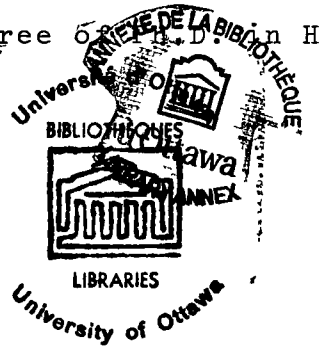
THE PEACEABLE CONQUEST

FRENCH CANADIAN COLONIZATION IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

John Irvine Little

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. in History



UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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O champs qu'on a peuplés d'une
    autre race altière,
Cantons de l'Est dotés, hélas!
    d'étranges noms,
Vous qui deviez servir contre
    nous de barrière,
Vous nous apparteniez et nous
    vous reprenons.

Adolphe Poisson

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ABSTRACT

The first people to colonize the Eastern Townships were the Loyalists who settled in the Missisquoi Bay area of Lake Champlain in 1783. The British officials frowned upon this development because they hoped to preserve the Eastern Townships as a buffer zone between the St. Lawrence valley and the United States. If any colonists were to be allowed into the region, they should be French Canadians, for their language and religion would protect them from pernicious American influences. But official policy changed as relations with Revolutionary France deteriorated. To ensure that French Canadians would not acquire complete control over the newly-created Legislative Assembly, the colonial authorities opened the Townships to American settlers in 1793. Unfortunately, the merchant oligarchy at Quebec managed to acquire most of the land for itself. Not only did most of the absentee landowners fail to develop their holdings, but the French Canadian majority in the Assembly was reluctant to spend road monies in a region destined for anglophone settlement. With the additional curse of unnavigable river arteries, the region was able to attract no more than a trickle of the large wave of British immigrants which arrived at the port of Quebec after 1814.

French Canadians from the overcrowded seigneuries finally began to colonize the northernmost townships during the

thirties. Many of them were forced to "squat" upon the holdings of absentee proprietors, as well as to trek through swamps to purchase essential supplies in the St. Lawrence Valley. Little attention was paid to their plight until after responsible government was implemented in 1848. The French Canadian politicians were then spurred to action by the heavy emigration which had begun to take place from Lower Canada to the United States. During the early fifties they passed a series of measures which encouraged municipalities to tax speculators and maintain local roads.

Because this coincided with the beginning of the railroad era, the Eastern Townships was effectively opened to development for the first time. It was too late to take advantage of the American and British influx, so the French Canadians were destined to dominate the region after all. By colonizing the northeasterly counties which had been largely ignored by the anglophones, and by taking jobs in the newly-established factories in the South-West, they became the majority as early as 1870. During the remainder of the century the English-speaking population did not decline, but it lost much of its natural increase, and it withdrew more and more into its south-western stronghold.

Even here the French Canadians began to undermine the English Canadian position by purchasing farms from those who decided to move to the American mid-West. Because the

"western fever" epidemic and the growth of heavy industries would not begin in earnest until the 1890's, the subject of this thesis is essentially colonization, by which is meant quite simply, the opening of new territories to agriculture. The French Canadians "conquered" the Eastern Townships, not by direct assault, but by an encircling movement from the North, West, and East, which left the English Canadians in a more and more confined position alongside the American border. Within this area the francization process has been going on ever since, but some anglophones have persevered because of the managerial positions available in the cities, and because of the close proximity to New England and to Montreal.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC - Department of Agriculture and Colonization, Quebec
ACAM - Archives de la chancellerie de l'archevêché de Montréal
ACAQ - Archives de la chancellerie de l'archevêché de Québec
ACAS - Archives de la chancellerie de l'archevêché de Sherbrooke
ACESH - Archives de la chancellerie de l'évêché de Saint-Hyacinthe
ACETR - Archives de la chancellerie de l'évêché de Trois-Rivières
BALC - British American Land Company
BRH - Bulletin de Recherches Historique
CHR - Canadian Historical Review
CJEPS - Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science
DLAQ - Debates, Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec
ETHS - Eastern Townships Historical Society
JAC - Jérôme-Adolphe Chicoyne Papers
JLAC - Journals, Legislative Assembly Province of Canada
JLAQ - Journals, Legislative Assembly Quebec
NAQ - National Archives Quebec
PAC - Public Archives Canada
PP - Parish Papers
PW - Department of Agriculture and Public Works, Quebec
QDA - Quebec Diocesan Archives (Anglican)
RAPQ - Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec
RHAF - Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française
RL - Registre de lettres
RLB - Registre de lettres de Mgr. Bourget
RLL - Registre de lettres de Mgr. Lartigue
RS - Récherches Sociographiques
SCHEC - Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique
SL - Siméon LeSage Papers
SPC - Sessional Papers, Province of Canada
SPDC - Sessional Papers, Dominion of Canada
SPQ - Sessional Papers, Province of Quebec

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INTRODUCTION

In comparison to other areas of Canada, Quebec has been the subject of more than its share of historical research, yet one of its most important regions, the Eastern Townships, has suffered a curious neglect. True, the Townships' unique physical characteristics and Anglo-Saxon heritage set it apart from the rest of the province, but this is all the more reason to give it special consideration. To be fair to the historians, the scarcity of documents makes it particularly difficult to research the region's English-speaking past. Of the dozens of English language newspapers published in the Townships during the nineteenth century, only one (the Stanstead Journal) is complete. Many have disappeared entirely; others exist only in rare and scattered issues. The entire file of at least two newspapers has been carelessly destroyed within memory. The same is true for the records of the British American Land Company, once the largest property owner in the region, and the chief force behind the industrialization of Sherbrooke. The correspondence and records of such nationally-known figures as Sir Alexander Galt, John Henry Pope, and Lucius Seth Huntington are nowhere to be found. In fact no archives, to my knowledge, holds the papers of any of the major Townships politicians. The French Canadians have understand-

ably been preoccupied with their own ancestors, while the English Canadian migration from the region seems to have scattered their records and left the remaining inhabitants too apathetic and disorganized to make a serious attempt at preserving their heritage.

The ever-continuing displacement of the anglophones may add to the difficulties of writing the early history of the Eastern Townships, but the very fact that two populations once vied for supremacy in this region makes its past a particularly fascinating one. This thesis will study the influx of the French Canadians into the Townships up to the last decade of the nineteenth century. It will concentrate on one aspect of that influx, the settlement of wild land. It was in this manner that the newcomers not only acquired their first permanent foothold in the region, but quickly established themselves as the majority. The 1890's were chosen as the cut-off date for three reasons: most of the region was inhabited by that time, many of the principal figures involved in colonization projects had passed from the scene, and finally the French Canadians were already two-thirds of the population.

This thesis is divided into three major sections. The introductory section deals with the colonization of the region up to the midway point of the century; part two examines the French Canadian influx during the latter half of the nineteenth century; and part three describes in detail the coloni-

zation of one county - Compton. Each of these three sections will be divided into several chapters, numbered consecutively.

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction by examining the problems faced by the English-speaking settlers who first arrived in the Townships. In order to understand better the later French Canadian influx, it attempts to answer a number of crucial questions concerning the original settlement of the region. For example, why did the Eastern Townships remain uninhabited for such a long period of time? Why did English-speaking families, and not French, first settle the region? Who were these English-speaking colonists, and why did they move to the Townships? How extensive were their communities, and how did the remainder of the province react to their presence? Once opened up in the 1790's, why did the Eastern Townships develop so slowly in comparison to Upper Canada? While most of these problems lie outside the scope of my research in primary materials, I have attempted to give at least tentative explanations by piecing together information from scattered secondary sources.

More definitive are my answers to questions which provide the themes for the remaining ten chapters. How did the French Canadians become interested in moving to the Townships? What role did the Catholic Church and the provincial government play in their migration to the area? Was it a spontaneous movement, or one well-organized by one or both of these two

bodies? Were there any outstanding personalities involved? Where did the francophones first settle? How effective were geography and English-speaking contacts in altering the new French Canadian communities from those in the seigneuries? What was the primary motivation which stimulated the clerical and political élite to organize colonization of the Townships? How did the English-speaking population react to the influx? Were they, as some have claimed, effectively driven from the region by the machinations of the Catholic Church? If not, why did they begin to leave the region a few years after they had settled in it?

To begin to answer these questions, we must examine the role of the Church in introducing French Canadian settlers into the Eastern Townships. Chapter 2 describes the activities of the region's early Catholic missionaries, as well as the rise and fall of the first society organized to encourage French Canadian colonization of the Townships. Correspondence between the priests and their bishops, found in several episcopal archives, some secondary works, and several Montreal and Quebec City French language newspapers provide the chief source-material for this chapter. The third and final chapter of part one completes the story of colonization during the first half of the nineteenth century by describing the French Canadian influx into each county prior to 1851. I felt that the county by county approach was necessary, even at the risk of some

monotony, in order to define the character of the various areas within what is a rather large and heterogeneous region. This chapter is based on a wide variety of sources, including the reports of Surveyor-General Joseph Bouchette, parish histories written by local priests, and the Census Reports.

Part II follows with its examination of the French Canadian influx during the latter half of the nineteenth century. By exploiting official documents found in the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the province of Canada, chapter 4 relates how the government removed the barriers to the population expansion during the early fifties by making land speculation less profitable, and by encouraging the construction and maintenance of roads. Chapter 5 is basically a demographic study of the French Canadian population growth between 1851 and 1890. An attempt is made to determine how important colonization was in comparison with urbanization and the replacement of English-speaking farmers. The Census Reports, local histories, and provincial economic and political histories, were used extensively. Chapter 6, primarily by using newspaper sources, describes the reaction of the English-speaking residents to the francophone influx.

Part three, by concentrating upon the colonization of a restricted area (Compton county), provides more definitive answers to many of the problems raised in parts one and two (e.g. the economic effect of geographical isolation, French-

English relations, the role of the Church). It begins with chapter 7 which, by presenting information gleaned from the nominative (manuscript) census reports of 1831 to 1870, traces the social and economic development of two townships, one settled by Americans early in the nineteenth century, and one by French Canadians and Scots in the late 1840's. The general description of colonization in Compton county provided in chapters 2 and 5 is thereby supplemented by an analysis of how French Canadians earned their living in the areas already settled by anglophones, the type of agriculture they pursued as colonists, and how it compared with that of the well-established English-speaking farmers as well as the Scottish newcomers.

Compton county was chosen not only because it best provides an opportunity to make these types of comparisons between different cultural groups, but also because eastern Compton and southern Beauce was the one area within the Eastern Townships to remain only sparsely settled by the time the provincial government was created and given control of the crown lands. It consequently became the scene of operations for a number of interesting and ambitious land settlement projects during the seventies and eighties. The implementation of the Colonization Societies Act of 1869 is the subject of chapter 8; chapter 9 discusses the repatriation scheme of 1875; and chapter 10, the history of several European-financed colonization

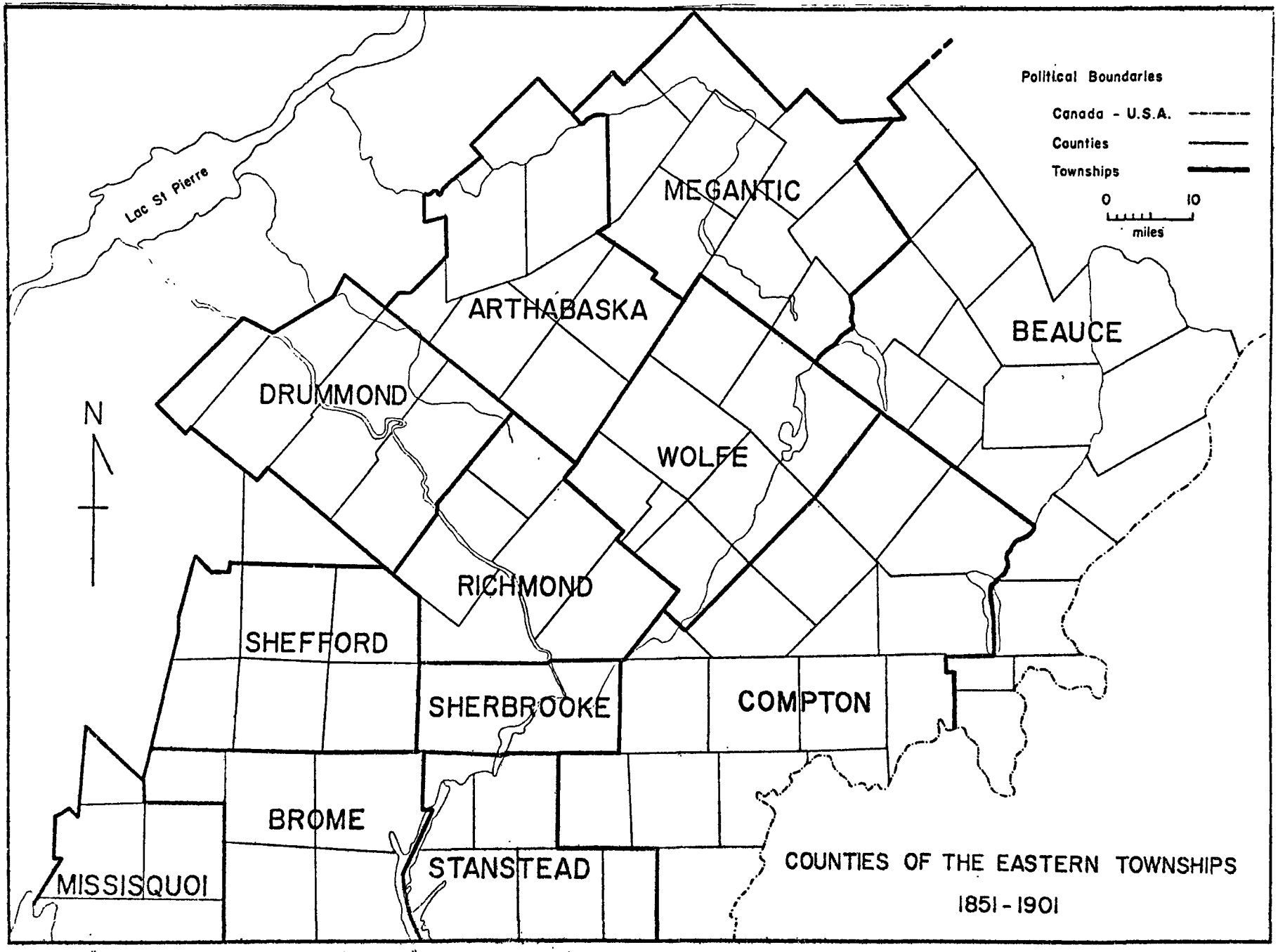
companies.

One could argue that these land settlement schemes were not typical of French Canadian colonization in the Townships, and that too much attention is paid to projects which, after all, were largely failures. The French Canadian population, even after Confederation, was still growing much more rapidly in the northern counties where the land was owned by absentee proprietors who were content to sell it piece by peice, instead of launching large-scale land settlement campaigns. To answer this objection, I feel that the colonization projects are important because they provide valuable insight into the attitudes of the provincial politicians and the Church. Furthermore the initial settlement of the northern area had begun in the thirties, long before there were adequate records or local French language newspapers to describe it. To study French Canadian colonization in the northern areas one would have to rely mostly upon the nominative census reports and the land deeds between proprietors and colonists. Valuable as such a study would have been, especially to determine whether the absentee landowners were as serious an obstacle to development as tradition suggests, I felt that a framework should first be established by taking a more descriptive and wide-ranging approach.

A final reason for choosing Compton is that part of it could still be described as a true colonization centre during

the late seventies, when the curés began to submit detailed parish reports to the bishop. This gives us the opportunity in chapter 11 to examine the Catholic church as an institution in the French Canadian colony. In addition, a comparison can be made with those parishes in the older predominantly English-speaking areas. The nominative census reports, Sherbrooke's French language newspapers, the Sessional Papers and Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec, the parish reports, the reports of the crown land agents, the papers of J. A. Chicoyne, and several local histories provide the backbone for Part III.

It should be made clear that this thesis in no way pretends to be the definitive history of French Canadian settlement in the Eastern Townships. The time and space required are much too vast for a single study of that nature to be based on primary materials. I have simply attempted to provide a general background to the French Canadian influx into the region, as well as a more detailed though still basically descriptive study of one of its counties. The statistical analysis of two townships is included, not with the claim that they are representative of the entire region, but in the hope that this will provide incentive and direction for future historians to examine the Eastern Townships more closely.



Source: "Map of Montreal and the Eastern Townships", published by E.R. Smith & Son, St. Johns, P.Q., 1897.

B

P A R T O N E

SLOW BEGINNINGS: FRENCH CANADIAN COLONIZATION DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER ONE

THE OPENING OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS BY ENGLISH-SPEAKING SETTLERS

Within the boundaries of the Eastern Townships are eighty-six townships, grouped into the counties of Compton, Sherbrooke, Stanstead, Brome, Shefford, Richmond, Wolfe, Megantic, Arthabaska, Drummond, and parts of those of Missisquoi, Beauce, and Bagot.[1] In spite of the region's proximity to the earliest French and English settlements in North America, it remained an undeveloped frontier for a remarkably long time. This was partially the result of deliberate official policy during the French regime and the early post-American Revolution years of the British regime. Both colonial authorities wished to retain a wilderness buffer zone between the St. Lawrence seigneuries and New England. But this does not explain the discouragingly slow growth of the

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[1] Jean Mercier, L'Estrie (Sherbrooke, 1964), p.91. Because the Census Reports add some seigneurial land to Aston and Maddington in Nicolet county, both these townships have been excluded. Frontenac county has been included within the boundaries of Compton and Beauce because it was not founded until 1915.

population after the region was finally opened to settlement at the end of the eighteenth century.

The blame does not lie with a lack of prospective settlers, for during the 1780's New Englanders, Loyalist and otherwise, began to petition for land grants in the southern frontier of Quebec. With 1815 began a large wave of British emigration to the North American colonies. It continued unabated until it actually became a swarming movement between 1826 and 1834.[2] Yet, in spite of the fact that the Eastern Townships was officially opened to settlement in 1792, by 1851 the region had only 100,000 inhabitants, a quarter of whom were French Canadians who had arrived within the previous ten years.

Part of the fault for the Townships' slow growth during the first half of the nineteenth century lies with the land granting system employed by the governing officials. At the turn of the century, absentee proprietors were allowed to acquire huge tracts of township land without introducing colonists or making improvements upon it. This disastrous practice was soon abolished, but not before much of the Townships territory had fallen into the hands of speculators. No effective attempt was made to loosen their grip prior to the

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[2]H. A. Innis and A. R. M. Lower (ed.), Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885 (Toronto, 1933), p.96. The last great wave of immigration was between 1842 and 1847. Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America. The First Hundred Years (Toronto, 1961), pp.186, 190-1, 194-5.

1850's.

Of course the absentee proprietors did not purposefully retard the development of the Eastern Townships. In their role as British officials, as well as capitalists, they were quite disposed to sell their holdings to English-speaking settlers. But local improvements would have proven futile in many cases because there were no good transportation arteries into the region. The French Canadian majority in the Legislative Assembly was not about to expend large sums of money upon roads which would benefit the English-speaking oligarchy, and weaken their own numerical dominance in the province. And roads were crucial to a region with the physical characteristics of the Eastern Townships. It is a large peneplane, gently sloping downward from South-East to North-West, with several parallel ranges of hills running from North-East to South-West. The result is that the principal rivers, in following the slope of the peneplane in a northwesterly direction, cut across these ranges of hills,[3] leaving the region without a single obstacle-free water artery to the St. Lawrence. Economically isolated from the markets and supplies

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[3]The tributaries to the major rivers run in a perpendicular direction, in the valleys between the ranges of hills, and many enter the rivers by falls. The waterpower thus provided made these sites attractive ones for the region's first towns. Raoul Blanchard, Le Centre du Canada Français (Montreal, 1948), pp.194, 202-3.

offered by the St. Lawrence trade route, Townships settlers were doomed to remain relatively self-sufficient for many years longer than those of Upper Canada. Small wonder that only a trickle of the flood of immigrants arriving at Quebec City found its way into the region South of the St. Lawrence.

The Land Granting System

The policy of maintaining the Eastern Townships as a buffer zone originated in 1682 when Frontenac reserved the St. Francis basin as an exclusive hunting and fishing ground for the Abenakis in order to discourage raids from New England.[4] Apart from hunting and military expeditions, the Eastern Townships was still untouched when the French régime ended. It appeared that this state of affairs would not last long, for the newly-established British authorities anticipated a flood of English-speaking settlers into the province. General Murray's 1763 Instructions included directions for "the advantageous and effectual settlement" of the new colony.[5] He was to limit land grants to one hundred acres per family head, and fifty additional acres for each other family member, with a maximum of one thousand acres in excep-

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[4]Maurice O'Bready, De Ktiné à Sherbrooke. Esquisse historique de Sherbrooke des origines à 1954 (Sherbrooke, 1973), p.7.

[5]R. G. Riddell, "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855," CHR, XVIII (1937), 386.

tional cases. The British system of free and common socage was to be employed and no settlement conditions were to be attached. An important modification came in 1771 when the government decided that future concessions would be in fief and seigneury.[6] But these regulations were never implemented because the only anglophones to enter Quebec were merchants, and the habitants still had ample space to expand within the seigneuries of the St. Lawrence, Chaudière, Richelieu, and Ottawa Valleys.

Officials in Quebec did not register any grants until 1788,[7] by which time conditions had changed so drastically that the whole system was about to take an entirely new direction. After the Thirteen Colonies had won their independence in 1783, the exiled Loyalists had flooded into the remaining British colonies. The logical place for those who had lived to the immediate South of Quebec, in states such as New York, New Hampshire, and Maine, was the future Eastern Townships region (as yet unsurveyed). A group from New York did migrate to the Missisquoi Bay area of Lake Champlain, but because of the uncertainty of the boundary, and the presence of Indian

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[6]Gerald F. McGuigan, "Land Policy and Land Disposal under Tenure of Free and Common Socage, Quebec and Lower Canada, 1763-1809" (PhD thesis, Laval University, 1962), III, 74; Lillian F. Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada (Toronto, 1968), pp.6-8.

[7]J. C. Langelier, Liste de terrains concédés de 1791 à 1890 (Québec, 1891), p.3.

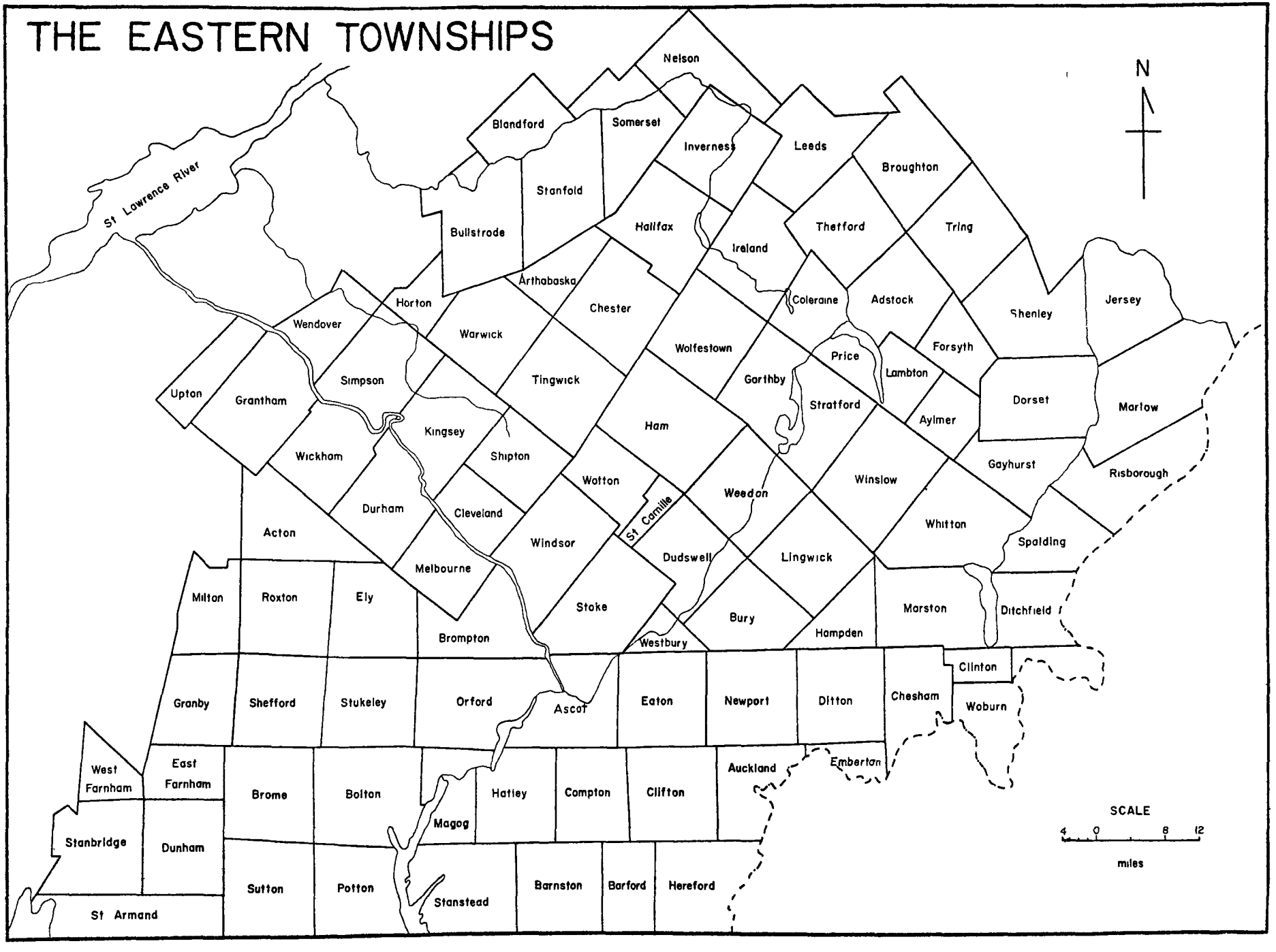
inhabitants, most were relocated to the Great Lakes region.[8] In fact, Governor Haldimand's fear of the contaminating influence of the nearby rebels upon a Loyalist colony in the Eastern Townships led him to suggest that only French Canadians be established there. As a result, most of the Loyalists settled in what became known as Upper Canada in 1791. Unlike Quebec, or Lower Canada as it was now called, the new colony was given English laws and English land tenure.

If events had evolved according to Haldimand's plans, Lower Canada would have remained almost entirely French-speaking, with French land tenure. But two unpredictable developments altered his strategy. Not only did the French Canadians prefer to remain on their seigneurial lands rather than venture into the virgin wilderness to the South, but the increasingly aggressive behaviour of post-Revolutionary France caused British officials to eye all francophones with growing distrust[9], and to look upon American settlers with greater sympathy. They even drafted schemes to introduce more Americans into the Eastern Townships.

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[8]McGuigan, III, 80; John Derek Booth, "Changing Forest Utilization Patterns in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, 1800 to 1930" (PhD thesis, McGill University, 1972), p.34.

[9]See Frank M. Greenwood, "The Development of a Garrison Mentality among the English in Lower Canada, 1793-1811" (PhD thesis, University of B.C., 1970).



Source : 'Map of Montreal and the Eastern Townships'

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In response to Yankee demands that they be allowed to acquire land under free and common socage[10], the Constitutional Act of 1791 made land tenure of future grants in Lower Canada a matter of individual choice. The following year townships were carved out of the vast tract of unsurveyed land lying South of the St. Lawrence, and between the Richelieu and Chaudière Rivers. It became known as the "Eastern" Townships in contradistinction to the townships South of Montreal and/or those of Upper Canada. Each township was approximately ten square miles or 48,000 acres in size. When population numbers warranted sending a member to the legislature, several townships would be grouped together to form a constituency known as a county. Whenever the population became large enough to acquire additional representation, counties were either subdivided or their boundaries were rearranged to form new ones.

With the creation of the Eastern Townships, London officials reiterated their desire to prevent the growth of those land monopolies which had been so common in the colonies to the South.[11] Only in exceptional cases was a grantee to

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[10] In 1788 it had been declared that twenty to thirty thousand American settlers would go to the Eastern Townships if seigneurial tenure were abolished; otherwise they would move to the American West. PAC, Q XXXVIII 348, Hugh Finlay to Evan Nepean Esq., [Quebec], 30 July 1788. Quoted in Innis and Lower, p.14.

[11] McGuigan, III, 110.

receive as much as 1200 acres. Even with a grant as large as this, he was always supposed to prove himself capable of cultivating it.[12] But it was impossible to colonize an isolated frontier without some form of group organization. Because of the great expenses involved, and because Quebec officials had no experience in such undertakings, they were forced to adopt the system of corporate proprietors which had been common in New England. This became known as the leader and associates system, for it entailed the granting of large blocks of crown land to groups of individuals who formally committed themselves to colonizing it.[13] In theory the procedure was for an individual, known as the "leader", to present a petition signed by a number of "associates" requesting that they be granted an entire township. Because the petitioners assumed that they would each receive 1200 acres, a petition usually contained forty signatures. Once the request was met, each associate would relinquish 1000 acres of his grant to the leader. The leader in turn would hold the land in trust for the group of capitalists who had financed the whole venture.

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[12] Ivanhoë Caron, La Colonisation de la Province de Québec, III, Les Cantons de l'Est, 1791-1815 (Québec, 1927), p.30.

[13] McGuigan, I, 12, 399, 401-2, 544; III, 48, 66, 110; John P. Noyes, The Canadian Loyalists and Early Settlers in the District of Bedford (St. Johns, 1900), pp.12-13; Norman Macdonald, Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement (London, 1939), pp.74-76.

Outside investors were necessary because of the money required to survey the land grant, pay fees to government officials, and introduce settlers to the area. As delays in appropriating the titles to land became much longer than anticipated, the number of these outside interests multiplied, forcing the venture to take on a more and more speculative nature.[14]

One of the causes for the delay was that the colonial authorities looked upon the leader and associates system with some disfavour. The American Revolution had taught them to mistrust the decentralization of authority which such a system entailed. In fact its existence never was recognized officially in Lower Canada. London tried to qualify its localizing tendencies by concentrating in one body (the Land Committee of the Executive Council) the authority to grant individual land titles. Rather than each leader distributing land to the settlers of his territory, the Committee had to examine and approve of every single grant. Before this could be done, surveys had to be made and oaths of loyalty administered to each individual. The result was interminable delay before the settler received his final letters patent (legal title).[15] In fact the leaders themselves, with one excep-

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[14]McGuigan, I, 97, 402, 406; III, 252; Macdonald, p.78.

[15]McGuigan, I, 96, 98; Macdonald, pp.77, 79.

tion, still had no titles by 1798, although Eastern Townships land had been advertised as early as 1792.

An important additional reason for the delay was the design by certain members of the Lower Canada Executive Council to usurp title to the land for themselves. In 1798 the Council declared that all petitions had been rejected on the grounds that no one had taken the required oath of loyalty within the fixed time limit. Unauthorized settlers were asked to vacate their holdings immediately. In truth, members of the Council had failed to appoint commissioners to administer the oaths until the deadline was nearly past.[16] An additional impediment placed in the path of the petitioners was the contention of the Council that the claims to land grants were not transferable. This excluded outside investors, heirs, and those who had simply purchased the claims outright, thereby posing the threat that many of these people would lose their investments.[17] The next step was for the Council members simply to grab the lands for themselves.

Fortunately for the American settlers and investors, Robert Prescott, who became Governor of Lower Canada in 1797, sympathized with their plight. He exposed to London the

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[16]McGuigan, I, 96, 99, 101; III, 141-4, 173, 324-8.

[17]Ibid., I, 298, 402; III, 102-3, 182-3, 233.

machinations of the Executive Council and its Land Committee. Although the subsequent conflict ultimately led to his dismissal, most of Prescott's recommended reforms were implemented in 1800. 1200 acres were granted to each petitioner in those cases where the leaders had surveyed at their own expense, as well as established the required number of associates. In instances where the land had been surveyed, but no settlers established, the group received half a township (600 acres each), and in cases where the leader had merely visited, only a quarter township was granted.[18]

Most of the petitioners were satisfied with this arrangement, but Robert Shore Milnes, Prescott's successor, attempted to create a colonial aristocracy by allowing the Council to grant itself and its friends vast tracts from the remaining crown lands.[19] A total of 1,957,776 acres was alienated between 1792 and 1809, most of it after 1800. Only 34 of the 157 Lower Canadian townships promised in 1792-3 went to the original American petitioners; most of the others went to Quebec and Montreal merchants, many of whom were very probably associated with, or employed by, members of the Executive Council. Merchants gained outright title to about half the

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[18] Ibid., I, 293-4; III, 191-3; Macdonald, pp.81-3.

[19] Quebec officials claimed that a new landed aristocracy was desirable because the seigneurs had lost their social and political influence with the habitants at a time when French invasion of Canada seemed a distinct possibility. Greenwood, pp.175-6.

land granted in this period, while those directly connected with the government were granted twenty-one percent of it.[20] In practice, this group controlled even more of the Eastern Townships because they purchased pretentions from many original petitioners whose names appeared on the official land titles.[21]

Although most of the original petitioners seem to have been genuinely interested in increasing the value of their holdings by establishing settlers, the long delay (almost twenty years in some cases) in issuing land titles meant that many of them had either died, been forced to seek outside investors, or simply sold their pretentions to others who had no real interest in colonization. Subsequent grants went directly to the merchant-speculators.[22] Both of these developments could have been prevented had not able administration been rendered impossible by the greed of local officials, coupled with distrust of the decentralizing effect of the leader and associates system.

There were few major concessions to individuals after Governor Milnes was replaced in 1807 - the largest was a grant of 48,062 acres to Milnes himself in 1810.[23] In 1809 the

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[20] See Appendix A.

[21] McGuigan, III, 231, 240-4, 301-2.

[22] Ibid.; pp.217, 220; I, 295-6, 298.

[23] Caron, p.219.

government substituted auctions for the leader and associates system, but this proved to be a failure because the fees charged by officials for surveying, locating, and patenting land grants already amounted to a substantial price per acre.[24] The slow rate of colonization became a source of some concern for Governor James Craig, for during his administration there was a serious deterioration in relations between the English-speaking official party and the French-speaking Assembly.

The auction system was quickly dropped, but two major obstacles remained: the hopelessly inaccurate surveys rendered land claims uncertain[25], while crown and clergy reserves closed every third or fourth lot to settlement. This made construction of roads very difficult because the reserves were exempt from statute labour and taxation.[26] In addition, bitter controversy arose among the Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians as to who was to profit from the clergy reserves. Actually, these were so carelessly managed that they benefitted

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[24]Riddell, p.391; Macdonald, pp.215-6.

[25]McGuigan, III, 145-8, 231.

[26]After 1821 the reserves were made in compact blocks. See Joseph Bouchette, The British Dominions in North America; or A Topographical and Statistical Description of the Provinces, Lower and Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia .... (London, 1832), II, 204.

no one. Finally, the revenue forthcoming from the crown reserves proved to be so meagre that after 1832 any land which would normally have become a crown reserve was automatically disposed of by auction.[27] In 1833 the government sold all those crown reserves which still existed in the Eastern Townships to the British American Land Company.

The net consequence of the whole land disposal fiasco was that settlement of the Eastern Townships was seriously retarded. Countless potential American settlers were diverted westward prior to 1800, when the titles finally began to be issued. By 1809 speculators who ignored settlement conditions owned most of the land. For the few who had good intentions, inaccurate surveys and official reserves acted as stumbling blocks. By 1805, there were only about 5000 inhabitants in the region[28], and by 1822 even those townships which had been granted over thirteen years earlier still had small populations.[29]

Not only was the Eastern Townships largely bypassed by American immigrants, for the War of 1812-14 marked the end of

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[27]Riddell, 395-6; Bouchette, II, 204; Macdonald, pp.268-9.

[28]Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1967 (Toronto, 1968), I, 117.

[29]See Appendix B.

the large-scale influx from South of the border[30], but the region was also destined to be ignored by most of the new wave of English-speaking immigration, that from Great Britain herself. With the termination of the long struggle against Napoleon there developed a European economic recession so severe that Britain began to look upon her colonies as safety valves for her surplus population. Ships sent to collect British troops carried Scottish and Irish families to North America where hundred acre grants, as well as food and implements for a year, were given free of charge.[31] As a result, thousands of immigrants began to arrive in Quebec City after 1815. However, the Eastern Townships saw very few of these, for most went to Upper Canada or to the United States, while others vegetated in the city, often depending upon handouts for survival.[32] Joseph Bouchette, the Assistant

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[30]Some Americans moved to British North America after the war, but with the building of the Erie Canal in 1825 migrants were diverted to their own mid-West.

[31]Ivanhoë Caron, "Colonization of Canada under the British Domination (from 1815 to 1822)," in Province of Quebec, Statistical Year Book (1921), p.514.

[32]See Macdonald, pp.27-31. Until 1825 Lower Canada managed to share the Quebec City immigrants equally with Upper Canada and the United States. Some settled in the seigneuries or further North on the fringes of the Shield. It was only after the Irish immigration exploded in the thirties that most went to New York. Fernand Ouellet, "Le Bas Canada. Une Histoire Sociale et Politique" (unpublished manuscript), pp.223-4; R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation. A Study in Historical Geography (Toronto, 1974), pp.69, 88.

Surveyor General for the province, claimed that of the 39,163 English immigrants who had landed at Quebec between 1817 and 1820, no more than one hundred families settled on crown lands anywhere in the province.[33]

The government did make an attempt to introduce some European settlers to the Townships by selecting the site of Drummondville on the St. Francis River as part of a chain of military settlements throughout Upper and Lower Canada. Unfortunately the settlers chosen, prisoners from the defeated army of Napoleon, were ill-suited to the rigours of pioneer life. They soon fled to greener pastures, leaving the settlement to stagnate for several decades.[34] Several other blocks of Townships land were granted to militia veterans, but this simply provided another opportunity for speculators to tighten their grip upon the region.

The situation in both Upper and Lower Canada became so discouraging that in 1819 the British government doubled the already onerous fees payable to land officials and attempted

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[33]Caron, p.520.

[34]Ivanhoë Caron, "La Colonisation dans la Province de Quebec: 1821," in Annuaire Statistique du Québec (1922), p.368; N. Macdonald, Canada, 1763-1841, p.240.

to direct emigrants to South Africa.[35] By this time French Canadians themselves were having difficulty in finding land, so in 1820 the Assembly appointed a select committee to look into the situation. The committee's first report concluded that the principal cause for the retarded settlement of Lower Canada's crown lands was the adoption of free and common socage tenure. It claimed that the seigneurial system was better-suited for introducing capital, the one essential element most new settlements lacked. The leader and associates system had been designed to fulfill the same function, but in its second report the committee simply dismissed it by relating the abuses it had led to. The committee members conveniently neglected to mention that government officials had never given the system a fair trial, yet their third report blamed all the abuses associated with seigneurial tenure upon the fact that regulations were not properly enforced. Subsequent reports criticized the crown and clergy reserves and the fees charged for land grants, but less emphasis was placed upon the inherent weaknesses of free and common tenure and more upon the guilt of local officials who had disobeyed "his Majesty's instructions."[36]

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[35] Ibid., pp.521, 530. The fees averaged over £12 for a 100 acre lot. During the nineteenth century £1 was approximately the equivalent of $5.

[36] Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, XXX (1820-1), appendix U; XXXII (1823), appendix T. The increase of fees at the turn of the century meant that settlers were in effect paying for their land. Macdonald, Canada, 1763-1841, p.216.

No mention was made of the Assembly's own culpability with regard to the development of the Townships. Not only had it turned a deaf ear to the settlers' demands for road grants, but it had resisted efforts to give the region its own elected representatives, and had refused to set up a district court which would have saved the population the difficult journey to Montreal or Trois-Rivières. Finally it continued to oppose the opening of registry offices, essential to colonization of free and common socage territory, on the grounds that these institutions were alien to French civil law, and would enable English-speaking capitalists to cheat French Canadians out of their land.[37] Nevertheless the Assembly was not entirely insensitive to the Townships' grievances, for in 1823 the judicial district of St. Francis was created with its seat at Sherbrooke, and four M.L.A.'s were offered to the region.[38] Within a few years, as we shall see, the

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[37]Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850 (Ottawa, 1966), p.287; Ouellet, "Le Bas Canada," pp.250-1.

[38]Helen Taft Manning, The Revolt of French Canada 1800-1835 (Toronto, 1962), pp.193-4. The question of representation for the Townships was finally settled in 1829.

Assembly also began to spend considerable sums of money to improve the road network into the Townships.

In the meantime the 1821 report's condemnation of the land granting system had little effect upon the English officials. Admittedly, the government had already made some concession towards reform in 1818 when it introduced the location ticket. This required certain settlement conditions to be fulfilled before letters patent would be granted, but it remained practically a dead letter until 1841.[39] Anyway, with most of the arable land already alienated, this was like shutting the barn door after the horse had fled. What was needed was an institution whose sole function was to confiscate property which was not being improved. Such a body finally came into being with the creation of the Court of Escheats in 1825. Given the power to cancel all land grants upon which settlement conditions had not been fulfilled, it had the potential to remove much of the Eastern Townships from the grip of speculators. Unfortunately the absentee proprietors were so influential that not one acre of land was ever seized by this court.[40]

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[39]Langelier, pp.111-12; Appendix no. 10, JLAC, XIII (1854-5); M. J. Bouffard, "Origine de la Propriété Privée," in Annuaire Statistique du Québec: 1915, p.264.

[40]Langelier, p.11.

Not only were old abuses tolerated, but new ones continued to be perpetrated. The worst offender was William Bowman Felton, a retired British naval officer who in 1822 was appointed to the Legislative Council and to the post of Crown Lands Agent for the judicial District of St. Francis. He had already been granted 4800 acres in the name of his brothers and brother-in-law in 1816, as well as 2800 acres in 1818, and 10,862 acres for his nine young children in 1820. Not satisfied with this, Felton subsequently used his position to accumulate thousands of additional acres in the Eastern Townships - 5200 in 1824, 3799 in 1830, and 5613 in 1831.[41] He even defrauded his own Anglican Church of money from the sale of clergy reserves.[42] Finally, in 1835, criticism from Surveyor General Joseph Bouchette forced the implementation of a government inquiry. It found that Felton was guilty of illegally collecting money from colonists who had purchased crown lands, and of using his position as Crown Lands Agent and Legislative Councillor to influence exorbitant grants (a total of 26,675 acres) to himself.[43]

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[41] O'Bready, pp.61, 63, 64; Montreal Gazette, 23 Jan. 1836. Quoted in Innis and Lower, pp.81-84.

[42] Monica G. Marston, "George Jehoshaphat Mountain-Aspects of his Life and Work" (MA thesis, Bishop's University, 1972), p.142; Macdonald, p.515.

[43] O'Bready, p.64.

In spite of all the deterrents, some of the massive inflow of immigrants to British North America did find its way into the Eastern Townships. In 1819 an unofficial census estimated that 26,916 people inhabited the region.[44] This represented a considerable jump from the 5000 of 1805. Even more encouraging was a census taken in 1831, which placed the population at the 42,206 mark.[45] Expansion was slower during the thirties and early forties; in 1844 there were 63,016 people, an increase of only thirty-three percent in thirteen years.[46]

Part of the reason was that the British influx into the North American colonies began to decline after the mid-thirties.[47] Another contributing factor was the decision to use the crown lands as a source of revenue.[48] Friction be-

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[44]Caron, "Colonization of Canada," p.537.

[45]According to a census taken in 1827 by Surveyor-General Joseph Bouchette, the population of the Eastern Townships was 28,509. However this is probably an underestimate. See Bouchette, I, 350-3. The rapid growth of population in the early thirties was partially due to a special project to settle Leeds, Inverness and adjoining townships with poor immigrants. Over 1500 arrived between June 1829 and August 1830. Macdonald, pp.327-8.

[46]Canada, Census Reports, 1870-1, IV.

[47]Frances Morehouse, "Canadian migration in the forties," CHR, IX (1928), 324.

[48]A third factor affecting the Townships was the agricultural crisis in the region. See Ouellet, Histoire Sociale, pp.359-68. Of 28,000 immigrants who landed at Quebec in 1841, only 400 were diverted to the Eastern Townships. Oscar

tween the Assembly on one hand, and the Governor and his Councillors on the other, forced the latter to seek sources of revenue outside the Assembly's jurisdiction. The casual and territorial revenues, which included money from the sale of crown lands, fell into this category. As a result, in 1828 the Colonial Office appointed a commissioner of crown lands and established the auction system. Anyone who could not afford to pay cash for land could have two hundred acres at an annual rent of five percent of its value.[49]

During the thirties the trend toward higher prices was reinforced due to the influence of Edward Gibbon Wakefield upon the Colonial Office. According to his theory, most of the difficulties faced by new colonies were caused by a shortage of labour. An ample supply could be ensured by demanding a high price for crown lands, thus forcing men to earn money as labourers before they became colonists. This theory certainly did not apply to Lower Canada which was filled with unemployed who could not afford to buy land.[50] But, in 1830 the government used it to justify a uniform upset price of five shillings per acre before auction of any crown acreage.

Douglas Skelton, Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt (Toronto, 1966), p.7.

[49]Langelier, p.12; Macdonald, pp.319-20.

[50]Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec 1851-1896 (Montréal, 1971), p.173.

The following year the system of small annual rents was abolished, payments were made semi-annual rather than annual, and interest was charged for the first time. Finally in 1837 the government decreed that cash had to be paid for all crown land grants.[51]

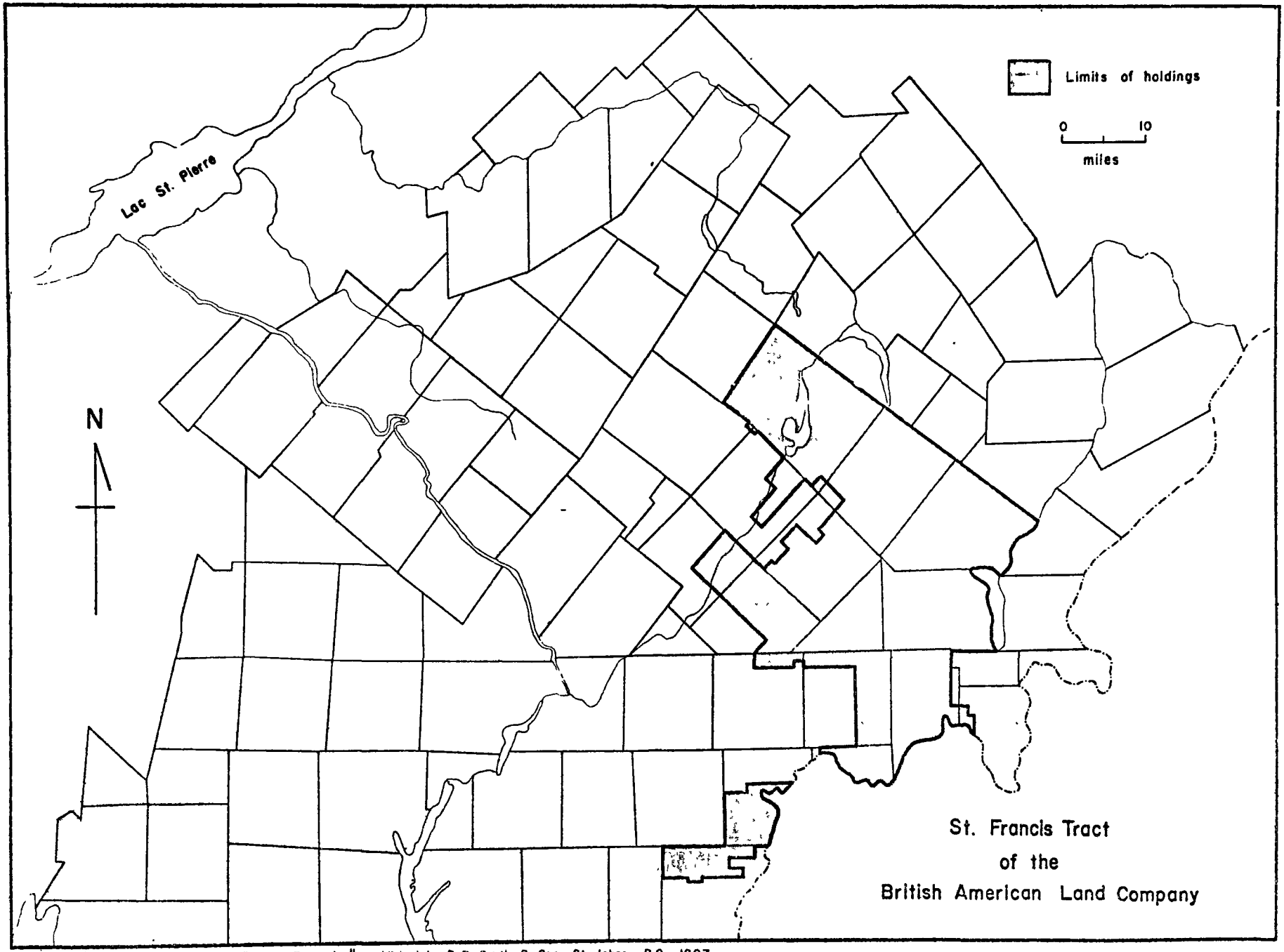
This final burden had little effect upon the Eastern Townships because four years earlier nearly all of its public land (some 850,000 acres) had been sold to a group of London capitalists who became known as the British American Land Company.[52] Included were 596,000 acres of unsurveyed territory between Lake Megantic and the St. Francis River (the St. Francis Tract), as well as all the unsettled crown and clergy reserves in the Townships.[53] The colonial authorities hoped that in addition to bolstering the coffers of the Lower Canadian executive, this sale would stimulate colonization of the Eastern Townships by British immigrants, thereby offsetting the local Yankee influence as well as challenging the French Cana-

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[51]Riddell, p.397; Macdonald, pp.335, 339; Maurice Séguin, La Nation "Canadienne" et l'agriculture (1760-1850). Essai d'histoire économique (Trois-Rivières, 1970), p.193.

[52]For a history of the formation of the B.A.L. Company, see BALC Report of the Provisional Committee (London, 1832); Information Respecting the Eastern Township of Lower Canada... (London, 1833); Skelton; Macdonald, pp.286-99; Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America - The First Hundred Years (Toronto, 1961), pp.137-143.

[53]See Appendix C for the list of B.A.L. Company holdings in the Eastern Townships.



Source "Map of Montreal and the Eastern Townships", published by E.R. Smith & Son, St. Johns, P.Q., 1897.

dian monopoly in the elected Assembly. Ironically, while the company failed to attract a significant number of British colonists, its supervisor, Alexander T. Galt, did support annexation in 1849[54], and he did play a deliberate role in the introduction of French Canadians into the Eastern Townships.

Financial problems forced the company to relinquish 511,237 acres of the St. Francis tract to the government in 1841, the year after the Union Act transferred the territorial

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[54]Elgin to Grey, 11 March 1850, in Sir Arthur G. Doughty (ed.), The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852 (Ottawa, 1937), p.604; Cephas D. Allin and George M. Jones, Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity; an Outline of the Canadian Annexation Movement of 1849-50 (Toronto, 1912), p.194. Born in England in 1817, the son of John Galt of the Canada Company, Alexander was a twenty-three year old clerk in the Sherbrooke office of the B.A.L. Company when he presented a report which helped to save his employers from bankruptcy. He suggested attracting the more experienced Canadian and American settlers, extending credit over a longer period of time, and developing Sherbrooke's water power potential. Galt was appointed Canatian Commissioner for the company in 1844, and was primarily responsible for the construction of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad through the Townships in 1852. In 1855 he resigned from the company to concentrate his energy upon railroads and politics. He was President of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic from 1852 to 1853, and government director of its successor, the Grand Trunk, from 1857 to 1858. M.L.A. for Sherbrooke from 1839 to 1850, and 1853 to 1867, Galt was also Minister of Finance from 1858 to 1862 and 1864 to 1866. He was the first to fill this Cabinet post after Confederation, but he resigned in 1868 due to a disagreement with Macdonald. Galt tended to be somewhat of a maverick in politics, starting his career as a Rouge, then supporting Macdonald until 1868 when he became an independent. He withdrew from political life in 1872, filled several important diplomatic posts between 1875 and 1883, and finally devoted his last ten years to developing various enterprises in the Canadian North West. See Skelton.

revenues to the Legislative Assembly of the new united province of Canada. When it gained complete jurisdiction over the administration and alienation of the crown lands soon afterward[55], the Assembly wasted little time before trying to reform the land granting system. In 1841 it passed an act declaring that crown lands would be granted only as private property to individuals. In addition the system of issuing occupation licenses or "location tickets" was reintroduced. It required that settlement conditions be fulfilled before grantees could receive their letters patent.[56] In 1847 the government reduced the price of crown lands in the Townships from $1.25 to $0.80 per acre[57], and in 1848 it reintroduced the system of limited free grants along colonization roads.[58] Finally, responsible government was followed in the fifties by the first serious attempts to free the huge tracts of virgin land from the hands of absentee landowners.

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[55]Bouffard, p.264; Gates, p.256.

[56]Bouffard, p.264; Appendix no. 10, JLAC, XIII (1854-5). Location tickets issued after 1852 could be mortgaged. Jean Bouffard, Traité du domaine (Québec, 1921), p.25.

[57]Séguin, p.195. Lower Canada's crown lands were less expensive than those of Upper Canada after 1841. Gates, p.267.

[58]This system had also been attempted in 1841. Hugh Mackenzie Morrison, "The Principle of Free Grants in the Land Act of 1841," CHR, XIV, (1933), 392-3; Gates, p.257.

But these post-1840 reforms came too late to attract many English-speaking settlers to the Eastern Townships. The Americans had long since turned to their own mid-West, and the peak of British immigration had passed by.[59] The only group which would benefit much from the newly-available wild land was the French Canadians who had already begun to move into the region in large numbers during the forties.

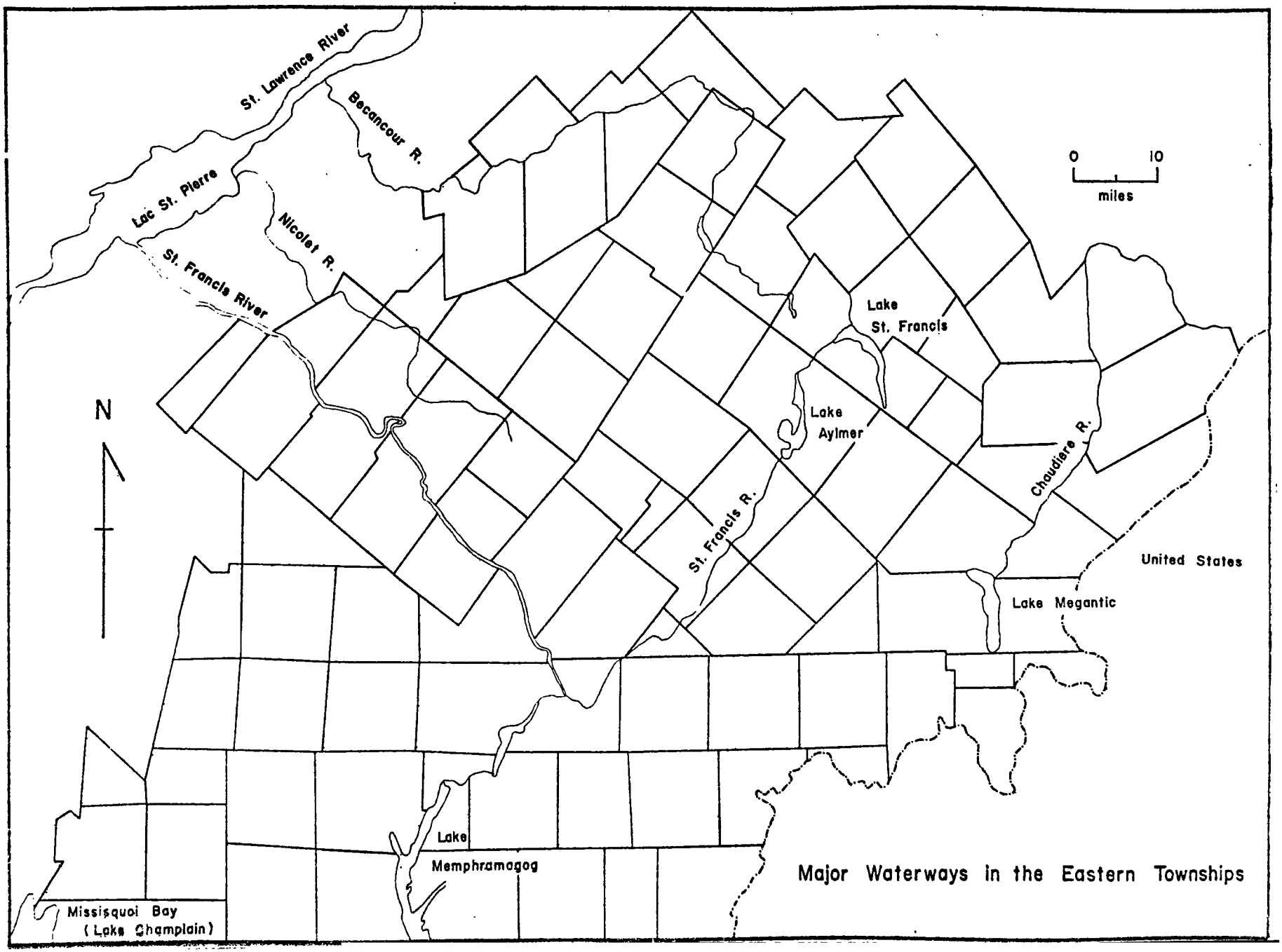
Early Transportation Routes

Harmful as the grasp of speculators was to the development of the Eastern Townships, the lack of a good transportation route was still more critical. After all, it was in the interest even of speculators to sell their holdings to settlers once they could make a profit. An equally reckless distribution system was practiced in Upper Canada, yet most of its arable land had been settled by mid-century[60], while land

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[59]The population of British origin in 1851 was 13,339 in number, over half of whom were Irish. At the same time there were 8,457 American-born and 36,408 Canadian-born anglophones. Ten years later, the number of British and American-born was little changed (12,496 and 8,859 respectively), while the English-speaking natives increased to 52,994. See Appendix D.

[60]Macdonald, pp.510-27; Gates, pp.304-5; Harris and Warkentin, p.114.


