say I got ten dollars from my boss

115 N. Central Ave
Glendale Cal

Jan 7th 1915

Dear Ruth:-

This is the first time I have written 1915 some lazy eh. If you will excuse this writing paper and pencil. I wil [*sic*] write you a word to let you know I am alive and to thank you for the cut [*sic*] little cap. It is awfully nice if you to think of me at Xmas when I am so far away.

I am just off duty and waiting for one of the other girls to go to the picture show. It is go, go, go, all the time. I actually do not get time to breath [*sic*].

I will tell you some of my Christmas present, those which I can remember. I got two of the most beautiful breakfast caps I ever saw, they were both pink and lace, really you cannot image how beautiful they are. Then there was another on of white trimmed in pink ribbon. It is pretty but more ordinary. I have I got a hand painted hair received and powder box. They are too dear for anything. A pair of black silk stocking, several hand-kerchiefs, two solid silver spoons. A picture of six Harrison Fisher girls in gift frames two boxes of chocolates. A big bunch of holly and another of misteltoe. A [*illegible word*] bin & a picture of Gertrude Barnes. Several very pretty booklets and stacks of cards.

I got twenty five but cannot remember the all. Paul gave me the swellest silver mesh bag I ever saw in my life, if I'd say so. It is a beauty. Real large with a coin purse attached really honey it is a perfect darling. All the girls are wild about it. They all envy me.

We have just the finest time ever when? He comes out two or three times a week to see me and takes me every where he sure is lovely to me and between you and I, I am getting to like him a whole lot. This is all the paper there is so I will they and

finish up to-morrow.[19]
Jan 11th [1915]
Dearie:-

Hear it is four days since I wrote the last but this is the very first minute I have had.

I just got your letter about ten minutes ago, when I came in from work. Wasn't it funny about getting your card mixed up with Hazel's. I sent you both a box of hand-kerchiefs but the pattern was not quite alike.

You know I told you about Everett quitting me well I never heard another word from him until New Years. I got a car [*sic*] from him a real affectionate verse on it and signed Pete. Just the way he used to sign his name when were good friends. Wasn't that nervy. Do you think I will answer it? (No, not I) I am done with him forever and ever. Mrs. Chamberlain was down the other day and said she hear [*sic*] he was going to get married, of course to Florence. May joy go with them.

Paul is nothing at all for looks, but he has brains and I think he is all right. I would not give him for a dozen Everetts.

I do not hear from any of the Coaticook girls except Hazel. She is an old stand by. Bless her old heart. She is the only one I remembered at Xmas except with cards. I haven't had a letter from Gertrude for nearly a year or at least I haven't written to her for about that time. Her last two letters never got answered. I am having a new black and white dress trimmed in black silk and I am going to get a suit one day this week. Well honey I must go to bed as I am tired to death, was up till after twelve last night.

Oceans of love,
Cora[20]

Glendale – 6-5-15

Dear Ruth:-

Papa and I are all alone this afternoon. Artie is working and the rest have all gone to the S.S. Picnic.

I started to write you a letter last Sunday morning while I was on duty but it got to busy and I had to give it up. Artie is on steady now. She goes to work at one-thirty and works till ten, with a hour off for supper. I am still working my old ones Seven to twelve, and three thirty till six thirty and between you and I am getting mighty tired of work. I have been at the

same old place doing the same old work for twenty-seven months with only one weeks [*sic*] vacation. The work is getting harder every day and it seems like every day they expect a little more of you.

The Company sold out about a month ago. Our new manager is strict as the dickens. Our office is getting so big or at least our business is going so fast we are going to move into a nice big new office down stairs. It will probably be nicer but I will have three or four blocks farther to walk.

I may not work there very much longer, really I am tired, sometimes the very thought of it makes me sick, besides Paul just begs me to quit. He says I have worked quite long enough already.

Gee honey if we could only get married we would both be the happiest kids alive, but that is out of the question. My luck as usual he is a poor boy, the kind I always get, but I should *not worry?* he is a darling just the same. I would rather have him with nothing than any one else I ever saw with a million. It is so hard to get work. The poor kid is nearly desperate. He is an electrician, but has not been able to get anything to do for a long time. He went down to the Valley in a ranch for awhile, but of course he coud [*sic*] not make anything to amount to anything working in a ranch for anyone else and we were both desperate. We simply cannot live without each other, that is all there is to it.