St. Lawrence River
Becancour R.
Lac St. Pierre
Nicolet R.
St. Francis River
0
10
miles
N
Lake
St. Francis
Lake
Aylmer
Chaudiere R.
St. Francis R.
United States
Lake Megantic
Lake
Memphramagog
Missisquoi Bay
(Lake Champlain)
Major Waterways in the Eastern Townships

under cultivation in the Eastern Townships doubled between 1851 and 1870, and almost doubled again twenty years later.[61] Upper Canada's real advantage lay in its accessibility to the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence waterway, for its settlers were able to export wheat to Great Britain via Montreal as early as 1794[62], while those in the Townships remained economically isolated for another half century.

During the early nineteenth century, water was the crucial means of communication throughout most of North America. The first settlers came to the Eastern Townships from the United States via Lakes Champlain and Memphramagog, but these did not prove to be very satisfactory trade routes for the region. Lake Champlain lies on the western periphery of the Townships, and the relatively small Lake Memphramagog does not provide a link with any important American city. The natural outlet of the Townships lay to the North, on the St. Lawrence, but this great waterway was accessible only by the obstruction-plagued rivers which drained the region.

The most important of these, the St. Francis, has its source in the Townships' northeastern corner, and passes through Wolfe, Compton, Sherbrooke, Richmond and Drummond

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[61] See Appendix G.

[62] Robert Leslie Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario 1613-1880 (Toronto, 1946), pp.25, 27-28.

counties before emptying into Lake St. Pierre on the St. Lawrence. It is joined at the present site of Sherbrooke by the Magog River, outlet for Lake Memphramagog to the South. But in spite of its extensive watershed, this river system was cursed with many unnavigable rapids. Barges or scows were used on the St. Francis, below Sherbrooke, but freight had to be unloaded and reloaded at both Great and Little Brompton Falls, which were only seven miles apart. Further along the river, rapids and narrows made passage hazardous in five or more additional places.[63] In 1820 it required twenty days for five men (at/cost of $60) to transport three tons of produce from Richmond to the mouth of the St. Francis.[64] On more than one occasion it was suggested that a communications route could be opened along the St. Francis River from Sherbrooke to Lake St. Francis, and thus to Inverness Township and the Bécancour River which empties into the St. Lawrence River near Trois-Rivières.[65] But because this project would

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[63]Joseph Bouchette, A topographical dictionary of the province of Lower Canada (London, 1832).

[64]JLA Lower Canada (1820-1), Appendix P, Quoted in Jean Hamelin and Fernand Ouellet, "Les rendements agricoles dans les seigneuries et les cantons du Québec: 1700-1850," in Claude Galarneau and Elzéar Lavoie, ed., France et Canada Français du XVIe au XXe Siècle (Quebec, 1966), p.116.

[65]Le Canadien émigrant, ou pourquoi le Canadien-Français quitte-t-il le Bas-Canada?, in Appendix no. 5, JLAC, X (1851); Jules Martel, Histoire du système routier des Cantons de l'Est avant 1855 (Victoriaville, 1960), p.67.

have involved extensive canal construction, it does not seem to have been seriously considered. Nor was the more practical scheme of making the St. Francis navigable between Sherbrooke and Lake St. Pierre ever attempted.[66]

Barges also plied the Nicolet and Bécancour Rivers, to the East of the St. Francis, but they could not go far from the St. Lawrence. The extreme turbulence of the only other major river to drain the Townships, the Chaudière, made it virtually unnavigable.

With such a poor water transportation system, roads were of paramount importance to the region. Unfortunately these had to cross miles of uninhabited and rugged terrain before reaching the first populated centres near the American border. By granting money for the construction of roads to the settled areas, the Assembly members would be aiding the speculators who owned most of the land between the seigneuries and the southernmost townships. Furthermore, during the earlier years they were hostile towards the American settlers as well. In 1818 one French Canadian spokesman wrote:

> Is it possible that the assembly will not see the absurdity and cowardice of using the funds of the province in having roads made for these Yankees and afterwards in having roads kept in

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[66] BALC, Information respecting the Eastern Townships ...(Quebec, 1842), p.1.

> repair for large sums of money? These people go and buy land at about thirty leagues from the settled districts where prices are low and then the Province must use its funds to give value to these lands ... and perhaps increase it ten-fold.[67]

The Assembly became more friendly towards the Townships settlers during the late twenties and early thirties when the nationalists began looking for support against the official party. As a result, considerable sums of money were spent on roads and bridges after 1829.[68]

Unfortunately, the primitive construction methods of that era[69], as well as the inadequate road maintenance laws, resulted in a rapid deterioration of the facilities once they were built. After 1796, inhabitants were legally obliged to maintain all roads in their area, but many colonists were too poor and too isolated to do so.[70] Not only was the govern-

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[67]Pierre Bédard to John Neilson. Quoted in Manning, pp.192-3.

[68]Manning, p.307; Ouellet, Histoire Sociale, p.358.

[69]G. P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada (Toronto, 1964), I, 113-4; Thomas F. McIlwraith, "Transportation in the Landscape of Early Upper Canada," in J. David Wood, ed. Perspectives on Landscape and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto, 1975), p.58.

[70]It was claimed that the 1796 law applied only in the seigneuries. Successive attempts to pass a bill which would remove all doubts on the matter failed until 1823. Caron, "Colonization of Canada," pp.538, 541.

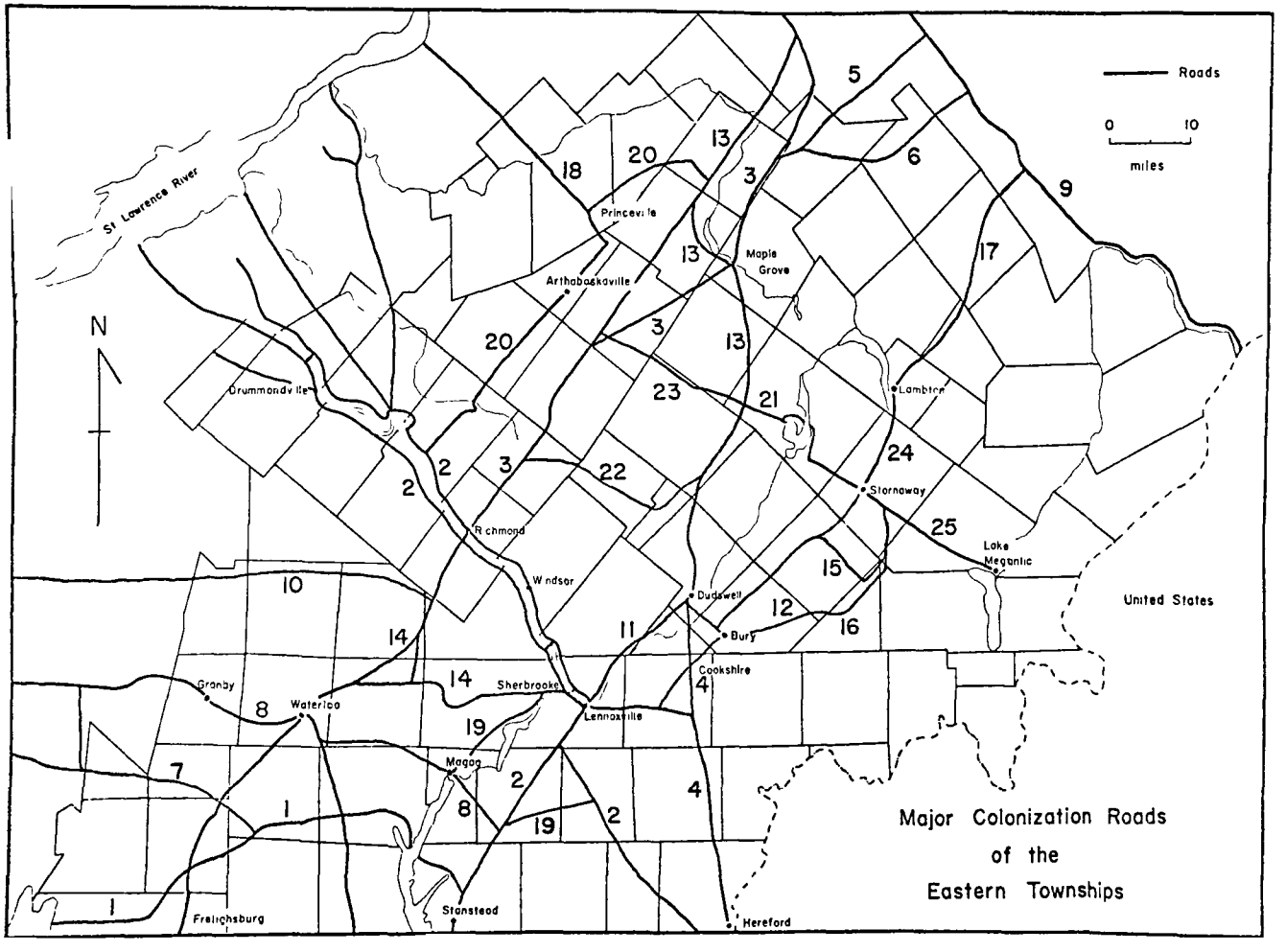
ment still less successful in pursuing the absentee proprietors, but it actually aggravated the problem by creating crown and clergy reserves which were exempt from road duties. There was little improvement even after the 1840 Municipal Law gave local elected councils the power to levy road taxes, because many areas were opposed to taxation of any sort. When a council did attempt to repair a road, absentee landowners usually exerted enough pressure to avoid burdensome levies. The British American Land Company, for example, was able to escape municipal taxation during the forties.[71] No relief would come for road development in the Eastern Townships until the Municipalities Act of 1854 made local communities legally responsible for the upkeep of their own roads.

The earliest trunk road in the Eastern Townships was little more than a footpath. It was built by American settlers in 1791 to connect Lake Memphramagog with Lake Champlain (Missisquoi Bay) via Brome, Dunham and St. Armand townships. It was still impassable for carriages in 1820, and continued to be ignored by the government throughout the first half of the century.[72] By 1808 the Missisquoi colonists had

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[71]Skelton, pp.8, 9, 13, 15.

[72]Martel, pp.172-6. Martel's map (p.39) indicates that the earliest route between Missisquoi Bay and Sherbrooke was more circuitous than that suggested by later maps. Most of the earliest roadways were probably abandoned when road-building began in earnest.



1 1791
2 1802-22
3 Craig Road - 1811
4 1815
5 1817
6 1817
7 1804
8 Outlet Road - 1819
9 Kennebec Road - 1830
10 1831
11 Dudswell Road - 1831
12 1836
13 Gosford Road - 1838
14 1835
15 St. Francis Road - 1850
16 Otter Brook (Victoria) Road - 1850
17 Lambton Road - 1845
18 Gentilly Road - 1846
19 1846
20 Arthabaska Road - 1848
21 1848
22 Wotton Road - 1850
23 St. Philippe Road - 1850
24 St. Francis Road - 1850
25 Megantic Road - 1857

Sources: J. Martel, Histoire du système routier des Cantons de l'Est avant 1855 (Victoriaville, 1960); Map of Part of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada Exhibiting Colonization Roads (Department of Crown Lands, 1861).

built a road to Saint-Jean on the Richelieu, and seven years later they were able to reach Saint-Hyacinthe on the Yamaska River. In 1802 colonists to the East began to construct a road running from Stanstead to the village of Ascot (the future Sherbrooke), and a make-shift route from here, along both sides of the St. Francis River, to Richmond.[73] In 1815 £1500 of the province's first government road subsidy was spent to connect Drummondville with the St. Lawrence.[74] More money was granted in 1817, but the route was barely completed in 1822. It remained in poor condition in spite of additional subsidies in 1829, 1830, and 1831.[75] In 1832, W. B. Felton, government land agent and Legislative Councillor, wrote a report condemning the condition of the St. Francis Route as a major obstacle to the immigration of French

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[73]Blanchard, p.331; Martel, pp.40, 52. The East bank road was used primarily in summer, and the West in winter. Bouchette, British Dominions, I, 308.

[74]Martel, pp.75-78. Of the £55,000 voted for Lower Canadian roads in 1817, £8500 went to the Eastern Townships, but apparently to little effect, for one inhabitant complained that all but £500 "has been exhausted upon minor objects, more of a private than of a public nature, upon speculative and useless roads through the wilderness." Quoted in Caron, "Colonization of Canada"..., p.536.

[75]Martel, pp.84, 87, 90; Bouchette, British Dominions, I, 308.

Canadians from the seigneuries.[76] As a result, the road received still more government support in 1832 and 1833. After this it gained some attention from the British American Land Company which was developing Port St. Francis at the mouth of the river. However the port was soon abandoned, and the company's road work with it. In 1846 a bridge was finally built at Richmond to connect the two sections of the route[77], but more direct arteries to Montreal and Quebec had long since overshadowed the St. Francis Route.

After 1819 the most important road to connect the Townships to Montreal was the Outlet Road ("le grand chemin des Cantons de l'Est").[78] From Chambly county, East of Montreal, it ran through Granby and Waterloo in Shefford county to Magog (the Outlet) at the head of Lake Memphramagog, and thus to the village of Stanstead on the Vermont border. Several branches went southward from Brome and Missisquoi counties, giving that area a better exit than the old road from Lake Memphramagog to Lake Champlain and Saint-Hyacinthe. Important as the Outlet Road was, like the St. Francis Route it

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[76]Ivanhoë Caron, "Historique de la voirie dans la province de Québec," BRH, XXXIX (1933), 441. Felton began his complaints as early as 1817. Martel, p.79.

[77]Martel, pp.198-200, 232.

[78]Caron, "Voirie," p.467.

remained in such deplorable condition that in 1831 and 1832 colonists sent protest petitions to the government. Their efforts were in vain for 1836 found the inhabitants of thirteen townships still petitioning. By this time, the Outlet Road was in danger of being lost completely. Finally in 1846, £24,889 was loaned by the government to local municipal councils so that Sherbrooke could be connected to the road at Magog[79], and repairs could be made on its Magog-Waterloo section. Not only was the Granby-Chambly section in good repair by 1849 (it had been macadamized), but in 1851 it was ceded to a private toll company, thereby ensuring that it would become the best section of road in the province.[80]

The government had neglected the Magog-Waterloo section of the Outlet Road for a long period of time because an alternate branch had been built from Sherbrooke to Waterloo in 1835. A connection also existed through Richmond with Que-

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[79]Sherbrooke had been linked to Magog at least as early as 1836 but the road remained in poor condition. BALC, Statement Made to a Special Court of the Directors of the British American Land Company, held on the 3rd of February, 1836 by Mr. Frederick Templeton, who passed the previous Summer in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, p.7.

[80]Martel, pp.171-2, 177, 179, 182-3, 186-8; Caron, Voirie, p.467.

bec, via the Craig Road which had been built by the military in 1811. To shorten the route between Sherbrooke and Quebec, a branch of the Craig Road known as the Dudswell Road was started in 1819, from Maple Grove in Ireland Township to Sherbrooke. However a break remained in Weedon township for many years.[81] In fact, because Governor Craig had designed his road as a link with Boston, it was deliberately neglected after the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and the United States in 1812. In 1815 the surveyor, Joseph Bouchette, described it as being "as impracticable as if it still remained a wilderness."[82] Little was done until 1830 when the government decided that rather than attempt to repair the Craig Road, it would build a route (known as the Gosford Road after 1838) parallel to it, from St. Gilles near Quebec to Maple Grove. Soon afterward the Dudswell branch was finally completed, to become part of the Gosford Road. It had been improved to the status of a true royal road by 1843, but as early as mid-century it was generally impassable.[83]

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[81]H. Gordon Meyer, "The Development of the Site of Sherbrooke from Its Beginning to 1900" (BA thesis, Bishop's University, 1971), p.12; Caron, "Colonization of Canada," p.539.

[82]Joseph Bouchette, A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada (London, 1815), p.573.

[83]Martel, p.160. In 1848 a local colonization agent wrote to the governor, Lord Elgin, asking that the Gosford

In 1850, therefore, the only Eastern Townships trunk road which settlers found to be in reasonable condition was the Outlet Road from Sherbrooke to Montreal.[84] As we have seen, road-building and maintenance suffered greatly from governmental ineptitude and hostility, as well as public apathy. However, given the most enlightened construction programme possible at the time, the available technical know-how and public resources could hardly have met the challenge effectively. Because of the Townships' intractable rivers and back-breaking roads, its settlers were doomed to economic isolation until the second half of the century brought a revolutionary new transportation system, the railroad.

The Early Economy of the Eastern Townships

Prior to the advent of the railway age, the inhabitants of the Eastern Townships had to remain much more self-sufficient than those of Upper Canada.[85] Shipping costs made the exporting of bulky produce unprofitable, so that the first trade commodities were potato whiskey and pot-

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Road be repaired between St. Gilles and Dudswell because its extremely rough condition forced carters to charge exorbitant prices. Appendix no. 2, JLAC, VIII (1849). See also Le Canadien Emigrant; Caron, "Voirie," p.466; and Martel, pp.162-3.

[84]For a description of some of the mid-century Townships roads, especially in the Arthabaska area, see Le Canadien Emigrant.

[85]Montreal Gazette, 19 March 1833, in Innis and Lower, pp.32-3; Jones, pp.18-32.

ash. Potash or "black salts" was obtained by burning trees, preferably hardwood, and bleaching the ashes. It resulted in a terrible waste of good timber, but the practice supported the early pioneer during his first years on the land when he had no way of marketing his logs. The potash was traded for necessities to the local merchant who often purified it further before shipping it to Montreal or Trois-Rivières.[86] From here it went to Britain where it was used as an alkali in the textile, soap and glass industries. The export of potash was declining by 1825 because the Eastern Townships was sufficiently developed for local demand to support an ever-increasing number of small sawmills.[87] The exporting of whiskey also seems to have declined rather rapidly, no doubt because potatoes could be used more profitably to feed livestock. Maple sugar was a third commodity produced by the early colonists, but prior to the 1840's it was destined primarily for local consumption.[88]

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[86]Pearlash could be produced by further distilling the potash.

[87]Booth, pp.58-63, 71, 94, 102-3; Ralph Dominic Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: a Geographical Analysis" (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968), pp.70-71.

[88]Robert Andrew Hill, "The English-speaking minority of Lower Canada, the press and Federal Union 1856-1860" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1966), p.12.

Agriculture became the main-stay of the Eastern Townships' economy once the initial land-clearing stage had ended.[89] Unlike the farmers of the St. Lawrence Valley, those in the Townships concentrated on raising livestock, for even at mid-century transportation costs took fifty percent of any grain shipped from Stanstead to Montreal.[90] Cattle, on the other hand, could simply be walked to the St. Lawrence Valley or to New England. Furthermore, the meadowland and numerous hillside slopes were better suited for hay than for other crops, and the frequently sandy or stony soil was well adapted for pasturage.[91] In addition to cattle, a large number of sheep were kept for their wool[92] during the first half of the century, when ready-made yarn goods were still not widely available.

With the 1830's, Eastern Townships agriculture went

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[89]BALC, Information Respecting the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada (Montreal, 1835), p.5.

[90]Hamelin and Roby, pp.7, 13.

[91]Harold Finestone, "Trends in the Population Structure of the Sherbrooke Sub-region" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1943), p.106; Theo L. Hills, "The St. Francis to the Chaudière - 1830: A Study in the Historical Geography of Southeastern Quebec," Canadian Geographer, VI (1955), 33-34.

[92]Booth, p.49.

through a difficult transition period because competition from the United States and Upper Canada seriously damaged the meat market. In 1831, thirty-six percent of the Quebec farmers outside the seigneuries had ten cattle or more, but by 1844 this percentage had declined to twenty-seven. During the same period, the ratio of farmers having six or more pigs dropped drastically from forty-three to eight percent. Fortunately, the market created by the growing woollen industry tended to offset the declining demand for homespun articles, so that the ratio of farmers who raised six sheep or more remained at about twenty-two percent.[93]

Some relief for the Townships farmers came after 1843 with the levying of duties on American agricultural goods, but only after 1848 did the market cease to be glutted with mid western produce. Expansion in the western states, and the construction of railroads to American cities, created a sudden boom in the market South of the border. Cattle, horses, sheep, meat, coarse grain, butter and wool all commanded high prices, inaugurating a period of unprecedented prosperity throughout both the Canadas.[94]

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[93]Ouellet, Histoire Economique, pp.359-68; Ouellet and Hamelin, pp.119-120.

[94]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.133, 179-84, 190; "French-Canadian Agriculture in the St. Lawrence Valley, 1815-1850," in W. T. Easterbrook and M. H. Watkins, ed., Approaches to Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1967),

The Townships still faced the problem of the potato blight and the wheat midge, and 1849 was a particularly bad year[95], but between 1844[96] and 1851 the number of cattle in the region increased from 63,657 to 95,928, and horses from 12,102 to 18,709. Sheep failed to keep pace with this expansion (82,652 to 92,844) because there were still no railroads to carry them or their wool, and they could not be walked very far to market. However there was a remarkable resurgence in the number of pigs raised (16,134 to 63,814). Most of the pork must have been destined for internal consumption because the American demands were satisfied by their own mid-western corn fed swine.[97] Dairy products were low enough in bulk and high enough in value to allow much of the two million pounds of butter and half a million pounds of cheese manufactured in 1851 to be absorbed by the American market. But the counties in the South-West which had better access to that market -

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pp.121-3, 126; "The Agricultural History of Lower Canada, 1850-1867," Agricultural History, XIX (1945), pp.214-15; Hamelin and Roby, p.193.

[95]Between 1844 and 1851 the potato harvest was reduced to a third by the blight, which reached epidemic proportions in Quebec after 1844. However, wheat production increased by over a half in spite of the depredations of the midge and rust. See Appendix G.

[96]The 1844 Census of Lower Canada is to be found in Appendix no. 1, JLAC, V (1846), D.

[97]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.195-209.

Brome, Missisquoi, Shefford, and Stanstead - would long dominate the dairy industry. Maple sugar manufacturers also benefitted from American demand, for production tripled between 1844 and 1851. However the Townships was obviously in no position to ship grain anywhere, which explains why barley and rye, in demand by American brewers and distillers[98], increased by only 5,320 and 37,845 bushels, respectively, while the fodder crops - oats, buckwheat, and corn - increased by 307,184; 149,978; and 67,176 bushels, respectively. The coming of the railroads in the 1850's would encourage the transition to dairy and livestock because they would carry cheap western grain to the local market just when it was beginning to grow.

Prior to the railroad era, there were no large-scale industrial centres in the Eastern Townships region, and the small villages which dotted the countryside depended upon the farmers as a market, more than vice-versa. Although the local industries did process agricultural products (a typical village had a saw and grist mill, foundry, tannery, potash works, and a whiskey distillery), these industries employed few hands and were often closed for part of the year.[99] With the railroad

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[98]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, p.181.

[99]In 1827, of approximately 300 industries in the Eastern Townships, 102 were sawmills, 49 were gristmills, 41 were potasheries, and 37 were pearlasheries. By 1844 there were over 500 establishments, with 213 sawmills, 62 flour mills, 85 potasheries and pearlasheries, 28 woollen mills, and 27

came outside competition and internal specialization, resulting in a radical transformation of those villages touched by rails.[100] The variety of workshops in these villages declined, as certain industries expanded and others disappeared. The overall effect of the railroad age would be to increase significantly the size of the industrial population in the Eastern Townships. Nevertheless, the region would remain overwhelmingly a producer of primary materials during the nineteenth century, so that it was as a means of sending those products to external markets that the railroads would perform their most valuable function.

Oddly enough, the modernization of the Townships' economy did little to strengthen the position of its native English-speaking inhabitants. During the latter half of the nineteenth century they did not expand beyond the southwestern area which they had colonized decades earlier. Nor did they

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foundries. The number of industries had increased to 600 by 1841, with 327 saw mills, 115 flour mills, 72 potasheries and pearlasheries, 25 woollen mills, 9 foundries, 35 tanneries, and 3 distilleries. L. Chevalier, "L'industrie manufacturière de l'Estrie" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1962), p.77.

[100]Road transportation was such that any centre further than five miles from a railroad tended to be isolated from these forces. William Gillies Ross, ed., A Century of Change in Selected Eastern Townships, villages: Barnston, Hatley, Huntingville, Massawippi (Lennoxville, 1967), p.9.

manage to maintain all of their natural population increase.[101] There were three main reasons for this. First of all, the increasing specialization in agriculture brought an amalgamation of farms into larger units in the well-established south-western area. Secondly, the English-speaking Townshippers were not willing to expand into the northeasterly area because much of the land there was of inferior quality. They reasoned that if they were going to have to endure the hardships of colonization, they might as well move to Upper Canada or the American mid-west where economic prospects were much more favourable, and where there would be no danger of being swamped by a French-speaking majority. Thirdly, they were not willing to join the industrial proletariat by taking jobs in the new factories of the neighbouring towns. To many French Canadians, on the other hand, there was one thing offered by the sparsely-settled Townships that neither Upper Canada or the United States could guarantee - their survival as a distinct people.

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[101] Between 1851 and 1900 the number of English Canadians in the Eastern Townships increased by only 8567 (from 60,510 to 69,077). A few native sons had begun to move westward as early as the 1830's. Montreal Gazette, 16 Oct. 1834. Quoted in Innis and Lower, p.35. See also "Report of the Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the Causes and Importance of the Emigration which takes place annually from Lower Canada to the United States ..." (Chauveau Report) in Appendix no. 2, JLAC, VII (1848); and "Second Report of the Special Committee appointed to enquire into the causes which prevent or retard the settlement of the Eastern Townships"... in Appendix no. 5, JLAC, X (1851).

CHAPTER TWO

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE FIRST FRENCH CANADIAN SETTLERS IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the French Canadian influx tended to follow a fixed pattern. Missionaries were sent to administer to Irish Catholics, thereby attracting francophones from their home parishes. In the younger settlements, the French Canadians cleared land for themselves, while in the older areas they usually worked as farm or day labourers. The migration, although encouraged to some extent by the Catholic Church, was for the most part spontaneous. There were no elaborate plans involved, and no financial aid was forthcoming, except for missionaries and chapel construction. Finally, in 1848, the Association des Townships was born in Montreal and Quebec City. It did not last long, but it stimulated the construction of colonization roads and obtained special terms for colonists in Shefford, Wolfe and northern Compton counties. Before turning to the association's brief and turbulent history, we shall examine the role played by the Church in the early days of French Canadian movement into the Townships.

It is not as difficult to understand why the first French Canadians entered the Eastern Townships as it is to explain why more did not do so sooner. Their economic posi-

tion in the St. Lawrence Valley began to deteriorate as early as 1800 (it became critical in the twenties) due to overcrowding, outdated farming techniques, and the ravages of the wheat fly. In addition, hordes of British immigrants landed at the port of Quebec to compete for jobs at a time when British markets were becoming more and more restricted, and excessive cheap imports were stimulating the habitants to acquire a taste for luxury items.[1] The reason generally put forward to explain the francophones' reluctance to move to the Townships is that they simply considered it alien territory. Its land tenure and laws were English;[2] its clergy reserves supported Protestant churches only; and not until 1830 could a Catholic congregation own property for purposes of religion or education.[3] The 1830

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[1]Ouellet, "Le Bas Canada," pp.181-93; Histoire Economique, p.474.

[2]Actually, prior to 1857 there was some confusion as to what civil law code applied to Quebec's townships. The Assembly was successful in preventing registry offices from being established, thereby necessitating the use of notaries as in the French system. Ouellet and Hamelin, p.115.

[3]10 and 11 Geo. IV, cap. 58. By allowing congregations which had not been recognized as official parishes to hold property in mortmain, this act benefitted the Catholics in the Eastern Townships because their church was not allowed to create new parishes without government approval (a restriction it refused to recognize) until 1839. S. Pagnuelo, Etudes Historiques et Légales sur la Liberté Religieuse en Canada (Montréal, 1872), pp.169-72, 329-30.

legislation relieved the bishop and local priest from responsibility for debts incurred in building Catholic churches and schools in the townships, but it did not encourage the colonists to assume these same burdens. Teeth were added to the legislation in 1839 when Governor Colborne's Special Council increased the amount of land which elected trustees could hold for each congregation, and gave them the power to levy taxes for construction and maintenance of churches, presbyteries, public halls, and cemeteries.[4] In addition, the State surrendered all its previous claims to consultation prior to the creation of new parishes (for religious purposes only).[5] The Church claimed that along with the power to erect canonical parishes, went the power to collect tithes.[6] The 1839 ordinance technically expired after failing to be ratified within two years, but this was overlooked by governing officials. It was finally confirmed by the Canadian Legislature in 1850.[7]

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[4] 2 Vict., cap. XXIX; Pagnuello, pp.176-8.

[5] Pagnuello, p.183.

[6] Skelton, pp.50-1. The Church's tithing powers were strengthened with the official extension of French civil law to the townships in 1857, but as late as the 1880's there was some question as to whether ecclesiastical dues of any kind could be levied in missions, or even in parishes which had not been civilly recognized. See ACAS, Archevêché de Québec, II-B-1 (1874-1947), Archbishop of Quebec to Mgr. Racine, 27 March 1884; Pagnuello, pp.357-61.

[7] 13 and 14 Vict., cap. XLIV; Robert Sellar, The Tragedy of Quebec: the Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers (Toronto, 1974), p.177.

One would expect the 1830's to have been a turning point in the Church's attitude towards the Eastern Township. The parish, which was an important social unit in French Canada[8], could act as a bulwark against the influence of the militant Protestants. Yet it would be a mistake to assume, as many historians have done[9], that these legal guarantees radically changed the Church's position concerning French Canadian colonization in the region. It is true that during the twenties parish priests expressed reluctance to sending their charges into what they regarded to be hostile territory[10], but the Bishop of Quebec was encouraging missionary activity in the Townships at the same time.[11] He undoubtedly realized that one of the surest

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[8]Harris and Warkentin, p.78. The rang was an even more basic social unit according to Normand Séguin, "Notre-Dame d'Hébertville, 1850-1900, Une Paroisse de Colonisation au XIXe Siècle" (PhD thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975), pp.197-9.

[9]Several English-speaking writers have actually claimed that the Catholic Church was the major obstruction to French Canadian migration into the Eastern Townships prior to 1849. See Anon., "Settlement of the Townships of Lower Canada," The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal, I (1824), p.26; Sellar, p.176; Mary Q. Innis, An Economic History of Canada (Toronto, 1935), p.138; Skelton, pp.50-51.

[10]Marie-Paule La Brêque, "Les Eglises dans les Cantons de l'Est (1800-1860)," SCHEC, Sessions d'Etude (1974), pp.87-8.

[11]Although there were no actual campaigns to stimulate migration to the Townships prior to 1848, the Church did do its best to provide the region with missionaries and funds for church buildings, etc. However there was a severe shortage of priests in Quebec. Where there had been one for every 350 Catholics in 1759, there was only one for every 1800 in 1830. Pierre Savard, "La vie du clergé québécois au XIXe siècle," RS, VIII (1967), 261.

methods for strengthening the Church's legal position outside the seigneuries would be to promote a French Canadian presence there.

All in all, the unfamiliar cultural environment in the Eastern Townships was probably not as significant a deterrent to French Canadian influx as was the absence of material attractions. Why colonize a region where much of the best land was already occupied, and the exorbitant prices and economic isolation would prevent many from even acquiring clear title to a backwoods lot? If cultural considerations had been paramount, it is doubtful that thousands would have been attracted to New England during the forties, in the face of warnings from their priests that they were endangering their very souls.[12]

The priests' attitude is understandable, for once the French Canadians moved to the United States they would be beyond the authority of Quebec's Church officials. The Eastern Townships, on the other hand, was simply assumed to be in the Quebec Diocese. Contamination from English-speaking Protestants in the region could be combatted by ordering the Catholics to avoid all unnecessary contact with them. This Mgr.

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[12]By 1850 there were approximately 20,000 French Canadians living in New England and 34,000 in the Eastern Townships. Vicero, p.152. Unless otherwise indicated, population figures are taken from Canada, Census Reports, 1851-90 or the 1844 census.

Plessis began to do as early as 1824 when he wrote to a Shipton Catholic:

> Sans doute, il serait plus agréable pour un missionaire d'assembler les fidèles dans des Chapelles que dans des maisons particulières, et quelque pauvres que soient les Catholiques de ces endroits, je désirerais qu'ils eussent des cimetières et des lieux d'assemblée différens et indépendens de ceux des Protestans. C'est un principe chez nous, qu'autant nous devons être unis à nos frères Protestans dans les choses civiles, autant devons nous en être séparés dans toutes les choses de religion.[13]

Thirteen years later, the principle remained exactly the same. Mgr. Signay warned the Sherbrooke missionary that the chapels built by the British American Land Company in Bury township "pour servir aux preachers de toutes les dénominations religieux [sic], n'étant guères propres aux culte catholique, abstenez-vous d'y exercer vos fonctions, et choisissez plutôt pour celà quelque maison particuliére."[14] Unsolicited Protestant aid for building Catholic churches could be accepted, but Catholics were repeatedly forbidden to ask outsiders for donations. The bishops feared that the Protestant contributors might in return ask for favours (such as helping to build Protestant chapels) which the Catholic Church

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[13]ACAQ, RL, XI, 437-8, Plessis to Stephen Burroughs, 5 Feb. 1824.

[14]ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 146, Signay to J. B. McMahon, 7 Oct. 1837.

felt duty-bound not to accord.[15]

One of the greatest problems of the early Catholic Church in the Eastern Townships was the usurpation of priestly authority by Protestant clergymen. With the exception of the Anglicans, Protestant pastors did not hesitate to perform wedding ceremonies for Catholics, in spite of the fact that the Catholic Church did not recognize such marriages as valid.[16] To combat this, Catholic missionaries were given the power to dispense with the publication of bans before weddings.[17] Where it was absolutely impossible for a priest to be present, a "squire" and two witnesses, rather than a Protestant minister, were to be employed.[18] To prevent Catholics from being buried in Protestant cemeteries, plots of ground were blessed where bodies could be deposited until the arrival of a priest.[19]

To the Catholic Church, separate schools were almost as

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[15]ACAQ, RL, XI, 438, Plessis to Stephen Burroughs, 5 Feb. 1824; XII, 105, Plessis to John Holmes, 12 Oct. 1824; XVIII, 181, Signay to J. B. McMahan, 27 Nov. 1837; 247, 17 March 1838. The Church of England followed the same principle when Protestant sects offered the use of their chapels. QDA, 6-14, Diocesan Papers of the Church Society, p.13. Letter addressed by the Lord Bishop to the Acting Secretary, 4 March 1861.

[16]ACAQ, RL, XI, 493, Plessis to John Holmes, 8 May 1824; XII, 383, Plessis to John Holmes, 14 Nov. 1825. The Catholics seem to have had the law on their side for Methodist marriages were not officially recognized until 1829. La Brèque, p.90.

[17]See for example ACAQ, Registre de l'Evêché, O, Instructions données à M. Duguay, Missionnaire d'Arthabaska, 29 Sept. 1848.

[18]ACAM, RL, IX, 190 Lartigue to Fulvay (missionary at Sutton), 17 May, 1839.

[19]John Holmes to Plessis, 21 Sept. 1824, in Maurice

essential as separate churches, cemeteries and ceremonies, because religious instruction in the classroom was an important part of their education system. The first Catholic missionaries appointed to the Eastern Townships, Jean Raimbault[20] and Francis Kelly, both refused to accept the post of visitor to the Drummondville Royal Institute school,[21] stating that they would rather wait for a system of education more favourable to the Catholics. In 1826 the new Drummondville missionary, John Holmes, opened a school which soon outstripped the Royal Institute's in popularity.[22] However, in the many townships where Catholics could not afford to build schools or hire teachers, they were usually encouraged to send their children to Protestant institutions as a temporary expedient. The bishops simply asked their missionaries to ensure that the students did not take part in any religious exercises, and that the sexes were kept separate within the classrooms.[23]

O'Bready, "Lettres de l'Abbé John Holmes 1823-1832" (unpublished manuscript, ETHS, 1953), p.12. A missionary visiting Dunham township complained of burials in Protestant cemetaries, and even marriages by Anglican priests as late as 1841. Les Rapports de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi à Montréal (1842), p.67.

[20]Jean Raimbault, curé of Nicolet, was a Royalist refugee who occasionally visited the mission of Drummondville between 1815 and 1819. Joseph-Charles Saint-Amant, Un coin des Cantons de l'Est (Drummondville, 1932), pp.34-36.

[21]The Royal Institute of Learning was founded in 1801, nominally to aid education with resources from the Jesuit estates, but in effect to attempt to Anglicize Lower Canada. See Réal G. Boulianne, "The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning: The Correspondence, 1820-1829, A Historical and Analytical Study" (PhD thesis, McGill University, 1970).

[22]Boulianne, p.968.

[23]ACAQ, RL, XII, 317, Plessis to John Holmes, 12 Aug.

It is evident that self-preservation was not the only motive behind the Catholic separation policy. Much of it was dictated by Church doctrine, for Protestants were still regarded as stray sheep who would hopefully one day return to the fold. Tacit recognition of the sects would only prolong their existence. Catholics therefore felt it was their duty to try to convert Protestants, but their uncertain position in the Eastern Townships forced them to be cautious. In 1832 Mgr. Panet of Quebec wrote to the Drummondville missionary:

> Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler ici à votre attention ce que la conduite régulière d'un prêtre catholique dirigé par un esprit prudent, modéré et charitable, peut opérer de bien au milieu des Protestants, même les plus suivi des soins de leurs ministres.[24]

J. B. McMahon, the Sherbrooke missionary from 1834 to 1840, became over-zealous in his attacks against the Protestant churches, and his successor was warned to avoid friction:

> Comme vous avez à vivre au milieu de sectaires de différentes dénominations et croyances, efforcez-vous de diminuer les préjugés qu'ils ont contre notre sainte religion et ses ministres, par une conduite prudente, discrète et

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1825; XV, 234, Panet to Hubert Robson, 29 Dec. 1832; XV, 295, Signay to Carrier, 4 March 1833; XX, 562, Signay to Peter Harkin, 23 Jan. 1844.

[24]ACAQ, RL, XV, 234, Panet to Hubert Robson, 29 Dec. 1832.

> bien mesurée, en tout ce qui aura rapport à ses religionnaires égarés. Abstenez-vous surtout de dire aucune chose, soit dans vos entretiens privés ou dans vos prédications, qui serait capable de choquer ou d'exciter vos auditeurs contre eux.[25]

Mgr. Panet may have insisted upon segregation from the Protestants, but he was nevertheless anxious that the Catholics remain on good terms with them.

In the Montreal Diocese, the strategy of the ultramontane Mgr. Bourget was only slightly more aggressive. In 1850 he warned the curé of Stanstead not to involve himself in religious debates, and to avoid "toute allusion qui pourrait blesser nos pauvres frères séparées."[26] Nevertheless the priest could encourage Protestant conversions by reading from famous Catholic works, and by advising his parishioners to distribute copies of the Catholic True Witness among their Protestant neighbours. If the local newspaper attacked the Catholic faith, the curé was advised to:

> Fermez-lui la bouche en le priant de reproduire quelqu'un des articles que vous trouverez tout faits et bien faits sur le True Witness ou dans

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[25]ACAQ, Registre de l'Evêché, M, 151, Instructions données a Peter Harkin, 20 Feb. 1840.

[26]ACAM, RLB, VI, 375, Bourget to Champeaux, 24 Dec. 1850.

> quelque bon auteur anglais. Ce qui ménagera votre temps et vous ôtera l'odieux de la controverse.[27]

In the final analysis, the question of converting Protestants remained largely an academic one because the Catholics were widely-dispersed and at the bottom of the economic ladder.[28] Far from being on the offensive, they were fighting for survival as a distinct group during the early years of the nineteenth century. However, the bishops' exhortations to remain as socially isolated as possible did serve to counteract assimilation of the first French Canadians in the Townships.

It would be very difficult to estimate how many Catholics actually were converted to Protestantism, or how many of the first French Canadian arrivals were assimilated by the majority, but a perusal of the early Catholic missionary reports leaves one with the impression that the numbers lost were relatively insignificant.[29] The principal agent of con-

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[27] Ibid., pp.404-5, 4 April 1851.

[28] In 1861 the Anglican Bishop of Quebec claimed that Catholic proselytism was having little effect on his flock. QDA, G-14, p.13. The missionary reporting on Mgr. Bourget's 1849 pastoral visit to the Eastern Townships claimed that five Protestants were converted, but he did not make clear whether or not they had originally been Catholics. Letter from "Un Missionaire," 22 Feb. 1849, printed in Rapport de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi établie dans le diocèse de Montréal [1849?]; pp.39, 46.

[29] See for example Les Rapports [...] à Montréal, (1839),

version was intermarriage, but this affected only a small percentage, and it could work both ways. Far more frequent than complaints of apostasy were those of religious indifference. Missionaries often endured many miles of back-breaking travel to an outpost, only to be disappointed by the appearance of a mere handful of the faithful. The following statement made by Father Holmes in 1825 is typical: "Il ne se pervertit guères de catholiques dans ces endroits mais le voisinage et le société des hérétiques, leur manière de vivre toute payenne, les rendront toujours de miserable Chretiens."[30] Holmes was not being objective in attributing all of his problems to the debilitating effects of Protestant contacts - the poverty of the Catholics, and the fact that they had been so recently uprooted must also have played a part in their indifference to religious authority. Whatever the cause, the early Catholic missionaries all had one solution in mind - the migration of more French Canadians into the region.

Even before there was a significant number of francophones in the Townships, missionary priests visited the Irish immigrant population. They found that not only were these

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p.8; (1842), p.9; Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (1845), p.266.

[30]Holmes to Plessis, 19 Nov. 1824, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.15. Prior to the 1840's French Canadians in the older parishes were also far from being ideal Catholics. See Nive Voisine, Histoire de l'Eglise catholique au Québec (1608-

newcomers widely scattered among their Protestant employers, making it difficult for them to congregate on Sundays, but that the staunchly puritanical Yankee majority derided their religious customs.[31] Like their charges, many of the first missionary priests were Irish-born; however, most of them had been trained in the Quebec Seminary where they had learned to speak French. It was therefore natural that they should encourage French Canadians from the seigneuries to look towards the Townships as a new home. To learn how the idea of colonizing the Townships with French Canadians evolved within the Catholic Church, we shall examine the careers of the first missionaries who served in the region.

John Holmes

In April, 1825, when Father John Holmes took up residence in Drummondville, he was the first Catholic priest to do so in the Eastern Townships.[32] Holmes was one of the most remarkable priests to serve in Quebec during the nineteenth

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1970) (Montréal, 1970), pp.35-7; Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Religion and French Canadian Mores in the Early Nineteenth Century," CHR, LII (1971), 75-90.

[31]Holmes to Plessis, 20 Oct. 1825, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.36. This phenomenon was still remarked upon during the forties. See Les Rapports [...] à Montréal (1839), p.8; (1842), pp.7, 65-7.

[32]ACAQ, RL, XII, 183, Plessis to Holmes, 10 Feb. 1825; Holmes to Plessis, 20 April 1825 in O'Bready, p.25.

century. Born in Vermont, as a youth he had planned to become a Wesleyan minister. When his father withdrew him from college to help with the farm work, the headstrong boy fled to Lower Canada, where he worked his way through the Eastern Townships to Trois-Rivières. Here he was converted to Catholicism and, soon afterwards, he entered the Quebec Seminary to become a priest. For the duration of his life, Holmes pursued his vocation with the zeal characteristic of a true convert.[33]

As resident missionary of Drummondville, it was Holmes' duty to visit all the Catholic missions in the Eastern Townships. To complete his circuit to Ascot Village (Sherbrooke) and back, he had to travel 125 miles.[34] At that time, the Townships had no more than 500 Catholics, most of whom were barely able to support themselves, much less a missionary. The Drummondville parishioners promised fifty pounds per year, but actually donated only nine or ten, and it was unusual for those on Holmes' mission circuit to contribute even to his travel expenses.[35] Nonetheless, he remained optimistic: "Les ressources pour vivre sont bien modiques - mais celui qui

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[33]See Maurice O'Bready, "Jean ou John Holmes" (unpublished manuscript, ETHS, 1954).

[34]Ibid., p.104.

[35]Holmes to Plessis, 2 Feb. 1825, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.17.

nourrit les oiseaux ne me laissera pas mourir de faim."[36] His chief complaint was the evil influence of the Protestant majority upon his charges. The Catholics were so contaminated, Holmes complained, that the example they in turn set for the Protestants made conversions impossible.[37] Experience had proved to him that "Votre grandeur a bien raison de dire point de mélange."[38]

Holmes began to fear that his presence in the Eastern Townships was doing the faith more harm than good because he was attracting French Canadian settlers who risked losing:

> leur langue, leurs moeurs et leur piété (dans) ce mélange déjà trop confus de sectes. (...) Si au lieu d'y rester, un missionaire y allait seulement de tems en tems, [sic] il n'y aurait qu'un petit nombre qui voudraient s'aller jetter dans le (...) des Townships; ils iraient tout au plus dans les terres voisines de (...) déjà établies, ainsi se formeraient graduellement de nouvelles paroisses de proche en proche aux beaucoup moins de danger pour (...) des fideles.[39]

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[36] Ibid., 20 April 1825, p.25.

[37] Holmes did manage to win over the clerk of Drummondville's Anglican minister. Boulianne, p.968.

[38] Holmes to Plessis, 20 Oct. 1825, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.36.

[39] Ibid. The round brackets are O'Bready's.

Paradoxically, the Protestant elites of the colony were anxious that he stay, but Holmes was suspicious of their motives; because they had land to sell, "Ils savent combien je leur suis utile." However, Mgr. Plessis was not to be swayed by Holmes' arguments:

> Il est très possible, en effet, que des Catholiques attirés par vos excursions dans les Townships, y trouvent contre votre intention des occasions de scandale dans leur mélange avec les infidèles et les hérétiques. Qu'y voulez-vous faire? Il est difficile qu'à beaucoup de bien il ne se mêle pas un peu de mal.[40]

The following year, 1826, brought little improvement. In February Holmes reported that of the 110 families under his charge within 25 leagues, 20 to 30 were half Catholic and half Protestant:[41] "L'espérance de faire du proselytisme est bien faible ... Les moyens de vivre ne sont presque rien. Il me faut souvent quêter."[42] But he insisted that the low revenue (about eighteen to twenty pounds) was not the chief reason for his desire to leave Drummondville.[43] He remained convinced that:

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[40]ACAQ, RL, XII, 382, Plessis to Holmes, 14 Nov. 1825.

[41]Holmes to N. C. Fortier, 17 Feb. 1826, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.39.

[42]Holmes to Plessis, 3 March 1824, in Ibid., p.5.

[43]See Maurice O'Bready, "Stephen Burroughs. Documentation Burroughs Pelletier" (unpublished manuscript, ETHS [n.d.]).

> ma presence fait autant de mal que de bien en ce qu'elle attire plusieurs pauvres canadiens et autres à aller se jetter dans les Townships parmi les américains, où ils perdent tout sentiment de religion, abandonnent la confession et toutes les lois de Dieu et de l'église.[44]

Holmes' fears stemmed partially from his extremely scrupulous nature. Flexibility is as important as firm leadership in a frontier outpost, yet Holmes referred the most insignificant problems to his bishop. For example, he expressed doubts as to whether he should accept the invitation of Stephen Burroughs to say mass in his Shipton home, because Burroughs, a Catholic convert, had once been a notorious criminal.[45] What makes Holmes' hesitation so astonishing is that Burroughs had not only given him a job as a school teacher in Trois-Rivières, but he had been instrumental in Holmes' conversion.[46] The missionary came to realize that he was ill-suited by temperament to fill his assigned role:

> ... tous mes gouts, mes inclinations me portent à l'étude de la Philosophie et de la Théologie (...) Pour prêcher, pour enseigner les principes tout va assez bien: mais quand j'en viens à la pratique, malgré moi je suis horrible-

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[44]Holmes to Plessis, 3 March 1824, in O'Bready, "Lettres ," p.5.

[45]Holmes to Panet, March 1826, in Ibid., pp.42-3.

[46]Ibid., 8 April 826, p.44.

> ment scrupuleux pour moi-même et pour les autres - à peine serais-je bon à confesser des Religieuses.[47]

Poor Holmes' troubles were multiplied by a hernia which made travelling over the Townships' makeshift roads almost impossible.[48] Finally, in 1826, a fire destroyed all his possessions, along with the greater part of the town of Drummondville.[49] In spite of his misfortunes, Holmes' plea to be allowed to return as a teacher to the Quebec Seminary had still not been heeded a year after the fire. Luckily for him, the Bishop of Boston began to claim his services as an American,[50] thereby prompting Mgr. Panet to appoint him to the Seminary in 1827. Hardships such as those endured by Father Holmes while he was a missionary would long remain the rule rather than the exception for his successors throughout the Townships. The novelist Gérin-Lajoie was not exaggerating when he wrote:

> Les missionnaires de nos cantons n'ont pas, il est vrai, de peuplades sauvages à instruire et civiliser; ils ne sont pas

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[47]Holmes to Plessis, 20 Oct. 1825, in Ibid., p.37.

[48]Ibid., 26 July 1827, p.58; ACAQ, RL, XII, 383, Panet to Holmes, 14 Nov. 1828.

[49]Holmes to N. C. Fortier, 24 June 1827, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.46.

[50]ACAQ, RL, XII, 541, Plessis to Holmes, 14 Nov. 1825; Holmes to Panet, 22 Aug. 1826, in O'Bready, "Lettres," p.49.

> exposés comme ceux de contrées plus lointaines à être décapités, brulés à petit feu, scalpés ou massacrés, par la main des barbares, mais ils se dévouent à toutes les privations que peut endurer la nature humaine, au froid, aux fatigues, à la faim, à tous les maux qui résultent de la pauvreté, de l'isolement et d'un travail dur et constant.
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> Beaucoup y perdent la santé, quelques-uns même y perdent la vie.[51]

Holmes went on to become one of the Quebec Seminary's most famous teachers. Rapidly overcoming his initial fear of French Canadian assimilation in the Eastern Townships, he established a reputation as an ardent advocate of colonization. Holmes' ideas, epitomized in his famous slogan "Emparons-nous du sol!"[52] were instilled in students who were French Canada's future leaders. Included in their numbers were P.J.O. Chauveau, who would not only become Premier of Quebec, but a widely-read colonization propagandist as well;[53] Elzéar Taschereau, the future Archbishop of Quebec; Thomas-Etienne

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[51]Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, Jean Rivard Economiste (Montréal, 1876), pp.25-26.

[52]O'Bready, "Jean ou John Holmes," p.154; Charles E. Mailhot, Les Bois Francs (Arthabaskaville, 1914), I, 20.

[53]Chauveau was the author of Charles Guérin (Montréal, 1853), a novel about French Canadian colonists in the Eastern Townships.

Hamel, destined to be rector of Laval University and Grand Vicar of Quebec; Antoine Racine, the Townships' first bishop; and Joseph Cauchon and J. C. Taché, both influential government officials and writers. Holmes also taught Patrick McGauran who, upon becoming one of Sherbrooke's first missionaries, began actively to encourage French Canadian migration to the Townships.[54] When he was Bishop of Sherbrooke, Antoine Racine recalled Holmes warning his students that:

> les Canadiens-Français devaient, s'ils ne voulaient pas un jour disparaître au milieu des peuples nombreux qui habitent l'Amérique du Nord, réunir tous leurs efforts pour coloniser les terres incultes de leur pays. Puis, mettant sous leurs yeux une carte du Bas-Canada, il leur indiquait les établissements français échelonnés sur les bords du fleuve St. Laurent en leur faisant remarquer que la plus belle et la plus importante partie de leur pays (les Cantons de l'Est) était occupée par d'autres que par des Canadiens.[55]

Even before Holmes had left Drummondville, he had begun to concede the value of a missionary in the Townships.[56] He had even opposed Mgr. Panet's suggestion that his replacement live in the Abenaki village at the mouth of the St. Fran-

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[54]O'Bready, "Jean ou John Holmes," p.153.

[55]Alfred Duclos De Celles, Conférences de Notre-Dame de Québec (Québec, 1875), pp.15-16.

[56]Holmes to Panet, 15 Sept. 1826, in O'Bready "Lettres," p.55; Ibid., 17 Jan. 1827, p.55.

cis River, rather than in Drummondville:

> Les esprits sont trop agités en ce moment par les contestations religieuses, et les apostasies trop fréquentes. De plus le ministre de Drummondville qui est un jeune malin, fera tous les efforts possibles pour gagner quelques uns de nos fideles en l'absence du missionaire pour se venger de ce que je lui ai fut cet hyver en l'absence de Mr. Wood.[57]

Michael Power

After John Holmes was appointed to the Seminary in 1827, he was replaced by the newly-ordained Michael Power, who would become Bishop of Toronto in 1842, and die ministering to Irish cholera victims at Grosse-Ile in 1847.[58] The plight of the Catholics did not change markedly during Power's residence in the Townships. He bewailed mixed marriages, poor roads and insufficient revenue. After reaching the conclusion that his charges were not making a sincere effort to support him, he advised the bishop that to teach them a lesson they should be deprived of a resident missionary. This is not to say that

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[57] Ibid., 24 Aug. 1827, p.59. Wood was the Anglican minister of Drummondville.

[58] Power was born on October 17, 1804 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. After serving Drummondville, he became curé of Petite-Nation in 1831, of Sainte-Martine in 1833, and of Laprairie in 1839. From here he went to Toronto in 1842. Cyprien Tanguay, Répertoire Général du Clergé Canadien (Montreal, 1893) p.15.

Power favoured abandoning the Townships to the Protestants. He recommended that outside funds be employed to finish the church in Sherbrooke because this would be the best way to attract French Canadian families:

> Les catholiques y sont assez nombreux, mais très pauvres, et n'ont presqu'aucun moyen pour continuer la bâtisse. Cependant Mgr., l'établissement d'une Eglise dans cet endroit serait d'une grande utilité à la religion. Le gouvernement a pour but de faire de ces Townships le centre du protestantisme et par une contradiction assez singulière, on voudrait y voir que des Canadiens afin de forcer les Irlandais et Ecossais à s'en aller dans le haut Canada et pour fermer toute entrée aux Américains. Les terres se concedent rapidement et les Canadiens refusent d'en prendre parce qu'ils se trouvent trop éloignées des églises et des prêtres. S'ils voyaient que cette Eglise s'achevait, ils prendraient du courage, s'y établiraient et empecheraient par [sic] à que toute cette partie du pays ne fut occupée par des Protestans.[59]

The bishop seems to have sympathized with the poverty of the Catholic colonists, for when Power left the Townships in 1831, he sent Hugh Paisley to take his place.[60] After a brief sojourn in the Townships, he was replaced by Hubert Rob-

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[59]Power to Panet, 10 Aug. 1828, in O'Bready, "Lettres," pp.55-6.

[60]Paisley was born in Scotland on April 16, 1795. After being ordained in Quebec in 1824, he became chaplain of Saint-Roch. From 1825 to 1828 he was a vicar at Quebec, then he became curé of Petite-Nation until he and Power switched places in 1831. Like both his predecessor and his successor at Drummondville, Paisley would die of cholera at Grosse-Ile in 1847. Tanguay, p.192.

son in 1832.

Hubert Robson

Father Robson, who remained in the Townships for twelve years, became so popular that his name is associated with several miraculous legends.[61] However, he experienced his share of difficulties while he served in this region. Robson's problems began when he moved to the new parish of Kingsey in 1842.[62] Here he inherited the beginnings of a stone church - an overly ambitious project undertaken by Father Raimbault in 1835. Spurred on by the hope that Kingsey would one day become the seat of a bishopric, Robson further impoverished his parishioners by attempting to complete the building. By 1844 he had become enmeshed in such serious financial difficulties that he was forced to leave.[63]

Under normal circumstances Father Robson would have been in a better financial position than his predecessors be-

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[61]Saint-Amant, pp.49, 69-72. Robson was born in Quebec on May 4, 1808. He had been ordained only a year before moving to Drummondville. Tanguay, p.207.

[62]The Drummondville mission was first divided when Sherbrooke received its own priest in 1834. By 1840 its Catholic population had become so large once more that those of Kingsey township refused to complete their church or pay their tithe until they were granted their own curé. ACAQ, RL, XIX, 269, Signay to J. B. Vincent (Kingsey notary), 10 Sept. 1840; 239, Signay to Robson, 4 July 1840; p.297, Ibid., 7 Oct. 1840.

[63]Saint-Amant, pp.59-61; Rapports [...] de Québec,

cause Mgr. Signay of Quebec had devised a plan to assist the missions in his diocese. In 1836 he founded a branch of the Association de la Propagation de la Foi in order to collect funds in the older parishes for that purpose.[64] Its contributions remained modest until 1842 when it was amalgamated with the parent society in Lyon. Funds from France were then added so that prior to 1852, when the dioceses of Trois-Rivières and Saint-Hyacinthe took over much of the Eastern Townships, the donations of the Quebec Diocesan Association de la Propagation de la Foi to the Eastern Townships missions were as follows: 1837 - £40; 1838 - £50; 1839 - £165; 1840 - £164; 1841 - £185; 1842 - £285; 1844 - £475; 1845 - £435; 1846 - £157; 1847 - £490; 1848 - £545; 1849 - £647; 1850 - £535; 1851 - £510; 1852 - £610.[65]

The Bishop of Montreal followed Quebec's example in 1839. From the funds raised, the diocese was able to support

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(1839), p.78. Three years later the mission still owed £150 for its church, a debt with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith considered to be too exorbitant to pay. ACAQ, RL, XXI, Signay to P. J. Bédard, 27 Feb. 1847.

[64] Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec, III, 352.

[65] Ibid., III, 390-1; Rapports [...] de Québec (1840-52). The two new dioceses formed branches of their own.

two itinerant priests in its South Shore missions.[66] In 1842 Montreal, like Quebec, joined the parent society in Lyon, but Mgr. Bourget soon began to feel that his own missions were being neglected, so Montreal became autonomous again in 1850.[67] This status was maintained until joining Quebec in 1876. No separate account of expenditures in the Eastern Townships was recorded until 1849 when some £366 went to these missions. Accounts up to 1853 (the year after Montreal lost all its Townships territory) are approximately as follows: 1850 - £585, 1851 - £323, 1852 - £278, 1853 - £149.[68] In spite of its diminishing size, this fund made it possible for places such as Stanstead to acquire a parish priest before the local Catholics were ready to support him.[69] In the Diocese of Quebec it remained an essential element in the construction of chapels and livelihood of all the missionaries throughout the first

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[66] Les Rapports [...] à Montréal (1839), pp.8-9. In 1838 and 1839 only £44.6.10½ was raised in these missions, while £259.4.8 was spent. Ibid., p.14.

[67] Robert Valois, "Etude bibliographique sur les Rapports de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi à Montréal." RHAF, IV (1950-1), 564-5.

[68] Les Rapports [...] à Montréal (1849-53).

[69] ACAM, RLB, VI, 45, Bourget to J. B. C. Champoux [sic], 3 April 1850; 374, 24 Dec. 1850; VII, 405, Bourget to Bienvenu, 4 Sept. 1852.

half of the nineteenth century.

John Baptist McMahon

When Sherbrooke became independent of the Drummondville mission in 1834, its Irish-born curé, John Baptist McMahon,[70] was also placed in charge of Stanstead, and parts of Shefford, Missisquoi and Megantic counties. In this vast area, about four hundred miles of travel for a complete circuit[71], there was a total of 1124 Catholics, of whom about a quarter were French-speaking.[72] Father McMahon, a former officer in the English army[73], was of a relatively advanced age (forty) to be given such a difficult assignment. The bishop may well have kept him in frontier posts because of his penchant for embroiling himself in controversial issues. McMahon had been involved in minor squabbles in 1829 and again in 1833, when Mgr. Signay had warned him to confine himself strictly to his minis-

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[70]After being ordained in 1824, McMahon became chaplain of the Saint-Jacques Church in Montreal. In 1828 he was sent to the Gaspé where he stayed until moving to Sherbrooke in 1834. Tanguay, p.192.

[71]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 210, Signay to Robson, 17 June 1834. O'Bready, De Ktiné, p.78.

[72]Annuaire du Séminaire Saint-Charles-Borromée (1881-2), 35.

[73]Léonidas Adam, "L'Histoire religieuse des Cantons de l'Est," Revue Canadienne, XXVI (1921), 24.

try.[74] To his own undoing, this would prove too difficult a task for the wilful priest once he took charge of Sherbrooke.

The first lesson McMahon learned in this mission was that his new charges were more ready to promise money than to give it.[75] To make matters worse, the Protestant landowners who had actively encouraged the appointment of a Catholic priest in order to attract French Canadian clients to their real estate, no longer felt the need to be generous.[76] In fact, McMahon claimed that W. B. Felton and the British American Land Company, who together owned all of the town's land:

> n'encouragent pas l'établissement des colons, à moins qu'ils soient des capitalistes ou des protestants. M. Felton prétend n'avoir jamais vendu le terrain de la mission, mais il a permis son usage pour un certain temps. Il veut $2000.00 pour un aggrandissement de 2 acres maintenant[77]

Mgr. Signay replied that the sum asked for was ridiculous:

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[74]Albert Gravel, Messire Jean-Baptiste McMahon Premier Curé-missionnaire de Sherbrooke. 1834-1840 (Sherbrooke, 1960), pp.2-3.

[75]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 257, Signay to McMahon, 27 Aug. 1834.

[76]Holmes to Plessis, 28 March 1825. Quoted in O'Bready, Jean ou John Holmes, p.111.

[77]McMahon to Signay, 19 Aug. 1835. Quoted in Gravel, McMahon, p.7.

> Depuis 20 années passées, ceux qui dans ces lieux ont mis dehors d'énormes capitaux pour y former des établissements [...] ont bien eu peine à retirer l'intéret des dits capitaux; et voilà qu'on fait grand bruit au sujet de la valeur probable de chaque pied de terrain. Je ne m'y laisserais pas si aisément engager. Car je sais et tout le monde sait que le numéraire est très rare - avec 2,000 dollars, on pourrait avoir un ou deux Townships.

He also insisted that there was no question but that the land where the chapel stood belonged to the Church. However, he felt that McMahon was being too hasty in his judgment: "Je ne crois pas que le Compagnie des terres ait l'intention expresse d'exclure les Catholiques si ceux-ci font son profit. Ne soyez-pas trop pressé à le croire."[78]

The first months of McMahon's tenure brought another problem, one which would plague the mission for seven more years. The beadle and mass server, a Mr. Cotter, had built a house and stable on the one and a quarter acre church lot which already contained the cemetery as well as the chapel. Because there was no place left for a presbytery, and because Cotter asked a high price both for the sale of his house and for lodging the priest, McMahon had to live half a mile away.[79] Mgr. Signay's threats to take legal action were to no avail[80], and

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[78]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 258-9, Signay to McMahon, 27 Aug. 1834.

[79]O'Bready, De Ktiné, p.83.

[80]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 476, Signay to McMahon, 25 Feb. 1835.

the parishioners were unable to pay the price asked by Cotter - so the matter rested throughout McMahon's residence in Sherbrooke.

Father McMahon soon became discouraged with what he considered to be indifference on the part of his parishioners. He complained that "c'est un péché pour un jeune prêtre de dépenser ses meilleures années ainsi, il aurait plus de succès en allant prêcher à des protestants du Vermont qu'en demeurant avec des indifférents à Sherbrooke."[81] He began to ask for an exeat from the diocese, to which Mgr. Signay replied with promises of another parish, as well as small sums of money to alleviate his financial difficulties.[82] The bishop also reminded McMahon that because the Irish priests had been trained at the cost of the Canadian Church, they should only leave Canada when they had a legitimate reason/to do so.[83] He tried to improve McMahon's position by addressing a pastoral letter to the Catholics of the Sherbrooke mission, warning them to support their missionary or lose him.[84] This brought

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[81]McMahon to Signay, 28 March 1835. Quoted in Gravel, McMahon, p.9.

[82]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 479, Signay to McMahon, 30 March 1835; 517, 17 April 1835; XVIII, 147, 7 Oct. 1837; 181, 27 Nov. 1837.

[83]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 519, 17 April 1835.

[84]ACAQ, Registre de l'Evêché, L, 168. Pastoral Letter to Sherbrooke, Stanstead, etc.

a positive reaction from the Protestant Felton at least, for he went to Mgr. Signay in person in order to plead that McMahon be kept in Sherbrooke.[85]

During the following two years conditions slowly improved, but not enough to satisfy Father McMahon. He took advantage of the 1837 Rebellion to repeat his request for an exeat. The bishop replied that Sherbrooke was still orderly, but if trouble arose he could simply go to Trois-Riviéres rather than leave the diocese.[86] This may well have been true, but McMahon was no coward and probably had some grounds for his fears. While making a tour of his mission-posts, he had roundly condemned the rebels. In addition, he had written a long article in the Sherbrooke Gazette to the same effect.[87]

1838 brought another refusal for an exeat,[88] and 1839 found McMahon still in Sherbrooke with no relief in sight.

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[85]ACAQ, RL, XVI, 523, Signay to McMahon, 21 April 1835.

[86]ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 189, Signay to McMahon, 16 Dec. 1837.

[87]O'Bready, De Ktiné, p.81. For an account of McMahon's attempts to prevent an uprising in the Townships, see Jules Martel, Les troubles de 1837-38 dans la région de Sherbrooke (Victoriaville, 1964), pp.4-7.

[88]ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 220, Signay to McMahon, 3 Feb. 1838.

At the point of despair by this time, his overly-aggressive behaviour now involved him in a series of troublesome incidents. First, he succumbed to his predilection for writing controversial letters to newspapers. Aside from the 1837 letter on the Rebellion, he had already written to the Vindicator attacking a Protestant missionary society in Quebec. He had apparently missed his mark, for one of the members of the committee had commented that the best defence possible "wd. be to re-publish a letter which carries its own refutation, adorned by numerous inconsistencies upon its own face."[89] Whatever McMahon's 1839 letters contained, they greatly displeased Mgr. Signay who warned him not to repeat the action.[90] But, unfortunately for McMahon, his behaviour quickly took a still more objectionable turn.

He stirred up a hornet's nest of recriminations by reportedly breaking up a Methodist meeting with sword and pistols.[91] McMahon's defence was that he had simply confiscated the weapons from a drunk before stepping into the meeting

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[89]McCord Museum, Hale Papers, Correspondence 1829-1913, Miscellaneous, Jeffrey Hale to E. Hale, 23 April 1836.

[90]ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 470, Signay to McMahon, 26 Feb. 1839.

[91]Ibid., p.471.

house.[92] However, reports that McMahon himself was over-indulging in alcohol began to circulate.[93] Father Robson of Drummondville repeated these rumours to Mgr. Signay. Though the facts may well have been exaggerated in the transmission, it was clear that McMahon was becoming a problem.[94] He was officially reprimanded[95] and, after an official investigation by Grand Vicar Cooke in 1840, he was finally granted his long-awaited exeat.[96] The hapless priest left Sherbrooke disgraced, broken in health[97], and £200 in debt to the British American Land Company for the fifty acres he had bought near his church.[98] The crowning touch to his humiliation was a summons to appear in court on a libel charge.[99]

Peter H. Harkin

The Church's commitment to French Canadian colonization

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[92] O'Bready, De Ktiné, p.85.

[93] ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 568, Signay to McMahon, 15 June 1839.

[94] Mgr. O'Bready makes a rather unconvincing attempt to discount the charges laid against McMahon. See De Ktiné, pp.85-88.

[95] ACAQ, RL, XIX, 31, Signay to McMahon, 12 Nov. 1839.

[96] Ibid., p.86, 9 Jan. 1840.

[97] Ibid., p.109, 11 Feb. 1840; O'Bready, De Ktiné, p.82.

[98] ACAQ, RL, XIX, 121, Signay to Robson, 27 Feb. 1840; Gravel, McMahon, pp.7, 13.

[99] Gravel, McMahon, p.31.

did not make much headway during McMahon's tenure. In fact Mgr. Signay was forced to warn the Sherbrooke Catholics that if they wanted another curé, they would have to provide for his lodging either by purchasing Cotter's house, or by renting one near the chapel.[100] Nevertheless the replacement, Peter H. Harkin[101], arrived before any definite arrangement had been made. Negotiations with Cotter proved futile, so in 1842 it was finally decided to squeeze a presbytery in beside his house.[102] This only aggravated the financial problems which continued to plague the mission throughout the decade. The government had extended the parish system to the free and common socage territories in 1839, but because church wardens were still not elected in Sherbrooke, debts continued to be assumed by the priest in person, rather than by the congregation as a whole. Nor was any attempt made to use the law to enforce collection of tithes. The missionaries, therefore, continued to depend heavily upon the generosity of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

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[100] ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 594, Signay to McMahon, 3 Sept. 1839; XIX, 66, Signay to Robson, 17 Dec. 1839.

[101] Harkin was born in Ireland on November 26, 1810. After his ordination at Quebec in 1838, he became vicar of Saint-Roch, where he remained until moving to Sherbrooke. Tanguay, p.225.

[102] ACAQ, RL, XIX, 374, Signay to Harkin, 21 Jan. 1841; Annuaire, I, no. 7 (1881-2), 50.

In 1840 Father Harkin received only £4 from his parishioners[103], and in 1842 Mgr. Signay had to address yet another pastoral letter to Sherbrooke exhorting payment of the £50 owing on the presbytery.[104] When the Sherbrooke Catholics did not respond, the discouraged Harkin began to ask for a new post.[105] By 1843 he was even threatening to leave on his own accord.[106] Mgr. Signay replied that giving him any more Propagation of the Faith money would cause dissension among the other missionaries. He suggested that Harkin tell his parishioners to pay off the debt, or he would be forced to sell his horse, which would oblige them to drive him to his mission posts. Furthermore, if they refused to pay for his necessities, they were to be warned that they would be deprived of his services.[107] In the end, however, the bishop again relented and "nonobstant le mauvais précédent que votre nouvelle allocation va donner", he granted Harkin another £25 from the

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[103]ACAQ, V.G. XI-19, T. Cooke to Signay, 8 May 1840.

[104]ACAQ, Régistre de l'Evêché, N 25, Pastoral Letter to Sherbrooke, etc. 19 Oct. 1842.

[105]ACAQ, RL, XX, 98, Signay to Harkin, 15 July 1842.

[106]Ibid., p.270, 21 Feb. 1843.

[107]Ibid., p.271.

society's funds.[108]

Temporarily freed from financial worries, Father Harkin began to plan a project which would introduce more French Canadians to the region. He wished to found two parishes by acquiring lots from the British American Land Company. This would encourage the French Canadians to sink roots. Up to that point they had remained poor, unlike the American farmers, because:

> Ils viennent non pour y établir mais pour y passer quelques années [...], quoique tous conviennent qu'il y a moins de misères et plus d'aisances que dans les paroisses. Si l'on pouvoit trouver un Philanthrope qui comme Lord Baltimore viendroit avec des moyens établir un Township, bientôt les Canadiens y affluéraient.[109]

The time was not yet ripe for such a project, but Harkin's successor would push it to fulfillment.

For the time being, French Canadian growth was centered in the town of Sherbrooke itself. Factories were beginning to appear - the first one, a cotton factory, was to employ forty to fifty French Canadian girls. This represented a signifi-

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[108] Ibid., XX, 283, 7 March 1843.

[109] ACAQ, DiSh., I-1, Harkin to Cazeau, 24 Oct. 1844.

cant enough addition to the Catholic population for Father Harkin to lament: "savoir ou pourrons (dans notre petite chapelle déjà beaucoup trop petite) se placer toute ces filles c'est ce que je ne sais pas." A new church meant new expenses, and Harkin was careful to emphasize that he felt he had already done his share: "N'allez-pas vous imaginer d'après tous ceci que je m'y plais ou que je vais m'y plaire par la suite; aussitôt que vous pourrez m'en tirer, sur cinq minutes de notice même, je suis prêt à m'y déloger."[110] Nevertheless, he remained in Sherbrooke for another two years, before being removed because of ill health.[111]

Bernard O'Reilly

By 1846, when Bernard O'Reilly, a young Quebec vicar[112], replaced Harkin, the French Canadian exodus to the United States was accelerating at an alarming rate. This migration had begun as early as the 1820's, but it was not serious enough to attract official attention until the volume was increased by the 1837-8 Rebellions. Even then, the Bishop of

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[110] Ibid.

[111] ACAQ, RL, XXI, 424, Signay to Harkin, 18 April 1846.

[112] O'Reilly was born in Ireland in 1817, and served in Quebec from his ordination in 1842 until being assigned to Sherbrooke in 1846. Tanguay, p.240.

Montreal assured Governor Colborne that it was a seasonal phenomenon, with the workers returning to Quebec once they had gathered some savings.[113] But these savings did not always materialize - even when they did, the émigrés sometimes married New Englanders and settled there permanently. French Canadian communities soon appeared, with their own churches, doctors, lawyers and newspapers. This trend was strengthened during the forties when the continuing prosperity of New England presented a sharp contrast to the gloomy economic picture in Lower Canada.[114]

By 1849, the French Canadian authorities had become so alarmed that a parliamentary committee, chaired by P. J. O. Chauveau, was chosen to study the situation. Its members reported that emigration was "much more considerable than was generally believed, and threatens to become a real calamity for Lower Canada."[115] About 20, 000 Lower Canadians (including anglophones) had left from all over the province since 1844.[116]

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[113] Séguin, p.239.

[114] Ouellet, Histoire Economique, p.475. While in 1820 only thirteen New England towns had populations over 8000, by 1850 the number had risen to eighty-five. H. U. Faulkner, American Economic History, p.291. Cited in Séguin, p.238.

[115] Appendix no. 2 to JLAC, VIII (1849), Chauveau Report.

[116] A report written in 1851 by Father Antoine Racine of Stanfold estimated 25,000 French Canadian emigrants for the same period (see Le Canadien Emigrant). Ouellet (Histoire Econo-

About one third of the emigrants were day labourers, while two thirds were farmers. They included refugees from the great Quebec fire of 1845; workmen from Quebec and Montreal, driven out by the economic depressions of 1842-3 and 1846-9; lumbermen from the Ottawa region, also severely hit by the depressions; farmers' sons unable to acquire land; debt-ridden farmers from the seigneuries; farmers who, though financially secure, had become disheartened by the succession of crop failures; settlers from the new townships who had become discouraged by the isolation and the harsh terms of the absentee landlords; and rural artisans reduced to misery by the impoverishment of their clients. In addition, the emigrants included a small group of educated young men, unable to find positions in the overcrowded liberal professions, or in the anglo-dominated public departments.[117]

Because there was no prospect of a future decline in the exodus, French Canadians began to fear that it would undermine their position in Canada. The ideal solution to the problem was industrialization for this would provide the jobs being sought South of the border. But commerce and industry had be-

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mique, p.473) places the number at 30,000 between 1840 and 1850. There were 19,380 French Canadians reported living in New England in 1850. Vicero, p.152.

[117]Chauveau Report.

come the preserve of the Anglo-Saxons, so the French Canadian political and religious leaders turned to the only other possible solution, expansion of the agricultural frontier. They realized the importance of improving the out-dated farming techniques, but they considered the situation to be so critical that it was essential to find a more immediate solution. They chose the expansion of the French Canadian population into Quebec's vast untouched wilderness.[118] The words of John Holmes, "Emparons-nous du sol", became the slogan of the day.

The obvious region to colonize first was the Eastern Townships. Much of its northeastern section was still uninhabited, some of the Protestant farmers were moving westward, and it was generally more fertile, with a milder climate, than the region North of the St. Lawrence. Nor could it be overlooked that French Canadian penetration of the Eastern Townships would help to keep Quebec French and Catholic by discouraging the growth of the English-speaking population.

It was fortunate for the proponents of the colonization movement that a man of Bernard O'Reilly's energy and

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[118] In recommending solutions to the emigration problem, the Chauveau Report placed much more emphasis on colonization than it did on either scientific improvements or industrialization. See Appendix AAAAA of the report.

ability happened to become curé of Sherbrooke in 1846. Though the young priest was somewhat unhappy about his exile from Quebec[119], this did not prevent him from initiating a campaign to establish French Canadians on Township land. In a series of letters to Quebec's Le Canadien he claimed that those francophones who were already in the region were poor because they worked as labourers for the "Americans," rather than acquiring property for themselves. The Irish, in contrast, had improved their lot since their arrival because they were more willing to become farmers.[120] O'Reilly reported seeing in the Tingwick area of Arthabaska county:

> des pères de famille, jeunes et robusts encore, sur le point de périr avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants, de froid et de faim au milieu de familles qui affluent de tout ce qui peut rendre la vie heureuse dans un nouvel établissement. J'ai été obligé de solliciter moi-même les secours nécessaires au soutien de ces malheureux ... Canadiens. [...] Nous avons vu la même chose à Stanstead il y a deux mois -[121]

As well as being impoverished, the French Canadians faced the

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[119] O'Reilly claimed that Patrick McMahon (brother of John Baptist and curé of Saint Patrick's in Quebec), was to blame for his assignment to Sherbrooke. Tanguay, p.188; ACAQ, V.G. XIV, 144, Cazeau to O'Reilly, [N.D.]; Di.Sh.I-1a, O'Reilly to Cazeau, 30 Oct. 1846.

[120] Le Canadien, 22 Oct. 1847.

[121] Ibid., 11 Feb. 1848.

danger of assimilation because they had to speak the language of their employees:

> Leurs enfants sont placés dès l'age de dix ou de douze ans dans les familles américaines. Ils perdent leur langue, apprennent celle de leurs maitres; ils oublient la politesse exquise de leurs pères, et contractent les allures rudes et républicaines, de ceux qui les entourent. Sans écoles ou ils puissent s'instruire dans la connaissance de leur langue maternelle, sans église où ils puissent recueillir même les éléments de l'instruction religieuse, il n'est point étonnant, si en cessant de parler français, un trop grand nombre, hélas! cessent d'être Catholiques et Canadiens.[122]

This picture of destitution and assimilation was painted in even more sombre hues by Father P. J. Bédard of Kingsey in Drummond county:

> Les Canadiens sont dans un état misérable ... un pain de sarrazin, ou d'orge, rarement de blé, trempé dans l'eau, ou dans le lait quand on peut en avoir, fait la nourriture de la plupart, une longue partie de l'année; et des familles, en assez grand nombre, passent des semaines et des mois entiers sans voir aucun pain, vivant d'herbes et de racines sauvages. Leurs vêtements et leurs ameublements vont de pair avec leur nourriture. Une chétive butte de bois rond, couverte seulement de tuiles de cèdres et surmontée d'une cheminée en terre, voilà l'habitation de la majeure partie. Les planchers sont des pièces de bois fendues à la hache ou à la scie, posées brutes sans plus de cérémonies. Le froid pénètre de toutes ports dans ces habita-

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[122] *Ibid.*, 22 Oct. 1847.

> tions, et souvent le foyer de la cheminée est le seul moyen de chauffage. Le bois est proche; c'est un bonheur.
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> Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer des Canadiens qui ne lisent que l'anglais et des enfants qui ne parlent presque pas français. Qui le croirait? Je suis obligé de faire le catéchisme en anglais, à des enfants canadiens, et cela à Kingsey, à quatorze lieues du fleuve, à vingt lieues de Quebec! Le mal se repand avec rapidité. Si on ne s'efforce de l'arreter à sa source, une autre génération verra sa langue réléguée au petit cercle des gens instruits et des anciens qui auront survécu à leur siècle.[123]

Such pictures of unrelieved economic and cultural destitution hardly seem designed to encourage French Canadians to flock to the Townships. However, it must be understood that the two priests felt French Canadian migration into the Eastern Townships would not be beneficial in itself. It had to be organized around the parish system so that Catholic churches and schools could be supported; otherwise the newcomers would simply be assimilated by the English-speaking Protestants. The colonization society suggested by O'Reilly would be composed of both priests and laymen. It would evaluate the unsettled land in the Townships, obtain grants for colonists under the most advantageous conditions possible, and direct families to well-organized colonies rather than sett-

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[123] Ibid., 16 Feb. 1848.

ling them in isolated groups.[124] In Montreal, the young men of the Institut Canadien became interested enough in O'Reilly's proposals to invite him to address them on March 2, 1848. Father O'Reilly proved to be so persuasive that he succeeded in persuading not only the Montreal Institut members, but also their Quebec counterparts, to establish a colonization society.[125] On March 16 the young priest was already confident enough to proclaim, "Cette société, on peut le dire maintenant est formée; elle existe pleinement, elle embrasse dans ses ramifications tout le pays."[126]

O'Reilly's next step was to address mass meetings in Quebec and Montreal. At Quebec nearly 3000 were present to hear him proclaim that the colonization societies would save:

> au pays des milliers de la génération présente; elle conservera à votre nationalité des milliers des générations futures. Elle fermera une des plus profondes plaies faites à votre pays par une politique aveugle et jalouse. Elle réparera, autant du moins que cette réparation est maintenant possible, la longue injustice de plus d'un demi-siècle. Elle prouvera, par l'établissement des colonies qui se

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[124] Ibid., 22 Oct. 1847.

[125] Le Journal de Québec, 7 March 1848.

[126] Mélanges Religieux, 21 March 1848. Quoted in Léon Pouliot, "L'Institut Canadien, Papineau, Mgr. Bourget et la colonisation des Townships," Nouvelle France, XVI (1961), p.66.

J.W. Bengough, A Caricature History of Canadian Politics (Toronto, The Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1886).



TOWNSHIPS COLONIZATION—A SETTLER.

YOUNG LITERARY LEADER.—HERE IS ONE SETTLER, SARE, FOR YOUR TOWNSHIP, SARE, ON YOUR FARM, SARE.

TOWNSHIPPER.—OH, THAT'S YOUR SETTLER, EH? WHY THERE'S LOTS OF THEM CHAPS HERE ALREADY—IN THE MASHES!

PUNCH IN CANADA, 1849.

> doivent former sous ses auspices, que les hommes qui ont morcelé, aliéné, vendu les terres incultes de la province pour qu'elles ne tombassent point entre les mains des Canadiens-Français, étaient non seulement les ennemis invétérés du sang français, mais les plus grands ennemis de tout le Canada.[127]

He emphasized that not only would the French Canadians benefit by keeping their surplus population, but the Eastern Townships and Canada would prosper by the development of uninhabited areas. The French Canadians might at present be in an inferior position in the Townships, but of all nationalities they were the most capable of succeeding in a new colony:

> Mettez-les ensemble sur un sol fertile où ils aient des chemins, des écoles, une église et un missionnaire, et vous verrez si aucun établissement du même genre devancera le leur en progrès véritable.[128]

Several resolutions were passed at the meeting. They endorsed the establishment of "l'Association du District du Québec pour l'établissement des Canadiens français dans les Townships du Bas-Canada", with the organizatorial framework of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith[129], under the

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[128] Ibid.

[129] As with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, groups of ten were to be formed, and each member was to contribute five sous a month. Journal de Québec, 7 March 1848. The new society's association with the missionary or-

[127] Le Journal de Québec, 1 April 1848.

patronage of the Archbishop of Quebec. The assembly also chose a committee of forty members to organize the association. Because this committee included a number of priests, it was not completely dominated by the city's Institut Canadien members.[130]

On April 5, a similar mass meeting was held in Montreal. Although it, too, was officially called in order to create a colonization society, in reality the public was allowed to do no more than approve the officers and the proposals presented by the local Institut Canadien. About 8000 people crowded into Bonsecours Square, and 2000 more were turned away at the gate.[131] This led La Minerve to explain: "Jamais réunion pareille ne s'est vue à Montréal, et jamais, croyons-nous, n'a rencontré autant d'enthousiasme que celui de l'établissement des Townships de l'Est."[132]

Because Louis-Joseph Papineau was the idol of the young Institut members, the famous rebel and orator was the first to speak. Predictably, he wasted little time upon the

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ganization tended to accentuate the religious nature of the colonization movement. For example, Mgr. Bourget of Montreal wrote that "Les deux associations vont se donner la main, car elles sont soeurs et filles de la divine charité ... L'association des Etablissements canadiens dans les Townships est une oeuvre de foi autant qu'une oeuvre patriotique." Quoted in Ouellet, Histoire Economique, p.478. The original model was formed in Malbaie in 1847. Michèle Le Roux, "La colonisation du Saguenay et l'action de l'Association des Comtés de l'Islet et Kamouraska" (D.E.S., University of Montreal, 1972), p.69.

[130] Le Journal de Québec, 30 March 1848.

[131] Pouliot, p.67.

[132] La Minerve, 6 April 1848.

subject of colonization itself, dwelling instead upon British crimes against the French Canadians, from the deportation of the Acadians to the union of the Canadas.[133] When O'Reilly's turn to speak finally came, he succeeded in moving the entire audience to pledge enrolment in the association. Where Papineau had emphasized nationalism and politics, O'Reilly stressed religion. He suggested that in each new township colonized by the association, "le premier coup de hache soit donné par le missionnaire, et que le premier arbre abattu soit destiné à faire une croix, qu'on y plantera la veille de St. Jean-Baptiste, comme pour y planter en même temps la religion et notre nationalité."[134] This difference in emphasis was symptomatic of a basic internal weakness which would eventually kill the Association des Townships.

Papineau's speech caused Governor Elgin and the ruling La Fontaine party to fear that he and the Institut Canadien were using the movement for their own political advancement. In Montreal this group, most of whose members were vocal supporters of the radical Rouge opposition party, gained complete

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[133]Jacques Monet, The Last Cannon Shot. A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850 (Toronto, 1969), p.294; L,Avenir, 15 April 1848, 19 April 1848.

[134]La Minerve, 6 April 1848.

control of the central committee, leaving only the honorary post of President open to a cleric, Mgr. Bourget himself.[135] The same pattern developed in Quebec a few weeks later. Although the organizing committee had included some priests, Archbishop Signay was the only cleric to be appointed to the official executive body. Most of the other officers were members of the Institut Canadien.[136]

Lord Elgin decided that the surest method to avoid giving Papineau and the Institut members any excuse to criticize his administration, and the Canadian Union, was to give in to the demands of the Association des Townships. He wrote

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[135]Léon Pouliot, Monseigneur Bourget et son temps (Montréal, 1972), III, 46. A. N. Morin, a member of the Baldwin-La Fontaine administration, was offered the first Vice-Presidency but he turned it down at the last minute. Pouliot is probably correct in assuming that Morin did so because his presence on the executive committee with Papineau could have been interpreted as a split in the La Fontaine party. Pouliot, "L'Institut Canadien," pp.69-70. The new society was also considered a threat to the influence of the Saint-Jean Baptiste Society whose founder was Ludger Duvernay, editor of La Minerve. Jean-Paul Bernard, Les Rouges, Libéralisme, Nationalisme et Anticlericalisme au milieu du XIXe Siécle (Montréal, 1971), p.45. N. S. Robertson is probably being overly charitable when she absolves the Institut members of any political motivation, but this does not mean that the La Fontaine forces were not equally guilty. See Nancy Susan Robertson, "The Institut Canadien: An Essay in Cultural History" (M. A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1965), pp.48-9.

[136]R. E. Caron was first Vice-President of the Association des Townships, and Honorary President of the Institut Canadien; J. B. A. Chartier was Archival Secretary for both organizations; J. M. Hudon was the Corresponding Secretary for the Association and a Vice-President of the Institut Canadien;

to Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, in April:

> The priests are getting up an association for the purpose of settling the French Catholics on the lands of the Crown - Papineau is trying to put himself at the head of it by attending the meetings and talking treason. The project has a good side as well as a bad one. I hope to keep the good side uppermost and defeat M.P.'s object.[137]

When the leaders of the Association asked for government support, Elgin personally donated £20, and promised substantial public assistance. Two months later he described his strategy more explicitly:

> I had one of two courses to choose from ... either, on the one hand, to give the promoters of the scheme a cold shoulder - point out its objectionable features - and dwell upon difficulties of execution, - in which case, (use what tact I might) - I should have dismissed the Bishop and his priests discontented, and given Mr. P. an opportunity of asserting that I had lent a quasi sanction to his calumnies - or, on the other, to identify myself with the movement, put myself in so far as might be, at its head, impart to it as salutary a direction as possible, and thus wrest from M. Papineau's hands a potent instrument of agitation.

But Elgin's support was not entirely motivated by political con-

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F. Evanturel was the Treasurer of both organizations; and E. Chinic was the Assistant Treasurer of the Association and a Vice-President of the Institut Canadien. Le Journal de Québec, 15 April, 20 April 1848.

[137]Elgin to Grey, 26 April 1848. In Doughty, I, 145.

siderations. He expressed a genuine approval of the Association's aims:

> No one object in my opinion is so important, as the filling up of her (Canada's) vacant lands with a resident agricultural population. More especially is it of moment that the inhabitants of French origin should feel that every facility for settling on the land of their Fathers is given them with the cordial assent and concurrence of the British Gov't and its Representative - and that in the plans of settlement adopted their feelings and habits are consulted. The sentiment of French Canadian nationality which Papineau endeavours to pervert to purposes of faction, may yet perhaps if properly improved furnish the best remaining security against annexation to the States. Was it, think you, love for England or hatred for those sacrés Bostonais which stirred the French Canadian mind in the Revolutionary war and again in 1812?
>
> Nor does it matter when you are dealing with Frenchmen how near the Yankee line you locate them. An English-man, Scotchman or Irishman when he is outwitted by his Yankee neighbour may be tempted to admire his superior sagacity, and to curse the Gov't and constitution of Great Britain for the consequences of his own stupidity or apathy. But it is not so with the Habitans. Contact with those precious specimens of Anglo-Saxondom who are ignorant of his language, despise his intellect, ridicule his customs, and swindle him in every transaction in which he is engaged with them, is by no means provocative of affection in his breast.[138]

Echoing Governor Haldimand of the 1780's, Elgin claimed that the Eastern Townships should become a French-speaking region.

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[138] Ibid., 29 June 1848, p.191.

"Fill up the Frontier country with French - and the lands to the rear with British, who may retain their love of home and its institutions at a distance from the American influences."[139]

Lord Elgin supported Lower Canada's claim for £20,000 in expenses incurred in fighting the 1847 typhus epidemic among the Irish immigrants at Grosse-Ile. This money was to be directed towards colonization. London complied, and the Canadian government declared that colonization roads would be built in the Lake St. Francis - Lake Aylmer area of the Eastern Townships, and that agents would be hired to supervise settlement. Free fifty acre lots would be granted to settlers along the colonization roads, and large blocks would be set aside to support churches and schools.[140] The Association

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[139] Ibid. Father O'Reilly himself made use of the loyalty question to further his project. He proclaimed, "Que la croix du clocher brille dans chaque township maintenant inculte, depuis les voisines colonies américaines jusqu'au fleuve. Et que l'Angélus du soir se répète d'échos en échos depuis le Lac Mégantic jusqu'à Québec d'un coté, et jusqu'à Saint-Hyacinthe de l'autre: et nous avous fait un premier pas pour sauver le Canada." Le Journal de Québec, 18 Nov. 1848. That Lord Elgin had some reason to doubt the loyalty of the English-speaking Townships residents would be proved by the wave of annexationist sentiment which swept through the region the following year. Allin and Jones, p.197.

[140] Appendix no. 2, JLAC, VIII (1849), R. B. Sullivan to Mgr. Bourget, 10 June 1848. Also in Doughty, IV, appendix 7, 1361-1372.

des Townships' task was to support the missionaries, to finance the building of the churches, presbyteries, and schools, and to be a general guardian for the colonists' interests. Its role was considered to be crucial because:

> The small landholders in the country, in the towns, or in the villages, never determine to remove in numbers and by families to the townships, ... unless they know they shall find there the instructions and succour of their religion.[141]

The colonies were to be open to all nationalities, but the public advertisement made it clear that "the Canadians who cannot now obtain lands in the Seigniories are particularly invited to avail themselves of so favorable an opportunity of gratuitously procuring them."[142]

To express his gratitude, Mgr. Bourget issued a pastoral letter praising the generosity of the government grant. He carefully avoided any reference to the political situation[143], but the ministerial press did not miss the occasion to boast that "tout canaille que M. Papineau veuille bien faire

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[141] Appendix, no. 2, JLAC, VIII (1849), General Report of the "Association for Colonizing the Eastern Townships," 19 April 1848.

[142] Ibid., J. Olivier Arcand, Agent for Settlement of the Eastern Townships, 1 Aug. 1848.

[143] Mandements ... Montréal, I, 475-89.

nos ministres, ils auront donc fait plus que tous leurs dévanciers pour la colonisation des terres incultes."[144] Salt was rubbed deeper into the Papineau faction's wounds when, in a letter to the Journal de Québec, Father O'Reilly elaborated upon the debt owed by the French Canadians to their government:

> jamais ministère n'a obtenu pour le peuple du pays un aussi grand avantage [...] Puissent tous ceux qui affligent le pays par des discussions qui ne produisent que l'animosité et le division se faire unir leurs voix et leurs efforts aux nôtres afin de promouvoir l'oeuvre de la Colonisation des Townships. Laissons-là pour un temps les débats sur l'union, pour montrer aux habitants de vos campagnes où ils peuvent trouver de belles terres pour leurs enfants.[145]

The Institut Canadien's sympathizer, l'Avenir, criticized O'Reilly for taking sides in a political debate[146], but he was not to be intimidated. On June 30, La Minerve published his reply:

> J'ai toujours blamé l'Union: mais j'aime trop les Canadiens-français pour les exciter dans ce moment-ci, à compromettre la magnifique position qu'ils occupent,

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[144] La Minerve, 8 June 1848.

[145] Le Journal de Québec, 20 June 1848.

[146] L'Avenir, 28 June 1848.

> afin de les engager dans une agitation politique, qui les plongerait infailliblement dans l'infériorité sociale dont M. LaFontaine [...] les voudrait préserver.

There was no way to avoid a confrontation from developing in Montreal's next Association meeting. One was scheduled for July 14 in order to replace the temporary central committee with democratically-elected officials. Father O'Reilly sent a letter from Sherbrooke pleading for union:

> Cette assemblée est un sanctuaire du plus pur patriotisme, comme l'association est un terraine neutre et sacré, ou toutes les vertus et toutes les opinions se peuvent et se doivent rencontrer sans bruit et sans froissement, afin de coopérer au salut de nos frères.[147]

The plea was in vain, for the La Fontaine party, led by the forceful young George-Etienne Cartier, attempted to gain control of the executive positions. When the Chair rejected Cartier's slate of candidates, he and his followers withdrew, leaving the Papineau forces in control.[148] They chose Mgr. Bourget for President, and Papineau himself as first Vice-President. Once again A. N. Morin, a La Fontaine supporter, was elected to the executive, as second Vice-President this time, but once again he refused the position.[149] As a re-

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[147] La Minerve, 17 July 1848.

[148] Henry Best, "George-Etienne Cartier" (PhD thesis, Laval University, 1969), pp.95-97; J. I. Cooper, "George Etienne Cartier in the Period of the Forties," CHAR (1938), p.77.

[149] Pouliot, Bourget, p.47; La Minerve, 17 July 1848.

sult the officers continued to be mostly Institut members - the few who were not, soon resigned. The pro-ministerial Minerve commented sardonically: "les noms de ceux qui y ont pris une part active et qui ont été nommés à la plupart des places, suffisent pour fixer l'opinion publique."[150]

In spite of his misgivings about the radical Institut group[151], Mgr. Bourget accepted the presidency of the Association, and attempted to make it operate. On July 25 he presided over a meeting of about fifty parish priests who agreed to his proposal that the Association des Townships be more closely affiliated with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. In this way some of the latter society's funds would be directed towards colonization.[152] This was necessary because the Association des Townships was not successful in raising funds in Montreal, or in forming the anticipated rural branches. In fact, the officers seem to have lost interest in the project once its political potential was exhausted.

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[150] La Minerve, 17 July 1848.

[151] In 1854 Mgr. Bourget would begin a campaign to destroy the Montreal Institut Canadien. Philippe Sylvain, "Libéralisme et ultramontanisme au Canada français: affrontement idéologique et doctrinal (1840-1865)," in W. L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles (Montreal, 1968), pp.132, 222-4.

[152] Mandements ... Montréal, II, 9-10.

It was only a matter of time before Bourget would split with them - in August he stepped down as President. He denied that the presence of Papineau on the executive was his reason,[153] but it was apparent to all that intergroup dissension had brought the organization to a standstill.[154] No successor to Bourget could be found,so the Montreal branch of the Association des Townships died a premature death, having accomplished very little. However the colonization programme which it had launched at Roxton in Shefford county lived on, thanks to funds donated by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.[155] By September, 1849, 330 colonists had acquired

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[153]ACAM, RLB, V, 19, Albert Lacombe à Hector Langevin.

[154]That the clergy continued to see the Rouge party as a rival in the field of colonization is illustrated by the following letter from a curé to his cousin, Antoine Racine:

> Nos patriotes <u>aveniristes</u> vont sécher de dépit, sans doute, par la crainte que la clergé s'acquiert encore de l'influence au moyen de cette oeuvre de colonisation; ils vont accuser nos intentions; mais nous pourrons leur dire, en commentent St. Jacques: montrez nous vos bonnes intentions sans les oeuvres, et nous, nous vous montrerons nos bonnes intentions par nos oeuvres. <u>Intentio sine operibus mortua est</u>. Tout leur grand dévouement sur le papier n'est autre chose que de la jactance, de la poudre aux yeux des sots, de la <u>Blague</u>, en un mot.

ACAS, Racine Papers, F. R. Delâge to Racine, 28 May 1851.

[155]Pouliot, <u>Bourget</u>, p.47. £260 was spent by the society in Roxton in 1849. <u>Annales de la Propagation de la Foi</u> (1850), pp.3, 64.

B.A.L. Company lots in the township, and a well-planned village was under construction.[156]

The Quebec Association des Townships survived longer than did that of Montreal because the same political posturing did not arise. This may have been largely due to the fact that Montreal, not Quebec, was the seat of the Legislature at this time. Also, the Quebec Institut Canadien was not so ideologically liberal as was that of Montreal[157], nor was there any hostility towards it on the part of the moderate Archbishop Signay. Finally, additional impetus was given to the Quebec association by the especially depressed economic conditions prevalent in that city. In addition to the suffering caused by Britain's abandonment of preferential trade[158], fires in 1845 had caused two million dollars in damages, and left 16,000 homeless.[159] The effects were still being felt in 1848, for at a July meeting of the Association, P. J. O. Chauveau moved:

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[156]M. Leblond to Mgr. Bourget, in Ibid., pp.5-9.

[157]See Jean Bruchési, "L'Institut Canadien de Québec," in Témoignages d'hier (Montreal, 1961), pp.183-201.

[158]Ouellet, Histoire Economique, pp.503-4.

[159]Annuaire (1889-90), p.485.

> Que le manque actuel de travail et la famine déjà commencée qui menacent d'envahir la société l'hiver prochain, rendent impérieux le besoin de coloniser les townships ou serait envoyés la partie de notre population qui manque de travail.[160]

Mgr. Signay's pastoral letter in support of the Association proclaimed that one of its goals was to prevent farmers from coming to town where there was no work available.[161]

Quebec sent its settlers to the crown lands of Garthby and Stratford townships in Wolfe county. Unlike Montreal's Roxton colony, this area had no land company to build mills and potasheries, so the Quebec Association itself had to fulfill these tasks as well as construct chapels and schools.[162] In contrast to the Montreal area, Father O'Reilly and A. N. Morin managed to arouse some interest among the outlying parishes of the Quebec region.[163] But it was not long before the Quebec Association also fell victim to public apathy, thereby obliging

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[160] Le Journal de Québec, 15 July 1848.

[161] Mandements .... Québec, III, 523, Circulaire addressée au clergé du Diocese de Québec par l'Association du District de Québec pour l'Etablissement des Canadiens-Français dans les Townships du Bas-Canada, 11 Aug. 1848.

[162] Ibid., p.525.

[163] Le Journal de Québec, 15 Aug. 1848, 29 Aug. 1848, 5 Sept. 1848, 31 Oct. 1848; PAC, R.G. 7, G.20, XLVII, 5104, O'Reilly to My Lord (Elgin), 14 Nov. 1848.

the Church to assume nearly all of the financial burden.[164] In addition, the Garthby-Stratford land was so barren that the settlers were forced to suffer through several years of severe deprivation before the colony became firmly established. However those who moved on their own initiative to the free colonization road grants elsewhere in the Wolfe-Beauce-northern Compton zone were more fortunate, and their numbers increased rapidly.

In itself, the Association des Townships was a failure. It was born amidst an unprecedented outburst of public enthusiasm, but political opportunism and ideological differences soon caused its demise. A basic weakness in the Association was that it attempted to do too much. Because Father O'Reilly felt that it would force the French Canadian spokesmen to transcend their deep-rooted internal differences, he encouraged the participation of the radical Institut Canadien members as well as their foes, the Church and the La Fontaine politicians. Leadership of the organization was therefore doomed to dissension from the beginning. In addition, the movement probably suffered from being touted as the answer to the emigration problem, for when it became obvious that colonization was much too slow and arduous a task to provide any instant solutions,

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[164] ACAQ, RL, XXIII, 425, Signay to Bégin, 28 April 1852.

the public quickly became apathetic. The Association des Townships died even before it was given a chance to pursue seriously its objectives. Consequently, the colonists who did settle under its auspices were left to fend for themselves. When an emergency such as the 1851 crop failure arose, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had to come to the rescue. Had the Association consisted of a smaller, more homogeneous group, and had it set itself more limited objectives, it would undoubtedly have accomplished more.

Nevertheless, the Association des Townships does represent a milestone in Quebec's history. It was the first full-scale attempt on the part of the French Canadians to expand beyond the seigneuries, and to challenge English Canadian dominance of the Eastern Townships. Its colonies not only survived to become the nucleii of rapidly-growing French Canadian populations, but, even more important as we shall see, it aroused the public to demand removal of the barriers to colonization of the Townships.

In the meantime, Father O'Reilly's sudden rise to fame[165] only increased his desire to leave Sherbrooke. Mgr.

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[165]One of Quebec's best known poets, Octave Crémazie, wrote the following of O'Reilly:

Colonisation
1853

Amis, vous souvient-il de ce jeune lévite,

Signay had promised to make up any deficit in tithes from the Propagation funds.[166] But, in spite of the fact that he was receiving more than any other missionary up to that time, O'Reilly was soon £100 in debt.[167] In February, 1848 he wrote to his bishop: "la triste expérience de six ans de troubles et de misères lui [himself] ont acquis la certitude qu'il ne fait plus de bien."[168] Finally, as with so many other Townships missionaries, O'Reilly's health began to fail him. In June of 1848 he received his discharge from Sherbrooke.[169] By this time his finances were in such a state

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De ce noble Irlandais, de cette âme d'élite,
De BERNARD O'REILLY? Jamais un Canadien
N'oublîra ce génie à l'ardente parole,
Qui brillait à nos yeux de la double auréole
De prêtre catholique et de grand citoyen.

Il vous souvient qu'un soir, en un discours sublime
Des maux de l'avenir entrevoyant l'abîme,
Il nous montrait au bord de notre Saint-Laurent,
Ces incultes forêts, cette sombre nature,
Où le castor va seul chercher sa nourriture,
Et nous disait: "Amis, la forêt vous attend!

"Devant vous se déroule un monde magnifique
"Qui veut de vos efforts l'aide patriotique.
"Votre langue et vos lois, votre religion,
"L'avenir tout entier de la race française
"Voulant se converser sur une terre anglaise,
"Tout est dans ce seul mot: COLONISATION."

[166]ACAQ, RL, XXI, 509, Signay to O'Reilly, 22 Oct. 1846.

[167]Ibid., 521, 5 Nov. 1846; McCord Museum, Hale Papers, Correspondence, 1829-1913, Miscellaneous, O'Reilly to Edward Hale, 9 Dec. 1847.

[168]ACAQ, PP.J., I-82a, O'Reilly to Signay, 13 Feb. 1848.

[169]ACAQ, RL, XXI, 343, Signay to O'Reilly, 19 June 1848.

that he had to consider selling his library in order to pay off his debts.[170] He entered the Jesuit order and, like many of the Irish priests trained in Quebec, he eventually moved to the United States. While there he wrote many well-known books, including biographies of Pius IX and Leo XIII.[171]

Bernard McGauran

Not only was O'Reilly's successor, Bernard McGauran, Sherbrooke's last English-speaking missionary, but he was assisted by a French Canadian vicar as well.[172] In spite of its rapidly-growing population, the same old problem of finances continued to plague the mission. Finally, in October 1849, Mgr. Signay lost his patience. He reminded the parishioners that they had donated only thirty louis to support two priests, barely enough to feed and lodge a domestic. As a result, Father McGauran had been forced to sell his horse to pay debts. The Sherbrooke Catholics had been supported by the Propagation of the Faith long enough - in fact some of the funds came from Catholics poorer than themselves. They were

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[170]ACAQ, D-3 R.B.-102, J. B. Robillard to Cazeau, 6 Sept. 1848.

[171]J. B. A. Allaire, Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français (Saint-Hyacinthe, 1934), I, 405.

[172]ACAQ, RL, XXII, 431, Signay to Trahan, 10 Oct. 1848. McGauran was born in Ireland on August 14, 1821. After his ordination at Quebec in 1846 he became the vicar at Saint-François du Lac. He survived an attack of typhus at

given until January to pay the promised contributions, or lose their priest.[173] The response eased conditions temporarily, but in 1850 McGauran was forced personally to spend £60 in order to expand the church's overcrowded one and a half acre lot.[174] The bishop lent McGauran the money[175] but, he was determined not to wait upon the parishioners' whim before being reimbursed. He commanded each communicant to subscribe one dollar, or face the withdrawal of their priest. The more wealthy would be forced to make up for those who could not afford to meet the contribution.[176] Amidst these trials, McGauran's weakness for alcohol became serious enough to have him transferred from Sherbrooke in 1853.[177]

Grosse-Ile in 1847, to become vicar of Saint-Patrick's, then curé of Sherbrooke in 1848. Tanguay, p.258.

[173]ACAQ, Régistre de l'Evêché, D, 54, Pastoral Letter to Sherbrooke, etc., 12 Oct. 1849.

[174]ACAQ, D.Q. II-141, McGauran to Signay, 25 March 1850.

[175]ACAQ, RL, XXIII, 228, Signay to McGauran, 30 March 1850.

[176]Ibid., 341, 5 Aug. 1850.

[177]ACESH, Series I, I, 283, Turgeon to McGauran, 20 Oct. 1853.

This does not complete the list of resident missionary-priests prior to 1850. For example, there were enough French Canadians in Arthabaska county to warrant the appointment of a curé in 1840.[178] The influx of settlers became so rapid that the bishop divided this mission in 1844, and again in 1848. Although there were few Protestants in the area to pervert the "colons", their priests had an even more difficult assignment than those of the older St. Francis Valley settlements. Not only were the Arthabaska Catholics too poor to support their curés[179], but swamps rendered communication within the area extremely difficult. In fact, one priest, Father Charles Bélanger, lost his life in the Stanfold swamp in 1845.[180]

However, the worst difficulties faced by the priests of the Eastern Townships were over at mid-century. By this time there were sufficient Catholics to make many of the missions a manageable size. Equally important, they were becoming well enough established to be able to contribute some-

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[178] Rapports [...] de Québec (1840), p.68; ACAQ, RL, XIX, 507, Signay to C. Gagnon, 1 June 1841.

[179] ACAQ, RL, XXII, 427-8, 4 Oct. 1848.

[180] F. H. Saint-Germain, Charles Héon, Fondateur de la Paroisse de Saint-Louis de Blandford (Arthabaska, 1905), p.172.

thing toward the maintenance of their churches. Finally, once responsible government had been won in 1848, Quebec politicians began to take a more active interest in developing new areas of the province. This interest had been stimulated by the reports of the missionary priests, and especially by the Association des Townships movement. The colonization drive climaxed with the enactment of the 1854 Municipalities Bill which made it impossible for absentee landowners to avoid taxation. The new taxes supplied the two primary prerequisites for territorial expansion within the Townships - firstly, land, because speculators suddenly became anxious to dispose of their undeveloped acreage, and secondly, money, which could be used for the construction and repair of roads. Before turning to the events which culminated in the long-overdue 1854 legislation, we shall examine the status of the Townships' French Canadian population at mid-century.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FRENCH CANADIAN POPULATION AT MID-CENTURY

Regardless of the position taken by the Catholic Church, more French Canadian exiles from the seigneuries would have kept on moving until they reached the United States had economic conditions not begun to improve in the Eastern Townships during the later forties.[1] It was more in response to the growing American demand for Canadian agricultural produce than to the feeble efforts of the much-publicized Association

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[1]Church propagandists repeatedly claimed that the presence of a priest was the one factor necessary to ensure the success of any French Canadian settlement. In 1845, for example, Mgr. Bourget bolstered his claim for funds from the Lyon-based Society for the Propagation of the Faith by writing:

> Il est certain que pour un grand nombre de familles, la cessation des missions serait le signal du départ. Un jour, nous rencontrons un Canadien qui déménageait. - 'Pourquoi partir, mon ami! - Que voulez-vous que je fasse ici sans prêtre? Je ne veux pas vivre comme un païen. - Comment donc? - Mais on m'a dit que vous ne reviendriez plus, et j'ai démonté ma maison. - Alors, vous pouvez la remonter, car vous aurez toujours des Missionnaires.' Et il s'en retourna content. Des faits semblables se présentent tous les jours.
>
> Alors les pauvres catholiques, sur de trouver des Missionnaires, accourront en foule auprès d'eux pour y recevoir les consolations de la Religion, ou pour s'y fixer définitivement loin de toutes les réductions de l'hérésie, et ainsi se formeront des paroisses qui pourront un jour se suffire à elles-mêmes.

Annales, XVII (1845), 266, 268.

des Townships, that French Canadians began to flood into the Eastern Townships during the late forties. Between 1844 and 1851 their numbers rose from fourteen thousand to thirty-four thousand, constituting more than two-thirds of the region's total population increase. The majority of the newcomers were colonists in the true sense of the word. They had simply moved into the empty territory adjacent to their seigneurial homeland. Most of the land in these fringe counties had been claimed by anglophones early in the century, but few of them had actually settled beyond the southwestern corner of the Eastern Townships.

The southwestern area long remained an English-speaking stronghold, but it was there that the Townships' very first French Canadian inhabitants lived. They followed on the heels of the Catholic missionaries who during the twenties began to visit the Irish immigrant population in the St. Francis Valley counties of Drummond, Richmond and Sherbrooke. Like the Irish, many of the francophones worked as labourers for the Protestant farmers who had arrived from New England a few years earlier. The anglophones settled nearly all the available land in Richmond and Sherbrooke counties, but Drummond county was close enough to the St. Lawrence, and far enough away from the American border, to leave ample space for French Canadians eventually to acquire their own land. In fact French-speaking colonists constituted the majority of its population

by mid-century.

Further East, but also adjacent to the St. Lawrence seigneuries, were the counties of Arthabaska and Megantic. Irish and Scottish immigrants, drawn by the Craig Road (completed in 1811), were the first to inhabit these counties. However their numbers were never large, and, aside from two or three townships in Megantic, most of this area was opened up by French Canadian settlers who began to arrive during the late twenties.

Still further East and South, anglophone colonists again did not spread beyond a small number of townships in the counties of Compton, Wolfe and Beauce. However, unlike Arthabaska and Megantic, these counties were too distant to attract a spontaneous migration of French Canadians. They had to be enticed to Beauce and Wolfe by government-built colonization roads, free grants of land and the promise of resident curés, churches and schools. At mid-century most of Compton's French Canadians still worked as labourers in its two American-settled townships.

At the opposite end of the Eastern Townships, there were no obstacles to migration from the Richelieu seigneuries to the nearby counties of Shefford and Missisquoi. In addition, the Société de Colonisation des Townships reached an agreement with the British American Land Company in 1848 whereby it would develop some of its Shefford holdings for French

Canadian colonists. As a result, though parts of Shefford and Missisquoi had been colonized as early as the Loyalist era, they both had sizeable French Canadian populations by 1850.

Like Missisquoi, the counties of Brome and Stanstead are on the Vermont border, so they too were early centres of American settlement. But, unlike Missisquoi, they shared no boundary with seigneurial territory, causing them to have relatively few French Canadian inhabitants not only at mid-century, but for many years after that.

Because the majority of French and English Canadians did not live in the same areas within the Townships in 1850, there was little contact or friction between the two groups. But it was inevitable that the accelerating influx of French Canadians during the later forties would arouse some consternation among the anglophone residents. This chapter will conclude with a brief examination of the English-speaking reaction to the newcomers.

Centres of Early Catholic Initiative

Drummond County

In Chapter 2 we saw how the earliest Catholic missionaries in the Eastern Townships were drawn by Irish immigrants who had ascended the St. Francis River to Drummond, Richmond and Sherbrooke counties. These missionaries in turn attracted

the first French Canadians to the Eastern Townships.[2] The Americans had already settled much of the land in Richmond and Sherbrooke, but few had gone beyond the two southernmost townships in Drummond. A wave of French Canadian settlement therefore developed from the opposite direction within Drummond county.

To the North, ninety-five percent of Upton township's 2184 inhabitants were French-speaking in 1851. Further South, Grantham had 1401 residents, sixty-nine percent of whom were French Canadians. Most of the anglophones were probably British immigrants who had been attracted by the military colony which Heriot had founded in 1815. The three central townships of Wickham, Simpson and Wendover had only 574, 87 and 216 settlers, respectively. Aside from the fact that they were low-lying and poorly drained, the development of these townships was hampered by the British American Land Company which had acquired over 15,000 acres (about one-third a township) in each of them.[3] Seventy percent of Simpson and Wend-

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[2]The first recorded permanent French Canadian settler entered Drummond county in 1822, soon after the construction of a Catholic church in Drummondville. Saint-Amant, p.437; Frère Côme Saint-Germain, Regards sur les commencements de Drummondville (Drummondville, 1965), p.17.

[3]See Appendix C. The unattractive nature of these townships prevented American settlers from moving further North earlier in the century.

over and a third of Wickham was French Canadian. The two southernmost townships of Durham and Kingsey, in the fertile piedmont section of the county, had populations of 2208 and 2262 respectively. Many of their inhabitants were Americans who had followed the St. Francis River from the South. However, while Durham was only nineteen percent French Canadian, Kingsey was already half. Because the Kingsey francophones had immigrated from the North via the Nicolet River, they inhabited the swampier land in the northeastern corner of the township.[4]

In Drummond county as a whole, there were 5049 French Canadians in 1851 - fifty-seven percent of the population. This represented an increase of 1840 since 1844, when they were fifty-two percent of the population. Most of the 3000 in the northernmost townships of Upton and Grantham were independent farmers, while many of the 1500 in the two southernmost townships of Durham and Kingsey either worked for Americans or tilled inferior soil. However the ensuing decades would see the French Canadians not only expand within the more northern townships, which they already dominated at mid-century, but gradually take over the southwestern anglo-Canadian stronghold

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[4]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, p.346; C. S. Delaney, "French Village (St. Felix de Kingsey)," in Richmond County Historical Society, Annals of Richmond County and Vicinity (Sherbrooke, 1968), II, 210.

as well.

Richmond County

Because Richmond county is in large part a fertile area lying along the St. Francis River, Americans settled here early in the nineteenth century.[5] In addition, Irish and Scots followed the Craig Road to Shipton township in the northeastern corner of the county. In 1802 one hundred thirty French Canadian militia veterans and widows were granted fifteen ranges in the township of Windsor, but they sold their holdings to speculators.[6] As a result, it was Irish immigrants who attracted the first Catholic missionaries to the county in 1824.[7]

In 1844 there were 501 French Canadians in Richmond, and by 1851 this number had become 664, still only ten percent of the total population. 432 of these had ascended the St. Francis and Nicolet Rivers to settle in the northeastern town-

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[5]Mrs. C. M. Day, History of the Eastern Townships (Montreal, 1869), pp.418, 424, 429.

[6]Day, p.434; Bouchette, A Topographical Description, p.352.

[7]ACAQ, RL, II, 436, Plessis to Stephen Burroughs, 5 Feb. 1824.

ship of Shipton. The remaining few were in Windsor and Melbourne. Before making a real impact on the county, the French Canadians would have to wait for the English-speaking farmers to begin to sell out, for new industries to appear.

Sherbrooke County

Still further South lies Sherbrooke county. Because it became the largest population centre in the Eastern Townships, Sherbrooke was eventually reduced to two townships, Ascot and Orford. Their chief attraction certainly did not lie in their soil, for although Ascot is reasonably fertile, Orford is "mountainous, rough, and almost unfit for tillage."[8] But Sherbrooke was the highest navigable point on the St. Francis River which, in spite of its many obstacles, remained the region's principal source of communication with the St. Lawrence Valley even after the first roads were built.[9] Sherbrooke is also at the mouth of the Magog River, which drains Lake Memphramagog. This was the route used by early American settlers to gain access to the heart of the Eastern Townships. From the earliest years, therefore, the greater part of the trade between the St. Lawrence and New England

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[8]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, p.276.

[9]Martel, p.57.

passed through Sherbrooke, either by road or by river.[10] Equally important, there was abundant water power available where the Magog tumbled into the St. Francis.