Now he works in a grocery store mornings and operates a picture show in the evening. He is wearing himself out, getting thin and haggard looking. He goes to work at six in the A.M. and has a little while off in the Afternoon then goes to work at six and does not get home until twelve at night. You see he does not get very much sleep.

All I get to see him now is the little while I am off in the afternoon, sometimes twice and sometimes three times a week. He goes to work at two every Sunday and I work three Sun. a month so you see how it is. He is only getting fifteen dollars a week for it all and does not know when he may lose out on them. He worked in a little *show?* before this one and got nineteen per week see times are getting harder and harder. He is perfectly crazy about a ranch, but do not know if we will ever have one or not.

Well Dear I am sure you will be tired of this Topic but it is uppermost in my mind and I just had to let loose to someone.

You are always the one I spill to.

Aren't you honoured? I don't know very much to write about as I have note been very much lately.

About three weeks ago there was a big electoral parade in the city. A couple of girls and I went. The Parade was certainly beautiful but talk about crowds. I never was in such a bunch in my life. It was too much for me, after I had stood on my feet for nearly three hours, I fainted dead away (the first time in my life). I got to see most of the parade anyhow. I wouldn't have done such a crazy thing but I was dead tired to start with. I went to work at six that day and nearly worked myself dead. Outside of that everything was all right.

My Chum is going away next week, then I will be more lonesome than ever. I wish you were out here to chase around with me.

Well dearie it is time I was going back to the office so bye-bye.

Oceans of love, Cora

Write often, you and Hazel are the only ones I hear from now. Don't for the love of mike let anyone see this letter. C.A.L.[21]

115 N. Central Ave.
Glendale Cal
March 14th/17

My dear Ruth:-

I have not heard from you for so long any afraid I did not address your letter correctly so will send this one to Baldwin's Mills and if you are still in Montreal, Rose can send it on to you.

I am here with the folks now, came last week. I may be here only a few days but probably nearly all Summer. You see I am somewhat unsettled. I have not seen my hubby for about three weeks. He is still working for the same oil Co., since we left Lost Angeles they have been sending him from one place to another so it is impossible to settle down. We are both tired and sick of it. He told them the other day if they did not put him somewhere and give him a house, he would leave them. So he may quit any day. These last three weeks seem like ten years, I sure am lonesome. I wish you were out here, why don't you and Rose or Clara or all of you come. I believe you could

make more here and really I think you would like to live here.

If you did not get my letter I want to thank you again for the pretty little bag. I think a lot of it.

Artie quits the office the last of this month and expects now to be married in June. She is note [*sic*] marrying a millionaire any more than I did, although I guess he has a plenty. He is a nice fellow and I hope they will be happy. They will live in Los Angeles. My brother-in-law expects to be married soon to. I wanted you to come out and capture him but am afraid it is too late. No doubt you are as good as gone to. Please write and tell me all about yourself. I love you just like I always did and want to see you.

Have you any new spring clothes yet? I haven't a thing but must get at it right away. I cannot decide what to get for the wedding. Since I have been down I have made some under clothes and two night gowns.

To-morrow I am going to Rivera to visit one of my girl friends for a few days.

Do you remember the times I used to visit you. Gee kiddo I would like to do it again. Do you know that I do not feel one bit older than I did then, but I expect I look a whole lot older. The C. E. convention meets here in Glendale soon. They are expecting at least three thousand delegates. Well my dear it is getting near supper time so must close for now.

Please write soon.

As ever your old pal, with lots of love. —Cora[22]

Annex:

Lineage of the May family, Stevens family and Baldwin family[23]

Note: All names appearing in the letters above have been bolded.

Sylvester May was the eldest son of the Hezekiah May, who was originally from Strafford, Vermont and settled in Stanstead Township in 1806.[24] Sylvester was married three times, first, to Almeda Marsh; second, to Eunice Bean and, third, to Sarah Wadleigh. According to Sylvester's obituary, he had 10 children by his three wives, but we have only found trace of 8 children, which are listed below.