The first French Canadians to live in Sherbrooke were servants of W. B. Felton, Crown Lands agent and Legislative Councillor.[11] Father John Holmes began to visit the area regularly after 1824[12], and a Catholic chapel was completed around 1828[13], but only a few French Canadian families trickled in before 1830.[14] The real influx came in the 1840's when the British American Land Company began to develop the town into an industrial centre.[15] In 1844 there were about 2200 people in the town of Sherbrooke[16], and 4847 in the county as a

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[10]Hills, p.33.

[11]O'Bready, "Jean ou John Holmes", pp.83, 106.

[12]Ibid., p.106.

[13]M. Power to Panet, 10 Aug. 1828. Quoted in O'Bready, "Jean ou John Holmes," p.62.

[14]Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Sherbrooke, Brochure souvenir à l'occasion de la célébration des noces d'or (Sherbrooke, 1908), p.5; Robert Desvignes, "Introduction régionale et locale à l'étude des canadiens-français et canadiens-anglais à Sherbrooke" (unpublished manuscript at University of Sherbrooke, 1970), p.89.

[15]BALC, Information respecting the Eastern Townships (Quebec, 1842), [n.p.]; Skelton, p.8; McCord Museum, Hale Papers, E. Hale to E. Hale (uncle), 25 Oct. 1844; Ibid., A. T. Galt to E. Hale, 16 Dec. 1844, 11 Nov. 1848; Montreal Transcript, 27 Aug. 1844. Quoted in Innis and Lower, II, 301.

[16]The 1852 Census does not separate the town's popula-

whole. 699 of these (fourteen percent) were French Canadians, an increase of 320 since 1844. As we saw in examining the careers of Father J. B. McMahon and his successors, the pre-1850 years were difficult ones for the Sherbrooke Catholics. But better days lay ahead. The arrival of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad in 1852 would ensure Sherbrooke's development as a major manufacturing centre, and the demand for labour would be met largely by the seigneuries' excess population.

Centres of Spontaneous French Canadian Colonization

In the northern corner of the Eastern Townships the counties of Arthabaska and Megantic were not only deprived of any practicable water communications with the St. Lawrence, but they were far removed from the early centres of American colonization. As a result, they grew much more slowly than the three counties we have just examined. Some British immigrants followed the Craig and Gosford Roads to the area, but they remained a small isolated community until the French Canadians began to inundate the two counties during the thirties.

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tion but in the 1844, 1861 and 1871 Census Reports the town had about half the population of the county.

Arthabaska County

Though Arthabaska lies adjacent to the St. Lawrence Valley, a long line of marshland[17] effectively prevented any French Canadians of the South Shore seigneuries from penetrating the "Bois Francs" area until the mid twenties.[18] Two swamps in particular became notorious for the obstacle they presented to travellers. The larger of the two, the Stanfold swamp, was impassable for seven months of the year - even then a full day's journey was usually required to cross it.[19] Vehicles could not be used except during the coldest winter months, which meant that potash salts (the area's chief staple) usually had to be carried on the settlers' backs, often resulting in painful burns.[20] Only the desperate were willing to face such hardships: "C'étaient pour la plupart, des journaliers ou des habitants ruinées, qui n'apportaient avec eux que les utensils de première nécessité et de maigres provisions pour quelques mois."[21] Because the influx was a spon-

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[17]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.369-73.

[18]The northern townships in Arthabaska and Megantic were christened the Bois Francs by their earliest French Canadian colonists because their hardwood trees contrasted with the conifers of the North shore. The first French Canadian colonist arrived in 1825. Mailhot, I, 18.

[19]Mailhot, I, 78; Charles Trudelle, "Les Bois Francs," Le Foyer Canadien, I (1863), 30.

[20]Mailhot, I, 84; Trudelle, p.38.

[21]Trudelle, p.27.

taneous one, with no organization by Catholic priests[22], the colonists settled in isolated pockets cut off from each other by marshland. Stanfold was first settled in 1832, Arthabaska township in 1835 and nearby Somerset (in Megantic county) in 1836.[23]

Another obstacle to the progress of colonization was the difficulty in acquiring land titles. Most of Arthabaska had long since been divided among speculators who demanded prices far beyond the means of the penniless habitants.[24] Only in Blandford did the first settlers receive government grants:[25] "les autres n'ont pas cet avantage et peuvent être forcés de déguerpir et de chercher fortune ailleurs."[26] Stanfold colonists could not build a chapel in 1842 because they were not certain whether or not they would eventually be evicted.[27] This problem continued to plague the county well into the fif-

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[22]The first resident priest was appointed in 1840. Mailhot, I, 99.

[23]Mailhot, I, 18-19.

[24]In Gérin-Lajoie's popular novel Jean Rivard le Défricheur, the first task of the hero, upon entering the Bois Francs in 1843, is to buy an uncleared lot from an English-speaking speculator, See Gérin-Lajoie, pp.19-24.

[25]Fifty-three grants of 210 acres each were made in 1824. Langelier, p.61.

[26]ACAQ, RL, XV, 295, Signay to Carrier, 4 March 1833.

[27]Rapports sur les missions du Diocèse du Québec, IV (1842), 101.

ties.[28]

The fact that most of the colonists were "squatting" on the land wihout permission made it difficult for them to exert pressure upon the government to build roads[29], especially because the marshy nature of the terrain made construction very costly. Furthermore, the roads which were completed were quickly neglected because the settlers were too poor to pay road duties,and the speculators evaded them. The Gentilly Road, an access route from the seigneuries, was started by the government in 1829, but it was so primitively constructed as to be barely passable.[30] Furthermore, it went no further than the Bécancour River in Blandford township. Although this road was the county's only link between Lévis and the Nicolet River, with the outside world[31], it was not extended to Arthabaska township until 1846.[32] Even then the condition of the Gentilly Road remained far from ideal, but its comple-

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[28]Ibid., II (1840), 69; IV (1842), 101; Le Canadien Emigrant.

[29]Martel, p.207.

[30]Bouchette, A Topographical Dictionary, see "Gentilly Road."

[31]Mailhot, I, 177.

[32]Caron, "Historique de la voirie," p.468. Father Bélanger's death from exposure in the Stanfold swamp the previous year may have spurred this construction.

tion did stimulate a flood of settlers to the rich piedmont land in the southeastern part of the county.

In spite of the great hardships suffered, the struggle to colonize Arthabaska was won in less than twenty years. When the first resident missionary arrived in 1840, he reported 850 communicants, all French Canadians, in a mission which included Megantic's Somerset township and all of Arthabaska county outside Tingwick and Chester.[33] Two years later the number had jumped to 1300, and in 1845 there were 2600 Catholics in the area.[34] The county of Arthabaska itself had 2408 French Canadians in 1844, according to the official census of that year, and by 1851 this number had jumped to 5183, eighty-three percent of the total population. Over seventy percent of the French Canadians were in Stanfold, Arthabaska and Chester townships, at the eastern end of the county. Because it lay on the seigneurial side of the Stanfold swamp, Blandford had been settled earlier, but its low, marshy lands stunted its growth. By 1851 it still had only 392 inhabitants. Warwick and Horton were also too poorly-drained to attract many settlers.[35] In the southern corner of the county, Ting-

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[33] Rapports sur les Missions, II (1840), 68; ACAQ, RL, XIX, 507, Signay to C. Gagnon, 1 June 1841.

[34] Rapports sur les Missions, IV (1842), 101; VI (1845), 154.

[35] Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.369, 371.

wick was the one English-speaking stronghold.

The construction of the Quebec-Richmond branch of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1852, in addition to the road-building and land-holding reforms introduced by the government during the early fifties, would constrain Arthabaska's two primary enemies - inadequate communications routes and absentee proprietors. As a result, the French-speaking population would double between 1851 and 1860.

Megantic County

By 1831 over 2000 Irish and Scottish immigrants had followed either the Craig Road or the Bécancour River to the townships of Leeds, Inverness and Ireland. Among them were about 200 Catholics.[36] The only other inhabitants of the hilly but reasonably fertile Megantic county were seventy-odd colonists in Halifax township. About half of these were French Canadians who had arrived from South of Quebec City.[37] Although they numbered fifty families by 1839[38], the Archbishop of Quebec did not appoint a resident priest until 1849,

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[36]Canada, Manuscript Census, 1831.

[37]Pierre-Georges Roy, "Saint-Ferdinand d'Halifax," BRH, III (1897), 17.

[38]Blanchard, p.341.

after his delegate had reported:

> Monseigneur, cette partie de votre troupeau est dans un état déplorable; l'état de leurs affaires en ruines, leurs dettes écrasantes, leurs défauts mêmes qu'ils reconnaissent les réduisent à un état d'abattement qui approche du désespoir. "Un prêtre! un prêtre!" s'écrient-ils "ou nous sommes perdus" ....[39]

This discouraging state of affairs was not reflected by the township's population growth, for between 1844 and 1851, 1895 French Canadians settled there, raising their percentage from sixty-seven to eighty-eight.

French Canadians from the nearby seigneuries began to drift into Somerset (to the northwest of Halifax) in 1836[40], for geographically it was a part of the Bois Francs. By 1851 the township had 2256 francophone inhabitants, ninety-eight percent of its population. Nearby Nelson still had only 471 inhabitants, less than half of whom were French-speaking. It is not an infertile township, but it seems to have been handicapped by the fact that the principal roads running through Megantic by-passed it. In addition, a certain Peter Patterson managed to acquire over 8500 acres of its crown lands between

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[39]Quoted in Lucien Gagné, Notice sur la Paroisse de Saint-Ferdinand, comté de Mégantic, P.Q. (Arthabaska, 1913), p.13.

[40]Mailhot, I, 19.

1840 and 1848[41], proving that land granting abuses had not been entirely eliminated even at that late date. In the opposite corner of the county, the year 1851 found Ireland and Coleraine with 802 inhabitants, 206 of whom were French Canadians. Most of the francophones were in Coleraine, close to Lake Aylmer, where a young colony had been established by the Quebec Association des Townships. At the same time, the mountainous, barren township of Thetford still had only seventy-five settlers, including eighteen French Canadians. The older townships of Leeds and Inverness remained anglophone bastions, with less than ten percent of their 4000 inhabitants speaking French. However Megantic county's British settlers were already surrounded and outnumbered - in the seven short years between 1844 and 1851 the French Canadian ratio climbed from thirty-five to fifty-three percent.

Centres of Organized French Canadian Colonization

Because most of Wolfe and Compton, as well as the southern part of Beauce, were situated in the mountainous and isolated eastern end of the Townships, they were the last area to be extensively populated. Americans and the early wave of British immigrants colonized only small corners of each of the three counties. During the thirties and forties, Scottish

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[41]Langelier, I, 602-3.

Highlanders moved into the rugged northeastern part of Compton, but extensive settlement did not really get under way until an organized colonization programme began to establish French Canadians during the late forties. Shefford county was an entirely different case, for it is a relatively fertile area located in the more prosperous southwestern part of the Townships. Part of it was even settled by late Loyalists. However the British American Land Company acquired sizeable holdings in the county, thereby delaying development until the French Canadians were ready to organize a colonization project in 1848.

Beauce County

Because that part of Beauce county which lies either near or alongside the upper Chaudière River (much of today's Dorchester county) was never held under seigneurial tenure, it is included with the Eastern Townships. In this remote area there are seventeen and a half townships, many of which are quite mountainous. The more southerly ones were the last to be settled in the entire region.

The earliest Beauce township to be colonized was the northernmost one, Broughton. It attracted some of the British immigrants passing through nearby Leeds (Megantic county) via

the Craig Road.[42] The first French Canadians did not arrive until 1841[43], but there were 95 in the township in 1844, and by 1851 they were already half of the 612 inhabitants.

To the immediate South, Tring was actually opened by French Canadians. They numbered thirty-eight in 1831.[44] There is no trace of them in the 1844 census but by 1851 they were 1711 strong, with only two English-speaking neighbours.

Further South again, the upper Chaudière townships of Shenley, Dorset, Gayhurst, Risborough, Spaulding and Ditchfield were still empty in 1851. South of Ditchfield, neither Clinton nor Woburn would be settled for several more decades. To the East of this long thin line of townships, Jersey and Marlow had 109 and 23 inhabitants, respectively, by 1851. They lived along the Kennebec Road which the government had built to connect Quebec with Maine in 1830.[45] All but 24 were anglophones.

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[42]Bouchette found a settlement in Broughton in 1815. Bouchette, Topographical Description, p.575. An unofficial census taken in 1819 records forty-seven inhabitants. Caron, "Colonization of Canada," p.537. The 1831 Manuscript Census lists 111 colonists, all anglophones.

[43]Joseph-Alfred Lapointe, Saint-Pierre de Broughton; esquisse historique ([St. Pierre de Broughton], 1941), p.20.

[44]Canada, Manuscript Census, 1831.

[45]Blanchard, p.332.

The French Canadians concentrated on settling Beauce's westernmost townships - Forsyth, Aylmer, Lambton and Price. Beginning in 1845, they were attracted by the offer of free grants along the Lambton Road, running from the Chaudière River through Tring, Forsyth and Lambton to Lake St. Francis.[46] By 1851, Forsyth had 390 settlers, Lambton had 558 and Aylmer and Price, to the South, had 264 and 42, respectively. All were French Canadians. Unfortunately this rapid population growth was not matched by economic progress. Like the other roads built by the government during the forties, the Lambton Road was quickly allowed to deteriorate. Local landholders were responsible for its upkeep, but there were only thirty or forty families living along its entire thirty mile length. In addition, half the land was owned by absentee proprietors who evaded road-work and taxes.[47] By 1851 the road was "in an almost impassable state,"[48] leaving thirty families "under the deplorable necessity of subsisting on boiled herbs, rasp-

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[46] Rapports sur les Missions, VI (1845), 151. The 1844 census records nine French Canadians living in Lambton.

[47] Appendix to the Second Report of the Special Committee (report of Rev. N. Nazaire A. Leclerc), in Appendix no. 5, JLAC, X (1851). Tring, Shenley and Dorset were the only Beauce Townships in which large scale grants of crown lands were made early in the nineteenth century. Langelier, I, 109-49.

[48] Le Canadien Emigrant.

berries and bilberries during a great part of the summer."[49] Tring and Lambton had each been assigned a resident curé in 1848, but, needless to say, the poverty of the settlers necessitated generous support by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.[50] Nevertheless, the settlers of the Beauce townships were there to stay. The worst difficulties were over by 1851, by which time the population had reached 3182, eighty-seven percent of whom were French-speaking.

Wolfe County

To the West of Beauce, Wolfe's northern townships (Wolfestown, Ham, Garthby, Stratford) are rugged and rather barren, but those further South (Wotton, Dudswell, Weedon) are reasonably fertile.[51] The St. Francis River, whose source is Lake Aylmer in northern Wolfe, carried a few of the early American settlers as far as Dudswell in the southern corner of the county.[52] However by 1851 this township's population was still only 500, twenty-two of whom were French Canadians.

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[49]Leclerc's report.

[50]ACAQ, RL, XXII, 428, Signay to M. Leclerc, 4 Oct. 1848; 426-7, Signay to L. Provencher, 4 Oct. 1848; 619-20, Signay to L. Provencher, 31 Aug. 1849; Rapports sur les Missions, IX (1851), 126.

[51]Day, pp.464-5, 468.

[52]Day, pp.462-4; Bouchette, A Topographical Description, p.361.

Anglophone settlers were also the first to arrive in Wolfestown, Ham and Wotton, to the North-West of Dudswell. Those of Wolfestown and Ham were British immigrants who had followed the Gosford Road, but very few settled for any length of time, for by 1844 there were only 38 anglophones in Wolfestown; 11 in Ham and 36 in Wotton. Considerably more arrived between 1844 and 1851, but not enough to match the French Canadians who first began colonizing the area at this time. By 1851 there were 814 French Canadians and 357 anglophones in the three townships.[53]

The French Canadian influx into Wolfe county during the late forties was too rapid to be entirely spontaneous. In fact much of it was highly organized by both the government and the Catholic Church. The initiative was taken in 1848 when the Quebec City branch of the Association de Colonisation des Townships convinced the government to build colonization roads in Wolfe and northern Compton counties, and to allot fifty acres without charge to each family which settled along these roads. A colonist could purchase one hundred fifty additional acres, contiguous to the original grant, at four shillings per acre.[54]

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[53]See Stanislas Drapeau, Etudes sur les développements de la colonisation du Bas-Canada depuis 10 ans (1851 à 1861) (Québec, 1863), p.164.

[54]Le Journal de Québec, 6 June 1848.

This was, in effect, a continuation of the free grant system which the government had initiated in 1845 alongside the Lambton Road in Beauce. There were to be four roads, the Wotton, the Megantic, the Victoria and a southern extension of the Lambton Road. The Wotton Road would begin in Shipton township then pass through Wotton and Ham to the Gosford Road, thereby connecting Wotton to both the Craig and Gosford trunk roads. The Megantic Road would run from the Gosford Road in Ham, through Garthby and Stratford, and into Compton county where it would end at Lake Megantic. The Victoria Road and the Lambton Road extension (known as the St. Francis Road) were to lie entirely within northern Compton county.

The colonization society itself planned to build chapels and schools, and to support missionaries. The government promised to grant ten free acres for each chapel site, and to sell the remaining ninety acres of each lot for only £8.[55]

People were so anxious to acquire the free land that they began to arrive in August, although they had been warned that the surveys would not be completed before September.[56] By early September colonists had claimed forty-four lots, and

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[55] Ibid.; ACAQ, RL, XXIII, 163, Signay to O. Arcand, 30 Jan. 1850.

[56] Le Journal de Québec, 19 Aug. 1848.

twelve of them had started clearing operations.[57] Although the Association des Townships cautioned that only those who could support themselves for a time should go to the colony[58], Garthby, on the western shore of Lake Aylmer, was colonized by unemployed labourers from Quebec City. Many who arrived before the township had been surveyed faced famine until construction of the Megantic Road could begin. They were then gainfully employed, but this could not last forever. Unfortunately, not only was Garthby and Stratford's soil of poor quality, but the time spent on road-work caused delay in the clearing operations. The result was that several times the government agent, Olivier Arcand, was obliged to save the colonists from starvation. In 1849 the funds donated by the colonization society to build a chapel had to be spent on seed grain. (The chapel was built at Arcand's own expense a year later.) Understandably, some families became so discouraged that they returned to Quebec City, or went to New England. Of those who remained, the men had to go to Quebec two or three times a year to work on the docks in order to earn enough money to bring back provisions. While they were gone, their wives and children were at times reduced to subsisting on wild fruit.[59]

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[57] Ibid., 9 Sept. 1848.

[58] Mandements [...] Québec, III, 525, 11 Aug. 1848.

[59] Annuaire, 1889-90, pp.486, 488, 490, 496-97.

A curé was appointed to Garthby in 1851, but, not surprisingly, he soon became discouraged. Before his recall in 1852, he wrote:

> De toute ma dîme réunie de Garthby et de Stratford, dont la somme pour le blé peut s'élever à douze minots, pour l'avoine, neuf minots, et le reste en diminuant, c'est à peine si je pourrai sauver du naufrage de l'envahissement assez de farine pour deux mois; le reste est absorbé par des suppliants affamés, et il va sans dire que c'est une cession sans argent comptant, de sorte que la famine va bientôt reduire au même niveau et le porteur et les ouailles.[60]

He was not exaggerating, for 1852 was a famine year, the colonists having lost most of their crops to frosts the previous fall. An eye-witness reported to the Montreal Gazette:

> On Monday the 5th instant, a family of 8, named Ramsay, had had for four days preceding only half a minot of bad potatoes to eat. It was a sight to behold in what a state these unfortunates were. Two infants extended on a bed, where they were kept by sickness brought on by their enforced fast, and near them on a miserable couch their poor mother, a hideous skeleton, with an infant of two months in her arms, having no milk to give it, the source being dried by privation and suffering. Farther on there was a poor family named Houle, without nourishment, money, or provisions of any kind, reduced by famine to mendicity, and their neighbours so poor themselves, obliged to relieve them for three months, and so

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[60] F. Bégin to Turgeon, 11 April 1852. Quoted in Ibid., p.500.

> poor themselves as to be on the point of soliciting aid from others just a little less indigent. Another family have lived for weeks and weeks on glue made of frozen wheat, and are reduced to such a state of physical weakness as to be incapable of labour. At this moment, too, there are, in another family, four poor children extending the hand for bread to enable them to live until the return of their father, who is absent and uncertain about coming back.[61]

The starving colonists petitioned the Archbishop of Quebec "pour obtenir de l'association de la Colonisation des secours dont ils ont absolument besoin pour ne pas mourir de faim, d'ici à l'ouverture de navigation."[62] The Association des Townships, which had placed them in Garthby, had already disintegrated, but Mgr. Turgeon managed to collect some £28 from religious communities and clergy. The money was spent on provisions which were sent to Richmond by rail, but the unfortunate colonists did not even have the means to transport the food the remaining distance to their homes. Archbishop Turgeon promised to approach laymen for the extra funds needed, but he was pessimistic concerning the results: "... j'aurais peu d'espérances de succès, si j'en juge par l'impossibilité où s'est trouvé la société de Colonisation de recueillir parmi

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[61]Quoted in Standstead Journal, 6 May 1852.

[62]ACAQ, RL, XXIII, 425, Turgeon to F. Bégin, 7 April 1852.

les citoyens toute la somme que j'avais été obliger d'avancer, il y a 2 ans, pour fournir de la semence à vos colons."[63] It was obvious that from that point on, the colony would be on its own.

Stratford, across Lake Aylmer from Garthby, was colonized by families from the South Shore seigneuries.[64] Two hundred families who came from the single parish of St. Grégoire, were said to be "all substantial farmers, or the sons of wealthy parents."[65] Although better-suited to be colonists than were Garthby's urban labourers, their plight was no better. Their names too are to be found on petitions for food and seed grain.[66] Nevertheless, there was little danger that either Stratford or Garthby would be abandoned completely, for at mid-century, their populations were 124 and 141, respectively.

South of Garthby and Stratford, the township of Weedon was by-passed by the colonization roads, probably because a

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[63] Ibid., 28 April 1852.

[64] Le Journal de Québec, 14 Nov., 18 Nov. 1848.

[65] PAC, R.G. 7, 620, XLVII, 5104, B. O'Reilly to My Lord [Governor General], 11 Nov. 1848.

[66] The Scots who settled nearby Winslow in northern Compton also suffered from a crop failure in 1851.

large part of it had fallen into the hands of the British American Land Company.[67] Due to the fact that the company had done nothing to develop its holdings, Weedon, though more fertile than the surrounding Wolfe townships, supported only one settler before 1847.[68] At this point some families arrived from Bagot county, so that by mid-century the population was 299, all but seven of whom were French Canadians. They were in a better position than their Garthby and Stratford neighbours, for in 1851 it was reported that "plusieurs sont déjà dans un état d'aisance."[69]

In fact, aside from those in Garthby and Stratford, most of the French Canadian settlers of Wolfe County were reasonably secure by mid-century. Although the majority had arrived within the previous half decade (the population outside Dudswell was only 145 in 1844), they were already 2235 in number, sixty-two percent of the entire population. One might well question the morality of encouraging penniless families

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[67] In addition to the 8600 crown land acres acquired by the B.A.L. Company in 1840, the township formed part of a 90,544 acre tract purchased in 1847. Langelier, II, 1097.

[68] Annuaire, 1890-91, pp.598, 601, 605.

[69] Rapports sur les missions, IX (1851), 126.

to settle barren lands but for our purposes the important consideration is that the free grant system did open the county to permanent French Canadian settlement.

Compton County

During the nineteenth century Compton county included the whole southeastern corner of the Eastern Townships, sixteen and a half townships in all. Its great size was a result of its low population density, for the eastern section of Compton, with the southernmost townships of Beauce, is the most isolated area of the Eastern Townships. Furthermore, the topography is mountainous and the land tends to be stony.[70] The result was that by Confederation Compton remained the only county with large amounts of unsettled land. This is why, as we shall see in Part III, all of the colonization schemes which the provincial government dreamed up for the Eastern Townships were centered in this county.

Although most of Compton's townships had been granted to a few individuals early in the century, the only area to be settled was its southwestern corner. Not only was this area closest to Sherbrooke, the centre of communications, but its

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[70]Armand Pacquet, "Lac Mégantic: une ville industrielle à vocation forestière" (License ès Lettres, Laval University, 1971), p.11; Paul Périnet, "Aperçu géographique du comté de Frontenac" (Thèse de licence, Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, 1945), p.23.

soil was well-suited for agriculture. Finally, its township leaders were more conscientious than most in their efforts to found colonies.[71] As early as 1815 Bouchette found flourishing settlements in both Compton and Eaton townships. There were several saw and grist mills, some potasheries and pearlasheries, and good roads and bridges providing communication with the main thoroughfares to Quebec and Vermont. Compton had about 700 inhabitants, while Eaton had 600.[72] The neighbouring southeastern townships developed more slowly. In 1815 Clifton and Hereford each had only 200 inhabitants, while Newport had 160 and Westbury had 60.[73] The remainder of Compton county was deserted.

On his return visit seventeen years later, Bouchette found only 1200 settlers in Compton township, 805 in Eaton, 83 in Clifton, 160 in Hereford, 94 in Newport and 56 in Westbury.[74] Rough though they may be, these estimates illustrate clearly that Compton county's development was extremely slow

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[71]Caron, "Colonization of Canada," pp.183-4; Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.357-61; Day, pp.388, 398-9.

[72]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.356-7, 360.

[73]Ibid., pp.358-9, 361, 363.

[74]Bouchette, A Topographical Dictionary.

during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. By the time the American influx into British North America was coming to an end, Compton had only 2400 settlers, concentrated for the most part within two townships.

As a result,much of the county was included in the St. Francis tract which was sold to the British American Land Company in 1834. The northwestern townships of Bury, Lingwick and Hampden became the company's centre of operations, and remained within its hands even after most of the tract was relinquished to the government in 1840. During the thirties the company invested money lavishly in roads, mills and townhouses. In 1836 a village named Victoria was chopped out of the wilderness in Lingwick township, near the Bury and Hampden boundaries. Here the company established about 300 families of English agricultural labourers.[75] The village consisted of thirty houses, a saw mill, two or three stores and a large building which functioned as church, school house and company office. The settlers were supplied with everything they could desire. An early local historian wrote that provisions were so plentiful that the colonists used dough, made from the flour

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[75]BALC, Lower Canada Lands for Sale in the Eastern Townships (London, 1837), [n.p.]. Two later sources claim that there were between 100 and 200 urban poor. Channell, p.33; Annuaire, 1891-2, p.27.

given them, to plaster their houses.[76] But the extravagance did not last long, for at the end of the first year the settlers heard that the company not only expected to be reimbursed for the provisions and the ship passages, but wanted high prices for the land grants as well. The result was a general exodus to the United States.[77]

The English settlers were temporarily replaced by Irish Catholics and French Canadians. In August of 1837 Father John McMahon, Sherbrooke's Catholic missionary, wrote:

> Il y a bon nombre de catholiques à Salmon River [Victoria] qui est le principal établissement de la British American Land Company, dans le canton de Bury. Les famillies anglaises quittent cet endroit pour s'en aller aux Etats-Unis; et les colons catholiques irlandais et canadiens prennent leur place.[78]

In September he claimed that there were eighty to one hundred Catholics in the colony, and in 1838 he reported a total of 102 parishioners.[79] But by 1839 the Catholic population

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[76]Channell, pp.33-34.

[77]Ibid.; Annuaire, 1891-2, p.37. The development of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company's tract between the St. John and the Miramichi Rivers followed a strikingly similar course at this time. See Ivan J. Saunders, "The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company and the Settlement of Stanley, New Brunswick" (MA Thesis, U.N.B., 1969), pp.62-75.

[78]Quoted in Annuaire, 1891-2, p.30.

[79]Ibid., p.31.

had also diminished. Father McMahon blamed this on the religious zeal of their Protestant neighbours. He had discouraged contact between the two groups by refusing to use the chapels built by the company to serve all religious denominations[80]; nevertheless "les prédicants méthodistes et baptistes font beaucoup de mal parmi les catholiques par leurs calomnies et leur esprit de discorde."[61] The Catholic population continued to decline, for the 1842 census records only fourteen in Lingwick, three of whom were French Canadians.[82] In 1846 the missionary reported fifteen poor and miserable Catholic families[83]; by 1851 there were none.

The B. A. L. Company's other settlements did not fare much better than Victoria. By 1840 the storehouses in the village of Gould, further North in Lingwick township, were falling into ruin, and the village of Robinson, in Bury township, was deserted by all but four families. All the sawmills, forges and pearlasheries lay idle, and many of the roads

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[80]Annuaire, 1891-2, p.31; ACAQ, RL, XVIII, 146, Signay to J. B. McMahon, 7 Oct. 1837.

[81]Quoted in Annuaire, 1891-2, p.31.

[82]Canada, Manuscript Census, 1842. The 1844 Census records eleven Catholics, none of whom were French Canadians.

[83]Annuaire, 1891-2, p.31.

were already impassable, "grown up with bushes four feet high."[84] The Rebellion of 1837-8 had interrupted the influx of English immigrants, making it impossible to replace the departing colonists. A slight improvement in immigration during the early forties revived Robinson and Gould, but Victoria became a ghost town because of the poor soil in the area.

Most of the new settlers were Scottish Highlanders, forced from their homes by landlords who were converting their holdings into sheep-runs.[85] In 1838 the first eight Highland families were settled along a projected road between Bury and Gould. They built the road themselves in order to repay the B. A. L. Company for their land and for the oatmeal they were forced to subsist on during the first year.[86] The company's short period of generosity had obviously ended. The Quebec immigration agent tried to induce it to guarantee work and to build log huts for the Scottish crofters, but the company promised jobs for one season only. After that, the settlers would have to support themselves by hauling timber.[87] Fifty

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[84]Skelton, p.6.

[85]Edward Carruthers Woodley, "Compton Cameos from the early history of Compton County," in Sherbrooke Daily Record, 7 July - 18 Aug. 1945.

[86]Channell, pp.256-7.

[87]Cowan, p.137. Unlike the B. A. L. Company, the N.B. and N.S. Land Company had much better luck with its English settlers than with its Highlanders. See Saunders, pp.195-207.

years later Oscar Dhu (Angus MacKay), a Gaelic-speaking Compton poet, described their journey from Quebec as follows:

> They journeyed from Quebec in carts -
> The trip was rough and slow;
> No railroad coaches glided then
> As now both to and fro.
>
> [...]
>
> No rails from Sherbrooke to the 'Lake'
> Invaded hill or glen -
> John Henry Pope (old Compton's hope)
> Was but a stripling then.
> At length the little village known
> As Sherbrooke is attained
> Where our devoted immigrants
> Accommodation gained.
> The rich B. A. L. Company
> Now takes their case in hand
> Inducing all at prices small (?)
> To settle on their land.[88]

Most of the Scots came from the Island of Lewis, which suffered three successive famines during the forties.[89] Their plight in Compton county was little better at first, for in August, 1841 they were reported to be starving.[90] In 1848,

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[88]Oscar Dhu, Donald Morrison, The Canadian Outlaw; A Tale of the Scottish Pioneers (1892), p.16.

[89]Norman Macdonald, Canada. Immigration and Colonization 1841-1903 (Toronto, 1966), p.70. Others came from Harris, Skye, and Uist, with an occasional mainlander. Margaret Ross, "Lewis Settlers of the Eastern Townships," The Canadian Magazine, LXI (1923), 172.

[90]Montreal Gazette, 16 Nov. 1841. Quoted in Morehouse, p.310.

when the government began to build the Megantic and St. Francis Roads through the township of Winslow (part of the St. Francis tract rescinded by the B. A. L. Company in 1840), many Scottish families deserted the company holdings for free fifty-acre lots offered along the roads.[91] But their trials were still not over. Like the French Canadians in the nearby Garthby and Stratford colonies, the Scots of Winslow and Lingwick were reduced to near starvation by the crop failure of 1851. Fortunately they were assisted by the government, as well as by sympathizers from Sherbrooke and Montreal.[92]

The last major crisis faced by the Winslow Scots came in 1857 when they were threatened with cancellation of their holdings for non-fulfillment of settlement duties. Compton's tough new Member of the Legislative Assembly, John Henry Pope, protested to the Department of Crown Lands, but in vain. Consequently when the lands were publicly auctioned, Pope personally defied anyone to purchase a lot which was already occupied. No one met the challenge, which gave Pope time to

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[91]Woodley, p.4; Channel, p.268; J. P. Jones "History of Lake Megantic, 1760-1921," II, part 1 (unpublished manuscript at PAC, M.G. 30 H17); Day, p.407; Le Canadien Emigrant.

[92]PAC, R.G. 1, E1, State Books-Province of Canada, LXXIV, 584-5; LXXV, 3-4; Stanstead Journal, 6 May 1852; ACAQ, Di.Sh.I-1d, J. D. Arcand to Cazeau, 28 March 1852.

obtain a land title for every legitimate colonist. This earned him the undying gratitude of Compton's Scottish population, an important factor in his political longevity.[93]

It is clear that after its initial setback, the B. A. L. Company did little to develop the Compton townships. The Scottish colonists came unassisted[94], and were left to

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[93]J. H. Pope contested his early elections as a farmer, denouncing the Sherbrooke "family compact and the oppression of the British American Land Company." He was twice defeated by the annexationist J. S. Sanborn before the latter finally retired in his favour in 1857. Pope's interests in farming, mining, lumbering, manufacturing and railroad construction in the Eastern Townships, plus his strong defence of local interests, made him politically unassailable in Compton which he represented without a break until his death in 1889. He sat in the federal House after Confederation, and was Minister of Agriculture from 1871 to 1873, and from 1878 to 1885. He was the government's "tower of strength" behind the building of the C.P.R. and became Minister of Railroads from 1885 to 1889, when he died worn out by over-work. P. B. Waite pictures him as being "as salty a figure as ever came into a Macdonald Cabinet, and one of the most likeable. He had a plain, lined face, and had neither style nor manners to adorn his presence.[...] Pope was strong, tough-minded, sure-footed, a man upon whom Macdonald relied increasingly and with whom he developed an intimacy that ended only with Pope's death in 1889. Pope was one of those men designed by nature to think, plan, direct; he let those more nimble of tongue do the defending or the advocating." See P. B. Waite, Canada 1874-1896. Arduous Destiny (Toronto, 1971), p.91; Channell, pp.156-165; Waymer S. Laberee, "Hon. John Henry Pope, Eastern Townships politician" (MA Thesis, Bishop's University, 1966); Dictionary of Canadian Biography, X, 62.

[94]Channell, p.257.

fend for themselves on relatively high-priced lands, while the company's attention was focussed upon its valuable Sherbrooke real estate and upon French Canadian colonization of its Shefford county holdings. By 1851 Bury had only 783 inhabitants, Lingwick 808, Westbury 115[95], and Hampden was still uninhabited. Furthermore, any additional growth in the Scottish population would have to result from a natural increase because few immigrants were destined to arrive after mid-century.[96]

The third group of people to settle in Compton county was the French Canadians. They first appeared during the thirties, in the American-inhabited southwestern townships. Here they worked as labourers and servants, tending to be a transient population threatened with assimilation.[97] In 1844 they numbered 273 in Compton township and 89 in Eaton. Seven years later there were 578 francophones in these two townships, 10 in Westbury and 253 in Winslow, to the extreme North. Those in Winslow were true colonists who had been attracted to the northern part of the township by the free crown land grants

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[95]Westbury already had fifty-six inhabitants in 1832, before the B. A. L. Company acquired the township's vacant lots. Bouchette, A Topographical Dictionary, see "Westbury."

[96]Day, p.407.

[97]Annuaire, 1885-91, p.387; Blanchard, p.343.

offered in 1848. They settled along the St. Francis Road which, as an extension of the Lambton Road, provided a transportation route to the Chaudière Valley and Quebec City. In 1849 the curé of Bécancour visited those former parishioners who had moved to Stratford and Winslow. His report of their situation was optimistic:

> Les colons de nos paroisses ont d'abord été un peu rebutés de la distance à franchir (35 lieues), mais ce refroidissement n'a été que passager. L'encouragement est plus grand que jamais. Plusieurs sont déjâ rendus, d'autres s'apprêtent à partir. Quelques Acadiens venus d'en Bas, ont visité ces terres, en ont prises un grand nombre pour eux et ceux qui les députoient, de sorte qu'en toute probabilité, avant 6 mois, il y aura là plus de 100 colons résidents ...[98]

The Winslow colonists could not escape the 1851 crop failure which hit Garthby and Stratford to the North, and the Scots to the South, but their population of 253 would grow rapidly during the fifties.

By 1851 the county of Compton had 7463 inhabitants, 841 (11 percent) of whom were French Canadians. Not only was over half the population still in the two southwestern townships of Compton (2718) and Eaton (1500), but five of the townships of the East were still uninhabited. American immigration had

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[98]ACAS, Saint-Romain de Winslow, no. 7, M. Bélanger to Signay, 28 March 1849.

long since subsided, and the smaller Scottish surge was on the wane, but at the northern tip of the county a new wave was ebbing - that of the French Canadians. The challenge of colonizing the rugged interior would for the most part be left to them.

Shefford County

Unlike Beauce, Wolfe, and Compton, Shefford was far from the isolated eastern end of the Townships, yet it too was the site of an organized colonization project for French Canadians. Early in the century Americans drifted northwards into Shefford from Brome and Missisquoi[99], so that by 1831 there were some 5000 people in the county. However, in 1844 they still numbered only 6367, of whom 2239 were French Canadians who had recently infiltrated the westernmost townships from the nearby Richelieu seigneuries. Soon afterward, the francophones organized a colonization project for the more mountainous townships to the East. Much of this area had been stagnating in the hands of the British American Land Company.[100]

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[99]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.274-6; Caron, "Colonization of Canada," p.537.

[100]See Appendix C.

In 1848 the company's Commissioner, A. T. Galt, made an agreement with the Montreal Association des Townships whereby he would sell land on special terms to its colonists. First in Roxton, and later in Ely, Stukely and Orford townships, the company was to make available seventy-five acre lots at ten shillings per acre.[101] The colonists needed to pay nothing during the first two years, only the interest during the following eight years, and finally the capital in four annual instalments. Galt further agreed to build roads and mills, thereby allowing the settlers to pay in labour for their land. Agricultural products would also be taken in lieu of cash payments.[102] In short, the B. A. L. Company was "to accomplish all that has hitherto been the duty of the Seigneur without exacting from the settlers the obnoxious conditions which apply to lands in the (French) Canadian parishes."[103]

Roxton was chosen as the first centre of operations because the company had more land here than in the other town-

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[101] In conformity with seigneurial practice, the lots were made longer and narrower than ordinary township lots. Annales de Propagation de la Foi, XXII (1850), p.8.

[102] La Minerve, 29 May, 27 July 1848.

[103] Quoted in Skelton, p.12. The Canada Company of Upper Canada also have been more successful had it initially concentrated on the crown reserves, rather than its unsurveyed tract. Clarence Karr, The Canada Land Company: The Early Years (Ottawa, 1974), p.25.

ships. Also the soil was relatively fertile, and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad would soon pass nearby.[104] In spite of the organizational difficulties of the Montreal Association des Townships, the Roxton colonization venture enjoyed a certain measure of success. In September, 1849 its missionary wrote a glowing report to Bishop Bourget of Montreal. He claimed that there were 80 lots occupied by 330 inhabitants, most of whom had come from the city of Montreal. The company had constructed a good road to the village site of Roxton, or Iberville, as the settlers called it. Here the company had built two mills and given the twelve best acres to serve as the church site, plus a hundred acres to support the curé. The future town had been carefully planned; the lots had even been divided into two categories. A town lot owner was obliged to build a good-sized, attractive house, and plant trees every four feet on the side facing the street. The suburb lots were larger, allowing space for gardens. Surrounding them were square sections, of ten to twenty acres, which were to serve as large gardens or small farms for the townspeople. At the time the missionary was writing, most of the lots had been cleared and there were fifteen inhabitants. Their crops

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[104] Rapport ... Montréal, XXII (1850), 6. For a report on the official opening of the colony see pp. 37-8 of the unbound volume (no. 5) mistakenly dated 1848 at the Quebec Seminary.

had been relatively successful, although the buckwheat and corn had been touched by frost. The settlers had survived in the meantime by selling cinders for potash and black salts for pearlash.[105] Clearly, the Roxton colonists fared much better than did those of the Quebec association's Garthby colony. Although the Roxton land was not free, it was less isolated and of a superior quality to that of Garthby. Furthermore, the B. A. L. Company played a more active role in Roxton than did the government in Wolfe. Between 1844 and 1851 the population of Roxton grew from 200 to 1226, of whom 1015 (83 percent) were French Canadians.

Because the Montreal association dissolved soon after its formation, its agreement with the B. A. L. Company was not extended beyond Roxton. Nonetheless, the French Canadian influx had been started, and the company's terms remained generous enough to stimulate the colonization of nearby Stukely and Ely. Both these townships had originally been settled by Americans, but by 1851 they were seventy-two percent (2194) and fifty-seven percent (584) French-speaking, respectively.

Milton and Granby townships, on the western edge of the county, were not part of the colonization project because the British American Land Company owned relatively little land

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[105] *Ibid.*, pp.5-9.

there. Furthermore, outside assistance was not necessary because French Canadians could move in easily via the adjacent Richelieu seigneuries. A Catholic church was built in Milton in 1842[106], and by 1851 the French Canadian numbers had doubled to 1508, eighty-seven percent of the total population. Because Granby lay further South, adjacent to the American-settled Brome county, only 737 (31 percent) of its 2392 inhabitants were French Canadians in 1851. Shefford township, to the East of Granby, was the most important centre of early American settlement[107], consequently by mid-century it still retained its English-speaking predominance. Of 2512 inhabitants, only 468 (19 percent) were French Canadians.

By 1851 French Canadians constituted the majority in four of Shefford's six townships, and fifty-three percent of its total population (11,083). Their influx had begun very recently, yet they already outnumbered the long-established American inhabitants. They had opened new territory, and in the not-too-distant future they would begin to buy Protestant farms.

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[106]ACAM, RLB, II, 497, Bourget to E. Crevier, 22 Feb. 1842.

[107]Day, pp.343-5.

French Canadian Penetration into the Southwestern Counties

Not only do Missisquoi, Brome and Stanstead all lie on the Vermont border, they also share Lakes Champlain and Memphramagog with the United States. Because these were the best access routes to the Eastern Townships from the South, many of the first Americans to arrive settled in these three counties. Most of the arable land was therefore inhabited before the French Canadian influx began during the thirties. Consequently, aside from some of those in Missisquoi, the majority of the French Canadians who did penetrate this southwestern area became day labourers for the English-speaking population.

Missisquoi County

To the South of Shefford, Missisquoi county is divided into two sections by Missisquoi Bay of Lake Champlain. Only the eastern section is considered to be part of the Eastern Townships, and even here St. Armand was originally a seigneury.[108] The Dutch Loyalists who moved to St. Armand in

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[108] When the Hon. Thomas Dunn acquired St. Armand, he sold land lots outright except for a yearly rent of one shilling per hundred acres as token seigneurial dues. Day, pp.312-3.

1785[109] were the first white inhabitants of the Eastern Townships. Although most of the Loyalists were forced to move to Upper Canada, the population of this township was already near its peak in 1815.[110] However this was far from being the case with the other three townships. Farnham, for example, still had less than 1000 inhabitants in 1832.[111]

This left ample opportunity for French Canadians to move in as colonists from the nearby Richelieu seigneuries during the late thirties. (They had already begun entering as farm labourers in the late twenties.)[112] The first Catholic chapel was built in 1839[113], and Stanbridge became a parish in 1845[114], when there were about 1400 francophones in the Townships section of the county. By 1851 over a fifth (2319) of the population was French-speaking. However their advance would be

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[109]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, p.190.

[110]Bouchette reported 2500 inhabitants that year. Ibid.

[111]Ibid., pp.271-3; Caron, "Colonization of Canada," p.537; Bouchette, A Topographical Dictionary, see "Farnham."

[112]In 1828 the Anglican minister reported thirty-nine "Canadian labourers" in St. Armand East. Q.D.A., Section II, Series B, "Parishes of the Diocese of Quebec," I, 96.

[113]ACAM, RLL, IX, 19, Lartigue to Fulvay, 17 May 1839; 193, Lartigue to Perrault, 29 May 1839.

[114]ACAM, RLB, IV, 11, Bourget to J. B. A. Brouillet, 2 Aug. 1845.

less spectacular in future decades because the English-speaking population was slow to decline, most of the land had been colonized, and no important industries would appear to support a larger population.

Brome County

East of Missisquoi, Brome is a rather mountainous county, but it too was an early centre of Loyalist and post-Loyalist settlement.[115] In 1815 Bouchette reported that the two southernmost townships, Sutton and Potton, held about 2000 settlers, while further North there were approximately 1400 in Brome and Bolton.[116] Population growth was slow after this, for in 1851 there were only 8206 inhabitants in the county, a decline of 383 since 1844. 935 were French Canadians, almost half of whom were in the northeastern township of Bolton. Concentrated in the northern part of the township, they represented the vanguard of a southward movement through Shefford county.[117] But their number too had diminished slightly since 1844, and Brome county would long remain an anglo-Canadian bas-

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[115] Day, pp.254, 259, 261, 272-8, 280-1, 284, 286, 290-1.

[116] Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.262-3, 269-70.

[117] Booth, "An Historical Geography," p.14.

tion because, like Missisquoi, most of its arable land had been settled early and it would continue to be a predominantly agricultural area.

Stanstead County

Further East again, Stanstead county's development was equally slow, though it was a reasonably fertile county with an enviable location on the Magog River as well as on the Quebec City - Boston stage line.[118] In 1815 there were approximately 3500 settlers in Hatley and Stanstead townships, but none in Barnston and Barford.[119] Thirty years later the county's population had barely doubled, but progress picked up after this,for there were 10,255 inhabitants recorded in 1851. Only 400 of the increase was French-speaking.

The French Canadians clearly found it difficult to acquire a foothold in Stanstead county. The 1834 baptismal records include only five French names[120], and they long remained too few to avoid the dangers of assimilation. In 1842 two

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[118]Day, pp.442, 446, 448, 453-4.

[119]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.264-8. Magog township was later carved out of Hatley and Bolton. Day, p.451.

[120]Blanchard, p.343.

missionaries reported that many Catholics had become estranged from their Church. Upon approaching their houses, "ils aperçoivent des enfants de 16, 18, et même 26 ans, qui n'ayant pas encore vu de prêtres, firent devant eux comme des perdreaux."[121] In 1848, six years after the Catholics had built a chapel near the village of Stanstead Plain[122], a resident priest was appointed. But the plight of the French Canadians was slow to improve. In 1849 the curé, Father Champeaux, wrote: "je vois les moeurs perdues, sans parler de la foi, la santé des Canadiens usée par un peuple accoutumée à commander aux esclaves."[123] The mission remained so poor (there were only three Catholic landowners)[124] that Father Champeaux was repeatedly warned by Mgr. Bourget that he was accumulating too many debts.[125] In fact, Stanstead cost the Montreal Diocese more to support than did all its other missions together.[126]

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[121]ACAM, RLB, III, 43, Bourget to P. Lafrance, 12 April 1843.

[122]Annuaire, 1886-7, p.162.

[123]ACAM, Saint-Hyacinthe Section, J. B. C. Champeaux to Bourget, 6 March 1849.

[124]Annuaire, 1886-7, pp.168, 171.

[125]ACAM, RLB, VI, 45, Bourget to J. B. C. Champoux [sic], 3 April 1850; 374, 24 Dec. 1850.

[126]Ibid., VII, 405, Bourget to Bienvenu, 4 Sept. 1852.

The 781 French Canadians to be found in Stanstead county in 1851 constituted eight percent of the total population. They were distributed rather evenly among the five townships, which indicates that they had not come in groups to settle, but as individuals to work for the Protestant farmers and tradesmen.[127] Like that of the other southern counties, most of Stanstead's agricultural land was occupied by this time; however the appearance of two industrial centres in the second half of the century would stimulate the growth of its French Canadian population.

In spite of the fact that the Eastern Townships was officially opened to colonization before 1800, its development was discouragingly slow during the first half of the nineteenth century. The absence of a viable communications network, aggravated by greed and mismanagement on the part of the government officials, served to reduce the attractiveness of the region during the peak periods of American and British immigration into British North America. Only fragments from the two groups found their way into the Townships. Although all

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[127]This phenomenon was noted by a traveller in 1840. See Henry Taylor, "Journal of a tour from Montreal"... (Quebec, 1840), p.48.

population figures for the first half century are wanting in accuracy, they do prove that growth was far from vigorous.[128] By mid-century there were only 60,500 English-speaking inhabitants, nearly all of whom were centered in the southwestern section of the province. At the same time the French Canadians, who had only begun to migrate into the Townships during the thirties, were already 33,700 strong (thirty-six percent of the population).

The Townships francophones were concentrated in the fringe counties close to the seigneuries. They numbered 7290 in Shefford, 5049 in Drummond, 5183 in Arthabaska and 5674 in Megantic. Anglophones had first settled most of these counties, but in such small numbers that the French Canadians were the majority in all of them by 1851. Still the francophone settlers generally had to be satisfied with the less fertile, more isolated holdings. In addition, they colonized marginal land in Beauce (2782) and Wolfe (1393), two counties which had only small areas settled by the English-speaking inhabitants of the Townships. In the southwestern section of the region (Missisquoi, Brome, Stanstead, Sherbrooke, Richmond and southwestern Compton), the French Canadians remained a small mino-

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[128]The various census reports available set the population of the Eastern Townships as follows: 1819 - 26,916; 1831 - 42,000; 1844 - 60,768; and 1851 - 94,249.

rity. Only in Missisquoi, near the seigneurial boundary, did they have a sizeable population (3610). Most francophones in these counties worked as labourers, for this area had been settled extensively enough by Americans and British to leave little vacant land for newcomers. Not until the second half of the century, when a few English-speaking farmers began to sell out in order to move West, and new industries suddenly began to develop, were the French Canadians able to acquire a firm foothold in the southwestern counties. Meanwhile, in 1850, the Townships' French Canadians were still extremely poor, and their position in the area was much more tenuous than the population figures would indicate. Ample evidence of this is provided by the plaintive letters from their missionaries to the Roman Catholic bishops. However it was only a matter of time before they would be able to sink roots and flourish, and this, as we are about to see, is what worried some of the English-speaking Townshippers.

Reaction of the English-Speaking Townshippers to the French Canadian Influx

Because most of the Townships' French-speaking population was still confined to areas which not only had been by-passed by anglophones, but which the original settlers of the Townships had no real desire to colonize, the French Canadian influx attracted little attention prior to the formation of

the Association des Townships in 1848. In 1849 when J. B. E. Dorion's l'Avenir predicted that within twenty years the only anglophones remaining in the province would be businessmen living in the towns, the editor of the Stanstead Journal scoffed:

> In twenty years (think of that, reader) this beautiful country, now mostly owned and inhabited by Anglo-Saxons, will be covered with the habitans of the banks of the St. Lawrence, as was the devoted land of Egypt with frogs, in the days when the children of Israel "went a gipseying" in the wilderness. And like those same Israelites, the inhabitants of these Townships will take up their line of march for the "Far West", in long and solemn processions, the old, the middle-aged and the young, with such "gear" as their "invaders" shall see fit to allow them. [...] And those few who remain soon become so enamored of the delightful habits and customs of the country, that they will embrace their usages, religion and language! Then also will be seen flourishing monasteries and nunneries, and the places where men have been wont to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, will be filled by "stoled priests," and the altars of incense.
>
> Then will be revived all the ancient glories of the "Nation" before the Conquest, and the face of these "benighted Townships" will "blossom" like the rest of French Canada.[129]

The Journal completely ignored the fervour aroused by the Association des Townships in 1848, although even the Irish

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[129] Stanstead Journal, 8 March 1849.

Catholic Emigrant of Quebec City criticized the project as being exclusively French Canadian.[130] Not until 1852, when the Lake Aylmer colonists were suffering from the effects of their crop failure, did the Journal mention the project. It then stated that, rather than encouraging indigent settlers to take up virgin land far-removed from civilization, it would be wiser:

> to allow things to take their natural course, to make roads through such blocks of wild land, as it is intended to bring into the market, and put up the lands at a fair price, or even a low price. - They would then be bought by men who had acquired something, and who would be in a position to exist until they obtained a return from the earth, upon which they extended their toil.

The Journal's observations were not limited to French Canadians, for the Winslow Scots had also become dependent on outside aid, leading the Journal to conclude that:

> Unlike the pioneers who cleared up the wilds of New England and the older Townships, these habitans of the Seigniories, and emigrants from Great

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[130]The Emigrant claimed that the real motive behind O'Reilly's crusade was to seek vengeance against Father Patrick McMahon of St. Patrick's in Quebec. Le Journal de Québec, 27 July 1848. The connection was not made clear, but before being sent to Sherbrooke in 1848, O'Reilly had been involved in a dispute with McMahon. ACAQ, V.G. XIV 144, C. F. Cazeau to O'Reilly.

> Britain and Ireland, are totally unfitted by education and habits for enduring the hardships and overcoming the obstacles incident to the settlement of a new country.[131]

Therefore, even this criticism was based on practical considerations as much as on fears of French Canadian migration into the region.

Unfortunately, the Journal is the only Townships newspaper whose copies still exist for the period in question, but one can safely assume that its condescending attitude towards French Canadian colonization was not universally shared by English-speaking Townshippers. Not only was the editor, L. R. Robinson, more sympathetic than many other Townships newspapermen in his attitude towards Catholics and French Canadians[132], but Stanstead's proximity to Vermont meant that the Journal tended to be more concerned with American than with Canadian affairs.

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[131] Stanstead Journal, 6 May 1852.

[132] For example, when the Sherbrooke Gazette criticized the Catholics' purchase of land to build a church in the centre of Stanstead Village, the Journal commented that the original chapel was too small and too far away, and that "many of the Protestant people of the Townships will contribute funds for that purpose, with a view to secure the erection of a house that will be an ornament to the place." Stanstead Journal, 20 June 1848.

In nearby Barnston township the Reverend J. Green, a Baptist minister, complained bitterly about alleged mismanagement of Lower Canada's crown lands. This was the key point in his address to the British American League, an organization whose professed goal was to resist French Canadian domination.[133] According to Green, English Canadians had been refused crown lands in Shefford county on the grounds that they were being reserved for French Canadians.[134] However he was unable to disprove the ministerial Montreal Pilot's rejoinder that no land agent had ever given preference to one class of settlers over another. In fact Green was forced to admit that the colonization advertisement clearly stated that "exclusion of origin is not to prevail in the settlement." However he remarked that in the same advertisement:

> the French Canadians of the District of Quebec - of the District of Three Rivers - of the District of Montreal are all pointed out the respective roads by which they can reach the settlement, but there is not one word of instruction given to the Anglo Saxon race, of the District of St. Francis. No, they are left to grope in the dark, and that for the very obvious reason that they are not wanted there at all.[135]

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[133] Allin and Jones, p.54.

[134] Stanstead Journal, 16 Aug. 1849.

[135] Ibid., 23 Aug. 1849.

Failure to inform Eastern Townships' residents on how to reach land in their own neighbourhood was a rather trivial oversight, but there was an understandable malaise in the region concerning the increased influence that responsible government gave the French Canadians. This was why the Townships fostered several branches of the British American League. British North American union was the League's officially recommended solution to the twin problems of economic depression (brought about by the repeal of the British Corn Laws) and French Canadian domination in the provincial Legislature. However many League members felt that union with the United States would be a more attractive solution. Those from the Eastern Townships were particularly strong annexationists, not because they were affected by the restricted British market for wheat so much as because they felt threatened by the French-speaking majority.[136] When Lord Elgin ratified

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[136]Allin and Jones mistakenly assume that the commercial malaise brought about in Montreal and Quebec by the termination of British preference also applied to the Eastern Townships. They also exaggerate the prosperity of the neighbouring rural New England area, which was then experiencing a population decline, and mistakenly claim that the American market had been closed. Finally they neglect the anti-French overtones of the campaign in explaining French Canadian indifference to it. Allin and Jones, pp.85-6, 193, 196; H. F. Wilson, The Hill-Country of Northern New England: Its Social and Economic History, 1790-1930 (New York, 1936), pp.48, 56. It cannot be denied, however, that economic considerations were important, for Townships farmers were suffering from the depradations of the potato blight and the wheat midge, and the American market was becoming increasingly crucial to their prosperity.

the Rebellion Losses Bill, which indemnified French Canadians for damage inflicted on their property during the 1837-8 Rebellions, Townshippers joined the Montreal anglophones in an outburst of condemnation. At a protest meeting held in Stanstead, Chairman C. Colby criticized the Rebellion Losses Bill, as well as the Act to increase the number of representatives in Parliament:

> When we contemplate the Ministerial measure for an increase of their representation, their division of counties, their organized plan of colonizing these townships with inhabitants of French origin, and this for the avowed purpose of transferring all legislation in Lower Canada to the French Canadians, to a race of people behind all others in enterprize, in agriculture, commerce and the arts, as well as in education, we feel an oppression almost beyond endurance.

Colby felt that annexation was premature, but he warned that:

> The leaven of true liberty in the breast of every Anglo-Saxon will not remain latent and bear oppression. The British lion, if an emblem of power, is also an emblem of mortality; and if while its paws are resting on the four quarters of the globe, it should oppress the subject in his allegiance, there will be a time when endurance will cease to be a virtue, and in some political explosion, the limbs of this modern Mastadon may become disjointed.[137]

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[137] Stanstead Journal, 29 March 1849.

Towards the end of 1849, between twelve and fifteen hundred names were affixed to an annexation petition circulated in Stanstead county. In January, 1850 John McConnell, the Stanstead M. L. A., came out openly in support of the petition.[138]

Sherbrooke residents were even quicker to react. Early in 1849 a thousand of them signed an annexation petition, thereby encouraging A. T. Galt, who was by this time the county's M. L. A., to pronounce himself in favour of union with the United States.[139] When the seat of government moved from Montreal to Toronto, Galt's B. A. L. Company commitments forced him to step down as member; however John S. Sanborn, an American lawyer who supported annexation, won the by-election. He was the only annexationist in Canada to be elected to the Legislature, but in the Eastern Townships, as elsewhere, the popularity of the movement dissipated quickly once the initial flush of anger had passed and economic conditions began to improve.[140] English Canadian fear and resentment would not die so easily, especially with the fulfillment of their prediction that

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[138] Ibid., 27 Dec. 1849, 10 Jan. 1850; Allin and Jones, pp.198-9.

[139] Allin and Jones, pp.193-4. Economic motives were undoubtedly very important to Galt who was promoting a railroad through the Townships to the New England seaboard. This would explain why his speeches were much less xenophobic than those of Colby.

[140] Ibid., pp.299, 302.

the government would do all in its power to encourage French Canadian colonization of the Townships. The government's involvement was stimulated by an unlikely event, the publication of a report written by twelve disgruntled priests from the Bois-Francs.

P A R T T W O

THE FRENCH CANADIAN INFLUX 1851-91

CHAPTER FOUR

REMOVING THE BARRIERS TO COLONIZATION

The Racine Report

Although the immediate accomplishments of the Association des Townships were rather meagre, it did serve one very important function - it riveted the attention of French Canada onto the vacant lands of the Eastern Townships. The Association's colonies were on crown holdings as well as on those of the British American Land Company, but such reserves were limited,while vast tracts were still held by absentee proprietors. In addition, the want of communications facilities was a deterrent to French Canadian colonization, just as it had always been for anglophones. In 1849 the parliamentary committee chaired by P. J. O. Chauveau, reported that among the migrants to New England were settlers who had attempted but failed to establish themselves in new townships. Because of the impossible state of roads:

> The settler can neither bring his produce to market nor procure the things necessary for cultivating his land. He must carry everything on his shoulders, across the

> swamps and waste lands belonging to the Crown, or to large neighbouring proprietors. He is isolated and unprotected. If he has taken lands from one of these large proprietors, the rate of rents, the dues and reservations which are even higher than those of the Seigneuries, force him to sell. Discouraged in every way, and little disposed withal, from his character and habits, to toil alone in the desert, he abandons after a while a settlement which, with more encouragement on the one hand and more perseverance on the other, might have become more productive.[1]

The report described several specific roads which were needed in the Eastern Townships. They could be financed by selling the holdings of those non-resident landowners who had not paid municipal taxes. The report stated further that the delay of five years allowed before taxes had to be paid was much too long, and that patents to land should be issued only after strict conditions had been fulfilled.

The provincial Legislature was still not ready for the bold action recommended by the Chauveau Committee, but the Catholic priests of the Eastern Townships were determined to sustain pressure for reform. In fact many of the Chauveau Report's recommendations had previously been suggested by the Bois Francs missionaries. On December 30, 1848, Father Antoine Racine presided over a protest meeting of colonists from Stanfold, Bulstrode, Blandford and Maddington townships. The chief speaker was the M. L. A. for Nicolet, Thomas

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[1]Chauveau Report.

Fortier, who:

> dans un discours plein d'énérgie et de force énuméra les longues suffrances des premiers colons des townships, les vexations sans nombre dont ils souffrent encore aujourd'hui, faisant encore envisager la necessité, l'urgence pour les habitants des townships de s'unir, de se lever comme un seul homme pour demander que justice leur soit rendue, et de ne cesser que lorsque l'iniquité fatiguée de ses injustices aura fait droit à leurs justes réclamations.[2]

In a series of resolutions, the colonists praised the recent measures taken by the administration to colonize the Townships, but they demanded that the absentee proprietors be forced to sell their holdings at crown land prices and terms. In addition, they claimed that all uncultivated land should be taxed at the rate of two pennies per acre; that county municipalities should be broken up into township municipalities; that the allotted time for a new landowner to pay taxes should be reduced from five years to four months; and that the government should build new access roads as well as repair old ones with the tax money it collected. Similar resolutions were passed by the inhabitants of Arthabaska, Chester and Warwick townships under the guidance of Father Duguay.[3]

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[2] Le Journal de Québec, 30 Dec. 1848.

[3] Ibid., 25 Jan. 1849. These resolutions were sent as petitions to the Legislative Assembly. See JLAC, VII (1848), 23; VIII (1849), 39, 71; X (1851), 18-19, 51.

Having aroused the local populace, the priests' next step was to gain wider attention by publishing a pamphlet entitled Le Canadien émigrant, ou pourquoi le Canadien-Français quitte-t-il le Bas-Canada on March 31, 1851.[4] Father Antoine Racine was the author[5], but it was also signed by eleven other Townships missionaries. The pamphlet's main theme was that French Canadians were leaving Quebec because speculators were blocking colonization, especially in the Eastern Townships. As well as demanding exorbitant prices for their land, they imposed burdensome conditions upon the purchasers, or remained anonymous in order to avoid statute labour and road taxes. By hindering road construction in this way, the absentee proprietors posed a double obstacle to colonization. The area most afflicted by them was the belt adjacent to the South Shore seigneuries (known as the Bois Francs):

> The labourer there is made use of with admirable patience and intelligence; and when his last drop of sweat has been gathered and his last rag torn from him, he is sent back to the Seigniories, or driven towards the United States. He is at liberty to go forth, at the head of his family, to increase the crowd of French Canadian beggars.[6]

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[4]The contents of the pamphlet originally appeared in the Journal de Québec. BRH (1897), p.91.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Statement by Abbé Ferland. Quoted in Le Canadien Emigrant.

In 1849 the government had set a two year deadline for payment of fees and fulfillment of settlement duties on public land grants[7], but the two years had expired with the majority of large proprietors having made no attempt to comply with the regulations.

The missionaries recommended three principal remedies. The first was to impose a tax of a penny an acre on all wild lands - including crown lands and clergy reserves. The £15,000 yearly which this would yield could be applied to road work. The missionaries' second recommendation was consequently that the government open more principal arteries of communication, as well as repair those already in existence. This was especially essential for the Bois Francs area where, during two months of the previous summer, ten families had been forced to subsist on roots and berries. The third remedy proposed was to reform the municipal system. Legislation passed in 1847 gave municipal councils the authority to order the construction and repair of roads, but the great proprietors were able to pressure the councils into neglecting this.[8] As a

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[7] 12 Vict., cap. XXXI.

[8] 10 and 11 Vict., cap. VII, sections 26 and 37. For an account of how the BAL Company avoided paying the penny an acre tax imposed by the Sherbrooke Council in 1841, see Skelton, pp.7-10.

result, the Craig, Gosford, Blandford, Shipton and Lambton Roads were in a deplorable state for they had not been worked on since their construction. The obvious solution was to make it obligatory for the councils to enforce the construction and repair of roads in their districts. The pamphlet also suggested that the municipalities be organized at the township not the county level.[9] Because of the existing system, no municipality had been created in the sparsely-settled area between the Chaudière and the St. Francis Rivers.

The publicity aroused by the pamphlet made it impossible for the government to ignore the blatant injustices any longer. It quickly appointed a special committee "to enquire into the causes which prevent or retard the settlement of the Eastern Townships." As evidence, the committee simply submitted the missionaries' pamphlet, which was published as its first report in the 1851 Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly.

In its second report, the committee agreed that more roads should be built, and that they should be financed from land taxes. In fact it went further than the missionaries by recommending even higher taxes for vacant lands, as well as

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[9]In 1847 parish and township municipalities, which had existed only two years, were abolished, and county municipalities reinstated. 10 and 11 Vict., cap. VII; Skelton, p.10.

taxation of developed property. In addition it noted that the Court of Escheats had failed to fulfill its role of confiscating land from grantees who had not met their obligations. As a remedy,it urged that the Superior Court of Lower Canada be given the same powers. Finally the committee was shocked to find that the failure of the absentee proprietors to fulfill the settlement conditions set by the government did not prevent them from being very scrupulous in imposing much more onerous obligations on their own clients. Land deeds drawn up by these proprietors included conditions and reservations "similar to those contained in the Deeds made by the most exacting of the Seigniors of Lower Canada." For example, George Gregory, who owned 10,800 acres in Arthabaska township, stipulated in all his sales that when the purchaser or his heirs ceased to reside on the land, they would lose it without reimbursement; that no wood was to be cut until the full price of the land was paid; and that all sites for mills and factories were to be reserved. The solution recommended was to pass an Act "declaring that all Deeds passed in contravention of the principle of free and common socage, shall be null, and of no effect."[10]

French Canadian opinion was so aroused by Le Canadien Emigrant and the special committee's report that the govern-

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[10]Appendix no. 5, JLAC, X (1851), Second report of the Special Committee.

ment acted upon nearly all of its recommendations during the following four years. Even before the report officially appeared in print, the 1850 "Act to Amend the Municipal Law of Lower Canada" implemented many of the reforms it demanded. It reduced from five years to six months the time extension allowed for payment of road taxes before property was to be seized.[11] Justices of the Peace and Commissioners for trial of small causes were given the power to seize property once the time limit had expired.[12] The Act also attempted to solve the problem of unwieldy county municipalities by allowing any township with three hundred souls to declare itself a separate municipal body, and by dividing the immense, sparsely-settled county of Megantic (at that time much larger than the area defined in this thesis) into two municipalities.[13]

Before another year had expired, the Legislature passed "An Act further to amend the Municipal Laws of Canada". This increased the powers of the municipalities to levy taxes for road construction and repair, and declared that court judgments were not necessary before selling lands for taxes in arrear.[14]

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[11] 13 and 14 Vict., cap. XXXIV, section 19.

[12] Sections 12 and 13.

[13] Section 7 and Section 34.

[14] 14 and 15 Vict., cap. 98, sections 3, 7, 8, and 9. Entrepreneurs such as Francis Hincks favoured improving the taxing powers of municipal councils largely because they wanted the municipalities to be able to assist in the financing of railways. L. Gates, p.275.

However, when Thomas Fortier presented a bill to empower the central government itself to collect land taxes according to the schedule drawn up by the special committee[15], he met determined opposition. Fortier's aim was to allow the government to apply this tax money to new colonization roads, but the anglophones dug their heels in at this point. They argued that taxes paid by proprietors in one municipality should not go towards roads in another. The Stanstead Journal called it:

> a piece of gross tyranny and injustice! The tax proposed to be levied upon Shefford and Missisco [sic] Counties will amount to £1000 annually, and what special advantage are they to receive from building roads not one of which enters their limits? Why should the improved farms in either of these counties, or Stanstead County be taxed to build a bridge over the St. Francis between Wendover and Grantham? or a road from Arthabaska through the Seigniories to the River St. Lawrence? or the Blandford Road, leading through the Fief Dufort, to the St. Lawrence? Is that road through the wild lands of the Townships? We should like to know upon what principle the Townships are to be taxed for these roads.[16]

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[15]The schedule was a yearly tax of one penny half-penny per superficial acre of unoccupied and uncultivated land, one penny per acre of improved lots situated within one mile of the main lines of communication, and half penny per acre of improved lots further than a mile.

[16]Stanstead Journal, 30 Oct. 1851.

The Journal complained that although the seigneuries would not pay anything, the roads would pass through several of them. Inevitably, cultural prejudice reinforced local particularism. One correspondent stated bluntly that the bill was a plot "to settle certain wild lands in the Townships with French Canadians at the expense of the people who are already settled in the country."[17] Concern was so widespread that the bill became a major issue in the general election of December, 1852, and the Stanstead electors returned the dark horse candidate who campaigned against it.[18]

The protests were effective, for Fortier's Bill was never passed. The English-speaking Townshippers held, with some justification, that when they had settled the southwestern area they had been forced to build roads largely on their own initiative, therefore they should not be forced to contribute towards those in the more northerly counties. The Stanstead Journal remarked that the municipal system which already existed provided for the taxation of wild lands; consequently, if the inhabitants so desired, "they could now have as good roads as any part of the Townships." The newspaper even suggested that if the municipal councils refused to do

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[17]Letter from "Agricola" in Ibid., 27 Nov. 1851.

[18]Ibid., 4 Dec., 18 Dec. 1852.

their duty, or if the influence of the large landed proprietors proved too great in the younger counties, a law should be passed "taxing the wild lands for the purpose of inducing the opening up of new Townships."[19] It is clear that the anglophone inhabitants of the older Townships were not apologists for the absentee landholders; they simply objected to land in one section being taxed to build roads elsewhere, especially when those roads would do little to benefit themselves.

The failure of Fortier's bill to pass the Legislature did not prevent the government from introducing a system of yearly subsidies to colonization roads in 1854. Financed from crown land funds, it was applied to the North Shore, Gaspé and Ottawa regions, as well as to the Eastern Townships. Unfortunately the expenditure of the grants was placed in the hands of the local deputies, which caused the money to be dissipated among a large number of small, unfinished roads, rather than being concentrated on one major artery at a time. For example, in 1860 the £46,000 parliamentary appropriation was split up among forty counties, and these in turn allocated the funds to over 120 different local roads. Furthermore, because the distribution of the money was in the hands of politicians, roads were often built where they would win the most votes ra-

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[19] Ibid., 12 Feb. 1852.

ther than where they were most needed.[20] Nevertheless, the $200,000 which the government spent on Eastern Townships roads between 1854 and 1866[21] could not help but stimulate colonization of the region.

The government's final major attempt to implement the reforms demanded in the early fifties was the 1855 Municipal and Road Act. Its primary aim was to resurrect the township and parish municipal bodies, as recommended in the Racine pamphlet.[22] The county municipalities were retained, but because their councils were composed of representatives from the township municipalities, they functioned chiefly as co-ordinating bodies. When a minimum of five ratepayers petitioned for a road or bridge, a county superintendent (appointed by the county council) would be sent to investigate. He would then submit a report or procès verbal to the township or parish council, which would make the final decision. Landowners who benefitted directly from the road or bridge in question would

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[20]For a severe condemnation of the Lower Canadian colonization roads system, see Hodgetts, pp.267-8. The same problem continued after Confederation. See J. E. Garon, Historique de la Colonisation dans la Province de Québec de 1825 à 1940 (Québec, 1940), pp.58-59, 65.

[21]JLAQ, I (1867-8), appendix no. 12.

[22]18 Vict., cap. C, sections 10 and 11.

be taxed according to the value of their property.[23] The municipal councils did not have to wait for a petition before authorizing road work; they were allowed to take the initiative, as well as to levy special taxes for that purpose.[24] In future they would be legally responsible for the maintenance of these roads.

The only major recommendation of the missionaries not to be implemented by 1855 was the taxation of wild land by the central government. However, not only was everything possible done to ensure that the municipal councils would fulfill this function, even the central government used alternative funds to contribute toward road expenses. The legislation of the early fifties also overlooked the demand for a law to prevent large-scale proprietors from imposing unfair sale conditions upon the colonists. But most of these special conditions were probably already illegal; furthermore, the 1854 Act abolishing seigneurial tenure made it clear that the day of such feudal practices had ended.

As one would expect, some time was needed before the full effects of the reforms passed between 1851 and 1855 could

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[23]Section 47. This ran contrary to the wishes of the 1851 Special Committee which felt that unimproved lands should be subject to higher, not lower taxes.

[24]Section 23.

be felt. In 1858 the Inspector of Agencies (a position created in 1854 to oversee provincial road construction)[25] complained that some of the colonization roads were falling into neglect because the municipal system did not work well in new settlements.[26] Municipal authorities had to agree to the legal establishment (verbalization) of roads built by the government before they became responsible for their upkeep. In the poorer areas especially, the people were hesitant to pass a measure which would raise their taxes, so they allowed the roads to deteriorate.[27] The government finally reacted in 1860 by levying a general tax on the greater part of the Eastern Townships, thus giving the municipalities the funds they had been hesitant to raise by themselves.[28] This ended the long list of impressive reforms whereby the region was finally thrown open to colonization.[29] As we shall see, land

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[25] Le Pionnier, 16 Oct. 1890.

[26] Appendix no. 5, JLAC, XVI (1858), Report on Colonization in Lower Canada.

[27] SPC, XVIII (1860), Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

[28] SPC, XIX (1861), Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands. This tax fulfilled the function which Fortier's abortive Bill of 1852 had been designed for. But this time there was no reaction from the Stanstead Journal, so it is possible that funds raised in each municipality were also spent there. Improved as it was, the municipal system would never be a completely satisfactory one for implementing an effective roads programme. See Pierre Trépanier, "Siméon Le Sage, Haut Fonctionnaire (1835-1909). Contribution à l'Histoire Administrative du Québec" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975), pp.196-7.

[29] The French Canadian population doubled from 33,737 in

speculation was not entirely eradicated, but at least the absentee proprietors now had to contribute their share towards building the colonization roads.

Continuing Obstacles to Colonization

(i) The High Price of Wild Land

The reformed municipal councils fulfilled expectations in one field at least, they became much more aggressive in their attitude towards the absentee proprietors. In 1863 the Sherbrooke Gazette complained that the councils were placing "the principal burden of all local improvements on the wild lands to the exclusion of the proper proportion which cleared farms ought to pay." The government was forced to come to the rescue by giving the proprietors of wild lands the opportunity to "appeal to county councils for an equalizing of the valuation and thus in a measure protect themselves in cases where the local councils evince a disposition to deal unjustly."[30] The same year, a correspondent to Le Défricheur remarked that although the speculators had at first been able to exploit the bias of colonists against the municipal system, "les préjugés ont maintenant disparus dans certains localités

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1851 to 66,289 in 1860, mainly through colonization of the peripheral townships.

[30] Sherbrooke Gazette, 14 March 1863.

et les grandes propriétaires se voient forcés de vendre leurs terres à meilleur marché qu'ils ne désirent."[31]

However many speculators still managed to survive. Not only did the Défricheur correspondent note that the sale of wild lands at reasonable prices was still the exception rather than the rule, but the witnesses questioned by the Legislature's 1862 inquiry on colonization were unanimous in citing absentee proprietors as a major obstacle.[32] As late as 1871, the report of the provincial Committee on Agriculture, Immigration, and Colonization claimed that the municipal system was in many cases failing to prevent absentee proprietors from maintaining their grip on large tracts of land.[33] But the government would go no further to combat this evil. After ensuring that the speculators were forced to pay their share of the land taxes, the only step possible was to confiscate their holdings. This no government would dare do in an era when property rights were sacred.

One reason that speculators continued to make profits was that the improvement of the communications network made their property more valuable. When land which had been in-

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[31]Letter from "un colon" in Le Défricheur, 19 March 1863.

[32]JLAC, XX (1862), appendix no. 1.

[33]JLAQ, V (1871), 289.

accessible for decades suddenly came into high demand, the proprietors grew less tolerant towards settlers "squatting" on their holdings without permission.[34] This practice was particularly prevalent in the Bois Francs area. With the completion of the Quebec-Richmond branch of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1854, many settlers were served with notices of eviction. They reacted by petitioning the Legislature for protection.[35] In an article to the Journal de Québec, Father Charles Trudelle of Somerset claimed that speculators were buying crown lands which had been settled for years, simply because they understood the necessary bureaucratic procedures, whereas the uneducated colonists did not. Many settlers had become discouraged with trying to establish a legal claim on their lots because much of the land was owned by absentee proprietors who either had no agents, or asked exorbitant prices. It was useless to go to the government agent before settling on a lot, because he never knew whether or not that lot was being squatted upon.[36] In light of this situation, Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe asked:

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[34]Letter from "Un Colon," in Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe, 18 Nov. 1853.

[35]JLAC, XIII (1854-5),16, 26, 52, 97, 114, 227.

[36]Cited in Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe, 17 Feb. 1854.

> n'y aurait-il aucun moyen, tout en respectant le droit du grand propriétaire, de garantir le fruit de son travail au colon qui a défriché une terre avec intention de s'y fixer, afin qu'il ne soit plus possible de le traiter d'une manière aussi arbitraire et aussi vexatoire qu'il paraît l'être aujourd'hui.[37]

An act had been passed in 1853, allowing Lower Canadian squatters compensation for improvements, but it did not specify how the amount was to be determined, or the payment enforced.[38] The following year John S. Sanborn, deputy for Sherbrooke, introduced a bill which was much more complete in its provisions. Any squatter who had been on a lot for at least five years would be guaranteed compensation for improvements he had made should the proprietor decide to evict him. The value of the improvements could also be counted towards the back rent and purchase price, should the occupant desire to establish a legal title to his farm.[39] Unfortunately for the squatters, the bill got no further than the Assembly. In 1856 the prominent Rouge politician, J. B. E. Dorion, became its champion, specifying that improvements and land were to be evaluated by a jury of experts. But the bill was again rejected

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[37] Ibid., 12 Jan. 1854.

[38] L. Gates, p.295; 16 Vic., cap. CCV, section 4.

[39] Sherbrooke Gazette, 28 Oct. 1854.

by the Legislative Council[40], many of whose members were important landowners themselves. The squatters bill was presented in various forms in the 1857, 1858 and 1859 sessions[41], but it never went beyond the second House. In 1860 the Select Committee appointed "to enquire as to the most efficacious plan for promoting colonization in this Province" recommended strongly that squatters be protected, but once again the bill was defeated in the Legislative Council.[42] It was presented every year thereafter until 1865 when defeat in the upper House killed it for the last time.[43] It is impossible to determine how many settlers without legal titles were removed from their farms, but there is no doubt that the practice of squatting was very common, and that it retarded the development of the region. Such settlers were hesitant to invest large amounts of labour and money on land which could be taken from them at any time, so they usually lived in shacks, cropped the soil until it was exhausted, then moved on.[44]

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[40] JLAC, XIV (1856), 72, 131, 683, 693.

[41] JLAC, XV (1857), 261; XVI (1858), 133, 363, 731, 760; XVII (1859), 378.

[42] JLAC, XVIII (1860), 280, 369.

[43] L. Gates, p.295.

[44] See report of John Hume in Appendix no. 5, JLAC X (1851), Second Report of the Special Committee.

Even the crown lands did not escape this evil.[45] In most cases, however, it was not a question of true squatting, but of simply "neglecting" to pay the yearly instalments once the authorities had issued the location tickets.[46] Although each successive government wished to encourage colonization in every way possible, none was ever quite able to discard the notion (inherited during the forties from Wakefield) that crown land grants should serve as a source of revenue. To try to satisfy both conditions, the Crown Lands Department lured settlers with a policy of low, long-term instalment payments.[47] Once a township was surveyed, its lots (a maximum of 200 acres) were sold by the local land agent at a price of sixty cents per acre. The purchaser paid one fifth immediately, then was expected to make four annual instalments with interest. For every hundred acres,he was supposed to clear five acres per year for five years, as well as build a house of at least eighteen by sixteen feet.[48]

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[45] JLAC, XIX (1861), 355.

[46] In 1838 Durham had granted squatters on crown land a right of pre-emption at a price subsequently set by Glenelg at the upset price for crown land. However the proclamation was revoked in 1840. L. Gates, p.290.

[47] Hodgetts, pp.128-9, 132, 134. The government continued the system of free land grants along colonization roads, but only on a limited scale. Hamelin and Roby, p.175; L. Gates, p.287.

[48] Appendix no. 10, JLAC, XIII (1854-5), Galt Re-

The problem was that very few of the colonists made the required payments. In Lower Canada between 1849 and 1853, purchasers could delay payment of the first instalment until five years had expired from the date of sale. The result was that of the 3000 sales made during that period, payment was made on only 350.[49] The government was sufficiently concerned by 1859 to declare that "the system of recognizing unauthorized occupation of land commonly known as 'squatting' [shall] be discontinued" as of the following September.[50] After that an annual rent of five dollars per two hundred acres, plus the purchase price, would be charged.[51] Failing these payments,such lands were then subject to public auction. However the Department of Crown Lands does not seem to have gathered enough nerve to take such a step until 1862, when it attempted to intimidate the delinquents of Drummond and Arthabaska counties by announcing that those who did not pay the first instalment, plus back rent, would have their holdings sold to the highest bidder.[52] Predictably, the outburst of

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port. Between 1859 and 1867,land in new subdivided townships was offered at auction at an upset price of seventy cents per acre, cash, or one dollar on five years' credit with a down payment of one fifth. Once offered, the land could be purchased at private sale at the upset price. Settlement conditions included a house, sixteen by twenty feet, two years' continuous residence, and cultivation of ten acres out of one hundred within four years. L. Gates, p.300.

[49]Information given by W. F. Collins in the Galt Report.

[50]Appendix no. 17, JLAC, XVII (1859).

[51]L. Gates, p.294. After 7 years, the rent doubled. N. Séguin, p.62.

[52]JLAC, XIX (1861), 355.

protest which resulted forced the sale to be postponed several times[53] - in fact it never seems to have materialized.

Ten years later in 1872, the Legislature itself became involved by passing a bill which made it possible to confiscate without warning the lands of colonists behind in their payments. The following year they were given sixty days to appeal the decision. In 1878 the newly-elected Liberal government modified the regulation further, so that a colonist was given two months to settle his accounts after the final notice of cancellation.[54] This was an attempt to preserve the Liberal image (developed during the long years in opposition), as defenders of the helpless settlers. The amendment was redundant however, for colonization and French Canadian nationalism were so intimately related that no Conservative government had ever attempted to remove bona fide colonists from their holdings, regardless of how many years they were behind in their payments.

The fact is that the price asked for crown lands, low as it might seem, represented a considerable burden to the poor settlers who were usually forced to live at a subsistence level for at least several years. The logical policy would have been to grant the land free of charge, while continuing to exact the settlement duties to guard against specu-

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[53] Le Défricheur, 4 Dec. 1862.

[54] Le Journal d'Arthabaska, 12 Oct. 1877; 18 July 1878; N. Séguin, p.73.

ulation. The crown lands were admittedly the province's most important source of revenue after the federal subsidies (during the seventies they brought a quarter to a third of the income each year), but the expenses involved in attempting to force the colonists to pay for their land ensured that nearly all of this money came from timber merchants.[55] One might object that the imposition of settlement conditions would have continued to make indispensable the local crown lands agents, with their great discretionary powers over the colonists.[56] Nevertheless, the agents were probably less injurious in the long run than a new crop of absentee landowners would have been. In any case, protests directed toward tyrannical government land agents were certainly less common than those levelled at the speculators.[57]

(ii) Timber Privileges

More unpopular than the system of maintaining local agents was the prohibition on cutting trees outside the cultivated areas of unpatented lots. Until 1861 settlers could not even sell the wood taken in their clearing operations, so

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[55] M. Hamelin, pp.183, 186, 235; L. Gates, p.283.

[56] Hodgetts takes this position. See pp.134, 136. See also M. Hamelin, p.41.

[57] An in depth study of crown land colonization in Compton county revealed relatively little dissatisfaction with the government agents. The major criticism made by Trépanier (p.212) and Normand Séguin (p.70) is that the agents were simply ineffective.

most of it was burned.[58] In 1862 the Select Committee on Colonization recommended that colonists be allowed to sell all the timber from their holdings, once they had paid the first instalment.[59] This would have made it easier for settlers to pay for their grants, but it also presented the danger of individuals posing as colonists in order to strip government lots of their valuable trees. In this way they would have been able to avoid paying timber licence fees, a major source of income for the Quebec government.[60] The government therefore had little choice but to ignore the Select Committee's recommendations. After 1872, however, colonists who had made two payments, in addition to fulfilling the other settlement conditions, were able to obtain permits to exploit the timber on their lots.[61]

Much more difficult to justify was the regulation which allowed logging companies to cut trees upon a colonists's non-patented lot when that lot fell within the area leased by the company.[62] This would have greatly reduced the value of

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[58] Le Défricheur, 11 Dec. 1862; L. Gates, p.300.

[59] JLAC, XX (1862), appendix no. 1.

[60] This was common practice in the Ottawa and Saguenay valleys, but never became a major issue in the Eastern Townships. See Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, p.114; N. Séguin, pp.136-41.

[61] 36 Vict., cap. 8.

[62] In 1826 the government had devised a system whereby

the holding, but fortunately it was "not customary for Crown Timber agents to grant licences for any lands after they have been sold and the first instalment paid."[63] Finally, in 1880, timber companies were given only until the following May to wind up operations upon any crown land lot that had been reserved for a colonist during the previous year. In 1888 the time limit was extended to thirty months, but this was repealed in 1892.[64]

Conflicts between settlers and timber merchants were unavoidable, but, in the final analysis, the logging companies do not seem to have been a major hindrance to colonization in the Eastern Townships. Witnesses for the 1862 inquiry on colonization expressed much more concern over land speculators and poor roads. One such witness, John Hough of Megantic county, stated that "in this section the land on which lumbering is in operation is not fit for agricultural purposes."[65] In fact colonists often claimed land in an area under a timber

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the Crown did not sell timber lands outright, but granted licenses to cut the timber. Booth, "Changing Forest Utilization Patterns," p.123.

[63] JLAC, XX (1862), appendix no. 1, report of John Hume.

[64] DLAQ, 27 Feb. 1890.

[65] JLAC, XX (1862), appendix no. 1.

licence in order to take advantage of a company's logging roads, the market its workers offered, and even the opportunity to poach upon the company's preserve. In the Eastern Townships of the seventies and eighties, it was not the individual colonists,but the so-called colonization companies (often simply rival timber companies in disguise) who complained about the activities of the wood merchants. In fact, throughout Quebec, colonization was favoured to such a degree that people often settled in areas unfit for cultivation, and large amounts of money in timber licences and fees were thereby lost by the government.[66]

It is clear that the improvement of the municipal system and the construction of colonization roads did not remove all the impediments to Eastern Townships colonization during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Not only did speculators manage to continue their operations, but they per-

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[66]See L. Gates, p.297; A. R. M. Lower, Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada (Toronto, 1936), pp.29, 50, 52, 63, 64, 67, 77. It has been alleged that these people were often not true settlers at all, but employees of timber merchants who used their names to acquire large holdings in the province. See M. Hamelin, pp.238-9. This probably applies to the North Shore more than to the Eastern Townships, but it does indicate how difficult it was to enforce timber privileges.

secuted squatters more severely than ever. In addition, the government continued to demand payment for crown land grants, and colonists were technically forbidden to exploit the forest resources on government lots until they had fulfilled most of the conditions required for letters patent. This made it more difficult for them to raise money to pay for their land, but popular opinion forced governments to be very lenient in their demands. Aside from the obstacles presented by the speculators, therefore, conditions for colonization in the Eastern Townships were greatly improved by mid-century. Furthermore, judging from the rapid growth of the French Canadian population in the frontier townships during the following decades, even the absentee proprietors were not impossible to deal with.

CHAPTER FIVE

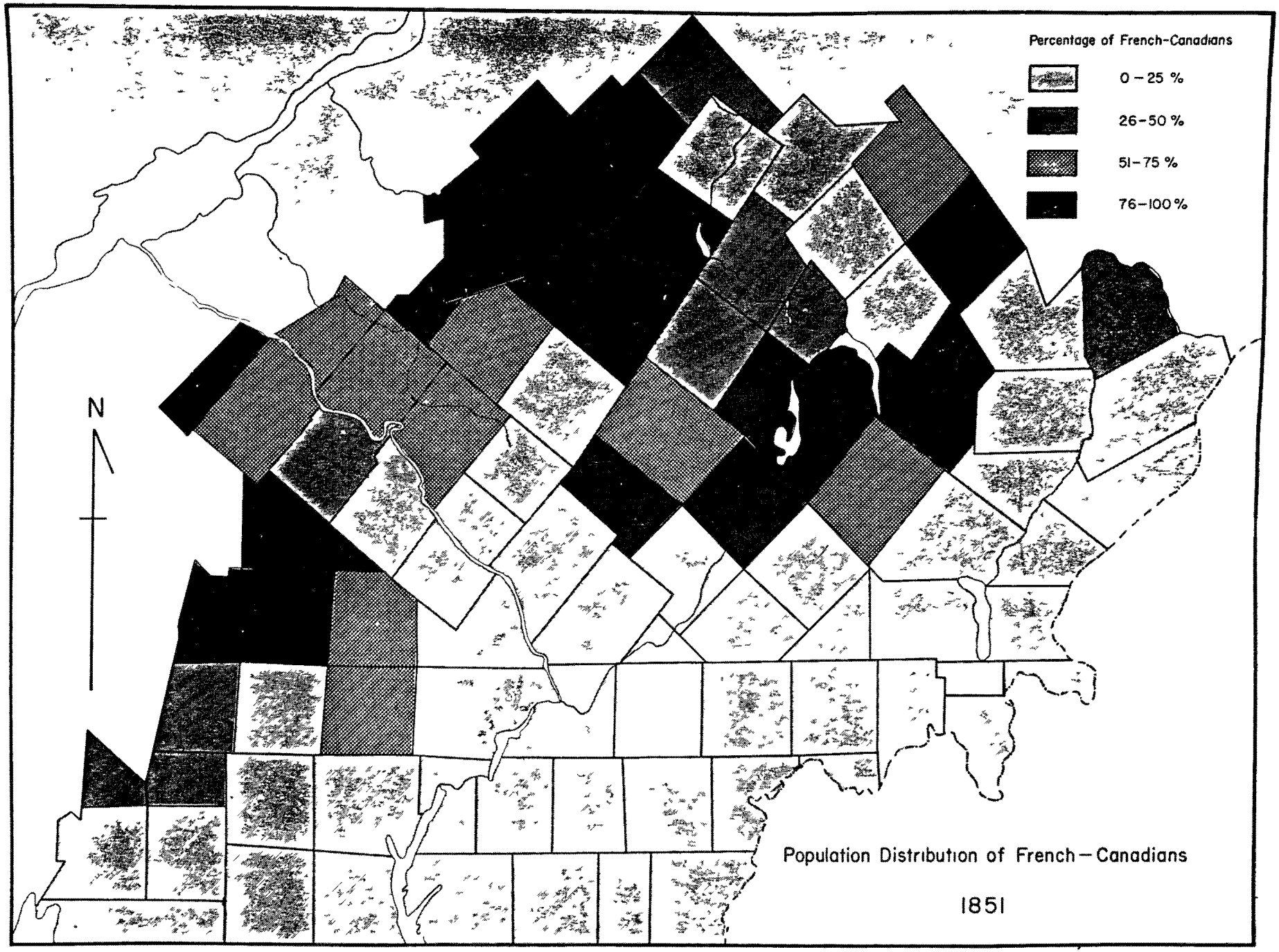
THE EXPANSION OF THE FRENCH CANADIAN POPULATION WITHIN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS (1851-90)

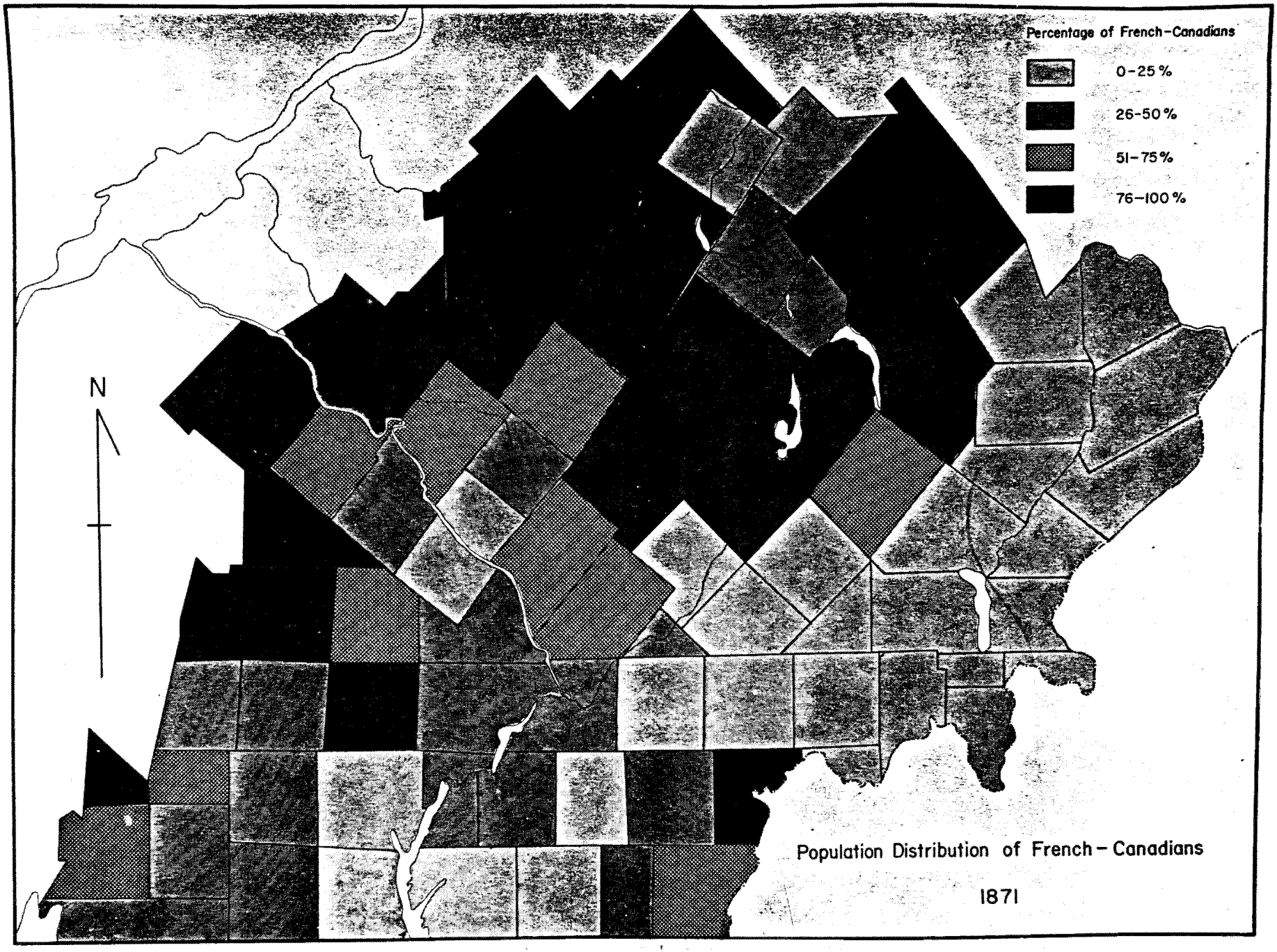
Between 1851 and 1890, the French Canadian population of the Eastern Townships experienced a remarkable growth, from 33,737 to 165,818. There were three ways these additional numbers could earn their livelihood: by colonizing wild land, working as day labourers, or buying farms from the English-speaking inhabitants. This chapter will present a decade by decade analysis of the relative importance of each of these three factors in the peaceable conquest of the Townships.

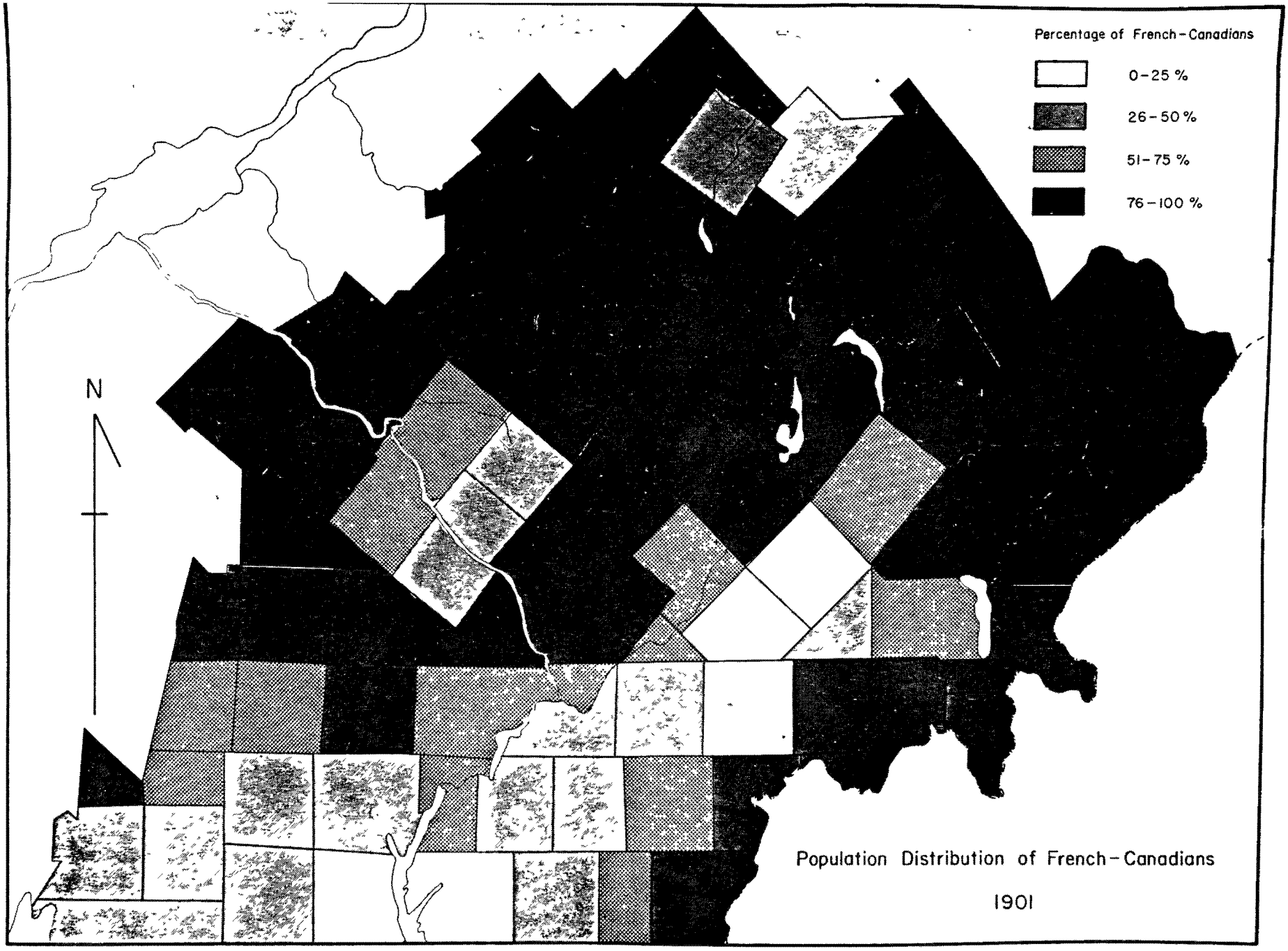
1851-1860

The outstanding event of the fifties was the completion in 1854 of the Grand Trunk Railway from Montreal and Quebec through Richmond and Sherbrooke to the winter port of Portland, Maine. This was a sudden and decisive step towards eliminating the region's one major handicap, isolation from outside markets and supplies. It could not help but have a revolutionary impact upon the economy, and so upon the demography, of the Eastern Townships.

The most visible effect of the Grand Trunk was to en-


Percentage of French-Canadians
0 – 25 %
26-50 %
51-75 %
76-100 %
N
Population Distribution of French – Canadians
1851


Percentage of French-Canadians
0-25 %
26-50 %
51-75 %
76-100 %
N
Population Distribution of French - Canadians
1871


Percentage of French-Canadians
0-25 %
26-50 %
51-75 %
76-100 %
N
Population Distribution of French-Canadians
1901

courage the growth of towns by making it economical for manufactured products to reach outside markets for the first time. It was for this reason that Alexander Galt had promoted the Montreal-Portland line in the first place. His company actually began to establish industries in Sherbrooke during the early forties, in anticipation of the railroad. The town of Richmond became the site of the company shops, for it lay at the junction of the Montreal and Quebec City branches.[1] With the aid of the 1854 reciprocity treaty, which permitted the free passage of natural products between British North America and the United States, the railroad also brought the lumbering and mining industries to life. For example, in 1854 a large sawmill (fifty-six saws) commenced operations at Brompton Falls in Richmond county, thereby giving nearby Wolfe an important market for its timber.[2] In addition, copper was discovered in Acton, Upton, Leeds, and Ascot townships. But it would take time for these industries to gather momentum. In 1860 the sawmills of the entire Townships region produced only $500,000 in wood products[3], while less than 4000 tons of cop-

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[1]Greening, p.46.

[2]The Brompton sawmill employed about 100 hands in 1866. PAC, R. G. 17 I-1, Canada Department of Agriculture, Correspondence #2055, Report of George Lanigan, Sherbrooke Emigration Agent; Blanchard, pp.285, 293; Albert Gravel, Ste. Praxede de Brompton (Sherbrooke, 1921), p.10.

[3]See Appendix F.

per were mined.[4]

Part of the problem lay with the international economic slump which in 1857 ended the brief period of prosperity enjoyed during the previous six years.[5] In the Sherbrooke area the recession was aggravated by a summer of drought, followed by an autumn of severe frost, which "swept away twenty-five to fifty percent of the available means of the farmers to meet their liabilities and to purchase supplies."[6] In 1860 Sherbrooke and Richmond, the region's two largest urban centres, still had only 3000 and 643 inhabitants, respectively.[7] Within the Townships as a whole, there were about 2400 industrial workers.[8] It is clear, therefore, that towns absorbed only a small amount of the French Canadian population growth during the fifties, for given that a majority of the workers were French Canadian, and given that each worker represented several dependents, this still leaves only a small percentage of the region's 66,289 francophones connected with non-agricultural pursuits in 1860.[9]

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[4]All statistics are from Canada, Census Reports unless otherwise indicated.

[5]Quinn, p.534. Jones claims that this recession had little effect upon the agricultural producers of Lower Canada. Jones, "The Agricultural History of Lower Canada," p.216; History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.206-7.

[6]Sherbrooke Gazette, 18 April 1857.

[7]Drapeau, pp.206, 208.

[8]Chevalier, p.80.

[9]Although they are probably incomplete, the 1860-1

The railroad and reciprocity had a dramatic effect upon the region's agricultural economy, for while they augmented the local urban market on one hand, they also brought cheap western wheat and meat into the region. Farmers were therefore forced to take advantage of their proximity to eastern Canadian and American cities by turning to more perishable products - those made from milk. There was a decline in Townships beef production from 2,639,000 pounds in 1851 to 2,410,000 pounds in 1860; pork dropped from 6,130,400 to 5,558,200 pounds, and the number of acres devoted to wheat dropped from 26,490 to 22,418. Production of butter, on the other hand, almost doubled - from 1,922,130 pounds in 1851 to 3,645,703 pounds in 1860. Before the Civil War in the United States had ended, Eastern Townships butter had achieved such a high reputation that it was "very seldom handled by Canadian buyers at all ... being generally contracted for by Americans before a pound of it is gathered, shipped to Boston, rebranded and sold for the highest price under the name of 'Vermont Dairy'."[10]

But the day of specialization was not yet at

Census Reports record only 1662 French Canadians in the towns, with 698 in Sherbrooke. See Appendix E.

[10]Quoted in Jones, "The Agricultural History of Lower Canada," pp.217-18. Butter production remained at about one fifth the province's total in 1850 and 1860, while cheese production was almost three quarters in 1860, even though it failed to expand during the fifties. Minville, p.512.

hand because the Americans were still buying livestock. In 1851 only one third of the cattle owned by Townships farmers were milch cows. (In the province as a whole, half the cattle were milch cows.) The net result was that in spite of the decline in the meat market, there was a twenty-five percent increase in the number of cattle raised within the Townships between 1851 and 1860. In addition, more fodder crops such as oats, buckwheat, turnips, and hay were grown in place of wheat. However two commercial crops, barley and rye, experienced a sizeable increase as well, in response to the preference American brewers showed for northern barley over that of New York.[11] On a smaller scale, horses and wool were also exported to the United States during the fifties. The number of horses raised by Townships farmers increased from 18,709 in 1851 to 30,440 in 1860, and wool production increased from 226,639 to 356,728 pounds during the same period. One would have expected a more spectacular growth in the wool industry considering that the New England textile towns had long since made this the major interest of the farmers in nearby Vermont, but western competition was beginning to cut into the profits of eastern wool growers by this time.[12]

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[11]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, p.219; "Agricultural Development of Lower Canada," p.214; Hamelin and Roby, p.194.

[12]Wilson, pp.78, 81. This situation would change temporarily with the Civil War.

Maple sugar was one product in which Townships farmers did not have to fear competition, and they doubled their production between 1851 and 1860.

On the whole, therefore, the railroad, with the aid of reciprocity, benefitted agriculture in the Townships. This naturally encouraged French Canadians to enter the region from their over-crowded seigneuries. Some worked for English Canadian farmers, while other replaced them, but judging from the relatively small number of French Canadians within the old American-settled townships, most of them farmed land which they had cleared themselves.[13]

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[13] In 1860 there were still only 664 French Canadians in Richmond County, 935 in Stanstead, and 1644 in Brome. In Compton there were only 522 outside the recently-opened township of Winslow (See Appendix H). There are further indications that French Canadians did not displace a significant number of English Canadian farmers during the fifties. Using the French Canadian natural increase figure, the English-speaking population should have grown by about 20,000 between 1851 and 1860. Jacques Henripin and Yves Perron, * in Hubert Charbonneau, La Population du Québec, études rétrospectives (Montréal, 1973), p.43. But the natural increase of the French Canadians was considerably higher than that of the English Canadians during the nineteenth century, so the actual English Canadian increase of 15,000 indicates that few left the Townships during the fifties. Furthermore, few British and American immigrants replaced departing English-speaking Townshippers because the number of British and American-born remained substantially the same in 1860 as it had been in 1851. A final indication that there was little population displacement is the fact that the land under cultivation increased by sixty-five percent within the decade, which is close to the sixty-seven percent population growth.

* "La Transition Démographique de la Province de Québec,"

Of course the French Canadian colonists could not expect to benefit as much from specialization as did the longer-established English Canadian farmers[14], but this did not prevent them from flocking to the remaining available wild land. Their numbers doubled in Arthabaska, Shefford and Megantic; tripled in Beauce; and quadrupled in Wolfe. In Drummond, an earlier colonization centre where wild land was less easy to find, the French Canadians increased by about twenty-five percent. Finally, there was a sixty percent growth in Missisquoi, a good part of which was due to colonization in spite of the fact that the first settlers in the Eastern Townships had gone to this county. Taken together, the increase of French Canadians in these seven counties was 24,030, a large percentage of their total growth of 32,552 within the Eastern Townships. The French Canadians were quickly ensuring their numerical domination of the Townships (they expanded from thirty-six to forty-seven percent of the population between 1851 and 1860) by

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[14]A comparison of the townships with a majority French-speaking population with those having a majority of anglophones reveals that in 1851 the 29% of the total population who lived in the former townships produced 19% of the region's wheat, 15% of the wool, 31% of the maple sugar, 12% of the butter, 6% of the beef and 11% of the pork. They also owned 22% of the horses, and 20% of the land under cultivation. In 1860 the francophone-dominated townships had 44% of the population, which produced 37% of the wheat, 25% of the wool, 34% of the maple sugar, 22% of the butter, 30% of the beef, and 40% of the pork. They also owned 33% of the horses. This of course is not a completely accurate analysis, for almost every township had both French and English-speaking inhabitants. For a more detailed comparison between French and English Canadian production within two townships see chapter 7.

settling in areas which the English Canadians had always ignored.

1860-1870

Whereas the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and the enactment of the Reciprocity Treaty had the greatest impact upon the economy of the Eastern Townships during the fifties, the American Civil War and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty were the keynotes of the sixties. The war stimulated the American demand for raw material as well as manufactured goods, but this did not benefit the Townships immediately because it also caused a suspension of specie payment.[15] However the increased demand eventually pulled the region out of the economic slump which had begun in 1857. The market for industrial products remained healthy after 1865[16], allowing Sherbrooke's population to increase from 2974 in 1860 to 4432 in 1870. Not only was all of this increase French Canadian, but the English-speaking population of the town actually declined by 1000. Urbanization, therefore, gave a considerable boost to the expansion of the French-

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[15] 1865 Report of the Eastern Townships Bank. Cited in Victor Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, I (Toronto, 1920), 381.

[16] In 1866 the Paton woolen fabrics mill opened. It employed 500 people, being the largest of its kind in Canada. Hamelin and Roby, p.272.

speaking population, but even in 1870 Sherbrooke remained the only town of any consequence in the region.

The Civil War also administered a shot in the arm to mining in the Townships. Copper mines proliferated for a brief time, but the cessation of hostilities brought a damaging decline in prices. The Acton mine wound up operations as early as 1864. By 1869 the only ones still functioning were the Eustis, Capelton, Ives and Huntingdon mines of Sherbrooke county, and the Harvey Hill mines of Megantic.[17] That year they were operated by 342 men, who extracted 128,000 tons of ore, but by 1870 production had dropped to 3700 tons, with only 60 men employed.[18]

The lumber industry proved to have more staying power. From $494,917 in 1860, saw mill production increased to $1,196,612 in 1870. Added to the many new factories which appeared during the sixties, this caused a rather impressive growth in the number of workers in the Townships - from 2400 to 5971.[19] But, again even assuming that nearly all were French Canadians with several children, this still represents

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[17]The Eustis mine was still Quebec's most important copper mine in 1910. It did not close until 1939. W. G. Ross, Three Eastern Townships Mining Villages Since 1863: Albert Mines, Capelton and Eustis, Quebec (Lennoxville, 1974), p.38.

[18]Blanchard, p.299. Where Blanchard found these figures is uncertain. The 1870-1 Census Reports record 11,686 tons of copper, with 4900 tons from Brome, 4836 from Sherbrooke, and 1250 from Megantic.

[19]Chevalier, p.80. The urban French Canadian popul-

a minority of the total increase of 30,752. Though not to the same degree as during the fifties, most of the French Canadian expansion was once more tied to the soil.

The Civil War stimulated the demand for the region's butter, cheese, cattle, horses, wool, maple sugar, oats, and barley.[20] Even after the war had ended, exports of cattle remained brisk for a time because they were being drained southward from the northern states. But the American market for farm produce was severely restricted by the abrogation of the reciprocity agreement in 1866.[21] The net result of the fluctuating demand of the sixties was that in 1870 the manufacture of butter was up by thirty-three percent, wool by thirty percent, and the number of cattle and horses by seventeen and twenty-three percent, respectively. When compared to the fifties, this represented a decline in the total growth rate of agricultural production.[22]

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ation recorded in the 1870-1 Census Reports is 9524.

[20]Maple sugar and wool acted as substitutes for Louisianna sugar and southern cotton, respectively. Cultivation of flax was also briefly encouraged by the cotton shortage. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.212-20, 225; "Agricultural Development of Lower Canada," pp.216-7.

[21]Jones, "The Agricultural History of Lower Canada," pp.216-8; V. Ross, pp.382, 385; Hamelin and Roby, p.195; M. Hamelin, p.82.

[22]Table Comparing the Growth Rate of Agricultural Pro-

The sale of cheese to Great Britain[23] helped to make up for the smaller American dairy market, but it did not prevent some English-speaking farmers from becoming discouraged enough to leave the region. The railroads had brought outside competition as well as markets, placing in a precarious position those farmers who were unable or unwilling to adapt to market conditions. In this category were those who occupied the thin-soiled upland farms cleared by the Townships' first settlers.[24] Between 1860 and 1870 the English Canadian

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duction of the Sixties with that of the Fifties:

	1851-2 to 1860-1	1860-1 to 1870-1
Cattle	25%	17%
Horses	39%	23%
Pigs	-53%	31%
Butter	47%	33%
Wool	36%	30%
Oats	64%	-12%
Hay	99%	42%
Potatoes & Turnips	77%	15%
Other crops*	52%	14%

*The "other crops" include wheat, barley, rye, peas, beans, buckwheat and corn.

[23]The province's first cheese factory was built in Missisquoi county in 1865. By 1870 the Townships had twenty-one of these establishments, which together had produced $116,687 in cheese.

[24]The pioneers chose their land, less for its fertility than for its slope, drainage and vegetation. In addition to presenting fewer drainage problems, the stonier, less arable hill-country was covered with hardwood trees which could be used to make potash salts and maple sugar. Booth, "Historical Geography," p.23; J. A. Dresser, "Eastern Townships of Quebec; a study in human geography," R. S. C. Transactions, Series 3, XXIX (1935), 94-95; Wilson, pp.124-6.

population declined by 4755. This exodus was quite evenly distributed among all the older counties in the southwestern section of the region. It was very timely for the French Canadians because the supply of arable wild land was fast diminishing, and they were generally more content than the English Canadians to work marginal farmland.

Nevertheless the declining anglophone population represented a consolidation of units into the hands of those who remained behind more than it did a process by which one population replaced another. The most important factor in the French Canadian expansion was again colonization, for their total increase of over 30,000 was much greater than the increase in urban dwellers and decrease in English Canadians combined. As in the fifties, much of the incentive for the continued expansion of the French Canadian population onto wild land came from their religious and lay leaders. They in turn were driven by the fact that French Canadian emigration to the United States mushroomed to an unprecedented degree during the sixties, when it reached 200,000, as compared with 5500 in the previous decade.[25] Prior to the late sixties, the principal remedy envisaged continued to be colo-

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[25]Hamelin and Roby, p.67. Other figures given for emigration from Quebec are Yolande Lavoie's 65,000 for 1850 to 1860, and 80,000 for 1860 to 1871, and Gilles Paquet's 225,000 for 1860 to 1870. Henripin and Perron, p.37, M. Hamelin, p.115.

nization,[26] and colonization roads remained one of the government's top priorities.[27]

The 1868 report of the provincial government's Permanent Committee on Agriculture, Immigration and Colonization marked a change in attitude. It admitted that colonization roads had failed to stem emigration, and suggested that secondary industries, along with more intensive agricultural education, were more practical remedies.[28] But this did not mean that colonization was to be forgotten. Because Confederation had given the provincial government authority over roads and crown lands, proponents of colonization expected more government encouragement than ever. In fact, for a large number of journalists and politicians, the primary benefit of Confederation was to give the local government jurisdiction over the colonization field.[29] The first session of the Assembly therefore enacted a number of bills designed to promote settlement of crown lands.

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[26]ACAM, RLB, VI, 375, Bourget to Champeaux, 24 Dec. 1850.

[27]Ibid., pp. 404-5, 4 April 1851.

[28]In 1861 the Anglican Bishop of Quebec claimed that Catholic proselytism was having little effect on his flock. QDA, 6-14, p. 13. The missionary reporting on Mgr. Bourget's 1849 pastoral visit to the Eastern Townships claimed that five Protestants were converted, but he did not make clear whether or not they had originally been Catholics. Letter from "Un Missionaire," 22 Feb. 1849, printed in Rapport de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi établie dans le diocèse de Montréal [1849?] , pp. 39,46.

[29]See for example Les Rapports [...] à Montréal (1839), p. 8; (1842), p. 9; Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (1845), p. 266.

It established a system of subsidization for colonization roads,[30] and ratified the so-called Homestead Law which protected a colonist from seizure of his possessions for any debts until ten years after he had acquired his letters patent. Land could be seized, only for debts incurred after the colonist had taken out his location ticket.[31] The Colonization Societies Act[32] was passed in 1869. It provided government funds for groups who wished to found colonies in unsettled areas. Although the Townships' best crown land had disappeared by the end of the sixties, several colonization societies attempted to establish settlers in the remote Lake Megantic area of eastern Compton county.