Sylvester May (1808–1901)
(1st) married Almeda Marsh (1813–1842)
Children:
Amanda Melvina (1837–1900)
m., 11 July 1865, **Hollis Taylor**
Sophia (1841–1842)

(2nd) married, 6 June 1843, Eunice Bean (1813–1852)
Children:
Darius (1843–1913) m. **Emma Jane Stevens**
Lyman Albert (ca. 1844–1925) m. **Laura W. Fernald**
Unknown (1845), died when only two weeks old
Wilber (1846–1852)
Caroline S./Carrie (b. 1848) m., 17 June 1873, John Horn

(3rd) married, 11 October 1853, **Sarah Wadleigh** (1812–1902)
Children:
Ida (1855–1925) m., 4 July 1876, John V. Corliss

Fourth son of Sylvester May:
Lyman A. May married, 14 June 1871, **Laura W. Fernald**
Children:
Frank Fernald (b. 1873)
Cora (b. 1874)
Phillip (b. 1877)
Rachel vester (b. 1884) m. William Hollister Pomeroy

Third son of Sylvester May:

Darius married, 3 July 1872, **Emma Jane Stevens** (1852–1894)

Children:
Maude Ella (1874–1947)
Wilbur Lyman (1875–1946)
Rose Nettie (1877–1961)
Julian Sylvester (1881–1956)
John Vining (1882–1971)
Ida/Ada S. (1884–1885)
Clara Emma(1886–1968)
Fred Nason (1887–1955)
Ruth Stevens (1890–1971)
Irene S. (ca. 1891–1893)

Second youngest daughter of Darius and Emma May:

Ruth Stevens May married, 26 January 1921, Harold Ferrin Baldwin

Children:
Ruby May (b. 1921)
Willis Keith/Keith (b. 1922)
Elvyn Mead (1925–2008)
Eunice Ruth (b. 1926)
Alice Lill (1928–1971)
Harold Richard/Dick (1931–1993)
Lester Stevens (b. 1933)

Parents of Harold F. Baldwin, who married Ruth S. May:

Willis Keith Baldwin (1857–1935) married, 17 March 1881, Lill M. Ferrin (1859–1935)

Children:
Harold Ferrin (1886–1975)
Mead Haskell (1891–1921)

ENDNOTES

1. "Obituary: Sylvester May," *Stanstead Journal*, 25 September 1901.
2. Readers should note that additional punctuation has been added to the letter transcriptions in order to improve their readability.
3. Letter, Melvina May to Darius May, dated 24 August 1863 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
4. Letter, Melvina May to Darius May, 11 June 1865 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
5. Letter, Melvina (May) Taylor to unknown, undated [between 1872 and 1875] (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
6. Letter, Melvina May Taylor to Darius May, 6 February 1876 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
7. Letter, Lyman May to Sarah May, 18 January 1864 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
8. Letter, Lyman May to Darius May, 1 November 1863 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
9. Letter, Lyman May to Darius May, 18 December 1870 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
10. Letter, Lyman May to Darius May, 21 June 1874 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
11. Letter, Lyman May to Darius May, 15 September 1878(P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec) .
12. Letter, Lyman May to Darius May, 28 April 1885(P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec) .
13. Quoted from a letter to Ruth (May) Baldwin from Cora Dilley, 12 December 1948 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
14. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 11 December 1913 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).

15. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 29 December 1913 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
16. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 9 April 1914 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
17. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 24 May 1914 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
18. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 31 July 1914 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
19. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 7 January 1915 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
20. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 11 January 1915 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
21. Letter, Cora Lovell to Ruth May, 5 June 1915 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
22. Letter, Cora Dilley to Ruth May, 14 March 1917 (P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
23. Any genealogical information beyond that determined through P173 Elvyn M. Baldwin family fonds was retrieved from the RootsWeb WorldConnect website <wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/>, the *St. Francis District Indexes to the Protestant registers, 1815–1879* and the *Vital Statistics from the Stanstead Journal*, vols. 1–6, (Stanstead, Quebec: Stanstead County Historical Society, 1991).
24. B.F. Hubbard, *Forests and Clearings: The History of Stanstead County*, (Montreal: Lovell Printing, 1874), p. 206.

BIOBIBLIOGRAPHIES / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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