The results of this project, meagre as they were, would not be witnessed before the seventies. Much more important was the continued expansion of French Canadians onto the wild land of townships which colonization roads had begun to open during the late forties. It was no accident that among the areas of greatest population growth were the southern townships

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[30]Holmes to Plessis, 19 Nov. 1824, in O'Bready, "Lettres", p. 15. Prior to the 1840's French Canadians in the older parishes were also far from being ideal Catholics . See Nive Voisine, Histoire de l'Eglise catholique au Québec (1608-1970) (Montréal, 1970), pp. 35-7; Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Religion and French Canadian Mores in the Early Nineteenth Century." CHR, Lll (1971), 75-90.

[31]Holmes to Plessis, 20 Oct.1825, in O'Bready, "Lettres", p. 36. This phenomenon was still remarked upon during the forties. See Les Rapports [...] à Montréal (1839), p. 8; (1842), pp. 7, 65-7.

[32]ACAQ, RL, XII, 183, Plessis to Holmes, 10 Feb. 1825; Holmes to Plessis, 20 April 1825 in O'Bready, p. 25.

in Arthabaska (3586 in Tingwick, Warwick, Arthabaska), the western townships in Beauce (3268 in Lambton, Tring, Forsyth, and Shenley), and the south-central townships in Compton (about 1200 in Clifton, Hereford and Auckland). With the aid of industrialization and the emigrating English Canadian farmers, colonization raised the number of French Canadians from forty-seven to fifty-eight percent of the total population by 1870.

1870-1880

During the seventies, colonization was almost equalled by industrialization as the principal cause for French Canadian expansion within the Eastern Townships. But this was primarily the result of a slow-down in rural expansion, not an upsurge in urbanization. Rather than stimulating unemployed French Canadians to colonize Townships land, the 1873 to 1880 economic recession reduced their influx into the region to a trickle.[33]

The decade began auspiciously enough, for many towns were able to benefit from new links with major Canadian and

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[33]Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, as well as Marcel Hamelin, have noted that the agricultural frontier tended to expand during years of economic prosperity, rather than vice versa. See Hamelin and Roby, p.166; M. Hamelin, p.236. For a critique of Hamelin and Roby's attempt to link the price of oats with colonization, see Trépanier, pp.238-9, and N. Séguin, p.3.

American markets. Aside from the Grand Trunk and its branch lines, there was the Stanstead, Shefford, and Chambly Railroad, built from Saint-Jean to Waterloo in 1859; the Montreal and Vermont Junction, which passed through Missisquoi county in 1867; and the Massawippi Valley Railroad which in 1870 went from Sherbrooke to Rock Island, thereby providing a link with Boston and New York.[34] The population of the town of Sherbrooke jumped dramatically from 4432 in 1870 to 7585 in 1875, when it was incorporated as a city.[35] But the following year Sherbrooke began to feel the effects of the recession which was to steadily tighten its grip until 1880.[36] The town lost 500 people in 1876, and its population continued to decline until 1878, when a slow recovery began.[37] By 1880 Sherbrooke had 7227 inhabitants, which represented an overall growth of

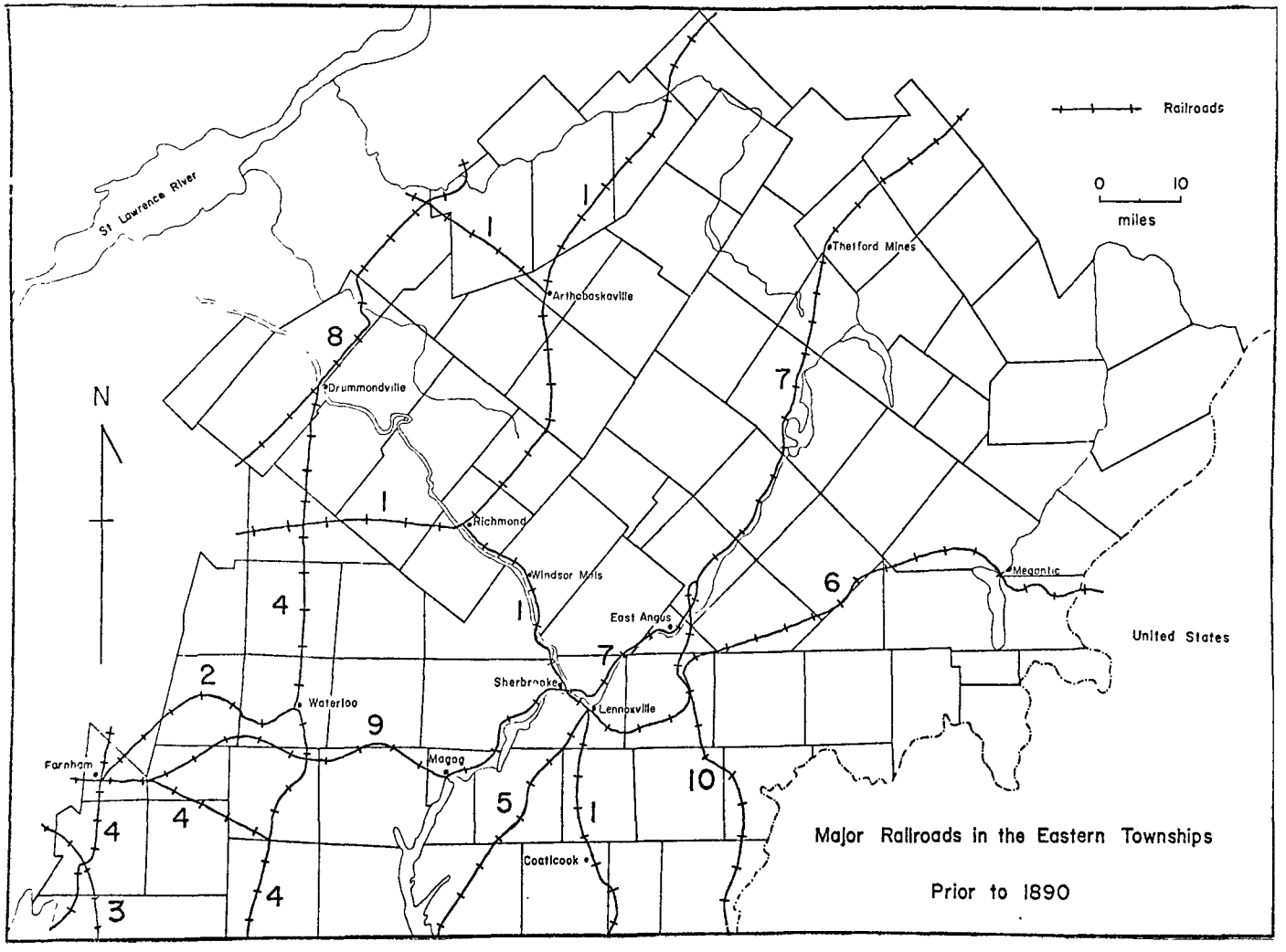
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[34]M. Hamelin, pp.97, 99-100; Hamelin and Roby, pp.126-7.

[35]Sherbrooke, "Annual Reports from Different Departments of the city of ... for the Year ending 31st December 1890," p.5; Meyer, p.41.

[36]V. Ross, pp.388-9, 391; Le Pionnier, 29 Oct., 23 Dec. 1875; Hamelin and Roby, p.195; Vicero, p.288. In July, 1876 the Stanstead Journal reported that the Paton Manufacturing Company, Smith Elkins Manufacturing Company, and the Canadian Meat and Produce Company had suspended operations. Stanstead Journal, 27 July 1876.

[37]Sherbrooke, "Annual Reports," p.5.



1 G.T.R. - 1852
2 Stanstead, Shefford & Chambly - 1859
3 Montreal and Vermont Junction - 1867
4 South Eastern - 1860-80
5 Massawippi Valley - 1870
6 International - 1879
7 Q.C.R. - 1880
8 Drummond Co. - 1880
9 C.P.R. - 1888
10 Hereford - 1890

about 2800 during the seventies. Almost two-thirds of this increase was French Canadian.

Other towns in the region also began to assume some importance during the seventies. A paper mill was built at Windsor (Richmond county) in 1876, creating a town of 879 by 1880. In addition, the population of the town of Richmond, site of the Grand Trunk workshops, doubled from 715 to 1571 during the decade. Drummondville also grew quickly - by 1880 it had 900 inhabitants. At the same time there were three towns in Shefford county with over 1000 citizens - Granby (1040), Roxton Falls (1170) and Waterloo (1617). Arthabaska was nearly in the same position - there were 1474 people in Victoriaville, 992 in Arthabaskaville and 929 in Warwick. Stanstead was the one other county to acquire a significant urban population. Magog became a town of 1248, while Coaticook recovered sufficiently from its crippling bout with the recession[38] to grow to 2682. In all these towns but Waterloo, Magog and Coaticook, the French Canadians were in a large majority. In fact, the French Canadian urban population actually doubled (from 9524 to 18,188) during the seventies. At the same time, the total number of French Canadians within the Townships grew by only 20,998, so half were attracted to towns.

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[38]Albert Gravel, Histoire de Coaticook (Sherbrooke, 1925), p.88; Le Pionnier, 23 Dec. 1875.

The only important towns were in the western half of the Eastern Townships, but during the seventies an attempt was made to develop the eastern counties by building new railroads. Compton, Wolfe, Megantic and Beauce were too sparsely settled and too far removed from the lines of communication between the larger cities of Canada and the eastern United States to make railroads commercially viable, so the promoters labelled them colonization lines in order to win larger government grants. To keep the costs down, the Sherbrooke, Eastern Townships and Kennebec Company decided to use wooden rails for their railroad from Sherbrooke into Wolfe and Compton.[39] Though officially a colonization line, there is no doubt that its English-speaking promoters (the M.L.A. for Sherbrooke, J. G. Robertson, and the G. T. R. Company's A. T. Galt and C. J. Brydges) were primarily interested in tapping timber stands and mineral deposits. Construction was abandoned before it was very far advanced because two other wooden railroads, the Richelieu, Drummond, and Arthabaska, and the Quebec and Gosford, proved to be impractical due to warping and other structural problems.[40] There followed a long period of delay,

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[39] Le Pionnier, 29 Jan. 1869.

[40] Glazebrooke, p.142; M. Hamelin, p.191; Hamelin and Roby, p.143. For details on the construction of these two railroads, see M. Hamelin, pp.103-5, 191, 194.

caused by rivalry with a second Sherbrooke company. Finally, in 1875 the Sherbrooke, E. T. and Kennebec group reorganized themselves, replaced wooden rails with steel ones, and changed their name to the Quebec Central Railroad Company. No longer was the line designed to have several branches ending in the wilderness of Wolfe and northern Compton; when construction was completed in 1880, it passed directly through Wolfe and southern Megantic to join the Lévis and Kennebec Railroad at Valley Junction in the Chaudière Valley. Its principal function was to give access to markets for timber, the lime deposits in Dudswell, and the Thetford asbestos discovered in 1879.

The chief rival of the Q.C.R. group was the St. Francis and Megantic International Railroad Company, designed to run a line from Sherbrooke through Compton county to Lake Megantic. It was ultimately to extend to St. John, New Brunswick, thereby giving Montreal access to a Canadian winter port, but its immediate objective was to heighten the value of the Compton property owned by its two principal promoters, the B. A. L. Company and John Henry Pope, Compton's federal Member of Parliament.[41] Behind the intensive rivalry between this group and

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[41] Le Pionnier, 29 Jan. 1869, 22 May 1870. In 1889 Sir George Stephen, President of the C.P.R., said that he had built the Short Line only to relieve Pope of his personal load in the International Railway. Waite, p.143.

the Q.C.R. Company lay the fact that provincial and municipal funds did not appear to be sufficient to support the two railroads. In addition, a link with the port of St. John would hurt Portland and the G. T. R. Company of Brydges and Galt.[42] The influence of Robertson and Galt was enough to ensure provincial subsidies for the Q.C.R., but Pope did not give up. Due to his manipulations, the Compton County Council granted $225,540 to his company, and the International reached Lake Megantic in 1879. Even the most remote parts of the Eastern Townships therefore enjoyed the benefit of rail communications by the end of the seventies.

As a result, the value of sawmill production increased from $1,196,602 in 1870 to $1,730,818 in 1880, in spite of a general decline in demand after 1874. But mining did not fare so well. The post-Civil War slump in copper prices continued, causing production to decline from 11,686 tons in 1870 to 6007 tons in 1880. Gold was discovered in the Ditton area of Compton county, but only fifteen ounces are recorded as

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[42]Galt therefore found himself on the opposite side of the fence from his former employer, the BAL Company. The St. Francis and Megantic International Company was called the St. Francis and Kennebec Company from its formation in 1869 until 1871. It was originally designed to build a railroad to the Lévis-Kennebec line in the Chaudière Valley, and to join the Massawippi Valley Railroad at Lennoxville (near Sherbrooke) thus providing access to Boston and New York. Hamelin, pp.106, 193-194.

having been taken in 1880. More important was the discovery of extensive asbestos deposits in Thetford; however the mine was not reached by the Q.C.R. until 1879. Lime production is not recorded, but the deposits of Dudswell were important enough to help stimulate this railroad's construction in the first place.

Railroad building failed to salvage the agricultural economy of the Townships during the seventies, for the region was finally beginning to feel the full effects of the American tariffs levied in 1866.[43] Between 1870 and 1880 the number of horses and pigs declined by three and twelve percent, respectively, and wool production dropped by four percent. The only encouraging development was the expansion of the number of cattle (thirty percent). The British meat market was as important as the dairy industry in this development because the percentage of milch cows actually declined from forty-nine to forty-six percent of all cattle.[44] The southwestern counties

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[43]Hamelin and Roby, p.195.

[44]In Quebec as a whole, cows declined from 52% to 48%. Minville, p.496. The first shipment of Canadian meat to the overseas market was made in 1875. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, p.280. In 1878 total exports of cattle finally began to reverse their downward trend begun in 1870. See Minville, p.530.

of Brome, Shefford, and Missisquoi were still the only ones to have more milch cows than other cattle in 1880. But beef-raising was a blind alley as far as the Townships farmers were concerned, because the western ranchers would inevitably be able to undersell them.[45]

Dairying offered a safer alternative, but even here Ontario farmers were beginning to shift their attention from wheat to cheese[46], no doubt causing the unspectacular growth of sixteen percent in the Townships factory-made cheese. However Townships farmers enjoyed the benefit of a head start in butter making. This ensured that their product would be of better quality prior to the factory system, which was introduced in the eighties.[47] As a result production climbed by thirty-four percent. What market the Civil War had created for commercial crops had long since disappeared, so attention was concentrated on the chief fodder crops of oats and hay, some

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[45]The Canadian Meat and Produce Company was established in Sherbrooke to ship canned meat to France, but the recession forced it to close its doors in 1876. It never recovered in spite of the encouragement given Canadian meat producers by a British embargo on American cattle in 1879. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.280-1; Stanstead Journal, 25 March, 21 Oct., 1875; 27 July, 3 Aug., 16 Nov., 23 Nov., 7 Dec., 21 Dec. 1876; 18 Jan., 8 Feb. 1877; 5 Aug. 1880.

[46]Jones, Agriculture in Ontario, pp.225,228, 252-60. Vermont farmers faced the same situation with their mid-western competitors. Wilson, p.196.

[47]Jones, Agriculture in Ontario, pp.260-4.

of which actually did find its way to New England.[48] Their harvests increased by twenty-eight and thirty percent, respectively, while the other seed crops improved by only eight percent.[49]

The seventies was a decade of marking time for Eastern Townships agriculture. Yet the English-speaking population outside Megantic county managed to retain most of its natural increase.[50] With declining markets there was little incentive for consolidation of holdings, and few French Canadians willing to purchase Townships farms. They were clearly also reluctant to become colonists in the region, for cleared land was extended by only eighteen percent. This was not for want of encouragement from the government. The newly-created provincial administration realized that some form of encouragement to settlers was necessary if it were to dispose of the one

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[48]Hamelin and Roby, p.37.

[49]Table Comparing the Growth Rate of Agricultural Production in the Seventies with that of the Sixties.

	1860-1 to 1870-1	1870-1 to 1880-1
Cattle	17%	30%
Horses	23%	- 3%
Pigs	31%	-12%
Butter	33%	34%
Wool	30%	- 4%
Oats	-12%	28%
Hay	42%	30%
Other seed crops	14%	8%
Potatoes and turnips	15%	-26%

[50]The rate of natural increase for the Townships' English Canadian population has not been calculated, but they

large block of crown land remaining in the Eastern Townships. Once a part of the St. Francis tract of the B. A. L. Company, this property had long been ignored because it was in the isolated and hilly townships of eastern Compton and southern Beauce.[51] Spurred on by the advance of Pope's International Railroad towards Lake Megantic, the government launched two ambitious colonization projects in the area during the seventies. Several thousand settlers did open three hitherto uninhabited townships, but rather than stimulating further expansion within the area, these colonies themselves stagnated once the artificial support ended. Altogether, urbanization, the purchase of English Canadian farms, and colonization added only 25,583 French Canadians during the seventies, and less than 2500 of this number came from outside the Townships. The French Canadian growth rate had declined from thirty-two to twenty-one percent; their ratio of the total population went up only three points to sixty-one percent.

It was not through expansion in numbers that the French Canadians made their most impressive gains in the Townships during the seventies; rather it was in consolidating their position by introducing their institutions into the region. The

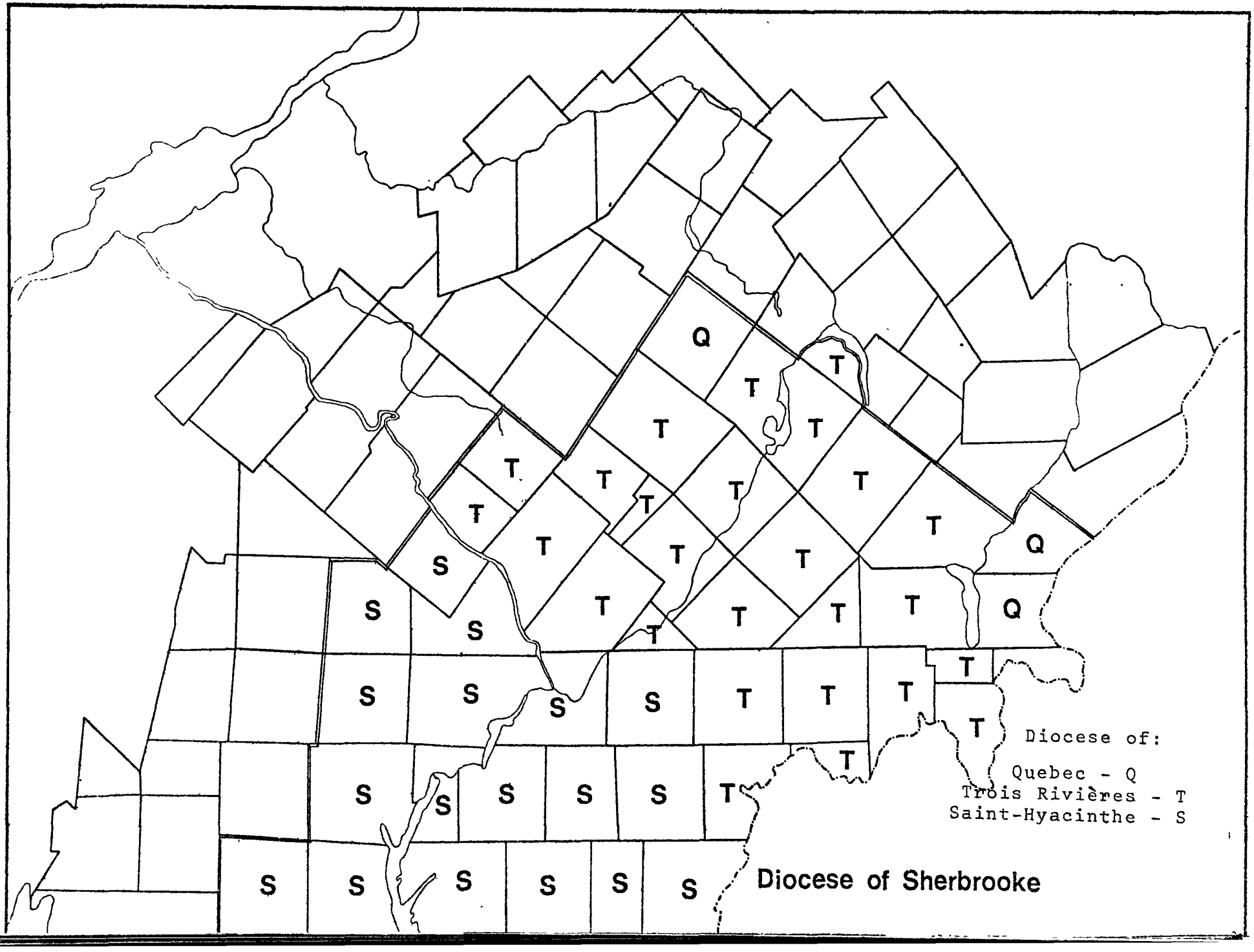
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expanded by eleven percent while the more prolific French Canadians had a natural increase of nineteen percent during the same period.

[51]For descriptions of the remaining crown lands, see JLAQ, XX (1862), 157; SPQ, I (1869), 28-29; IV (1870), 4-45.

key to the appearance of most of these was the consecration of a Catholic bishop of Sherbrooke in 1874. The new diocese was carved from Saint-Hyacinthe, Trois Rivières and Quebec, and it included the counties of Compton, Wolfe, Richmond, Sherbrooke, Stanstead, and parts of Brome, Shefford and Beauce. Its creation was a good indication of the rapid advances being made by the French Canadians, because most of its parishes were in the strongest anglophone area of the Eastern Townships. The outlying townships, most of which had been French Canadian from their earliest settlement, remained in the three older dioceses.

The man chosen to be Sherbrooke's first bishop was Antoine Racine, curé of Saint-Michel in Quebec City. Born near that town in 1822, Racine had entered the Petit Séminaire in 1834. Here he was taught by Abbé John Holmes, the first advocate of French Canadian colonization of the Eastern Townships. Ordained in 1844, four years later Racine became the first curé of Stanfold in Arthabaska county. While there he wrote Le Canadien émigrant, the colonization manifesto which inspired the all-important Municipalities Act of 1855, as well as other reforms of the land-holding system. In 1851 Racine was transferred to Saint-Joseph de Beauce. Two years later he took charge of the Quebec parish where he remained for the twenty-one years prior to his arrival in Sherbrooke.


Q
T
S
Diocese of:
Quebec - Q
Trois Rivières - T
Saint-Hyacinthe - S
Diocese of Sherbrooke

Mgr. Racine's corpulent physique, balding head and affable nature belied his impressive administrative abilities. Nothing important was done by his priests without consulting him first, and one of them observed: "Il avait son règlement particulier qu'il suivait à la lettre. Tout y était marqué; son heure à chaque chose, et il y en avait pour tout."[52] He was therefore the ideal choice to organize a diocese out of some of the province's poorest Catholic missions, missions which the other bishops were more than happy to relinquish.[53] One of Racine's first acts was to decree that the tithe would no longer be tied to grain production, for this was much lower than in the former seigneuries. In future, collections would be based on evaluation roles used for municipal and school taxes. Those families without property would pay two dollars a year.[54] Until the time when the new diocese could support itself, the parent bodies agreed to aid the missions which had once belonged to them.[55] In 1876 the Society for the Propa-

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[52]Annuaire, 1891-5, pp.221, 231-2.

[53]Mandements ... Saint-Hyacinthe, IV (1874), p.145; ACETR, RLL, V, no. 21, Laflèche to Mgr. Taschereau, 22 March 1872.

[54]Mandements ... Sherbrooke, I (1874), 20-22. Although no decision had been made by the courts, prior to 1893 at least, it is doubtful whether any tithe outside that on grain was enforceable by civil law. See Mignault, pp.184-6.

[55]ACAQ, Di.Sh., I-4, Racine to Taschereau, 7 Dec. 1874.

gation of the Faith took over this role.[56]

In addition to poverty, the first bishop of Sherbrooke had to face a powerful and potentially hostile Protestant majority.[57] Again Racine proved to be an excellent choice, for he was too pragmatic to take a dogmatic, ideological stand on religious or political issues. An admirer of the French liberal school of Montalambert and Dupanloup[58], Racine was critical of "ces ultramontés qui se prétendent les seuls vrais catholiques du Canada."[59] In 1878 he issued a circular which

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[56]ACAS, RL, I, no. 52, 44, Racine to Mr. le Président du Conseil Central de la Propagation de la Foi, 31 Jan. 1876.

[57]In 1870 there were 30,255 Roman Catholics and 38,025 Protestants within the limits of the future diocese. Jean-Guy Lavallée, "Monseigneur Antoine Racine, premier Evêque de Sherbrooke (1874-1893)," S.C.H.E.C. Rapport, XXXIV (1967), 36.

[58]In a letter written in 1861, Montalembert expressed his appreciation for the kind remarks Racine had made concerning his works:

> ... j'aime à conclure que les Catholiques du Canada commencement à revenir des étranges illusions que leur avait inspirés une trop aveugle confiance dans la funeste école de l'Univers. Désormais quand leur pensée se tournera vers cette mère-patrie qui leur est restée si chère, ils sauront n'y reconnaître pour oracles que ceux qui, comme Monseigneur Dupanloup, le R. S. Lacordaire et bien d'autres, ont noblement servi la vérité sans jamais sacrifier la liberté ou l'honneur.

ACAS, Racine Papers, Montalembert to Monsieur le Curé, 16 March 1861.

[59]ACAM, Sherbrooke 1874-6, 295.106, Racine to Fabre, 26 Dec. 1852.

proclaimed that, "Le clergé doit, dans sa vie publique et privée, demeurer neutre dans les questions qui ne touchent en rien aux principes religieux."[60] It was indeed fortunate that a man of Racine's liberal and conciliatory[61] temperament was the bishop of Sherbrooke during the seventies, for this was the period when Protestant reaction to ultramontanism reached its peak, with Galt's civil liberties manifestoes and the brief appearance of the Protestant Defence Alliance.

Although Mgr. Racine was diplomatic in his approach toward the Protestants, this did not prevent him from vigorously promoting the influx of French Canadians into the Townships. Shortly after his appointment, he wrote to Grand Vicar Cazeau of Quebec:

> Il y a beaucoup à faire ici pour la propagation de la Foi et le colonisation, mais pour cela il <u>faut se donner de la peine</u> et être secondé. Dans les plus beaux cantons de l'Est, à Stanstead, à Compton, à Eaton, à Bury,

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[60] <u>Mandemants ... Sherbrooke</u>, 19 March 1878.

[61] Mgr. Racine was the chief arbitrator between the Diocese of Quebec and that of Montreal in the long and complicated Laval-University of Montreal dispute. See Germain Lavallée, "Monseigneur Antoine Racine et la question universitaire (1875-1892)" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1954); "Monseigneur Antoine Racine et la question universitaire canadienne (1875-1892)," <u>RHAF</u>, XII (1958), 80-108, 247-61, 372-89, 485-516; "Monseigneur Antoine Racine, premier évêque de Sherbrooke en 1874 et la question universitaire canadienne," S.C.H.E.C. <u>Rapport</u>, LXXXII (1965), 43-54; André Lavallée, "La querelle universitaire québécoise, 1876-1889," <u>RHAF</u>, XXVI (1972), 67-81.

> les trois quarts au moins des terres défrichées et occupées par les Yankees infidèles, sont à vendre et à des prix modérés. Ce sont les plus belles terres et les plus fertiles des Cantons de l'Est. Nous pouvons nous empoigner, si nous le voulons; pour cela il faut attirer des bons cultivateurs canadiens des vieilles paroisses.
>
> Je commence à m'en occuper et surtout à réveiller les endormis et les paresseux. Mais il faut faire cela sans bruit, afin de ne pas réveiller le fanatisme et de ne pas faire hausser le prix des terres.[62]

The same strategy was outlined to Mgr. Fabre, coadjutor of Montreal:

> Je suis dans un pays hérétique, infidèle et Yankee: il y a beaucoup de bien à faire, si je puis pourvoir de prêtres les paroissiens qui en ont besoin.
>
> Dans plusieurs Cantons, les protestants offrent en vente leurs propriétés; malheureusement il y a peu d'acheteurs catholiques.
>
> Je travaille autant que je le puis à attirer les catholiques, et je les exhorte à acheter les Terres des protestants: mais je fais cela sans bruit, presque en cachette, afin de ne pas faire hausser le prix des terres et de ne pas inciter le fanatisme.[63]

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[62] ACAQ, Di.Sh. I-8a, Racine to Cazeau, 23 Feb. 1875.

[63] ACAM, Sherbrooke 1874-6, 295.106, Racine to Fabre, 9 March 1875.

Mgr. Racine asked his curés to compile information on the prices and sale conditions of available property so that this could be made available to French Canadians living outside the Townships. Although he encouraged the formation of colonization societies, he realized that colonization alone would never stem the tide of emigration to the United States. New agricultural techniques had to be learned so that farm production could be doubled and quadrupled. Racine even felt that it was time that the French Canadians understood the benefits of industrialization. He expressed the hope that their aptitude for business would improve through contact with the Americans.[64]

Without reservation, Mgr. Racine can be said to have been a remarkably progressive and energetic bishop. During his nineteen year tenure, he supervised the founding of Catholic institutions such as seminaries, convents, colleges, hospitals and religious fraternities, not to mention the construction of many churches in the new parishes which proliferated throughout the Townships.[65] The number of priests in the Sherbrooke Diocese tripled, while the number of Catholics doubled.[66] All of this was accomplished with a minimum of

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[64] Mandements ... Sherbrooke, 29 March 1875.

[65] See Annuaire, 1882-3, pp.11-16, 68-75.

[66] J. G. Lavallée, p.38.

friction with the Protestants, who seem to have genuinely admired Racine. When he died in 1893, the arch-Protestant Sherbrooke Gazette mourned the loss of "a man of broad and liberal views" who had "so wisely directed the course of his church and nationality amid the dangerous shoals which are so often to be found in a mixed community, such as we have in the Eastern Townships."[67]

1880-1890

The year 1880 brought relief from the severe economic depression which had held the country in its grip during the previous six years. Stimulated by Sir John A. Macdonald's protective tariff of 1879, secondary industries began to grow once more, until another recession commenced in 1883. Fortunately it was less severe than that of the seventies, and external demand picked up in 1886. However two years later internal difficulties (there were three successive crop failures in Quebec between 1888 and 1890)[68] brought still one more slump.

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[67]Quoted in Monseigneur Antoine Racine. Notice Biographique (Sherbrooke, 1894), p.29. Racine's diplomacy is noted in a recent study which claims that "sa présence n'a rien d'une croisade ou d'une conquête." Jacques Desgrandchamps, "Monseigneur Antoine Racine et les Communautés de Religieuses Enseignantes dans le diocèse de Sherbrooke de 1874 à 1893" (MA thesis, University of Sherbrooke, 1975), p.140.

[68]Hamelin and Roby, pp.91-94.

In spite of these fluctuations, conditions for industrial expansion during the eighties were considerably improved over those of the seventies. Although the city of Sherbrooke's real spurt in development would not come until the nineties, with electrification[69], the population did experience a twenty-eight percent growth (2870 individuals) during the eighties. Predictably almost all of this increase was French Canadian. The other important areas of urban expansion were Lake Megantic, which mushroomed from the wilderness to a town of 1173; Drummondville, which grew from 900 to 1955; Farnham, 1888 to 2822; Granby, 1040 to 1710; and Magog, 1248 to 2100. Altogether, the urban population increased from 30,370 to 44,861 between 1880 and 1890.[70] About three-quarters of this expansion was French Canadian.[71]

Whereas the increase in the number of urban French Canadians during the eighties was comparable to that of the seventies (10,500 to 8,500), their rural expansion took a sur-

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[69] Dominion Illustrated, 30 Aug. 1890, pp.134-5; Meyer, p.49; Sherbrooke Gas and Electricity Department, "Report on Development of Public Utilities in Sherbrooke from 1880 to date" (1929), pp.1-2.

[70] While the urban population increased by thirty-two percent, the number of workers increased by thirty-nine percent.

[71] The 1890-1 Census Reports do not record the French Canadians separately, but they were sixty percent of the Townships' urban population in 1871, and sixty-eight percent in 1901.

prising leap forward - 32,671 as compared with 16,919 during the seventies. This was because conditions remained favourable throughout most of the decade. In spite of the province's crop failures, the 1890-1 census statistics reveal significant advances in the raising of horses and pigs, in the production of wool, and in the growing of potatoes and turnips. But by far the most spectacular progress was made in dairy products.[72] Encouraged by English demand which remained high throughout the 1883-5 recession[73], the value of cheese manufactured in the Townships jumped by eight-two percent. Factory-produced butter, stimulated by the introduction of the

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[72]The milch cows increased from 46% to 56% of the total herd in the Eastern Townships, and from 48% to 58% in the province as a whole. See Minville, p.496.

Table Comparing the Growth Rate of Agricultural Production in the Eighties with that of the Seventies.

	1870-1 to 1880-1	1880-1 to 1890-1
Cattle	30%	4%
Horses	- 3%	36%
Pigs	-12%	35%
Butter (homemade)	34%	- 9%
Wool	- 4%	18%
Oats	28%	1%
Hay	30%	20%
Other seed crops	8%	4%
Root crops	-26%	25%

[73]Hamelin and Roby, p.93. Trépanier claims, on the other hand, that the 1883-5 recession hurt the dairy industry. Trépanier, p.149. The export figures for butter did drop by almost a half in 1883, but cheese maintained a steady increase. See Minville, p.531.

cream separator to the province[74], rose from $1700 in 1880 to $83,340 in 1890.[75] The decade must therefore have been a relatively prosperous one for Townships farmers.

But English-speaking farmers again followed the pattern of selling their properties when conditions were good. During the eighties the number of English Canadians in the

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[74]The first cream-gathering system in Canada was inaugurated in 1878 at L'Avenir, Drummond County. J. A. Ruddick, "The Development of the Dairy Industry in Canada," in H. A. Innis, ed., The Dairy Industry in Canada (Toronto, 1937), p.37. Once this system became more widespread during the nineties, it would help to reverse the steady decline in exports of Canadian butter which had begun in 1880. See Minville, p.531.

[75]This represents only a part of the butter produced, for homemade butter declined by only nine percent between 1880 and 1890. The 1880-1 Census Reports record only one Townships butter factory, that in Drummond and Arthabaska, although the first one in the province was opened in Missisquoi in 1869. Hamelin and Roby, p.197.

Table Showing Value of Cheese and Creamery Production in 1890-1.

	Cheese	Creameries
Brome	$167,430	$ 9,000
Compton	17,065	
Drummond and Arthabaska	192,243	4,750
Megantic	21,689	9,600
Missisquoi	112,494	24,968
Richmond and Wolfe	42,460	5,400
Shefford	185,254	22,690
Stanstead	40,208	6,932

Townships declined by almost 5000 (79,408 to 74,456). The ever-increasing specialization in the English-dominated south-western counties [76] continued to eliminate the less progressive farmers. The proliferation of cheese and butter factories, for example, left more labour time for milking cows, thereby encouraging the growth of dairy herds and the expansion of land-holdings.[77] This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in certain areas the decline in the English-speaking population was not matched by an increase in the number of French Canadians.[78] Even if every single one of the departing English Canadians had been farmers who were replaced by French Canadians, this would leave an additional increase of 25,000 rural French Canadians during the sixties. Colonization had once more gained the upper hand.

Despite the rather poor results of the seventies, the continuing flow of emigrants to New England[79] sustained the

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[76] Hamelin and Roby, p.39. Note that the percentage of cattle raised failed to keep pace with dairy production, and that the ratio of milch cows reached an unprecedented 56%. This would indicate that beef producers were going out of business.

[77] Ruddick, p.47.

[78] French Canadians may have bought English Canadian farms in the counties of Richmond, Shefford, Arthabaska, and Missisquoi, and in the township of Inverness (Megantic) where the English-speaking populations dropped by approximately 500, 2200, 600, 500, and 400 respectively. However, in Compton township and Brome county, where the number of English Canadians declined by 650 and 1200, respectively, the number of French Canadians did not increase.

[79] Between 1882 and 1889, 94,000 French Canadians moved

French Canadian élite's interest in colonization projects throughout the eighties. However many were disillusioned with the government's record in these endeavours. In 1880 the Colonization Commission of the provincial Saint-Jean Baptiste societies submitted a report condemning the role the provincial government had played in colonization in the past. Making accusations of incompetence, miserliness, favouritism and graft, it recommended:

> Que l'oeuvre de la Colonisation soit entièrement soustraite à l'influence de la politique, et que pour cet effet elle soit entreprise par les societés diocésaines sous la présidence de nos Evêques, là où elles se formeront, avec l'obligation seulement à chacune d'elle de rendre compte tous les ans, à une époque fixe, de l'emploi des sommes d'argent à elles confiées par le gouvernement pour la colonisation.[80]

The pragmatic government officials were undoubtedly more than happy to disassociate themselves from a programme which had had disappointing results in the past. Prior to the accession of Mercier to power in 1887, they were quite content to oblige the advocates of colonization by limiting their involvement to aid (in the form of public works) for societies or-

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to the United States. Hamelin and Roby, p.67.

[80] H. J. J. B. Chouinard, Féte Nationale des Canadiens-francais célébrée à Québec en 1880 (Québec, 1881), pp.402, 409-11. For more details see Trépanier, pp.201-24.

ganized in the episcopal towns of the province.[81]

The Diocese of Sherbrooke's colonization society concentrated its efforts on the township of Woburn, directly South of Lake Megantic. By 1883, $1,358.40 had been collected within the diocese, and the government had contributed a third more. The total sum had grown to $15,663.14 in 1891. Mgr. Racine declared that his goal had been reached[82], but this was a paltry amount when compared with the public money spent in the region during the seventies.

Private companies were supposed to be the real agents of colonization in the Eastern Townships during the eighties. Two Scottish corporations had already been unsuccessful in settling large blocks of land in eastern Compton during the seventies, but several more failures were needed before the government would abandon the system. Its reluctance to do so is understandable because these companies provided the opportunity to raise revenues from the crown lands, without reserving tracts for timber companies, a practice which invariably attracted the wrath of the colonization proponents. Most of the colonization companies were actually timber companies in

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[81] 43-44 Vict., cap. 18.

[82] Mandements ... Sherbrooke, 27 Dec. 1880, p.122; 1 June 1883, p.281; 30 March 1891, p.249.

disguise but, for a time at least, the pretence was effective. Although they placed few settlers, these British and French-financed corporations did invest considerable sums of money in the Lake Megantic area. Their shareholders, not the people of Quebec, were the ultimate losers.

Because officially-organized colonization projects did little to increase the Townships' French-speaking population during the eighties, it follows that most of its rural growth had to come from undirected expansion of the agricultural frontier within the already settled areas. Not only was there a considerable extension of the improved acreage in the region's French Canadian-dominated northern counties[83], but two-thirds of the total French Canadian population growth during the eighties took place in this same area (Drummond, Arthabaska, Megantic and Wolfe counties, and the Beauce townships).

Within the forty year period between 1850 and 1890, the French Canadians in the Eastern Townships expanded from one-third to two-thirds of the total population. These were years of uninterrrupted growth, though some decades were more

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[83]See Appendix G.

impressive than others.[84] During the fifties and sixties the number of francophones increased by eleven percent for each decade, while during the eighties there was an eight percent increase. The seventies were the years of slowest growth, three percent. Although the 1851-60 decade was not the one of greatest French Canadian expansion in real numbers, it was the most crucial because more francophones actually entered the Eastern Townships during this period than in any other. They formed a base upon which the population could expand internally in the future. In fact the fifties was the only decade in which the French Canadians entering from outside the Townships outnumbered those born within the region. The eighties brought a considerable resurgence in the influx of francophones, but the natural increase was still almost twice as large. From this point on, therefore, the frenchification of the Townships would be an internal phenomenon, with French Canadians slowly spreading southwestward from their peripheral

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[84] French Canadian Population Growth in the Eastern Townships 1851-90.

	Total	Influx	Natural Increase
1851-60	32,589 (11%)	21,681	10,871
1860-70	30,752 (11%)	12,560	18,192
1870-80	25,583 (3%)	2,522	23,061
1880-90	43,194 (8%)	16,102	27,092

strongholds.[85] This movement would be closely related to the rate of industrialization, and the rate of the English-Canadian exodus, rather than the expansion of the agricultural frontier. The story of French Canadian colonization in the Eastern Townships therefore properly ends in 1890.

Many attempts have been made in the past to explain exactly why the Eastern Townships changed so quickly from an English to a predominantly French-speaking region. Most observers point to the higher birth rate of the francophones as a key factor, and it is true that the greater part of the growth in French Canadian numbers after 1860 came from their natural increase within the Townships. But a high birth rate did not necessarily mean that the French Canadians would grow in numbers, because a second essential requirement was the opportunity to earn a livelihood. Without this, the exodus to New England would have been even greater than it was. The township francophones were assisted by the fact that many English Canadians left instead. The anglophone birth rate, with the aid of the small but steady influx of British immigrants, was certainly high enough to enable them to supply most of the industrial labour requirements, as well as to

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[85]The French Canadian population expanded by nine percent between 1890 and 1900. Note that these figures do not take into account French Canadian emigration from the Townships, and are based on the birth rate for the province as a whole.

expand territorially from their southern population centres. But factory work did not interest them any more than did colonization of marginal land. They felt, and rightly so, that greener pastures lay westward. Their low birth rate did not play an important role in their submergence until the twentieth century, by which time decades of out-migration had left their population significantly older.

Industrialization was an important factor in the francisation of the Townships, but writers, especially sociologists, have tended to exaggerate its influence during the nineteenth century.[86] Like the declining English Canadian birth rate, it played a much more crucial role during the twentieth century. While it is true that secondary industries were the major attracting force for French Canadians in the southern English-speaking areas, the number of French Canadians in urban areas was still relatively small (less than a fifth of their total) in 1890.

Finally, the impression given by Robert Sellar's

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[86]See Jean I. Hunter, "The French Invasion of the Eastern Townships. A Regional Study" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1939), xvi, 99,100; Aileen D. Ross, "Ethnic Relations and Social Structure: A Study of the Invasion of French-Speaking Canadians into an English-Canadian District" (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1950), p.83; Aileen D. Ross, "The cultural effects of population changes in the Eastern Townships," CJEPS, IX (1943), 281; Blanchard, pp.344-6.

Tragedy of Quebec, that most French Canadians were replacing Protestant farmers, is completely misleading. The majority of the Townships' French Canadians inhabited areas which had never been settled by anglophones. In fact, colonization is the real key to the rapid growth in the number of French Canadians within the region. This is not to say that the much-publicized Church and government-sponsored colonies were successful in immediately attracting hordes of habitants. But they often did establish a nucleus which was gradually expanded by future generations. Although nearly all of the more northern townships had been settled in the fifties or earlier, their wild land was still being improved as late as the eighties. The result, as we are about to see, was that contact, and therefore friction, between the two populations was minimal during the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER SIX

ENGLISH CANADIAN REACTION TO THE FRENCHIFICATION OF THE TOWNSHIPS

I

The English language press of the Townships had little to say about French Canadian migration into the region during the first half of the century, or even during the fifties when government legislation encouraged the influx to reach its peak. As long as the French Canadians restricted themselves to colonizing the wild land of the neglected peripheral townships, the editors felt little cause for alarm.[1] But during the sixties the English-speaking population actually declined as farmers sold out, some to French Canadians, and moved West. The exodus was not a new phenomenon; in 1849 the Select Committee on Emigration had remarked that "a good number of natives of the United States, Ireland, and Scotland, who have succeeded in the cultivation of their lands, sell them, (in many cases after they have exhausted the soil), either to a new Canadian settler or to some other emigrant from the British Isles or the United States, and with the produce of the

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[1]Because the Waterloo Advertiser was closer than the Sherbrooke and Stanstead newspapers to the French Canadian colonization drive, it expressed concern at an earlier date. On April 11, 1856 the editor noted:

> We entertain no prejudice against our French Canadian fellow subjects but we are attached

sale they go and purchase other lands in the West."[2] But not until the onset of the economic depression in 1857 did the outward movement take on serious proportions. The anti-Catholic Montreal Witness was led to declare that unless the emigration were checked, "control of the secular government and .... property and power of the country" would fall into the hands of an "insatiable and domineering priesthood."[3] The Stanstead Journal was also disturbed by the "constant drain of men and money to the West"[4], although it paid very little attention to the phenomenon.

Helpless to prevent the departure of native Townshippers, the anglophones desperately turned to British immigration as a means to replenish their numbers. But the French Canadians quite naturally did not favour government expenditure on immigration programmes.[5] In 1862 D'Arcy McGee was allegedly removed from the Lower Canadian branch of the Emigra-

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> to the customs, the institutions and the religion of our fathers, and cannot do less than sympathize with those honest Anglo-Saxon settlers of the good old County of Shefford who have lived to behold, with sorrow, the evanescent prestige of their supremacy passing away ...

[2]Chauveau Report.

[3]Daily Witness, 14 Feb. 1857. Quoted in Hill, "The English-speaking minority," p.10.

[4]Stanstead Journal, 23 April 1857.

[5]Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe, 11 July 1856.

tion Department because he had been over-zealous in promoting British immigration. The Sherbrooke Gazette commented:

> We do not ask or claim Lower Canada for the English-speaking resident or emigrant, as might naturally be expected in an English Colony, but we do protest against being set aside from an equal share in any benefits which might arise from the introduction of English emigrants, English capital of English or American relatives, because they are English and not French Canadian [...] We protest against difficulties being thrown in the way of emigration from other countries on the ground that the French Canadians have an exclusive and special right to the settlement of the Crown reserves in Lower Canada.[6]

A year later its views remained unchanged:

> While we rejoice at native enterprise, and are glad to see the natives of the Province of all nations and creeds who are industrious, law abiding subjects settling our wild lands, and while we are prepared to go farther and say that we think our own young men who grow up with a knowledge of the country, a constitution adapted to the climate, and a skill in battling with the obstacles and discouragements of "the bush" in Canada, have greatly the advantage over foreigners, we think it by no means liberal and just to seek to confine settlement to natives. We need the introduction of capital from abroad; we need, as the country advances in the art of Agriculture, the introduction of improved farming implements, and stock, which the experience of older countries is capable of furnishing.[7]

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[6] Sherbrooke Gazette, 11 Oct. 1862.

[7] Ibid., 29 Aug. 1863.

Convinced that the government was not doing all in its power to promote immigration to Lower Canada[8], private individuals made efforts to persuade Britons to move to the Eastern Townships. Two pamphlets written in the early sixties are in themselves interesting illustrations of English Canadian reaction to the French Canadian influx. One was a semi-official document, prepared by Professor H. H. Miles of Bishop's University in Lennoxville, who was acting in the capacity of Canadian commissioner to the London International Exhibition of 1862.[9] In his pamphlet, Miles was very careful not to mention the large and growing French Canadian element in the Eastern Townships.[10] He did refer to the recent population influx from "the older settlements near the St. Lawrence", but conveniently failed to specify that they were francophones.[11] Miles obviously hoped to give the impression that the Townships had a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon population,

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[8]The post-1860 period was actually one in which the government stepped up its efforts to attract British and European immigrants. See Macdonald, Canada Immigration, pp.81-83; Hamelin and Roby, p.63.

[9]Sherbrooke Gazette, 19 July 1862.

[10]This "oversight" attracted the attention of a French baron who was visiting Sherbrooke at the time. ACAQ, Di.Sh. I-2, Le Baron Rochussen to Grand Vicair, 7 Dec. 1863.

[11]Henry Hopper Miles, The Eastern Townships of Lower Canada (Toronto, 1862), p.37.

thereby making the region more attractive to prospective British immigrants.

The second pamphlet reacted very differently to the French Canadian presence. The Advantages of the Eastern Townships for emigrants of all classes, published by Rawson and de Chair's Eastern Townships Estate Agency of Lennoxville, stated bluntly that the role of the region's English-speaking population was to act as "the leaven by which this Province will become more and more assimilated with the feelings, the habits, and the religion of the Mother country."[12] It charged that because the French Canadian authorities realized this, they were discouraging the immigration of English-

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[12]The Advantages of the Eastern Townships for emigrants of all classes (Lennoxville [n.d.]), p.3. The Rawson and de Chair pamphlet did not go unnoticed by the French Canadians. In his Etudes sur les développements de la colonisation du Bas Canada, Stanislas Drapeau warned that the pamphlet fostered "des préjugés de race et de religion." In its attempts to sell the land of rich capitalists, it was deliberately misleading in its claims. For example, the only Catholic association which advanced funds to missions was the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, while the Protestant Bible societies had parallel aims. To Drapeau, the material progress brought to the Eastern Townships by the French Canadian newcomers spoke for itself. Drapeau, pp.227-30. J. B. E. Dorion of Le Défricheur was equally incensed:

> quand des agents de terres, des brocanteurs de proprieétés ou des speculateurs cherchent à faire mousser leurs marchandises en faisant des appels au passions, en attaquant mal à propos des institutions et des hommes qui ne leur font aucun mal ou en dénaturant entièrement ce qui existe autour d'eux, nous avons le droit d'élever la voix pour leur faire sentir la fausse position qu'ils occupent ...

Le Défricheur, 29 Jan. 1863.

speaking colonists, while encouraging the "mania for hurrying westward." Furthermore:

> great and unceasing efforts are being made by the Roman Catholic authorities to push French Canadian Colonization into these Townships. Large funds, it is understood, are advanced by the wealthy Roman Catholic Institutions thru'out the Province, to assist the immigration. Parishes are thus being formed, and the immediate consequence is a compulsory tithe charge on all present and future settlers in supporting that religion. In a few years, if no effort is made on the part of the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon race, the Eastern Townships, now a Protestant Colony, will become as French and as Roman Catholic as the other parts of the Lower Province.

The pamphlet appealed to Upper Canadians to sacrifice some of their immigrants, by turning them towards the Eastern Townships. It argued that they would thereby be working in their own self interest because this was the "only means by which the political power of the French Roman Catholic authorities can be neutralized; all national feelings softened, and a real union of the Provinces effected."[13]

But all efforts to encourage large-scale British immigration were in vain, and the wild lands continued to be settled almost exclusively by French Canadians. As a result, government expenditure on colonization roads not only did

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[13] The Advantages, p.4.

little to benefit the English-speaking Townshippers, it actually posed a threat to their dominant position in the region.[14] The English language press was not slow to appreciate this fact. It charged the government with favouritism in road construction, and was critical of government subsidization of colonization projects. In 1862 the Stanstead Journal complained:

> The English-speaking inhabitants of the Townships who have subdued the wilderness and carved out their farms by their unaided efforts, have a right to claim at least equal facilities in settling the Crown domain situated in their midst. They have a right to claim that those lands should not be monopolized by any Colonization society or sect with a view to control their settlement.[15]

The following year it charged that the advice of local Members of the Legislature was being ignored, and that Catholic priests controlled the distribution of road monies.[16] The Sherbrooke Gazette echoed the same accusations. In 1862 it

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[14] Of the $16,166 spent on Compton county roads between 1861 and 1866 (compared with $11,750 in the previous five years), all but $200 went to entirely new roads in the younger townships. JLAQ, I (1867-8), appendix no. 12.

[15] Stanstead Journal, 16 Oct. 1862.

[16] Ibid., 4 June 1863. This was a very sensitive issue for road contracts were the chief instruments of patronage for the provincial deputies. See Trépanier, pp.212-24.

declared that "the opening up of roads through blocks of Government lands and free grants of land to settlers has cost the Country large sums of money, but we question somewhat whether there has not been a large amount of jobbing, to obtain parliamentary and other support [...] by grants of money and pandering to national prejudices."[17] It too claimed that roads were being opened "at the suggestion of parties other than the duly constituted representatives of the people". They were designed to accommodate "a few Canadian settlers on the recommendation of their spiritual advisers", while "places where, for thirty or forty years English and American settlers have had to make their own roads, without any government assistance, [...] are neglected."[18]

In 1869, when the provincial government announced its intention to grant money, and to reserve land for colonization societies, the Stanstead Journal stated that "we are of opinion that any great outlay of public money in Colonization schemes will be money wasted." It claimed, with some justification, that those areas opened by strong, independent men had prospered, "while the country opened with roads at the public expense and settled with subsidized colonists have not,

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[17] Sherbrooke Gazette, 23 Aug. 1862.

[18] Ibid., 11 Oct. 1862.

as a rule, succeeded."[19] But the fact remained that external assistance was essential if families were to be settled on poor, isolated land. The laissez-faire policy advocated by the Journal had confined English Canadian settlement largely to several counties near the American border. Colonization of the more barren back counties may not have been economically viable, but French Canadians considered it vital for their national survival.

In spite of the rumblings of their press, English Canadian alarm over French Canadian encroachments never became strong enough for them to align themselves politically with the rivals of the ruling Bleus, the Liberals of Upper Canada. Like the anglophones of Montreal, they feared that the radical agrarian Grit element would injure the commercial development of Lower Canada. After all, it was in the interest of the Townships, as well as Montreal, that western produce follow the St. Lawrence route because the Grand Trunk Railway was an important part of that route. As a result, most of the Townships' anglophones joined those of Montreal in supporting a political party based upon a French Canadian bloc.

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[19] Stanstead Journal, 18 March 1869. Part of the Journal's opposition probably stemmed from the natural inclination of the independent-minded anglophones to reject the principles of authority which colonization societies embodied. See Lower, p.62.

Cultural particularism was sacrificed for economic considerations.[20]

The materialist versus cultural dilemma within the minds of Townships anglophones became particularly acute during the Confederation debates. Most of the Townships deputies docilely accepted Confederation - in fact A. T. Galt was the primary instigator of the project - but their anglophone constituents were far from enthusiastic. The newspapers expressed the fear that the English-speaking inhabitants of Lower Canada would be abandoned to the mercy of a hostile French Canadian majority in the provincial legislature. The Sherbrooke Gazette summarized this apprehension as follows:

> We all know that it has been the policy of the French leaders in Lower Canada to gain the political ascendancy in these Townships, and that legislation for the settlement of Wild lands, opening roads, schools and emigration has been shaped with a view to this object. If while united with Upper Canada, this could not be avoided, what is to prevent its more rapid consummation when we are left in a minority of one to ten against us? If our religious, educational and municipal rights cannot be secured under the new order of things, it requires no prophet to foretell us that the Eastern Townships, instead of having its rich and fertile lands occupied by immigrants from

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[20]Frank H. Underhill, "The Development of National Political Parties in Canada," CHR, XVI (1935), 370-3; Hill, "The English-speaking minority," pp.13, 15, 69-76; J. I. Cooper, "French-Canadian Conservatism in Principle and in Practice, 1873-1891" (PhD thesis, McGill University, 1938), p.61.

> the old country, will see the farms now held by the English speaking people, slowly perhaps, but surely, passing into the hands of the favored race.[21]

Galt, in his famous Confederation speech of November 23, 1864, tried to reassure his Sherbrooke constituents by emphasizing the common material interests of Lower Canadian French and English-speaking populations. He argued that Confederation would guarantee that the trade and commerce of the western country would continue to flow through Lower Canada.[22] But the Gazette, normally a Galt supporter, remained unconvinced:

> We are inclined to think the honorable gentleman skimmed over the surface of some matters, [...] with his bland smile, and warm expression of regard for our fellow citizens of French Canadian origin [...]
>
> With respect to Emigration and the Public Lands, he said that no distinction could be made by the Local Government with respect to the public domain; that lands would be open to all alike, the price the same, and that no distinction could be made as to nationality or creed, amongst those who want to purchase. How has it been hitherto? Did our Government, as constituted, take anything like the same pains to introduce Foreign Emigration that they did to promote Colonization of these Townships with French Canadians? Where were the greatest portions of the grants for roads ex-

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[21] Sherbrooke Gazette, 19 Nov. 1864.

[22] Underhill, p.374.

> pended? Were those grants made under the recommendations of the Eastern Townships members? Who had the handling of the money?[23]

After vacillating for a few more months, the Gazette finally came out flatly against Confederation on February 4, 1865.[24]

The Stanstead Journal, on the other hand, almost completely ignored the question until July 12, 1866 when it announced that "any action taken against Confederation now would be fruitless." The Journal advised that "the efforts of the English-speaking population of Lower Canada should be directed to securing protection of their Educational interests [...] rather than in wasting time and energy in opposing a foregone conclusion."[25] The Waterloo Advertiser and Eastern Townships Advocate[26] also conceded that Lower Canadian anglophones would have to try to make the best of Confederation[27], but it was pessimistic about the eventual outcome:

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[23]Sherbrooke Gazette, 10 Dec. 1864. See also 28 Jan. 1865.

[24]No further issues of the Sherbrooke Gazette are available before 1867, so it is impossible to judge whether or not it was drawn back into the party line.

[25]Stanstead Journal, 12 July 1866.

[26]Then based in Knowlton and known as The Advertiser and Eastern Townships Sentinel.

[27]Waterloo Advertiser, 28 June 1866.

> We don't anticipate that any violence will be done to the rights of the British population. We are half disposed to admit that the French are more liberal and tolerant than the English [...] But no guarantees can save, no 'checks' can maintain the influence of the Lower Canada British. No bodily harm will happen them. They will go unmolested to their workshops and counting-rooms, to their schools, and their churches. But they will be overshadowed and absorbed, proselytized and de-nationalized.[28]

Granby's Eastern Townships Gazette and Shefford County Advertiser demanded that no religious body in the Eastern Townships have the power to levy and enforce the payment of taxes, and that all Townships schools be non-denominational, but, at the last minute, it came out in support of Confederation.[29]

The Eastern Townships anglophones did win special guarantees that the electoral boundaries of those counties which then had an English-speaking majority would not be altered without local consent, and that Protestant schools would continue to receive public support. This prevented their outright rejection of Confederation, but they remained unenthusiastic and even fearful for their own survival as a separ-

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[28] Ibid., 23 Aug. 1866.

[29] Eastern Townships Gazette, 29 June 1866; 21 June 1867.

ate group.[30]

These fears appeared to be well-founded during the sixties, because there was a wholesale English Canadian exodus from the Townships for the first time. But those who remained behind offered little resistance to the francisation of the region. They criticized the government immigration and colonization policies, but continued to support the governing party. They realized that Confederation would weaken their political position, but they accepted it as a fait accompli. The truth is, they had no practical alternative. The lands being colonized by the French Canadians had no appeal for either the native English Canadians or for British newcomers, even if it had been possible to lure a significant number of immigrants. As a matter of fact, anglophones were leaving the more marginal land in their own southwestern townships. The increasingly specialized and competitive economy of the railroad era was the force behind this movement. Partly because the "invasion"[31] proper had barely begun, and partly be-

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[30]The Liberal Défricheur of Arthabaskaville vehemently opposed Confederation, but the ministerial Union des Cantons de l'Est of the same town, and the Sherbrooke Pionnier, both supported it. L'Union, 4 April 1867; Le Pionnier, 5 Jan. 1867.

[31]"Invasion" is a term used by sociologists to denote the replacing of one population by another. See A. D. Ross, "Ethnic relations" and J. I. Hunter.

cause unalterable impersonal forces lay behind it, English-speaking Townshippers tended to witness the French Canadian influx in pessimistic silence during the fifties and sixties.

II

They were more vocal during the seventies. In spite of the rather trifling results of the provincial government's colonization societies and repatriation projects, these appeared to substantiate the fears expressed by the English Canadians prior to Confederation. Neither of the programmes were restricted to francophones, but the only potential anglophone settlers were British immigrants, and they were simply not coming in large numbers to the Eastern Townships. As in the sixties, the English Canadians laid the blame for this on the government. The Stanstead Journal complained that "the paid agents of the Quebec Government are apparently doing but very little towards the colonization of the Eastern Townships with English-speaking emigrants."[32] However it did express a reserved approval of the act passed in 1869 to encourage the formation of colonization societies:

> If an energetic, sober and naturally enterprizing class of immigrants are sought, irrespective of race and creed, and also

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[32] Stanstead Journal, 24 July 1870.

> the self-reliant, industrious and those naturally ready in resources from amongst the resident population, these societies may prove a means of settling the country and bringing wild lands more rapidly under cultivation thereby increasing the wealth and well-being of all.[33]

The Montreal Gazette was more critical. It claimed that the scheme would lock crown lands "in the hands of societies who might become propagandists of particular classes of settlement and obstructive of other classes."[34]

If the English Canadians had reason to protest against the Colonization Societies Act, the Repatriation Colony Act of 1875 deserved their outright condemnation, for it channelled the funds normally used to encourage European immigration towards repatriation of Canadians (in effect, French Canadians) from the United States.[35] Overseas immigration was placed exclusively in the hands of the federal government for five years, and all of Quebec's agents but one were withdrawn.[36] This was obviously because immigration only helped to anglicize the province.[37] English Canadians were further aggravated by the

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[33] Ibid., 2 Feb. 1871.

[34] Quoted in Ibid., 18 Jan. 1872.

[35] SPQ, IX (1875), 8-12; JLAQ, X (1876), 246.

[36] M. Hamelin, p.180; Macdonald, Canada Immigration, p.96.

[37] After 1870, Quebec had attempted to attract French-

fact that most settlers in the repatriation colony actually came from the St. Lawrence Valley. The Montreal Daily Witness charged that:

> In the estimates of last year a sum of $50,000 was appropriated for the ostensible purpose of bringing back from the United States, Canadians who had left their country. This has turned out to be simply a plot for the purpose of populating the Eastern Townships, etc., with French Canadians, to the exclusion of English-speaking settlers. Instead of taking English or French-Canadians indiscriminately from the United States, [...] the emigrants are taken from the North Shore from the old settlements and induced to take up land on the South Shore [...] No English, Irish, Scotch or German need apply.[38]

Even the Conservative Sherbrooke Gazette denounced J. H. Pope's speech favouring repatriation.[39] More surprisingly, the Sherbrooke News was also critical in spite of the fact that it was owned by the French Canadian Bélanger brothers. The

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speaking immigrants from Europe, but with little success. France and Germany (for Alsace-Lorraine) charged stiff fees for permission to solicit emigrants, and local opposition was met with in Belgium. In addition, most of the francophones who did come to Quebec soon grew discontented and left. SPQ, VI (1872), ix-x, xiii, 299-306, 341-2; VII (1873-4), 178, 304. For more details see M. Hamelin, pp.170-181 and Trépanier, pp.259-311. See also SPC, Reports of the Ministers of Agriculture, for the break-down by nationalities of immigrants arriving in the Eastern Townships.

[38] Daily Witness, 12 Jan. 1876. See also 21 Feb. 1876, letter from "A Conservative of the Eastern Townships."

[39] Le Pionnier, 22 Feb. 1878.

News, however, manifested no prejudice in its criticisms; it simply felt that the government was placing too much emphasis on attracting French Canadian expatriates, and not enough on retaining the people who were still living in Quebec:

> It is all very well to declaim about patriotism and political institutions, even religious ones, to men with ragged raiment and pinched subsistence. The back and the stomach, while the one is ill-clad and the other ill-fed, will not be convinced by appeals which provide no comfortable cover for the one, and nourishment for the other.
>
> We are far from condemning the efforts of the local government to attract back the Canadians who have gone to America, but we would impress on the government the fact that the best agency to this is to aid in making this country prosperous.[40]

The Scottish inhabitants of eastern Compton county were less inclined to see the project as an ineffectual one. The repatriation colony became one of the grievances cited by the founders of the local Protestant Defence Alliance branch. Its charter claimed that:

> .... no less than three townships in this county of Ditton and Compton have been specially set apart for repatriated Canadians and European immigrants and others, yet in reality as appears by the conduct of the Government and its agents,

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[40] Sherbrooke News, 20 May 1875.

> handed over to the Church of Rome for French-Canadians solely.[41]

In fact the government's colonization policy was only one of many grievances which caused English Canadian apprehension and discontent to sweep the province during the mid-seventies. Much more important was the railway programme, for South Shore lines were not granted the expected increases to their subsidies in 1876. Instead, funds were concentrated on the completion of the North Shore's Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railroad. The result was that Eastern Townships companies were unable to attract investors, and construction had to cease.[42] Protest delegations were sent to Quebec City, but without result, and in January, 1876 J. G. Robertson of Sherbrooke was forced by public pressure to resign from the de Boucherville cabinet.

The government's railroad policy may well have been in the interest of the province as a whole, for development of the North Shore had been almost entirely neglected by private

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[41] Daily Witness, 29 Jan. 1876.

[42] Sherbrooke News, 28 Sept. 1876; M. Hamelin, pp.259, 262. For a description of the various Eastern Townships railroads under construction at this time see M. Hamelin, pp.192-6.

companies[43], but Townships anglophones tended to see it as a slight to themselves. They mistrusted intensely the ultramontane-oriented de Boucherville government. In 1876 the Honourable Lucius S. Huntington, M.P. for Shefford, delivered a widely-publicized address in Argenteuil warning against the growing infringement of civil liberties on the part of the Catholic Church. Even Galt took up this refrain, though in 1866 he had cajoled the English-speaking Townshippers into setting aside their fears and accepting Confederation. In two pamphlets, entitled Civil Liberty in Lower Canada and Church and State, he described the dangers inherent in the post-1870 advances made by the Catholic hierarchy in temporal affairs.

Because both Huntington and Galt were especially concerned about clerical interference in elections, they appealed to French as well as to English Canadians to fight ultramontanism. However a more exclusive stand was taken by the Protestant Defence Alliance. Originating from a dispute between Catholics and Protestants at the Oka Indian Reserve, it was designed to organize Protestants against so-called Catholic aggression. It spread to Lennoxville[44] and Compton county,

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[43]See Hamelin and Roby, p.127.

[44]Le Pionnier, 4 Feb. 1876.

but disappeared soon after it had been used to publicize local grievances. The upsurge of dissent was short-lived, for relations returned to normal in 1878 when the Liberal Joly administration replaced the de Boucherville Conservatives. Although the increasing numerical strength of the French Canadians within the Eastern Townships undoubtedly added to the paranoia of the English-speaking residents, most of their protests were still directed towards province-wide issues during the seventies.

III

The emphasis changed during the eighties because the English-speaking population again began to decline. The actual replacing of English Canadian farmers remained a relatively insignificant factor in the growth of the Townships' francophone population, but this was the phenomenon which most aroused the fears and prejudices of the English-speaking population. This is understandable because French Canadian expansion within the outlying townships, or even within the towns of the South-West, had little direct effect upon the old English-speaking communities. But movement into the rural areas of these communities was a threat to the traditional institutions of the original inhabitants.

Most people probably recognized that the exodus was

a natural phenomenon; at least this was apparent to a visitor to the region in 1889:

> The exuberant harvests of our western territory has had a disquieting effect on the old country yeomanry of the Eastern Townships; several, of late years have dreamed of a new Eldorado in the wheat fields of Manitoba - in the ranches of Calgary - even in the sheep walks of British Columbia. 'Go West, young man' Horace Greely's stirring advice has also been dinned in the willing ear of the sons of the hardy Megantic farmer of other days.
>
> Jean Baptiste having discovered that his farm on the Lower St. Lawrence, exhausted by two centuries of remorseless and unskilful tillage, threatened to give out, was ready to purchase land in the Eastern Township for his heirs, sold with mild regret, his long, narrow strip of worn out soil, where rotary crops and artificial fertilizers were unknown and resigned himself to become a landed proprietor under the free and common soccage tenure of Megantic, Compton, Richmond, etc; thus townships estates have rapidly changed hands of late years.[45]

But the fact that the English-speaking farmers were leaving of their own free will did little to reassure those whom they left behind. The Eastern Townships Colonization Society, founded in 1882, attempted to attract British immigrants by compiling information on farms for sale, but lack of interest led to its

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[45]James M. Lemoine, The Exploration of Jonathan Oldbuck ... in eastern latitudes (Quebec, 1889), pp.79-80.

dissolution in 1886.[46] The natural reaction for the frustrated Townshippers was to find a scapegoat, thereby allowing them to hope that the alarming trend could be reversed. It was difficult to chastize the provincial government any longer, because the hey-day of public-supported colonies, roads, and railroads had ended, and efforts were again being made to attract immigrants.[47]

However there was still the Catholic Church, the institution which had been the driving force behind most of the colonization efforts throughout the century. Not only did the Church continue to encourage colonization, but it actively promoted the buying of Protestant farms by French Canadians.

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[46]The chief promoters of the society were R. W. Heneker, President of the B. A. L. Company, and several Protestant clergymen. They did succeed in having an appendix added to the Federal Department of Agriculture's 1883 Eastern Townships immigration pamphlet, and in sending an agent to England and Scotland in 1884. See E. T. Colonization Society Minute Book at E.T.H.S. Archives. See also PAC, B.A.L. Company Papers, Commissioner R. W. Heneker's Letter Book, Heneker to J. H. Pope, 18 Aug., 25 Aug., 15 Dec. 1882; Heneker to Reverend Robert Lindsay, 4 Dec. 1882; Heneker to W. W. Lynch, 4 Dec. 1882.

[47]A French-speaking immigration agent was appointed to Sherbrooke in 1881. Stanstead Journal, 14 April 1881. In 1883 a Belgian resident of the Eastern Townships, Gabriel Vekeman,began to promote immigration of his fellow countrymen to the region. Le Pionnier, 5 April 1883, 9 April 1885; Le Progrès de l'Est, 28 Dec. 1883. He wrote several pamphlets including La Province de Québec (1882), Le Canada ou Notes d'un colon (1884), and Voyages en Canada (1885). Nevertheless the immigration system continued to favour the anglophones. See Trépanier, pp.263-70, 294-308.

In 1875, for example, Mgr. Racine asked his curés for a list of farms for sale, including prices and sale conditions[48], and in 1882 the Bishop of Sainte-Hyacinthe officially reminded his clergy of the availability of Protestant farms in the western section of the Townships. He stressed that:

> Il est du plus haut intérêt pour notre sainte religion et notre chère nationalité, que nous nous emparions de ces lieux, pour en faire de belles et florissantes paroisses, à l'instar de celles de nos seigneuries. Nous le pouvons, si nous le voulons, et en très peu de temps. Pour cela, travaillez, Messieurs, à diriger de ce côté là la population surabondante de vos paroisses, en l'assurant que là, elle trouvera de magnifiques établissements touts faits et les secours religieux en abondance. Adressez [sic] en toute confiance vos nouveaux colons aux curés des susdites paroisses, qui les recevront avec une grande bonté, et les aideront de toute leur force à faire de bonnes et valables transactions.[49]

It was difficult to condemn the Catholic bishops for looking after the welfare of their flocks, so some Protestants claimed that they were acting from materialistic motives, namely the desire to collect more tithes. This rather implausible proposition became popular because in it lay the implication that if the civil law did not enforce the collection of tithes

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[48] Mandements .... Sherbrooke, 29 March 1875, p.61.

[49] Mandements .... Saint-Hyacinthe, 8 Sept. 1882, p.37.

and other ecclesiastical levies, the Catholic Church would lose interest in the expansion of French Canadians into English-speaking areas. Some of the more determined proponents of the separation of Church and State consequently began to declare that civil enforcement of tithes was unconstitutional in a British colony. The fact that the Church very seldom used this prerogative did not detract in the least from their zeal.

The best known of these ultra-Protestants was the Scottish-born Robert Sellar of the Huntingdon Gleaner.[50] In 1863 he had been promoted from the position of type-setter on George Brown's Toronto Globe, to editor of the newly-established Gleaner. A local committee had founded the newspaper as a spokesman for representation by population, as well as the general union of the two Canadas, in order to assimilate the French Canadians.[51] Sellar carried on in this tradition until his death in 1919, by which time he had established a reputation as the principal critic of the Catholic Church in Quebec. His first reference to the "illegal and unjust" extension of the parish system into the Eastern Townships was uttered in 1875, but it was not until 1886 that he began to claim that this was the primary factor in undermining

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[50]Huntingdon county lies to the West of the Eastern Townships but it was free and common socage territory, and had originally been settled by anglophones.

[51]Hill, "Robert Sellar," pp.29-30.

Quebec's rural English-speaking communities.[52] When the dispute between Canada's French and English-speaking populations over the hanging of Riel served to draw Ontario's attention towards Sellar's campaign, he became engaged in a debate with the Toronto Globe which claimed that the steady French Canadian displacements of anglophones on the Ontario side of the Ottawa valley proved that the tithing power was irrelevant. Sellar's somewhat tenuous rebuttal was that this parallel could not be drawn because the land of Eastern Ontario was barren and exhausted, while the best farms in Quebec were being purchased by French Canadians. On the question of legality, he realized that in 1839 the Special Council had extended the parish system beyond the old seigneurial bounds, but he argued that the tithing power was not inherent in the parish system. The power to collect tithes had been specified in 1850 when the Canadian legislature ratified the enabling ordinance, but Sellar claimed that a colonial assembly was not competent to amend or disregard imperial legislation.[53]

Sellar's ideology was more in line with that of the Globe's rival, the Toronto Mail[54] which invited him to serve as special correspondent during the upcoming Quebec election campaign of 1886.

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[52] Ibid., pp.191-3, 255, 522.

[53] Ibid., pp.437, 440.

[54] See Wade, pp.419-25.

He made such effective use of this medium that his cause was taken up by the Toronto-based Equal Rights Association.[55] In 1889 it published a pamphlet written by Sellar, and signed "A Quebec Loyalist", which repeated his argument that the Protestant population could only be saved by revoking the Catholic Church's tithing power. Sellar ably disguised the thinness of the logic with his emotional passages:

> The tide is creeping upward and remorselessly swallowing everything in its way, but on the placid face of the waters there is not an eddy nor a ripple to indicate the resistless power that is impelling them. Farm by farm dropped into Catholic hands, and the area of lands liable to tax and tithe went on extending. In course of time the Protestants became so few that they found it difficult to maintain schools, and were it not for aid from outside, they could not have retained a minister. Their farms were fertile, and, materially, they were doing better than they could elsewhere, so that as far as dollars and cents are concerned they had no cause to move, yet when they considered that their children were growing imperfectly educated, and that their neighbours were of different speech and creed, they were impelled to make a sacrifice and leave.[56]

Sellar's pamphlet came to the attention of Premier Mercier, who employed it to his own advantage during the provincial election. In his rebuttal, printed and distributed

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[55]Hill, "Robert Sellar," pp.444, 497.

[56]Réponse de l'Hon. Honoré Mercier au Pamphlet de l'Association des Equal Rights (Quebec, 1890), pp.11-12.

at public expense, Mercier himself made ample use of rhetoric, labelling Sellar a "rabid fanatic". His principal arguments were that Protestants were leaving because of the cheap, fertile lands in the West; that tithes (Anglican) were enforced by English law in Great Britain (Ireland); and that the parish system had been extended throughout Quebec in 1774.[57] Whether or not these statements were entirely accurate, Sellar was flailing at windmills because neither the Dominion or Imperial government was about to disallow the 1850 legislation.

Furthermore, the whole debate was pointless because it was simply not true that the Catholic Church was primarily interested in its own material advantage when it encouraged French Canadians to settle in the Townships. Bishop Plessis of Quebec had supported such a movement during the early twenties, long before the parish system was officially extended beyond seigneurial territory. When the real campaign began in 1848, it was designed to counter the exodus to the United States, not to enrich the Church. As a matter of fact, Catholics outside the Townships had to support most of its missions for many years. It is true that by the seventies and eighties the French Canadian element had become much more prosperous, and that the displacement of Protestant farmers was

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[57] Ibid., pp.57, 63-4, 70-72, 78-79.

to the material advantage of the Church, but it is ludicrous to suggest that it would suddenly have stopped promoting the French Canadian influx had the tithing power been abolished.

The tithe on grain, which was the only enforceable one[58], was not even applied in the lumber and livestock-producing Eastern Townships after 1874. Furthermore, there was some doubt as to whether Church taxes of any kind could be legally exacted outside civilly recognized parishes. Because Sherbrooke was a young diocese, most of whose priests were either in missions or canonical parishes, the issue became an important one here. In 1879 Mgr. Racine's priests asked him to prepare a parliamentary bill which would guarantee the civil legality of Church taxes wherever there was a locally-elected syndic.[59] Five years later Archbishop Taschereau informed Racine that there was no doubt but that taxes levied by any mission or parish were enforceable by civil law. However he conceded that this probably should be made

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[58]In 1869 an MLA named A. Bessette drew up a bill whereby the civil authorities could enforce any tax the bishops decided to substitute for the grain tithe. Archbishop Taschereau rejected it because he feared it would raise a storm of protest. He felt the existing practice of demanding a supplement where necessary was adequate. ACAS, Archevêché de Québec, II-B-1, Bessette to Mgr. LaRocque, 30 Jan. 1869; Taschereau to Bessette, 23 Jan. 1869.

[59]ACAS, Racine Papers, Petition to Mgr. Racine, March 1879. A syndic consisted of men chosen in a mission to collect funds for the construction or repair of church buildings. It could also be found in canonical parishes where there was no popularly-elected fabrique to fulfill this function. Mignault, pp.17, 19, 20, 24.

one hundred percent clear by the Legislature.[60] This was finally done in 1888.[61]

It is clear that there was little reason for Sellar to be obsessed with the legal obligation of Townships Catholics to pay tithes. There were so many technical loop-holes that a majority of them could have evaded nearly all exactions had they so desired. Judging from the protests of the priests in the Sherbrooke Diocese, many of their charges did just that. However Sellar continued his crusade for the duration of his life.

In fact his popularity did not actually reach its zenith until 1907, when he published a lengthy book entitled The Tragedy of Quebec. The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers. No new points were raised, but Sellar outdid himself with his descriptive passages:

> Here is a concession in which, a few decades ago, in each home was heard the kindly speech of the Lowland Scot, here another where Highlanders predominated; another where Irish Catholics and Protestants dwelt in neighborly helpfulness; another where neatness and taste told of its dwellers being of New England descent. To-day approach one of those homes, and with polite gesture madam gives you to understand she does not speak English. Here is the school the first settlers erected, and which they and their

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[60]ACAS, Archevêché de Quebec, II-B-1, Taschereau to Racine, 22 March, 27 March 1884.

[61]Ibid., 19 May, 22 May 1888; 51-52 Vict., cap. 44.

> successors kept open with no small denial. Draw near to it and you hear the scholars in their play calling to one another in French. The descendants of the men who cleared these fields of forest and brought them into cultivation have disappeared. The meeting-house where they met for worship stands there on a knoll, with broken windows and boarded door, drooping to decay. The surrounding acre where they buried their dead is a mass of weeds, which defy approach to read the wording on the stones that are barely discerned thru the tangle of vegetation. Once in the course of years there is a funeral: a body comes by train from some far-distant State, that of one who was once a settler and yearned to rest with her kindred. A vanished race: why did they go? Because the pledged word of a British king and the statute enacted by a British parliament, were broken and set aside by Canadian politicians in obedience to the ecclesiastics who helped them to office. These acres were meant by the king and parliament of England to be free land: the blight and servitude of a church is now upon them.[62]

As in the past, it was in Ontario that Sellar attracted most attention.[63] Local sales were very small, and the Quebec anglophone press was hesitant to endorse Sellar's arguments.[64] Most Township Protestants did not seem to share Sellar's con-

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[62]Sellar, p.218.

[63]In Ontario, Sellar's lamentations seem to have been read, not out of any genuine sympathy for Quebec's English-speaking minority, but in order to marshall strength against the spread of Catholic institutions beyond Quebec's borders. As early as 1890, Sellar had warned of the dangers of separate schools in Ontario. See The Quebec Minority, p.110.

[64]Hill, "Robert Sellar," pp.695, 703-4.

viction that the Catholic Church was forcing them to leave. Those who wished to better their material position undoubtedly realized that they were fortunate in having buyers for their property. To the South, many New Englanders who had gone West had been forced to simply abandon their farms.[65] That those Townshippers who were less willing to move resented the French Canadian newcomers and their Church cannot be denied. This is a natural reaction in any invasion situation. But Protestant protest movements never flourished in the Eastern Townships; there were never any serious physical clashes; and even in politics, amiable compromises were the rule rather than the exception.[66] The relationship between the French and English Canadians of the Townships can probably best be described as one of mutual tolerance rather than admiration, yet the region could well serve as a model to other parts of the world where two cultural groups share the same territory.

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[65]Beckles Willson, Quebec: The Laurentian Province (Toronto, 1912), pp.200-1; Cooper, p.64; Mercier, p.57.

[66]In counties where the two populations were nearly equal in size, each group was represented in one of the two Legislatures. Problems did arise in the 1890's when francophones began to demand both representatives in constituencies where they had a comfortable majority.

P A R T T H R E E

COLONIZATION IN COMPTON COUNTY

Twice during the nineteenth century Quebec's governing authorities became deeply involved in colonization. During the late forties and early fifties the newly-responsible Executive Council, eager to justify its control over the crown lands, encouraged the Association des Townships, and reformed the land-holding system. Once this was accomplished, however, it felt no compunction to stimulate colonization other than by directing money towards the construction of new roads. Furthermore, individual members of the Assembly took responsibility for the grants in their respective constituencies. Seldom was there any rational or comprehensive plan to build true colonization roads into isolated and undeveloped areas.

But interest in colonization was revived with Confederation because it placed French Canada in a potentially dangerous position in the federal Parliament[1], and because the province now had complete control over its crown lands. Quebec nationalists expected the provincial government to be more committed to colonization than its predecessor had been. These expecta-

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[1]Hamelin and Roby, p.174.

tions were realized for a brief time; between 1870 and 1874 the provincial administration granted subsidies to colonization societies, and in 1875 it became directly involved by launching the repatriation colony project. By the end of the seventies, however, the interest and energy of the governing authorities were again dissipated. The politicians grew content to allow privately-financed, profit-oriented colonization companies to develop the crown lands.

Within the Eastern Townships only one area remained undeveloped by the time of Confederation.[2] Those townships surrounding Lake Megantic in eastern Compton county[3] were handicapped by soil which was often rocky, shallow and of only mediocre fertility.[4] Even the Crown Lands Department admitted that this area was "generally hilly, in many parts stony, with good soil, but some large stony swamps unfit for cultivation."[5] Worse still was the area's isolation. It offered no

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[2]For a description of the remaining crown lands, see JLAC, XX (1862), 157; SPQ, I (1869), 28-29; IV (1870), 40-45.

[3]Because Spalding and Ditchfield of Beauce county are on the border of Lake Megantic, they have been included in this study. The Lake Megantic area was not all crown land. The B.A.L. Company owned all of Marston and 2200 acres in Ditton, while individual speculators held Woburn and Clinton. SPC, XVIII (1860), no. 12, Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands; Drapeau, pp.186-192; Langelier, II, 325; C. E. Chartier, p.326. However, Quebec's Department of Crown Lands did not hesitate to cancel most of these holdings for non-fulfillment of settlement duties. Gravel, Histoire du Lac Mégantic, p.62.

[4]Pacquet, p.4; Périnet, p.23; Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.363-5; Description of the Surveyed Townships and Explored Territories of the Province of Quebec (Quebec, 1889), pp.14-31, 197-224.

[5]SPQ, I (1869), 29.

outlet for a through road, aside from the mountainous wilderness of northern Maine. The Megantic colonization road did reach Lake Megantic in 1859, but markets were still too inaccessible to attract more than a handful of Scottish families. Some form of external assistance was necessary in order to lure colonists into the area. Aid finally came after Confederation, through the provincially-financed colonization societies, the repatriation colony and the colonization companies.

This section includes a history of these three colonization projects, as well as an examination of the economic development of the farmers in Compton and Winslow townships. It concludes with a survey of the evolution of the Catholic parishes in the county.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF COMPTON AND WINSLOW TOWNSHIPS (1830-90)

Because of its fertile soil and its proximity to Sherbrooke, Compton was one of the most prosperous townships in the entire region during the nineteenth century. Already in 1815 Joseph Bouchette discovered a flourishing settlement there, with saw and grist mills, potasheries and pearlasheries, and about 700 inhabitants.[6] Winslow, on the other hand, was iso-

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[6]Bouchette, A Topographical Description, pp.356-7,

lated and of mediocre fertility, which explains why it remained a wilderness until 1848 when Highland Scots and French Canadians were attracted by free government lots along the Megantic and St. Francis colonization roads. It is because they present such sharp contrasts to each other that these two townships were chosen for an in depth analysis of the economic status of the nineteenth century French Canadian colonists of the Eastern Townships. By comparing their position with that of the long-established English Canadians in Compton township, as well as with the more recently-arrived Scots in Winslow, we should gain some understanding of the effect differing physical and cultural environments had upon the lifestyle of the uprooted French Canadians.

Compton

Compton township's development was rather slow during the sixteen years after Bouchette's visit because lack of roads to the St. Lawrence Valley forced farmers to sell on the more distant American markets.[7] The 1825 census records only 1092 inhabitants, and that of 1831 only 1510. Though roads had

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360. The first land concession had been made to Jesse Pennoyer and his associates in 1802, and two subsequent ones were made to ex-Governor Robert Shore Milnes and Francis Languedoc in 1810 and 1827, respectively. Gravel, Compton, p.12.

[7]Ouellet and Hamelin, p.117.

improved slightly after 1829, American competition on the Montreal and Quebec market place had become stiffer with the dropping of protective tariffs in 1831.[8] Still conditions here were better than in the over-crowded seigneuries, so that by 1831 Compton already had 9 French Canadian families (all farmers) with 52 members in all.

Land Holdings in Compton (1831)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
-6				
6- 10	3	37.5%	37	15.9%
11- 20	3	37.5%	29	12.5%
21- 30	2	25.0%	46	19.8%
31- 50			39	16.8%
51- 75			51	22.0%
76-100			15	6.5%
101-150			10	4.3%
151-200			4	1.7%
201+			1	0.4%
	8		232	

Of the 8 families whose landholdings were recorded, 6 had improved less than 20 acres, and 2 had cleared between 21 and 30. At the same time 81 (35%) of the 232 English-speaking landholders had cleared more than 31 acres.

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[8]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.126-7.

Land Holdings and Production per farmer in Compton (1831)

	F.C.		Anglo	
Lot size	70.6		103.6	
Improved	17.6	25%	31.3	30%
Wheat (bu.)	4.1	2.9%	23.2	7.9%
Barley (bu.)	0.3	0.2%	1.2	0.4%
Rye (bu.)	0.7	0.5%	8.9	3.0%
Peas (bu.)	0		2.8	1.0%
Oats (bu.)	5.6	4.0%	24.0	8.1%
Buckwheat (bu.)	0		0.1	
Indian Corn (bu.)	13.4	9.5%	25.1	8.6%
Potatoes (bu.)	116.7	82.9%	207.5	70.9%
Cattle	1.6		8.7	
Horses	0.3		1.5	
Sheep	7.7		11.1	
Pigs	3.6		5.5	

The English Canadians each owned an average of 103.6 acres to 70.6 for the francophones[9], and the two groups had cleared an average of 31.3 and 17.6 acres, respectively.

Cattle in Compton (1831)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
1- 5	6	100%	113	48.9%
6-10			60	26.0%
11-15			27	11.7%
16-20			14	6.1%
21-30			9	3.9%
31-50			6	2.6%
51+			2	0.9%
	6		231	

Livestock raising was the chief industry in Compton, as elsewhere in the Eastern Townships, so the number of cattle each

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[9]12% of Quebec's townships had an average of over 300 acres per farm. Ouellet and Hamelin, p.119.

farmer kept is a good index of his prosperity. None of the six French Canadians who owned cattle had more than five head, while over half the anglophones had more than six. The differences in horse, sheep, and pigs were less pronounced[10], for the French Canadians kept more sheep and pigs than they did cattle. Finally, the English-speaking farmers each raised much more grain and potatoes than did the francophones. However the nine French Canadian farmers had been quick to copy the agricultural techniques of the Eastern Townships, for they placed an even higher emphasis upon potatoes and lower emphasis upon wheat than did their anglophone neighbours.[11] Crops grown in the Eastern Townships were destined almost exclusively for personal consumption or for livestock fodder, which explains why potatoes, oats and corn were of greatest importance in 1831.

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[10]Even the anglophone farmers in Compton were still poor in comparison with those in Missisquoi and Stanstead counties where each farm included between 13 and 23 cattle, 18 and 38 sheep, 6 and 19 pigs. In the province's townships as a whole, 23.6% of the farmers owned over 16 sheep, and 36.3% owned more than 10 cattle. Only 25.2% of Compton's English-speaking farmers had more than 10 cattle. Ouellet and Hamelin, pp.119-20.

[11]Potatoes were a characteristic crop of English-speaking farmers throughout Quebec, while French Canadians hesitated to drop wheat even in the face of increasing external competition and crop failure. Together, the harvest of Compton's French and English Canadians was over 70% potatoes, while that of the seigneuries was 46%. Ouellet and Hamelin, pp.99-100, 119; Ouellet, Bas Canada, p.293; Eléments d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada (Montréal, 1972), p.167.

The Compton statistics for the 1842 census have been lost, but the printed census of 1844 records a population of 2278 (an increase of 768 since 1831), of whom 273 were French Canadians. Unfortunately there is no way of comparing the landholdings and agricultural production of the two groups. On the whole there appears to have been a relatively slow advance here, as throughout the entire region, because of the post-1830 crisis brought on by American and, to a lesser extent, Upper Canadian competition on the Montreal and Quebec meat market.[12] Improved land almost doubled in quantity, from 7359 acres to 13,701 acres, but cattle, horses, and sheep more closely reflected the fifty percent increase in population, while pigs declined by half.[13] Compton farmers were probably able

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[12] Ouellet, Bas Canada, p.295; Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.126-8.

[13] Agricultural Products in Compton Township.

	wheat (bu.)	Peas (bu.)	Oats (bu.)	Barley (bu.)	Rye (bu.)
1831	5425	639	5613	281	2071
1844	8343	359	25579	2474	98

	Indian corn (bu.)	Potatoes (bu.)	Buck-wheat (bu.)	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs
1831	5936	49180	30	2028	337	2644	1298
1844	2353	80371	10432	2910	559	4251	618

to maintain their equilibrium, in contrast to the majority of the Townships' farmers who raised fewer cattle than they had in 1831[14], because they were still relatively isolated from the major markets on the St. Lawrence. They were on the south-eastern periphery of Eastern Townships settlement, which offered the advantage of protecting the local market from external competition. This market was becoming more important because the British American Land Company was building large mills in nearby Sherbrooke in anticipation of a future railroad connection. Within Compton township itself, the four saw mills and three grist mills of 1831 had expanded to seven saw mills, four grist mills, three thrashing mills, one oatmeal mill, one carding mill, two iron works, one trip hammer, one distillery, one tannery, and two pearlasheries. The oatmeal mill and distillery help to account for the remarkable increase in oats and barley production. With buckwheat, also used for local consumption, these two crops were replacing wheat, peas, rye, and Indian corn. Finally, the potato blight had obviously not yet hit the township, for the harvest had increased by three thousand bushels.

The expansion of the American market in the late forties had an inevitable effect upon Compton's development, especially after the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad reached

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[14]Ouellet, Histoire Economique, p.359.

Sherbrooke in 1852. Already in 1851 the number of cattle in the township had increased to 3806 from 2910 in 1844, horses from 559 to 891, and pigs from 501 to 618. The expansion of the livestock industry was reflected by the fodder crops, for oats production increased from 25,579 to 39,002 bushels, buckwheat from 10,432 to 18,359 bushels, and Indian corn from 2353 to 4038 bushels. Improved transportation facilities would only discourage the growing of commercial grains, for the farmers in the hilly Eastern Townships could never hope to be as efficient in this area as those of the western plains. Nevertheless barley, which declined between 1844 and 1851,[15] would enjoy a revival during the following decade, and the wheat harvest continued to expand during the late forties in spite of the midge and rust. The potato crop, on the other hand, was reduced from 80,371 to 15,847 bushels. Like those throughout the Eastern Townships, the Compton farmers were beginning to turn to dairy products. In 1851 they manufactured 56,270 pounds of butter and 19,635 pounds of cheese. The vulnerability of these products to warm temperatures made western competition much less damaging than it was for grain, meat, or wool. The cattle market would be relatively secure until after the Civil War, but the Compton farmers had not yet begun to respond to the American demand for wool. Their sheep declined from 4251

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[15]The local demand seems to have disappeared with the distillery.

in 1844 to 3482 in 1851.

Economic progress inevitably acted as a stimulant to the growth of Compton's population, which increased by 440 between 1844 and 1851. Half this increase was French Canadian. There were now 129 French-speaking heads of family within the township, of whom 40 were farmers, 34 were labourers, and 29 were skilled workers. They were a transient population, many stopping only briefly before continuing to New England. This, plus the fact that they were widely scattered throughout the township, made it impossible to establish a strong French-speaking community. A certain degree of cultural assimilation is indicated by the fact that two of the French Canadian families were Episcopalian, one was Baptist, and one claimed no religion. This may well have been encouraged by a few years' residence in the United States, for three of the families reported one or more of their children as having been born there.

Land Improved in Compton (1851)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
-6	5	13.5%	11	3.4%
6- 10	9	24.3%	15	4.7%
11- 20	7	18.9%	28	8.7%
21- 30	3	8.1%	63	19.6%
31- 50	9	24.3%	77	24.0%
51- 75	2	5.4%	64	19.9%
76-100	2	5.4%	39	12.1%
101-150			15	4.7%
151-200			5	1.6%
201+			4	1.2%
	37		321	

Cattle in Compton (1851)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
1- 5	23	62.2%	100	31.9%
6-10	9	24.3%	83	26.5%
11-15	4	10.8%	61	19.5%
16-20	1	2.7%	25	8.0%
21-30			25	8.0%
31-50			12	3.8%
51+			7	2.2%
	37		313	

Nevertheless the position of the French Canadians seemed to be secure, for the farmers had made considerable progress since 1831. Almost half of them had cleared over 20 acres, and over one third had more than 5 cattle. There was now one horse per farmer as opposed to one for every three in 1831. Therefore the increase in cattle must have been for meat or milk, and not for draft animals. That the French Canadians were sensitive to the general trend towards cattle raising in the Eastern Townships is indicated by the marked decline in pigs and sheep kept by each farmer.

Land Holdings and Production per Farmer in Compton (1851)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
Lot size	72.8		107.8	
Improved	25.8	35%	56.9	52%
Under Crop	16.1	22%	34.2	31%
Wheat (bu.)	24.6	15.9%	36.0	12.8%
Barley (bu.)	6.0	3.9%	4.9	1.7%
Rye (bu.)	0.1	0%	2.6	0.9%
Peas (bu.)	4.5	2.9%	5.5	2.0%
Oats (bu.)	58.6	38.0%	115.3	41.0%
Buckwheat (bu.)	26.7	17.3%	54.4	19.3%
Indian corn (bu.)	3.0	1.9%	12.3	4.4%
Potatoes (bu.)	29.5	19.1%	46.2	16.4%
Turnips (bu.)	0.5	0.3%	3.4	1.2%
Beans (bu.)	0.9	0.6%	0.6	0.2%
Carrots (lbs.)	0		0.3	
Hay (tons	7.1		23.7	
Wool (lbs.)	6.8		30.1	
Maple sugar (lbs.)	91.0		173.5	
Fulled cloth (yds.)	2.7		4.6	
Flannel (yds.)	7.2		14.0	
Linen (yds.)	0		1.1	
Bulls, oxen (3+)	1.3		4.3	
Milch cows	1.5		3.5	
Other cattle	1.3		3.6	
Horses	1.0		2.7	
Sheep	4.1		10.4	
Pigs	1.0		1.4	
Butter (lbs.)	60.1		168.5	

	F.C.	Anglo.
Cheese (lbs.)	2.9	61.2
Beef (lbs.)	81.0	232.6
Pork (lbs.)	292.9	478.7
Hemp or flax (lbs.)	1.6	1.4
Tobacco (bu.)	0	0.3
Cider (gal.)	0	2.0

In spite of their progress, however, the French Canadian farmers were still far behind their English-speaking neighbours. The average English Canadian farmer still owned twice as much cleared land and almost three times as many cattle, while he produced four times as much butter and cheese, three times as much beef, and twice as much pork. As one would expect, the greatest advances made by the anglo-Canadians since 1831 were in cattle, horses and in fodder crops (especially oats and buckwheat).[16]

Crop yields (bushels/acre) in Compton (1851)

	F.C.	Anglo.
Wheat	14.8	12.0
Barley	15.4	19.5
Rye	20.0	11.9
Peas	18.1	27.0
Oats	21.5	31.3
Buckwheat	21.1	26.2
Indian corn	25.1	23.0
Potatoes	40.4	59.6
Turnips	-	218.0
Average	22.1	47.6

[16]Compared to the typical Townships farmer described by Harris and Warkentin (p.96), those of Compton were still rather backward economically.

One encouraging sign for the French Canadians was that the yields of certain crops compared quite favourably with those of their neighbours. On the average they grew only half as much as the English Canadians, but then they had only half as much land cultivated. They were more successful than the anglophones with wheat[17], rye, and Indian corn, and they were reasonably close with barley and buckwheat. Unfortunately for them, the margin widened with the two major crops, oats and potatoes. The French and English-speaking populations placed a similar emphasis on most of the crops they produced, though the anglophones were first to show an interest in the latest panacea of the agricultural experts, the turnip. Turnips were fed to cattle during the winter months in order to sustain milk production.[18] Hay was even more important in replacing straw as winter fodder[19], and the anglophones were also far advanced over the francophones in this crop. This would explain the higher productivity of their cattle, for each cow owned

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[17]Wheat yields in Compton were similar to the province as a whole, for the 21 most productive counties averaged 9 to 15 bushels per acre, as opposed to 16 to 20 bushels per acre for 14 Upper Canadian counties. Ouellet and Hamelin, p.98.

[18]A. H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island (Toronto, 1959) p.108.

[19]Blanchard, Le Centre, pp.266, 269.

by an English Canadian averaged 48.1 pounds of butter and 17.5 pounds of cheese, while one belonging to a French Canadian yielded 40.1 pounds of butter and only 1.9 pounds of cheese.[20] More surprising, perhaps, is that the English Canadians manufactured almost twice as much maple sugar per farm, for this activity could be undertaken on even the most primitive holding. But judging from the relatively high production figures throughout the later decades, the Compton farmers seem to have guarded their sugar woods very carefully.[21] On the whole, therefore, the French Canadians in 1851, as in 1831, concentrated upon much the same agricultural pursuits as the anglophone majority. As their missionaries remarked[22], they were clearly benefitting from contacts with the more progressive farmers of the Eastern Townships. In spite of the fact that much of their land was recently settled and of inferior quality[23], the greatest obstacle the French Canadians faced was the relatively small size of their holdings.

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[20]These averages compared favourably with Ontario where each cow produced 53.8 pounds of butter and 7.5 pounds of cheese. In Quebec, as a whole, the yields were only 33 pounds of butter and 1.8 pounds of cheese. Ouellet and Hamelin, p.98.

[21]Until the 1880's they produced as many pounds of maple sugar as they did butter and cheese.

[22]See Hamelin and Roby, p.9.

[23]See comments of the census taker.

The Eastern Townships region continued to increase its exports to the United States during the fifties, due mainly to the arrival of the railroads and the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854. Compton responded to the American demand for cattle more than to dairy products, possibly because no railroad passed directly through the township as yet.[24] Butter production increased, but cheese was lower, while the number of cows remained constant. Young cattle, on the other hand, increased from 1214 to 2066. Most of them were sold on the hoof, for beef production declined from 77,600 to 40,800 pounds. Another competitor for the dairy industry was sheep, and Compton farmers responded more enthusiastically than most

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[24] Agricultural Products in Compton Township

	Wheat (bu.)	Barley (bu.)	Rye (bu.)	Peas (bu.)	Oats (bu.)	Buck-wheat (bu.)
1851	12409	1788	847	1940	39002	18359
1860	7283	9755	819	518	89956	25140
1870	7791	2305	1132	1752	51968	26681

	India corn (bu.)	Potatoes (bu.)	Turnips (bu.)	Carrots (bu.)	Hay (tons)	Flax or hemp (lbs.)
1851	4038	15847	1110	110	7839	496
1860	3844	64758	12131	329	5471	0
1870	3326	90632	36662	2063	10863	15

	Wool (lb.)	Maple sugar (lb.)	Fulled cloth (yd.)	Linen (yd.)	Flannel (yd.)
1851	9871	58791	1582	362	4736
1860	17495	117661	829	34	3645
1870	19302	188588	5134	84	(see full cloth)

	Bulls, Oxen	Cows	Other cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs	Butter (lb.)	Cheese (lb.)	Beef (lb.)	Pork (lb.)
1851	1417	1175	1214	891	3482	501	56270	19635	77600	165000
1860	485	1205	2066	978	5072	519	83690	12804	40800	142800
1870	396	1620	2391	971	4032	975	106457	7525	-	-

others in the Townships to the American demand for wool. Production almost doubled from 9871 to 17,495 pounds. The fodder crops - oats, buckwheat, and turnips - all made significant gains, but hay declined for some unexplained reason. Like other farmers in the Eastern Townships, those in Compton took advantage of the American brewers' demand for barley; they again began to grow potatoes in large quantities; and they greatly increased their maple sugar production.

But the major preoccupation remained cattle raising, which was less labour intensive and demanded larger agricultural units than the earlier more self-sufficient type of agriculture. As a result, the number of Compton farmers actually declined by eighteen, while improved land increased by 4500 acres. The French Canadians were affected by this development to a greater extent than the anglophones,for they lost fourteen from their number. They more than made up for this by the increase in the number of labourers (34 to 57), but they were a very transient group. Even the landholders were unstable; of the forty-two families listed in 1851, only eight were still present in 1860, and four in 1870. This at least discouraged their assimilation, for there were still only six Protestant francophone families listed in 1860.

Those French Canadians who remained on the land did manage to improve their status to a considerable degree. Their average holding increased from 73 to 120 acres, with 62 improved

Land Holdings and Production per Farmer in Compton (1860)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
Lot size	120.0		128.3	
Improved	62.1	57%	69.7	54%
Under crop	34.7	28%	38.4	29%
Wheat (bu.)	21.4	4.0%	21.4	3.4%
Barley (bu.)	19.0	3.6%	29.4	4.6%
Rye (bu.)	2.7	0.5%	2.4	0.4%
Peas (bu.)	5.0	0.9%	1.2	0.2%
Oats (bu.)	214.7	40.1%	267.9	42.0%
Buckwheat (bu.)	75.6	14.1%	73.6	11.5%
Indian corn (bu.)	3.0	0.6%	12.0	1.9%
Potatoes (bu.)	171.0	32.0%	191.5	30.0%
Turnips (bu.)	22.0	4.1%	36.7	5.8%
Beans (bu.)	0.4	0.1%	1.7	0.3%
Carrots (lbs.)	0		1.0	
Hay (tons)	11.8		16.4	
Wool (lbs.)	43.0		52.0	
Maple sugar (lbs.)	200.4		357.0	
Fulled cloth (yds.)	2.7		2.4	
Flannel (yds.)	10.0		10.7	
Linen (yds.)	0		0.1	
Bulls, oxen (3+)	1.6		1.4	
Milch cows	3.0		3.6	
Other cattle	5.7		6.1	
Horses	1.9		2.9	
Sheep	12.4		14.9	
Pigs	1.5		1.5	
Butter (lbs.)	206.5		248.6	
Cheese (lbs)	5.8		40.2	
Beef (lbs.)	36.5		126.5	
Pork (lbs.)	410.0		419.5	
Mangle Wurtzle (bu.)	0		2.0	

as compared with 26 in 1851. Their cattle increased from 4.1 per unit to 10.3, and horses doubled from one to nearly two each. Pigs were still raised primarily for home consumption, as they averaged only one and a half per family. The most striking advance made by the francophones was in their crops.

Where a farmer harvested 154.4 bushels in 1851, he gathered 534.8 bushels ten years later. Advances were made in all the grains except wheat, but the crucial ones were oats, potatoes and buckwheat. The French Canadians had even turned to raising turnips, and modest gains were made in the harvesting of hay.

Even though four-fifths of the French Canadian farmers of 1860 had arrived in Compton within the previous ten years, they had adapted very quickly to local economic conditions. In contrast to 1851 they owned almost as much land as the English Canadians, kept almost as many cattle and sheep, and their crop yields were quite similar.[25]

Crop yields (bushels/acre)
in Compton (1860)

	F.C.	Anglo.
Wheat	18.4	19.3
Barley	17.9	30.2
Rye	20.0	24.6
Peas	28.8	21.0
Oats	25.8	36.2
Buckwheat	31.7	29.2
Indian corn	17.3	34.7
Potatoes	166.2	183.7
Turnips	456.0	467.1
Average	86.9	94.0

[25]The average crop yield for wheat and potatoes in Quebec in 1860 was 10.9 and 107.3 bushels per acre, respectively. Minville, p.504. Not only was Compton agriculture becoming more extensive, with expansion of improved land, but it was following the pattern of the northern United States as a whole by

True, the quality of their livestock appears to have remained decidedly inferior (valued at $379.50 versus $491.80 per anglo farm), and they still produced less butter and cheese[26], yet encouraging gains had clearly been made during the fifties.

Between 1860 and 1870 the number of French Canadian landowners increased dramatically (from twenty-six to sixty-three), but this did not reflect an overall improvement of their status in Compton. Twelve of the twenty-six farmers in 1860 were still there in 1870, but many of the newcomers had purchased small lots. The percentage of francophones who had cleared less than ten acres was twice as high as that of the anglophones. This indicates that many of the French Canadian landowners were not full time farmers, and in fact only forty-three are listed as such. The number of labourers increased from fifty-seven to seventy-six, while the skilled craftsmen were up from fifteen to twenty-two.[27] The decline in the aver-

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becoming more intensive in response to improved market conditions at mid century. See Clarence H. Danhof, Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870 (Cambridge, 1969).

[26]The value of the cattle on an average Quebec farm in 1860 was $244. Minville, p.500. The quality of the cattle owned by Compton's French Canadians, like that of the English Canadians, was clearly improving,for the average cow owned by a francophone now produced 70.7 pounds of butter and cheese, as compared with 80.3 pounds for the anglophone. In 1851 the figures had been 42.0 and 65.6, respectively.

[27]One would normally assume that this was part of the unprecedented migration to New England, but twenty-six of the

age size of the holdings (120.0 to 93.4 acres) and in land cleared (62.1 to 54.1 acres) does not therefore mean that all the French Canadian farmers in the township were regressing. It was not a question of subdividing their holdings, as in the seigneuries, for sixty-two percent of them had over thirty acres of improved land, as compared to seventy percent of the anglophones.

Land Improved in Compton (1870)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
-6	12	20.7%	37	10.6%
6-10	4	6.9%	12	3.4%
11-20	5	8.6%	25	7.2%
21-30	1	1.7%	29	8.3%
31-50	16	27.6%	62	17.8%
51-75	3	5.2%	61	17.5%
76-100	10	17.2%	61	17.5%
101-150	2	3.4%	33	9.5%
151-200	1	1.7%	7	2.0%
201+	4	6.9%	21	6.0%
	58		348	

Cattle in Compton (1870)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
1- 5	36	54.5%	161	44.5%
6-10	16	24.2%	65	18.0%
11-15	7	10.6%	58	16.0%
16-20	2	3.0%	31	8.6%
21-30	4	6.1%	28	7.7%
31-50	1	1.5%	10	2.8%
51+			9	2.5%
	66		362	

The same can be said concerning cattle, for though they averaged only 5.4 per farmer, 18 of the owners were not even listed as landholders. These people seldom owned more than one or two cows, so they make the general agricultural statistics look worse than they actually are. Of course some English

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families included English-speaking wives, and eleven had one or more members born in the United States. Perhaps they were returning to Quebec to avoid being drafted into the Union army.

Canadians were also in this part-time farming category, but not to the same degree as the francophones. Only 44.5% of them owned fewer than 5 cattle as compared with 54.5% of the French Canadians. This is not to argue that the French Canadians were making great progress in Compton, for they were clearly still an unstable population. However they did include a core of reasonably progressive farmers - 5 had cleared more than 150 acres of land and owned between 21 and 50 cattle.

Land Holdings and Production per Farmer in Compton (1870)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
Lot size	93.4		146.7	
Improved	54.1	57%	90.3	61%
Under crop	31.6	33%	50.0	34%
Wheat (bu.)	12.1	3.6%	23.4	3.5%
Barley (bu.)	3.8	1.1%	6.9	1.0%
Rye (bu.)	0	0%	3.8	0.6%
Peas (bu.)	5.5	1.6%	4.7	0.7%
Oats (bu.)	98.6	29.4%	152.5	22.6%
Buckwheat (bu.)	69.3	20.7%	74.4	11.0%
Indian corn (bu.)	3.1	0.9%	10.4	1.5%
Potatoes (bu.)	114.2	34.1%	278.1	41.3%
Turnips (bu.)	27.5	8.2%	116.4	17.3%
Beans (bu.)	1.0	0.3%	2.7	0.4%
Carrots and other roots (lbs.)	0.9		6.7	
Hops (lbs.)	22.2		90.9	
Hay (tons/A.)	1.0		1.1	
(tons)	17.4		32.5	
Wool (lbs.)	22.1		70.3	
Maple sugar (lbs.)	257.7		574.5	
Fulled cloth and flannel (yds.)	13.4		14.3	
Linen (yds.)	0		0.3	
Bulls, oxen (3+)	0.6		1.2	
Milch cows	2.4		4.7	
Other cattle	2.5		7.3	
Horses	1.3		2.9	

	F.C.	Anglo.
Sheep	5.4	12.0
Pigs	2.0	2.7
Butter (lbs.)	148.1	314.9
Cheese (lbs.)	3.7	24.1
Hemp or flax (lbs.)	0	0.1
Mangle wurtzle (bu.)	0.5	1.3
Tobacco (lbs.)	0.2	0.1
Apples (bu.)	2.4	12.1
Pears, plums and other fruits (bu.)	0.4	1.0
Honey (lbs.)	1.6	15.9

Because of the great variety in size of the French Canadian operations, there is little point in comparing averages with the English Canadians who were continuing to consolidate their holdings.[28] The French Canadians were again following similar crop patterns to the anglophones, though they concentrated more heavily upon oats and buckwheat, and less upon potatoes, turnips, and hay. The English Canadians were once more quicker to adopt innovations - they gave considerable attention to carrots, hops, apples, and honey for the first time, while the French Canadians tended to ignore them.[29]

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[28]There were fifteen fewer English-speaking farmers, but they owned 3596 more acres and had cleared an additional 5135 since 1860. Seven of these farmers had improved over 400 acres each.

[29]Not surprisingly, the productivity margin between the French and English-speaking farmers widened, with the two populations growing 9.3 and 16.8 bushels of wheat per acre, respectively, and 153 versus 232 bushels of potatoes per acre.

The township as a whole continued to follow the general trend of the region by increasing cattle (15%), pigs (47%), butter (21%), hay (49%), potatoes and turnips (39%), and wool (9%). The number of horses remained constant in Compton, however, while they increased by 23% in the Eastern Townships. Reflecting this discrepancy, oats production went down by 31% in Compton, and only 12% in the region as a whole. Compton farmers were clearly turning more to dairy, and shipping less livestock to the United States, for unlike the previous decade, the increase in milch cows was greater than that in young cattle. Butter manufacturing did not develop at a faster rate than in the fifties, but cheese factories sprang up in response to British demand in the late sixties. This was a crucial development because the American market had become much more restricted with the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty and the cessation of the Civil War in 1866. In summary, it would appear that the sixties was a decade of prosperity for the average English-speaking farmer in Compton township, but only for a limited number of the francophones. This newcomers
was the price the/ had to pay for increasing their numerical strength in a township which had long been settled, and whose original inhabitants were generally content to remain there, for the time being at least.

Winslow

There were no inhabitants in Winslow township prior to the late forties when French Canadians and immigrants took up free fifty acre land grants offered by the government along the St. Francis and Lake Megantic colonization roads. Winslow represents the meeting place of two distinct population movements - the French Canadian settlement was a southward extension of the Stratford and Garthby colonies fostered by Quebec's Société de Colonisation des Townships, while many of the Scots had moved North to avoid making payments to the British American Land Company. The Free Kirk Highlanders and the Catholic French Canadians remained remarkably aloof from each other, with each group almost totally restricted to its own municipality until late in the century when French Canadians began to buy farms from the departing Scots.

Winslow was further divided by a physical boundary, for a swamp "2 miles in width" forced the settlers on the East side of the township to look for a market and supply centre in Quebec "which is at a distance of one hundred & ten miles from them. The road which they have to travel to go thither intersects or joins the Kennebec road, thirty-six miles distant from the line of this Township." The 1851 census enumerator added that "Most of the settlers on the west side of the township have to travel nine miles, four of which is through swamps, before they get to the road constructed by the B.A.L. Company in

the adjoining township of Lingwick." This road led them to Sherbrooke, which would become the metropolis for the whole township once the colonization roads were completed. Winslow's French Canadians, unlike those of Compton township, were not only isolated from the influence of progressive anglophone farmers, but they were remote from the demands of an external market as well. It will therefore be interesting to note whether they were able to change their agricultural techniques significantly from those practiced in the seigneuries.

Many of the French Canadian settlers were young men (the average age of the landowners was thirty) who had been neighbours in the South Shore parishes around the Bécancour.[30] By 1851 there were eighty-four families, all Catholics, all farmers but fourteen, and all living in twenty log cabins and twenty-six block houses. Forty-five of the French Canadian colonists had claimed only the free fifty acre lots, while ten took advantage of the additional fifty acres offered at four shillings per acre. In addition,two owned one hundred fifty acres, one owned two hundred, and five had squatted on unsurveyed land. Two-thirds of them had not cleared more than ten acres, and none owned more than five cattle - in fact they averaged only one each. One sheep and one pig per farmer, and

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[30]ACAS, Saint-Romain de Winslow, no. 7, M. Bélanger to Signay, 28 March 1849.

Land Improved in Winslow (1851)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
-6	22	38.6%	7	25.0%
6-10	15	26.3%	17	60.7%
11-20	16	28.1%	4	14.3%
21-30	3	5.3%		
31-50	1	1.8%		
	57		28	

Cattle in Winslow (1851)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
1- 5	31	100%	14	60.9%
6-10			9	39.1%
	31		23	

one horse per two farmers, completed the meagre livestock inventory of North Winslow. Not surprisingly, especially since 1851 was a famine year in the area, very little hay and oats was grown. Potatoes constituted almost half the eighty bushels of crops each farmer harvested. The rugged environment of Winslow had effectively forced the French Canadians to suppress their strong preference for wheaten bread.

Land Holdings and Production per Farmer in Winslow (1851)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
Lot size	60.1		113.0	
Improved	9.2	15%	7.6	6%
Under crop	5.2	8%	6.1	5%
Wheat (bu.)	4.6	5.8%	2.6	3.3%
Barley (bu.)	10.0	12.6%	28.4	22.5%
Rye (bu.)	12.2	15.3%	0.6	0.5%
Peas (bu.)	0.1	-	0	-
Oats (bu.)	13.3	16.7%	15.3	12.1%
Buckwheat (bu.)	0.8	1.0%	1.0	0.8%
Indian corn (bu.)	0	-	0	-
Potatoes (bu.)	38.2	48.0%	70.0	55.4%
Turnip (bu.)	0.4	0.5%	8.5	6.7%
Beans (bu.)	0		0	
Carrots (lbs.)	0		0	
Hay (tons)	0.1?		0.1?	
Wool (lbs.)	1.6		7.5	
Maple sugar (lbs.)	134.1		63.9	

	F.C.	Anglo.
Fulled cloth (yds.)	1.7	2.2
Flannel (yds.)	1.2	3.4
Linen (yds.)	0.9	0.1
Bulls, oxen (3+)	0.1	1.2
Milch cows	0.3	1.1
Other cattle	0.6	1.4
Horses	0.6	0.1
Sheep	0.9	4.0
Pigs	0.9	0.8
Butter (lbs.)	8.2	27.5
Cheese (lbs.)	0	0
Beef (lbs.)	24.5	65.6
Pork (lbs.)	96.6	34.1
Hemp or flax (lbs.)	2.1	0

The Scots had arrived in Winslow about the same time as the francophones, but they were said to have better land (though swampy and subject to early frost), and all but two of the twenty-six families owned at least one hundred acres. In spite of the fact that he had improved less land than the average francophone, each Scot had almost four cattle and four sheep to the French Canadian's one. Consequently he produced over three times as much butter and five times as much wool. The Scots did not raise as much pork or make as much maple sugar as the francophones, and they had only three horses among them, but they harvested one hundred twenty-six bushels of grain and root crops each, as compared with eighty bushels for the French Canadians. Not only did they have more land under cultivation, their yields, though disastrously low, were higher than those of the francophones.

Crop Yields (Bushels/acre)
in Winslow (1851)

	F.C.	Anglo.
Wheat	6.3	10.4
Barley	10.1	12.0
Rye	8.8	16.0
Peas	7.0	-
Oats	11.5	11.2
Buckwheat	5.6	15.1
Potatoes	51.3	36.8
Turnips	9.8	27.0
Total	14.1	18.4

The Scots, like the French Canadians, concentrated on growing potatoes, but barley and oats were their major secondary crops, while the French Canadians placed almost as much emphasis upon rye as they did on barley. Finally, the Scots grew a surprising 8.5 bushels of turnips each, over twice as much as the wealthier English Canadian farmers in Compton township. These turnips may well have been used to make up for the small amount of hay they harvested.

By 1857, when the St. Francis and the Megantic colonization roads were finally completed, Winslow's arable land had all been settled. The visiting Catholic missionary wrote:

> La population augmentera centainement, mais le nombre d'habitants ne peut beaucoup s'agmenter [sic] dans cette partie, car presque toutes les terres capables de faire vivre leur maître sont prises, et encore il y en a que seraient plus riches s'ils n'en avaient point.[31]

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[31]ACAS, PP, Saint-Romain, N. Godbout to Cooke, 8 Sept. 1857.

In 1860, as the priest predicted, Winslow's population was near its maximum. There were 168 French-speaking families, twice as many as in 1851. Only eighteen family heads were listed as labourers, three were servants, and two were tradesmen. In sharp contrast to Compton, over half those who had settled in 1851 were again there in 1860, and the age of the average landowner had increased from thirty to thirty-nine.

Ninety percent of their homes were log cabins, but real progress had been made. There were four grist mills, three saw mills and a carding mill in 1860, where there had been only one saw mill and one grist mill nine years earlier. The average Winslow farmer had cleared twice as much land, raised three and a half times as many cattle and sheep, and twice as many pigs. Butter production was multiplied by five, and maple sugar by two. Over twice as much grain was harvested, with potatoes still in first place, but with barley a fairly close second. For fodder, the increase in the number of cattle was reflected primarily by the increase in hay.[32] The improved production

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[32] Agricultural Products in Winslow Township

	Wheat (bu.)	Barley (bu.)	Rye (bu.)	Peas (bu.)	Oats (bu.)
1851	347	1323	699	126	1131
1860	329	16495	2374	403	9082
1870	844	6941	1278	582	12162

Continued

was not entirely due to more extensive planting, for crop yields were significantly higher than in the discouraging year of 1851.

Crop Yields (bushels/acre) in Winslow (1860)

	F.C.	Anglo.
Wheat	11.3	12.8
Barley	16.1	35.6
Rye	11.6	27.0
Peas	8.8	7.0
Oats	16.6	20.8
Buckwheat	14.0	22.6
Potatoes	87.2	79.8
Turnips	41.5	85.4
Total	25.9	36.4

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continued

	Buckwheat (bu.)	Indian corn (bu.)	Potatoes (bu.)	Turnips (bu.)	Carrots (bu.)	Hay (tons)
1851	33	0	4057	251	0	206
1860	2211	0	22565	4332	15	1035
1870	6345	193	26992	444	35	2276

	Flax or hemp (lb.)	Wool (lb.)	Maple sugar (lb.)	Fulled cloth (yd.)	Linen (yd.)	Flannel (yd.)
1851	0	287	9069	164	52	167
1860	366	2125	36521	1592	302	843
1870	1210	5404	34759	[see flannel]	1334	6742

	Bulls, oxen	Milch cows	Other Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs	Butter (lb.)
1851	35	71	45	37	160	77	1185
1860	159	442	574	169	879	568	17354
1870	317	583	591	225	1928	488	21178

	Cheese (lb.)	Beef (lb.)	Pork (lb.)
1851	0	3200	6800
1860	130	9200	64000
1870	0	-	-

The Winslow colonists were clearly very poor when compared with the farmers of Compton[33] and the older townships, but they had quickly moved beyond the self-sufficiency stage (note especially their response to the American demand for barley), and were sharing in the general agricultural prosperity of the region during the fifties.

Land Holdings and Production per Farmer in Winslow (1860)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
Lot size	81.2		108.6	
Improved	20.8	25%	26.2	24%
Under crop	14.9	18%	21.7	19%
Wheat (bu.)	1.8	1.0%	1.0	0.3%
Barley (bu.)	32.7	18.2%	110.4	35.2%
Rye (bu.)	18.6	10.3%	0	-
Peas (bu.)	3.1	1.7%	0.1	-
Oats (bu.)	32.4	18.0%	44.6	14.3%
Buckwheat (bu.)	7.1	3.9%	11.8	3.8%
Indian corn (bu.)	0	-	0	-
Potatoes (bu.)	80.6	44.8%	110.8	35.4%
Turnips (bu.)	3.5	1.9%	34.7	11.1%
Beans (bu.)	0		0	
Carrots (lbs.)	0		0.1	
Hay (tons)	2.7		6.2	
Wool (lbs.)	6.8		11.3	
Maple sugar (lbs.)	258.4		35.4	
Fulled cloth (yds.)	5.2		8.3	
Flannel (yds.)	4.7		2.3	
Linen (yds.)	2.4		0	
Bulls, oxen (3+)	0.4		0.9	
Milch cows	1.4		2.4	
Other cattle	1.7		3.3	
Horses	0.8		0.6	
Sheep	3.3		4.1	
Pigs	2.0		2.8	
Butter (lbs.)	40.6		109.2	
Cheese (lbs.)	0		1.2	
Beef (lbs.)	32.1		46.0	
Pork (lbs.)	329.4		200.9	
Hemp or flax (lbs.)	2.9		0	

[33] The average farm in Compton Township was worth four times that of one in Winslow in 1860.

The French Canadians did not enjoy as big a share of the prosperity as the Scots did, for the latter were able to maintain a greater population growth rate and to stay well ahead in agricultural production. Each Scot quadrupled his cleared land, almost doubled his cattle, and quadrupled his butter production. Expressed in percentages, the French Canadians did equal the Scots' improvements in cattle, butter, horses, pigs, and sheep, but this was not enough to narrow the gap significantly between the two groups. The average francophone's livestock was worth only $111 as compared to $160 for the average Scot.[34] The French Canadians were able to double their grain harvest, just like the Scots, even though they had not kept up in clearing their land. The Scots placed less emphasis than the francophones on potatoes and oats, and more on turnips and hay. A more startling contrast was in the commercial crops of rye and barley, for the French Canadians grew nearly all of the former in the township, while the Scots grew most of the latter. The Scots also specialized more in dairy products and the sale of livestock; contrary to the French Canadians, their wool production did not increase substantially

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[34]The butter production of the average cow owned by the French Canadians actually declined from 29.0 to 27.3 pounds between 1851 and 1860, while the Scots' increased from 25.0 to 45.5 pounds. In addition the Scots manufactured a small amount of cheese.

and their maple sugar and beef production declined.

It would be difficult for the French Canadians to specialize as long as they failed to increase the size of their holdings. This of course was impossible while their population continued to grow. Even though most of the arable lots in North Winslow had been settled in the fifties, nineteen additional French-speaking families took up land during the sixties. The population had remained relatively stable, for forty percent of the landowners listed in 1860 were still there in 1870, and the average age had increased from thirty-nine to forty-one. In contrast to Compton township, there were still no Protestant converts among them, no mixed marriages, and no one who appears to have spent any significant time in the United States. The vast majority of the family heads were still farmers, but the tradesmen had become more diversified, and the community now included a physician, a notary, a teacher, and a curé. In fact Winslow's struggling colonists had fostered a respectable industrial growth, for there were five grist mills, five saw mills, two wool carding establishments and one iron forge. The mills processed twenty times as much grain (29,550 bushels per year) and five times as much wood (103,400 feet per year) as in 1860, while the carding factories consumed 21,000 pounds of wool, and the forge produced $500 in iron goods each year.

Although growth of the francophone population had caused some reduction in the lot size, each farmer owned more improved land than he had ten years earlier.

Land Improved in Winslow (1870)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
-6	7	5.3%	6	5.4%
6-10	10	7.6%	2	1.8%
11-20	17	13.0%	13	11.6%
21-30	39	29.8%	12	10.7%
31-50	40	30.5%	61	54.5%
51-75	15	11.5%	14	12.5%
76-100	2	1.5%	4	3.6%
101-150	1	0.8%		
	131		112	

Cattle in Winslow (1870)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
1- 5	72	57.1%	27	24.1%
6-10	43	34.1%	68	60.7%
11-15	10	7.9%	17	15.2%
16-20	1	0.8%		
	126		112	

Sixty percent had between twenty-one and fifty cleared acres, an average of ten more acres each over 1860. Cattle had increased by one per person, and sheep by two, while horses and pigs remained substantially the same. The average butter production was up by one third, maple sugar down by one fifth, and wool down by one half. The Winslow francophones were responding, however falteringly, to general market conditions in the Eastern Townships where dairy products were one of the few categories to enjoy a steady demand after the Civil War and the Reciprocity Treaty had come to an end. This was reflected in the grain harvested, for there was less emphasis on wheat and barley, and more on the fodder crops, buckwheat, oats, and hay. The total each farmer grew had not increased since 1860, but the yields for the only two crops given in the census,

wheat and potatoes, were slightly higher.[35] The French Canadians of Winslow did have one important alternative to dairy production because the demand for wood products had also continued to climb after 1866. The 1870 census records 6142 cords of firewood, 7922 logs, and 1,848,616 cubic feet of square timber for the township.

The time spent in the woods by the French Canadians probably helps to explain why the gains they made in agricultural production during the sixties were less encouraging than in the previous decade. This was certainly the case throughout the latter half of the century in the Saguenay-Lake Saint John region. But the situation is not entirely analogous because the northern colonists were forced to rely exclusively on the local market provided by the large-scale timber operators. The low prices paid by the companies not only discouraged colonists from improving their farms, but forced them to work in the woods in order to earn a living.[36] The Winslow colonists, isolated though they were, had better access to external markets, thereby making them more independent economically.[37]

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[35]The average yield for wheat and potatoes increased from 49.3 bushels per acre in 1860 to 62.2 in 1870. This is slightly higher than the Scots' yield of 61.7 bushels per acre in 1870.

[36]N. Séguin, pp.13-14, 22-24.

[37]The Winslow francophones did have more livestock than

The Scots, for example, chose to concentrate their energies on agriculture to a much greater degree than their francophone neighbours. Each Scottish colonist chopped only 23 cords of firewood to the francophone's 27, and five logs to the francophone's 51. Almost all the square timber listed in the census was cut by two local French Canadian entrepreneurs. We have already seen that French Canadian agriculture, primitive as it may have been, was sensitive to external demand. Its disappointing condition in 1870 was therefore at least partially due to the declining American markets which had also hurt the Scots and the Compton township anglophones.

The growth of the lumbering industry seems to have had a more important indirect effect upon the agriculture of Win-

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those in the Saguenay Valley in 1860.

	Hébertville	Winslow
Average holding	139.1 acres	81.2 acres
Pasture	7.6 acres	5.9 acres
Cattle	2.8	4.2
Cows	1.0	1.4
Horses	0.9	0.8
Sheep	1.6	3.3
Pigs	0.5	2.0
Butter	38 lb.	41 lb.

However they do not seem to have been any better farmers, for they grew only 16.1 bushels of barley per acre, as compared to 13.3 for those of Hébertville, and their cows yielded only 27.3 pounds of butter each, as compared to 38.6 for those of Hébertville. See N. Séguin, pp.175-6.

slow's francophones, for it must have stimulated more colonists to enter the region, thereby causing land holdings to decrease in size. This in turn would hinder the evolution towards raising livestock for an external market.[38] In fact it is possible that even the establishment of French Canadian liberal professionals in the community, which we noted earlier, was encouraging the proletarianization of the colonists.[39] But, for the purposes of this study, it is simply presented as evidence that the francophone community was sinking roots in the township - evidence which would be borne out by the increasingly sanguine reports of the curé to Bishop Racine during the late seventies and throughout the eighties.

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[38]Normand Séguin (p.39) would argue that French Canada's lay and clerical élite worked hand in hand with timber merchants to encourage this development, and thus keep the habitants in a subservient position, both socially and economically. Questions of motivation are by their very nature almost impossible to pin down, but evidence produced in the following chapters would indicate that French Canadian nationalism was a very important stimulus for the colonization movement in Compton county.

[39]See Normand Séguin's study of the Hébertville petit bourgeoisie, pp.272 ff.

Land Holdings and Production per Farmer in Winslow (1870)

	F.C.		Anglo.	
Lot size	72.8		144.9	
Improved	31.3	42%	47.5	32%
Under crop	19.3	26%	32.1	22%
Wheat (bu.)	4.7	2.5%	1.7	0.5%
Barley (bu.)	14.0	7.6%	52.8	16.0%
Rye (bu.)	8.7	4.7%	0.2	0.1%
Peas (bu.)	3.8	2.1%	0.4	0.1%
Oats (bu.)	37.6	20.3%	72.1	21.8%
Buckwheat (bu.)	18.9	10.2%	38.8	11.8%
Indian corn (bu.)	12.9	7.0%	0.1	-
Potatoes (bu.)	83.3	45.1%	160.3	48.6%
Turnips (bu.)	0.9	0.5%	3.4	1.0%
Beans (bu.)	0.1	0.1%	0.2	0.1%
Carrots and other roots (lbs.)	0.1		0.2	
Hay (tons/A)	0.6		0.7	
(tons)	6.5		14.4	
Wool (lbs.)	3.6		52.4	
Maple sugar (lbs.)	212.3		42.7	
Fulled cloth and flannel (yds.)	15.3		48.6	
Linen (yds.)	9.2		0	
Bulls, oxen (3+)	0.9		2.0	
Milch cows	1.8		3.4	
Other cattle	1.7		3.7	
Horses	1.0		0.9	
Sheep	5.1		12.8	
Pigs	1.7		2.6	
Butter (lbs.)	61.7		131.5	
Cheese (lbs.)	0		0	
Hemp or flax (lbs.)	8.7		0	
Mangle wurtzle (bu.)	0.1		0	
Tobacco (lbs.)	3.9		0	

The Scottish community, which tended to ignore the timber industry, predictably declined in numbers from 868 to 782. Like the anglophones throughout the Eastern Townships, the Scots were simply less prepared to accept a low standard of living than were the French Canadians. They either left the

area or remained behind to enlarge their holdings with the land sold by their departing neighbours. Where the French Canadian farms decreased in size between 1860 and 1870, those of the Scots increased by thirty-seven acres. Seventy percent of them had improved over thirty acres, for an average of 47.5 acres each, as compared with 26.2 in 1860. Seventy-five percent owned between 6 and 15 cattle, an average increase of 2.5 in ten years. As with the French Canadians, the number of milch cows did not grow any faster than that of the other cattle, so the trend towards dairy was slow indeed. Butter production increased by only thirty percent, and no cheese was made at all. Again like the French Canadians, pigs and horses were kept almost entirely for the farmers' own use, but the Scots were alone in renewing their interest in wool growing. This would indicate a return to a more subsistence type of agriculture, for the American market had declined since 1866. To consume the wool which had multiplied five times since 1860, each Scottish household made 48.6 yards of cloth and flannel in 1870, as compared with 10.6 yards ten years earlier. The French Canadians concentrated instead on making linen from hemp or flax, another product which had declined in demand since the Civil War.[40] A second retrograde sign was

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[40]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, p.222; "The Agricultural History of Lower Canada," p.216.

that the Scots put much less emphasis on barley than they had during the fifties, even though the American market remained open after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. They probably could not compete with the Ontario farmers who were placing more and more emphasis on barley in place of wheat.[41] As a result the Winslow Scots concentrated more heavily on the fodder crops oats, buckwheat, and hay. There was an overall increase in grain production from 257.3 to 330.0 bushels each.

In Winslow, as in the region as a whole, the late sixties were years of hardship for both the French and English-speaking populations, so that in spite of the boom years of the Civil War, the agricultural output of 1870 was only modestly superior to that of 1860. The Scots managed to maintain a better economic position than the French Canadians, but at the cost of diminishing their numbers. Reasons for their dissatisfaction are clear when one considers that they still raised only nine cattle to the Compton anglophone's thirteen, and harvested 330 bushels of grain to 395 for the same group.

1870-1890

Rising expectations, as well as increased specialization, continued to stimulate the trend towards consolidation among the anglophones in both townships during the seventies

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[41]Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, pp.239-41.

and eighties. Between 1870 and 1890 the English-speaking population of Compton and Winslow declined by 600 and 260, respectively, while the French Canadians added approximately 250 to their ranks. The 159 Compton farmers who owned more than 100 acres each in 1870 became 185 by 1890. In Winslow those owning over 100 acres increased from 41 to 102 during the same period. Though the population of both townships had dropped between 1870 and 1890, the improved acreage increased by 5000 in Compton and 2000 in Winslow. The farmers of Compton township raised 34,914 more bushels of grain and root crops in 1890 than they had in 1870, with most of the increase being in barley and turnips. Potatoes, wheat, rye, buckwheat, corn and potatoes all declined. Winslow's harvest was actually 11,958 bushes lower in 1890 than it had been in 1870, with an increase in barley, wheat, and oats, but a decrease in other crops. The most important crop of both the Winslow and Compton farmers had become hay, for both their harvests had increased by fifty percent. Clearly the trend toward crops for consumption by the farmers' own livestock was continuing.

These fodder crops were grown more and more exclusively for cattle and horses. There was a decline in the number of sheep and swine raised in the two townships, while the number of cattle and horses in Compton increased by 1252 and 700, respectively, and in Winslow by 270 and 140, respectively.

The area was taking advantage of the British demand for livestock[42] to a greater extent than the dairy product market, for most of the increase in cattle was steers and heifers, not milch cows. Home-made butter production was up by 42,238 pounds in Compton and 26,944 pounds in Winslow, but the more progressive areas of the Townships had already turned to the factory system.[43]

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[42] Ibid., p.281; Innis, The Dairy Industry in Canada, p.5.

[43] Agricultural Products in Compton and Winslow Townships (1890)

	Wheat (bu.)	Barley (bu.)	Rye (bu.)	Peas (bu.)	Oats (bu.)
Compton	5,231	28,528	28	1,170	54,334
Winslow	1,137	3,791	38	185	15,647

	Buck-wheat (bu.)	Indian corn (bu.)	Potatoes (bu.)	Turnips and other roots (bu.)	Hay (tons)
Compton	7,864	539	62,087	99,556	14,902
Winslow	6,174	0	16,607	213	3,252

	Wool (lb.)	Oxen	Milch cows	Other cattle	Horses	Sheep
Compton	11,591	92	1,683	3,884	1,602	2,444
Winslow	5,850	198	764	799	390	1,525

	Pigs	Home-made butter (lb.)	Home-made cheese (lb.)
Compton	985	148,745	3,114
Winslow	268	48,122	80

Compton township's persistence in raising livestock for beef rather than for milk products is difficult to explain when one considers that it was very close to the town of Sherbrooke, and that it was served by two railroads. It may well be that the necessary incentive to switch to the more demanding task of milking cows was simply missing until the nineties when the British extended their embargo on American cattle to those of Canada, and cattle ranches began to expand in the western States and Canada.[44]

Winslow's lack of progress towards dairying is easier to understand because of its isolation and poorer soil. Even with the extension of the International Railway to eastern Compton county during the late seventies, timber merchants profitted more than the farmers because the latter suddenly faced competition from more efficient outside producers. Nevertheless, the more progressive Winslow farmers, who never were completely at the mercy of the local market, could take advantage of the railroad to sell some of their livestock and dairy produce. We have seen that the number of those owning over 100 acres more than doubled between 1870 and 1890. The declining Scottish population would indicate that they were continuing to consolidate their holdings in an effort to improve their standard of living, while the francophones remained

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[44]Innis, The Dairy Industry in Canada, p.6. As late as 1962 Compton county remained the province's largest producer of beef cattle. Paul Boucher, Monographies Economico - Sociales des Comtés Ruraux du Québec (Québec, 1962), p.372.

more closely tied to the woods and to subsistance agriculture. Whether or not this is true will only be known when the 1881 and 1891 manuscript census reports are opened to the public.

In summary, then, both Compton and the isolated township of Winslow were sensitive to external market conditions. The French Canadians within both townships (during the fifties and sixties, at least) concentrated upon the same major products as the anglophones, and they seem to have been able to grow almost as much on an acre of land as their neighbours did. French Canadians clearly benefitted from the example set by the progressive English Canadian farmers, but this was not the only reason that their agricultural practices changed in the Townships. More important was the new physical environment which the region itself constituted. The Winslow francophones were poorer than those of Compton, not because they were isolated from progressive English Canadian models, but because they were further from external markets and tilled inferior soil. When compared to the anglophones, French Canadian progress in both townships was hindered chiefly by their transience, as well as by their tendency to maintain small farms. But migration would become a problem of the English rather than the French-speaking Canadians with the 1890's, when the exodus to New England declined and that to the Canadian Prairies increased. The French Canadians' willingness to live on a smaller farm and to accept a lower standard of living ensured

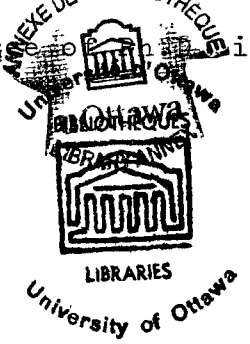
that they would soon dominate the region numerically, if not economically.

THE PEACEABLE CONQUEST
FRENCH CANADIAN COLONIZATION IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

John Irvine Little

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Ph.D. in History



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	1869-70		1870-71		1871-72		1872-73		1873-74		1874-75	
	Subscription	Grant	Subscription	Grant	Subscription	Grant	Subscription	Grant	Subscription	Grant	Subscription	Grant
Bagot No. 1	$ 460	$ 380	$ 541	$ 420.50	$ 540	$ 420	520	$ 300	$ 490	$ 300	$ 965	$ 600
Montreal West No. 1			300	300	300	300	300	300	...	...	600	600
Montreal West No. 2					150	150	150	150	...	...	150	150
Montreal West No. 3					150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Montreal Centre No. 1					265	265	310	300	...	...	...	...
Montreal Centre No. 2					150	150	155	150	150	150	600	600
Montreal Centre No. 3					150	150	138	138	150	150	150	150
Montreal East No. 1					130	130	200	200	250	250	300	300
Montreal East No. 2							257	257	225	187.50	150	150
St. Hyacinthe No. 1	300	300	300	300	230	230	300	300	150.25	150.25	280.25	280.25
St. Hyacinthe No. 2	...	...	...	...	...	...						
Verchères No. 1	150	150	600	450			500	300	...	...	...	...
Quebec West No. 1			654.86	477.43	300	300	...	...	...	...	...	...
Compton No. 1	600	450	600	...	...	...						
Sherbrooke No. 1			300	300	...	...	...	...				

CHAPTER EIGHT

COLONIZATION SOCIETIES IN COMPTON COUNTY (1870-75)

Our examination of two very different townships in Compton county has revealed that the French Canadian colonists were quite capable of becoming successful farmers when given a reasonable opportunity to do so. The contrast between those in Compton and Winslow in 1860 was as strong as that between the anglophone populations in the two townships. But the problem of overcrowding, which had driven them from the seigneuries in the first place, was already plaguing them in both areas by 1870. In fact space was limited in all those townships which had been opened to colonization prior to that point. As a result, the religious and lay authorities turned their attention toward the uninhabited territory a few miles further East. This area had not proved attractive enough to attract spontaneous settlement, so the provincial government decided to encourage colonization societies to develop it. By subsidizing such societies throughout the province, the Quebec government was launching a movement similar to the Association des Townships of 1848. The initiative and leadership would have to come from the private individuals who formed each society. The eastern part of Compton county was the primary center of activity for most of these organizations.

Though several of them pursued their objectives energetically enough to clash with the local Scottish inhabitants, the net results were disappointing, for few settlers could be persuaded to live on the cleared lots.

The Colonization Societies Act of 1869 provided for an annual sum of up to $600 for each electoral division within the province in which colonization societies were formed.[1] The programme was initially to last three years, but the time limit was later extended to April 5, 1875. Each society, consisting of at least thirty members, had to raise a sum (at least $100) equal to that which it would receive from the government - thus if a society's members contributed $150, the government would match that amount. The first society to be formed in a county was eligible for as much as $300 per year, while the second or third could each receive $150. If only one society were organized in any given county, it could be granted more than the $300, but it had to raise double the amount it received over that $300. Thus if its members contributed $400, the government would give the society $350. In the same way, if only two societies were formed, the balance of what the third would have received could be divided between them.[2]

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[1] JLAQ, II, (1869), 114.

[2] Ibid., IV (1870), 138.

There were three types of colonization societies. The first were those which divided their subscriptions and the government grant among indigent settlers.[3] There is no mention of any such activity in the Eastern Townships during the early seventies. The second type, organized by English Canadians, was designed to encourage immigration from Great Britain by establishing agricultural labourers among the English-speaking farmers of the province. The Quebec City immigration agent, W. E. Jones, toured the Eastern Townships in order to create societies in Stanstead, Coaticook, Hatley, Richmond and Granby[4], but lack of interest seems to have killed these organizations soon afterwards. As early as November, 1870 the Stanstead Journal was asking: "Have they ever done anything toward forwarding the purpose for which they were organized? Do they ever meet for consultation? We do not hear of any decisive results, and fear that the movement, so far as these societies are concerned, has been of little practical value."[5]

The third type of colonization society was the only one of any importance in the Eastern Townships. It was actually

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[3] SPQ, IV (1870), 15. Such societies were first formed in Quebec at mid-century. Le Roux, pp.18-20.

[4] Stanstead Journal, 24 July, 28 July 1870; Eastern Townships Gazette and Granby Advertiser, 19 Aug. 1870.

[5] Stanstead Journal, 3 Nov. 1870.

a co-operative organization, for its members acquired crown lands for their own use.

The department reserved land for the societies in proportion to the number of occupants they desired to settle, but no society could obtain more than 12,000 acres.[6] The regular fee for the land had to be paid, either by the colonists or the society which protected them, but an amendment was later adopted to the effect that a society would get a free lot for every ten lots cleared by its settlers.[7] Each member subscribed from two to ten dollars, according to the society's numbers. The government paid its share either by clearing lots in the reserved area, or, if the members wished to clear their own lots, by simply giving the money to the society. The society in turn distributed the funds according to the amount of clearing each settler had made. Below is a table of the government grants to branches of the third type of society operating in the Eastern Townships.[8]

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[6] SPQ, IV (1870), iii.

[7] Ibid., p.15.

[8] Ibid., appendix no. 10, Report of Abbé Chartier; appendix no. 2, Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands; V (1871), appendix no. 2, Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands; VI (1872), appendix no. 2, Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands; AC, Section West, adj. 4472, Report by John Hume, 10 March 1876. Hereafter known as Hume Report.

Society	Township		Price per Acre
Compton No. 1	Ditton	2000 acres)	
	Hampden	2092 acres)	60¢
	Marston	8103 acres)	
Verchères No. 1	Emberton	4371 acres	free grant
Bagot No. 1	Ditton	7154 acres)	60¢
	Chesham	4237 acres)	
Quebec West No. 1	Hampden	4696 acres	
	Marston	7016 acres	
Sherbrooke No. 1	Marston) Whitton)	1200 acres	reserve not yet made in 1870 - the Compton and Quebec societies eventually received 22,095 acres in Marston.
Saint-Hyacinthe No. 1	Emberton	12051 acres	
Saint-Hyacinthe No. 2	Ditchfield	4175 acres	
Montreal West No. 1	Marston	4817 acres	
	Ditchfield	12073 acres	
Montreal West No. 2	Ditchfield	12083 acres	
Montreal Centre No. 1	Marston	6473 acres	

The goal of the Compton, Quebec and Sherbrooke societies, which were managed by anglophones, was to settle British immigrants on their reserves, as well as to attract farm labourers. By 1871 Compton Number One had spent $1450 in settling seven Scottish families in Marston, making clearances in Hampden and Ditton, and donating seed grain to needy settlers. Eight families were also settled in Bury and adjoining townships.[9] In order to improve upon these rather unimpressive accomplishments, Compton decided to join forces with the Quebec and Sherbrooke societies in February, 1871. The Quebec branch, in cooperation with the government agents, was to select and forward immigrants to Sherbrooke; Sherbrooke would distribute these immigrants; and Compton would locate them on the

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[9] SPQ, V (1871), 252.

reserved lands, as well as assist them "in any way that may seem necessary for their well-being and advancement."[10] The Compton branch was also to obtain lists of the various classes of labour required in its districts, as well as information on farms offered for sale. This would be forwarded to Quebec through the Sherbrooke branch, and printed with the complete record of their crown land reserves.[11] In spite of all this pains-taking organization, the programme was never put into effect. By 1872 the three societies were moribund.[12] The 700 to 1000 adult immigrants (mostly British) who arrived in the Eastern Townships each year between 1870 and 1875, were absorbed as farm labour rather than as colonists.[13]

Although their success was also very limited, most of the francophone societies managed to survive the five year time limit of the project. The best way to judge their value is to examine the progress of French Canadian colonization within the four Compton townships where they operated.

Marston

One of the first people to take advantage of the Coloni-

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[10] Sherbrooke Gazette, 25 Feb. 1871.

[11] Ibid.; SPQ, IV (1870), 57.

[12] See Appendix I.

[13] SPDC, 1871-6, Reports of the Minister of Agriculture.

zation Societies Act was Abbé Edmond Moreau, chaplain of the recently-returned papal zouaves. In 1871 he wrote to Mgr. Laflèche of Trois-Rivières:

> Depuis le retour des derniers zouaves j'ai travaillé a former des sociétés de colonisation pour fournir à ces jeunes gens les moyens d'aller coloniser dans nos townships; déjà trois societés sont formées dans Montréal, et j'ai pensé pouvoir commencer avec cela; le township choisi est dans votre diocèse, sur les bords de lac Mégantic (le township Marston).[14]

Moreau named the new colony Piopolis, in honour of Pius IX. Each zouave colonist was given five dollars per month for two years by Moreau's colonization societies (collectively known in English as the General Colonization Society of Montreal).[15] In spite of this inducement, their lack of agricultural experience eventually caused most of the young zouaves to abandon their clearing operations.[16]

Fortunately, more tenacious colonists took their place. During the first year of operations alone, the Montreal Society

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[14]ACETR, Abbé Edmond Moreau fils, Moreau to Laflèche, 27 March 1871.

[15]ACAS, PP, Saint-Zenon de Piopolis, A. A. Gagnon to Racine, [n.d.].

[16]J. P. Jones, II, part 1. Many of the zouaves were classical college students or graduates. There were still sixty of them in the colony in 1873. NAQ, SL, Correspondence, LeSage to O'Neill, 28 May 1873.

spent $2596 in Piopolis[17], so that by 1873 the colony was said to be "quite flourishing and also daily improving in progress."[18] In 1874 there were forty families at Piopolis. They already had a resident priest, chapel, school and post office.[19] Eighty-seven lots were occupied, with five hundred acres cleared and sown. In addition, the colonists had built thirty-seven houses, an equal number of barns, and a sawmill.[20] By 1875, the final year the Colonization Societies Act was in force, the Montreal Society had established sixty-six families, cleared 977 acres, and given $4,970 in prizes to the colonists.[21] Between 1872 and 1875 it had invested a total of $13,589.18.[22]

The success of the Montreal Society meant that it quickly ran out of land for its colonists; as early as Septem-

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[17] SPQ, V, (1871), General Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, appendix no. 2.

[18] Ibid., VII (1873-4), 213.

[19] Ibid., VIII (1874), iv.

[20] Ibid., pp.72-3.

[21] Ibid., IX (1875), 279. In 1876 there were 78 families (329 souls). Le Pionnier, 4 Aug. 1876.

[22] Le Progrès, 21 April 1876. Two other colonization societies also operated in South Marston, but they accomplished little. Deux Montagnes Number One did no more than clear twenty-five acres and settle four families, while Terrebonne Number Three cleared twenty acres, settled two families, and assisted four settlers. SPQ, IX (1875), 211, 217.

ber, 1871 the first reserve had practically all been granted.[23] The members consequently demanded more land, which led to a series of conflicts with the local Scots who had begun settling the northern half of the township during the late sixties. The trouble began when the society asked three Scottish immigrants to drop their claims to three lots within its reserve. The Inspector of Crown Land Agencies outlined the background to the situation:

> It cannot be denied that on the first establishment of the French settlers in that locality there was some feeling of hostility between the two nationalities. The Scotch settlers looked with a degree of jealously [sic] upon the possession of the lands in their immediate vicinity by a class of people who spoke french instead of Gaelic, and more especially as the reserve above mentioned was, composed in whole or in part, of lands the previous sales of which had been cancelled [mostly B.A.L. Company land]; while on the other hand the Scotch were styled '<u>des colons etrangers</u>'.[24]

The Scottish claimants refused to budge, which quickly led to an open confrontation. Abbé Moreau described the events as follows:

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[23]ACETR, Abbé Edmond Moreau file, Moreau to Laflèche, 11 Sept. 1871.

[24]Hume Report.

> ... les Ecossais, poussés par quelqu'influence qui ne se fait pas voir, se sont rendus sur lieux depuis l'arrivé de nos colons, et refusent par menaces, de laisser établir nos Canadiens sur les lots qui avaient été achetés depuis quelques années. [The Canadiens] se sont contentés pour le moment de prendre les lots qu'on ne leur contestait pas; mais quelques uns attendent que l'affaire soit définitivement réglé pour s'établir [...]
>
> Depuis mon départ de Mégantic j'ai reçu une lettre de nos colons m'informant qu'une quinzaine d'Ecossais s'étaient rendus au Chantier Canadien pour y faire des menaces; la forme de leur raisonnement est qu'ils sont les premiers rendues et les premiers occupants, que ce township a commencé à être défriché par eux et qu'il leur appartient; et ils sont bien décidés, disent-ils, à ne pas laisser établir dans cette partie, les Canadiens qui finiraient par les chasser.[25]

The Canadiens answer to the Scots' obstinacy was: "Nous ne vous craignons pas, vous n'avez que de rateux et nous nous [sic] avons de bonnes carabines." Moreau, fearing that the situation would deteriorate into an armed conflict, asked for government protection.[26]

The government responded by sending John Hume, the Inspector of Agencies, to investigate. He found that of the

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[25]Moreau to E. Taché, 17 June 1871. In AC, Section West, Register Book, 1871-2, no. 3835, Report of John Hume's Visit in Marston. Hereafter known as Marston Report.

[26]Ibid.

three Scottish claimants, one had made no improvements, so his claim was immediately rejected.[27] The other two each had about one and a half acres cleared, and were residing in log houses. They spoke English very imperfectly, having come the previous year from a western island of Scotland. Their claim that William Farwell, the local Crown Lands Agent, had given them permission to take the lots was corroborated by him. He justified his action by stating that he had not been told that the area was to become a colonization society reserve.[28] Nevertheless Hume warned the two settlers that regardless of Farwell's word, their claim was not strictly legal because they had failed to make a cash deposit.[29] Still they stubbornly refused to accept the Montreal society's offer to pay them $100 for their improvements. A solution was reached only when pressure was brought to bear on the society through another land dispute.

In March the English Canadian Compton Colonization Society had given permission to the Montreal Society to settle 1200 acres of its Marston reserve.[30] There was one condition

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[27]Hume to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 31 Oct. 1871. In Marston Report.

[28]Farwell to Hume, 30 Oct. 1871. In Marston Report.

[29]Marston Report.

[30]Compton Colonization Society Resolution, 20 March 1871. In Marston Report.

- that the Montreal Society inform the Compton Society president before any of the lots were granted.[31] Because Montreal's local agent, Father Gendreau, failed to do this, the Compton Society insisted upon cancelling the grants he had made from its reserve.[32] When the curé of Piopolis begged that the settlers not be forced to suffer because of the oversights of others[33], the Compton Society President, Lemuel Pope, suggested that if the two Highland settlers were allowed to remain on their lots, he would permit at least an equal number of French Canadians to do the same.[34] Upon Hume's recommendation that a compromise along these lines be accepted, the controversy was finally resolved.[35]

This did not solve the Montreal Society's land problem, so its members petitioned the government to rescind those grants in Marston upon which settlement conditions were not being fulfilled. Because the Department of Crown Lands had seized thousands of acres in 1869, by 1872 most sales were not yet two years old, and therefore could not legally be cancelled.[36] The pressure to appropriate land titles must have

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[31]C. Patton to P. E. Gendreau, 24 April 1871. In Marston Report.

[32]Ibid., 10 June 1871.

[33]J. B. Champagne to L. Pope, 30 Oct. 1871. In Marston Report.

[34]L. Pope to Hume, 30 Oct. 1871. In Marston Report.

[35]Marston Report.

[36]Le Pionnier, 19 Feb. 1872.

been great, for at least one French Canadian sympathized with the Scots. In a letter to Le Pionnier "Un Colon de l'Est" accused the zouaves of encouraging the government to drive the anglophones from the Eastern Townships. He claimed that upon his arrival in Marston, his English-speaking neighbours created jobs for him and kept him from begging:

> Vous voulez chasser mon voisin, faites-le. Je lui dois mon morceau de terre; moi, ma femme et mes enfants lui devons la petite aisance que nous possédons. [...] Au lieu de nous revenir tels que vous nous aviez quittés, vous nous revenez plus gueriers que jamais. Vous ne pouvez pas endurer vos voisins. En conséquence, je vous conseille de retourner en Italie [...] De nouveau, en présence du Grand Pontife, je vous prie d'ouvrir les yeux et les oreilles; étudiez sa conduite et tâchez de l'imiter tant soit peu.[37]

Nevertheless, in July, 1872 John Hume did seize 645 acres, which were added to the Montreal Society's reserve. At least 177 of these acres were taken unjustly, for they had been paid for in full by a Major William McMinn.[38]

McMinn's land was quickly returned to him, so there was no public reaction to the confiscations. However the Montreal Society's relentless demands for more land led to a second series of expropriations in 1875. Because these were of a still

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Hume Report.

more doubtful legality, a furor swept the English-speaking community. The flames were fanned by Major McMinn whose lots had been seized for a second time. A tenacious fighter, especially where his own interests were concerned, McMinn tried to organize a local branch of the Protestant Defence Alliance of Canada.[39] Seven of Compton's townships were represented at a meeting held in Stornoway (Winslow township) on January 18, 1876. As secretary, McMinn described the militant mood of the meeting:

> The crowd entered the building and seated themselves with the same decorous quietness that congregations do in the House of God, and no shuffling or noise of feet was made by the large proportion that had to stand during the whole proceedings. No need to call them to order when a Chairman and Secretary were nominated. Simultaneously they rose and reverently inclined themselves, while the Chairman invoked the divine blessing on their counsels. It was easy to see that these men met for no common purpose. Can it be possible that they met to demand civil and religious liberty - equal rights to all, irrespective of creed or nationality? Can it be possible that such a demand can be necessary within the Imperial British Empire in this nineteenth century? [...] Would that you all had been present like myself to see the quiet, determined attitude of these men as they unanimously raised their right hands in token of their approval of each resolution - to my eye it seemed as if each hand held a shining glave [...] Pause, Ultramontanes, before my imaginary glave becomes a real one!

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[39] Daily Witness, 29 Jan. 1876.

The chairman, Reverend John McDonald, was the first to address the audience:

> explaining the object in view in calling the meeting, referring to the injustice done to the Protestants in various ways in this section of the country; the partiality shown to French-Canadians above all other nationalities, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, as manifested by the iniquitous working out of the grand repatriation scheme of the hierarchy alias the Quebec Legislature; the cancelling [sic] the lands of Protestants at Lake Megantic, as well as that of two Irish Roman Catholics who cannot be led by Ultramontanes as sheep like French-Canadians. He stated that Protestants were not the aggressors, that they were compelled to speak out in self-defence; [...]

The mayor of Marston moved, seconded by the mayor of Whitton:

> That whereas that liberty, which is the birthright of every British subject, is endangered, as appears by the conduct of the Local Government in its calcelling lands held by Protestant and Irish Roman Catholics at Lake Megantic for the purpose of forming a compact French Canadian parish, thus stirring up national feelings, this meeting solemnly and emphatically protests against such conduct, and resolves to use all legitimate means for obtaining equal justice to all.

Motions were also passed protesting the repatriation colony and the government's decision to stop funding South Shore railroad construction. The mayor of Bury lamented that "there was no doubt but we were thoroughly ignored by the present Local

Government, and treated as if we had no right to live in this section of the country, as if we were aliens and not British subjects." Even the Honourable J. H. Pope was present. He agreed that "they were real grievances, such as no government should tolerate, far less perpetuate. [But] he had no doubt but a stop would soon be put to such proceedings, and he was ready, as he always had been, to do his utmost in behalf of this end of the country." When the meeting concluded, a branch of the P. D. A. had been formed.[40]

Still not satisfied, McMinn continued the campaign in the press. In Montreal's Daily Witness he attacked the repatriation scheme and the North Shore Railroad[41], and claimed that the lands of Protestants and Irish Catholics had been seized "to make compact the Pope's own parish, Piopolis [...] It only requires the establishment of the Inquisition to fill their cup of folly to the overflow."[42] But McMinn's tone was mild in comparison with "A Conservative of the Eastern Townships." This correspondent conceded that in many cases the

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[40] Ibid., 27 Jan. 1876.

[41] Designed to open new territory North of the St. Lawrence, the North Shore Railroad was financed by the government at the expense of subsidies for South Shore railroad construction.

[42] Daily Witness, 27 Jan. 1876.

settlers had failed to fulfill government conditions to the letter, but he complained that:

> the Government - hitherto careless about collecting these dues - is now in these hard times unnecessarily and oppressively hard upon the settlers, or rather upon those of them who are not of the 'favored nationality?' The feeling among the English speaking people here is in consequence, one of sympathy for the settlers, and intense indignation against the arbitrary action of the Government or its agents. The unfortunate settler who is in arrears, no matter how much money and labor he may have expended in the endeavour to make a home for himself and his family in these back woods - perhaps seventy miles from Sherbrooke and ten miles from the nearest railway station - can expect no mercy if he is not a French Canadian. His lands are cancelled. His improvements lost ....
>
> The 'schemers' had better beware, for as sure as they are born, if they rouse the old Gaelic blood in those back settlements, there will be such a 'tempest in a tea-pot' [J. A. Chicoyne's words] that it will require a stronger power than the Quebec Government to stop it. The farce if continued may end in tragedy and the scenes of '37 be played over - as the play-bills put it - with an 'entire change of characters and programme!'[43]

Though the gravity of the situation was exaggerated by these agitators, behind the bombast there lay a real fear that the de Boucherville ministry was attempting to drive out eastern Compton's anglophone settlers. Ridiculous as this may

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[43] Ibid., 21 Feb. 1876.

seem, such a reaction was natural, for the government was systematically settling Compton's frontier with French Canadians, thereby threatening the anglophones with submergence. The province-wide atmosphere of hostility must also be taken into account. J. G. Robertson had resigned as Minister of Finance because of the freeze on assistance to South Shore railroads; Lucius Huntington and Sir A. T. Galt had publicly denounced clerical interference in elections; and the Protestant Defence Alliance was creating chapters in many English-speaking communities. But most important, nearly all of those who had lost their Marston lands did have real cause for complaint, as the investigator, John Hume, soon learned.[44]

Malcolm McLean's case was one of those which excited the greatest indignation. In 1871 he had purchased three half lots (two in his sons' names), cleared thirty acres on two of them, and built two houses. All the payments were faithfully made, yet the government seized one of his half lots with four acres cleared and one to one and a half acres in crop. There was no dwelling place upon it because he and his sons lived nearby.[45] Even the Montreal Society's local agent, Father Cousineau of Piopolis, conceded that this cancellation

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[44]Except where indicated otherwise, the remaining information on Marston comes from the Hune Report.

[45]After 1859 several members of one family could live in the same house while holding more than one lot. Hamelin and Roby, p.175.

was too severe. Hume himself advised strongly that the land be returned.[46]

Another alleged victim was Henry Ryan who in 1874 acquired 2149 acres of crown land by borrowing the names of people in his native Ireland. Not only was his plan to settle Irish families on these holdings greeted with enthusiasm by government officials[47], but the Montreal Colonization Society itself allowed him to purchase lots from its reserve. However Ryan concentrated his efforts upon the 313 acres which he had bought in his own name. On one lot he chopped fifty acres (twenty-five of which he cleared completely), spent $400 on buildings, and an equal amount on a mile and a half of road. On another lot he chopped two acres and cleared two more. When, eighteen months after the sale, all but this 313 acre tract was taken back by the government, Ryan forfeited $220 in cancelled sales and $700 to $800 in improvements. The cancellations had followed demands by Canon Moreau, which in turn were a result of a disagreement between Ryan and Father Cousineau. Hume recommended that Ryan be given back some of

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[46]The McLean cancellation, as well as several others, appears to have been partially the result of a report by an inexperienced surveyor named Wright who consistently underestimated the amount of clearing done.

[47]NAQ, SL, Correspondence, I, 427, LeSage to O'Neil, 28 May 1873.

his lost land, and that he be creditted for the amount paid on the remainder.

Hume also felt that the third complainant, J. F. McIver, should regain his lot because he had chopped six acres since buying it two years earlier. (The surveyor had reported only two acres chopped.) Construction of a house was unnecessary because he lived nearby.

The fourth case involved the Glasgow Land and Trust Company, a private colonization enterprise which lost four lots in Marston. Because he made no inspection, the surveyor mistakenly made a claim that there were no improvements upon three of them. Furthermore,there was already a house built and an acre slashed on one of the company's lots when a colonist named François Ladriarche took possession. Though asked to leave, he refused to do so. Father Cousineau declined to intervene although Aeneas MacMaster (the company manager) requested that he do so, so Ladriarche was taken to court. He was condemned for trespassing, but to prevent him from going to jail, MacMaster paid the thirty dollars in costs. In spite of this act of generosity, Cousineau complained to the Crown Lands Department concerning MacMaster's behaviour. He claimed that there had only been "une espèce de chantier" on the lot. When the department refused to act, he "again and again asked for the cancellation of the sale of this lot." He accused the company of overcharging the settlers, criticized the method

of slashing used, and stated that the company houses "ne sont bonnes que pour des enfants, elles ne sont guère que cinq pieds entre les deux planchers." The inspector, Hume, contradicted all of these charges, stating that the rooms of the thirteen houses which he had checked had an average height of six feet one and a half inches. He also remarked that no colonization company could be expected to settle every lot of 10,000 acres within two years, and concluded that it was unfair to cancel sales when actual clearing was taking place, and when only half the time allotted for the performance of settlement duties had elapsed.

The final complainant dealt with in Hume's report was the bellicose Major McMinn. Hume found that not only had his one and a half lots in Marston been paid in full, but that some improvements had also been made prior to the cancellation. He concluded that it should remain in effect only if all neighbouring lands in the same position were treated equally. He pointed out that "the Revenue of the Province is suffering severely from the great majority of settlers, and others purchasing Crown Lands, neglecting or refusing to pay more than the first installment thereon, or occupying lands without making any payment at all upon them." Therefore those who made prompt payment warranted some consideration, "and they should be seriously warned to perform the conditions of settlement, and even some extra delay given them to do so, before the

sale of their lands are cancelled and the money paid thereon forfeited."

But the real controversy centered around McMinn's Ditchfield lot. According to the colonist Cyprien Beaudoin's own statement, he took possession of the lot upon finding it unoccupied. Soon after beginning his clearing operations, he found a paper fixed to a tree stating that the land belonged to McMinn. It ordered that he cease work, and asked him to go to McMinn's residence for payment on what he had accomplished. The note was ignored, but a month later McMinn's men also began to clear the lot and build a house on it. Beaudoin and six or seven armed men subsequently ordered them away, "and commenced falling trees all over the place they had cleared." McMinn's men did leave, but they soon returned to resume their work. Beaudoin and his crew then chopped the house logs in half, and threw brush and trees over the site where the house was being erected. McMinn asked Father Cousineau to intervene, promising to pay Beaudoin for the work he had done. Cousineau later told Hume that he had done what McMinn had asked, and that Beaudoin had agreed to place the value of improvements before arbitration. But Hume deduced after reading the letter which Cousineau had written to McMinn, that even if Beaudoin had been willing to reach such an agreement, this had not been made clear to McMinn. Hume's report concluded that "a greater outrage, in connection with the un-

authorized occupation of land I have never known committed." Beaudoin could not even claim the right of possession because he had only been on the land for a month. "The news of the outrage excited as may be naturally supposed, strong feelings of indignation amongst the Scotch settlers, and their extreme moderation in not resenting it in a manner which might have produced unfortunate results, is to me, a matter of both surprise and admiration." The government had cancelled the sale of the lot, though McMinn had used every legitimate means to obtain redress. Furthermore, he was told that he could not purchase it again, even by remitting the full amount of purchase money he had paid. On Cousineau's recommendation to the Department of Crown Lands, Beaudoin was to get the lot.

In Hume's general conclusions, he wrote that many people had told him that no serious complaints would have been made:

> had the sale of all lands in the locality, in the same situation been cancelled, and had all classes been permitted to repurchase them. But they cannot understand why the Directors of the Montreal Society claim the exclusive privilege of purchasing all lands the sale of which is cancelled, no matter of what origin the first purchasers are, and that in a Township where the first settlers were, and three fourths of the present actual residents are, of British origin.

The reply might be that it was department practice to permit the person who applied for cancellation of the sale of a lot to become the purchaser. But if this rule were to be invariably acted upon, English-speaking settlers could make the same requests for French-settled lands whose conditions were not fulfilled. As an example of the Montreal Society's overzealousness, Hume cited the formal demand of Canon Moreau for cancellation of three lots in the Compton Society Reserve, although on each of them two instalments had been paid, a house erected, and one acre chopped.

That part of the report concerning Marston township and McMinn's Ditchfield lot was subsequently approved by the Commissioner of Crown Lands. The grievances of the English-speaking settlers were presumably redressed, for no more allusion was made to the case in the press or in government reports. Nor did the bitterness spread to the other colonization townships. Hume noted in his report that "the township of Marston is fortunately the only place I know where the disposal of lands has created a feeling of hostility between the two nationalities." Furthermore, the Scots do not seem to have held a grudge, for although Father Cousineau of Piopolis was deeply involved in the disputes, he became popular with his Protestant neighbours. L. S. Channel, himself a contemporary, wrote that Cousineau had "energy, perseverance, a pleasant disposition and tact. He was well-liked, as he is

to-day, by all creeds and nationalities."[48] Another contemporary historian, Captain Jones, also claimed that Cousineau was "well-liked by all creeds and nationalities."[49] Nevertheless relations between the Scots and French Canadians seldom developed beyond mutual tolerance and respect, with each group remaining as isolated from the other as possible. For example, in 1879 Marston was divided into two municipalities because its southern half was basically French and its northern half basically English-speaking. Jones reported that the few Scottish settlers remaining in the South immediately sold their farms and settled among their compatriots.[50]

As evidenced by the rapid depletion of its reserve lots, the General Colonization Society of Montreal was very successful in establishing colonists in Marston township. However this was far from being the case with the colonization societies operating in the other townships of eastern Compton.

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[48]Channell, p.281. J. B. A. Cousineau was born in Montreal in 1843, and ordained in 1868, when he became vicar of Saint-Isidore. He was curé of Piopolis from 1874 to 1887, when he moved to Lake Megantic. Tanguay, p.380.

[49]J. P. Jones, II, part I.

[50]J. P. Jones, II, part I; Channell, p.280.

Ditton

Because it was further inland from Lake Megantic than Marston, Ditton township was not so accessible to colonists. This, plus the fact that its colonization societies do not seem to have been as dedicated as those from Montreal, explains why Ditton's development was considerably slower than that of Marston.

The first attempt to colonize Ditton was made during the sixties when J. H. Pope, M. P. for Compton, tried to establish settlers on his 4210 acres. He was interested in the land's gold deposits rather than its agricultural potential, but he paid only sixty cents an acre rather than the usual one to two dollars for mineral-bearing land[51]; therefore he was obliged to comply with settlement conditions.

In order to promote settlement, Pope petitioned the provincial government in 1862 to open a route from the Victoria Road through Hampden, Ditton, Chesham and Woburn (about forty miles), as well as a twenty mile branch from this road North through Clinton and Marston to the Megantic Road. He claimed such a network would open "one of the best tracts of land, comprising several hundred thousand acres."[52] When no aid

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[51]By posing as a colonizer, Pope also avoided paying for a mining licence. AC, Section West, adj. 4792. This was brought to light by the province's Liberal opposition party in 1877.

[52]SPQ, XXI (1863), no. 58, "Return to an Address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, dated 16th March 1863"....

materialized during the next two years, Pope's reaction was one of bitter anger. In 1864 he wrote to Galt, then a member of the Great Coalition:

> .... I have every confidence you will either make them do what is right or that you will make it a hot place. I am sure Cartier will act liberally. They asked me as usual before I left Quebec to recommend where money should be expended. I suggested on Hampden and Ditton road to the Province Line, and another road leading through Marston in same direction. You must bear in mind on these two English settlers have gone in ten miles from any road, French might go if they choose. Nothing less than $3000 upon the Ditton can do these people any good, one thousand on the Marston. I hope you will insist upon my having that amount. Every single dollar they have given with the exception of $500 has been given at the instance of other parties; in every instance by Catholic Clergy, except one. Now you know this county has small share French, that it has a large amount of Crown Lands in the very direction which I proposed these roads should be made. There can be no doubt they would get money back at once from sale of lands. Finally all I can say is that I leave this matter in your hands if the people of this county are to be entirely at the mercy of Catholic clergy (not of this county) but near Montreal. I will make one more effort to wake them up to the absurd and degrading position in which we are placed. [...] The late government knowing the row kicked up through the press durst not venture. Consequently it has remained for Mr. Chappa [Chapais] to place those Devils over me in the representation of this county. Chappais [sic] said when I last see [sic] him he did not intend to do me an injustice. I

> thought he was honest [...] but since I received this letter I am satisfied he has treated [sic] like a soundrel.[53]

This letter seems to have served its purpose, for the Ditton and Chesham Road was built eastward from Newport as far as the Salmon River, and paid for with land concessions to English-speaking citizens of Cookshire (in Eaton township).[54]

However it was not until 1867 that several Cookshire families moved to the West Ditton area.[55] The following year Pope established about sixteen Norwegian families in the township, and even offered a gift of land to any Catholic mission which would establish a colony.[56] But the Catholic settlement did not materialize, and by 1869 the Norwegians had departed for the American West.[57]

At this point Pope took advantage of the Colonization Societies Act to organize the society known as Compton Number One. As we have already seen, it failed miserably in its goal of introducing European immigrants into the area.[58] After building thirteen houses and a road, the society settled

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[53]PAC, Galt Paper, J. H. Pope to Galt, 29 July 1864.

[54]Le Pionnier, 22 March 1879; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.250.

[55]Le Pionnier, 22 March 1879; Ibid., p.253; E. Chartier, p.407.

[56]Le Pionnier, 28 Aug. 1868.

[57]Ibid., 22 March 1879; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.255; C. E. Chartier, p.407.

[58]Annuaire, 1896-9, p.256; Channell, p.263.

sixteen English families in 1870.[59] But the colony's future was cut short when the first colonist was supposedly frightened away by a Newfoundland dog which he mistook for a bear. The English settlers did not even remain long enough to complete their Anglican church:

> L'invasion des Canadiens français et catholiques empêcha l'achèvement. L'opus interruptum est resté là, tout à côte de l'église paroissiale de La Patrie, comme le témoignage éloquent d'un fait historique: l'impuissance de l'hérésie à maintenir, sinon à fonder, des oeuvres de dévouement en pays neuf.[60]

The failure of Pope's endeavours to introduce English-speaking settlers into Ditton left the way clear for French Canadian colonization societies. The most vigorous was Bagot Number One, under the leadership of P. S. Gendron, M.L.A. for Bagot. Bagot's first Ditton reserve included 4560 acres, but it later received another 3020 acres in place of the land it relinquished in nearby Chesham township. The plan was to clear five acres on each lot.[61] The organization

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[59]Channell, p.283; Le Pionnier, 22 March 1879; C. E. Chartier, p.408; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.259.

[60]C. E. Chartier, pp.408-9.

[61]Ibid., pp.262, 265, 267.

would then dissolve, and those members who had paid ten dollars a year to the society, and sixty cents an acre to the government, would each acquire a lot. They were expected to fulfill the remainder of the settlement conditions themselves. Other members simply paid twenty-five cents a year, and received nothing in return.[62]

The francophones were quick to make an impact on Ditton, for in 1870 a Franco-American bought the only hotel in the village of West Ditton. The purchase, which included the post office, store and weekly stagecoach to Cookshire, had a certain symbolic significance:

> L'acquisition par des Canadiens-Français de ce qui était alors le principale place d'affaires de la colonie, eut une excellente influence. Le fait fut mentionné dans les journaux et tout le monde comprit que le sol devait être bon puisque des montants aussi considérables y étaient investis par des hommes possédant de l'expérience en agriculture.[63]

The following year the Bagot Society cleared ninety-five acres at a cost of over one thousand dollars. Of all the colonies founded by such societies, Ditton was described as being the

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[62] SPQ, IV (1870), 58; Le Pionnier, 17 March 1871, 4 April 1879.

[63] Le Pionnier, 4 April 1899.

most prosperous and the one which gave "the most hope for the future."[64] Work on the Ditton colony had progressed far enough by 1873 for a chapel to be built at the future site of La Patrie[65], and for the hotel, post office, etcetra, to be moved there from West Ditton village.[66] The enterprising Abbé Gendreau of Cookshire erected a saw mill at the new site shortly afterward.[67]

Although the English-speaking centre of West Ditton had been completely eclipsed, the anglophones seemed to bear little resentment. They even contributed generously to the Catholic chapel[68], which led the Pionnier to comment that "Les principaux citoyens de Cookshire ont témoigné à notre colonie autant d'intérêt depuis qu'elle est devenue canadienne-française qu'ils lui en témoignaient lors qu'eux-mêmes en jetaient les premières bases."[69] Such magnanimity was un-

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[64] SPQ, V (1871), 250.

[65] The village acquired the name of La Patrie in 1875 when it became the centre of operations for the repatriation colony.

[66] Le Pionnier, 10 April 1879; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.275.

[67] Le Pionnier, 12 April 1872.

[68] Le Pionnier, 10 April 1879; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.274; C. E. Chartier, p.45.

[69] Le Pionnier, 10 April 1879.

doubtedly stimulated by the desire of the Cookshire people to sell the lots they had acquired during the sixties.

The anglophones had no desire to contest the French Canadian victory, but events took a turn for the worse as far as the Bagot Society was concerned. The problem was that men could not be found who were willing to remain on the land once they had been paid for clearing it. By 1873, 146 acres had been cleared, but only three families had settled.[70] In 1874 only fourteen families inhabited the 200 acres under cultivation.[71] During the following year the acreage doubled, but the situation still did not improve.[72]

The problem was that the Bagot members themselves had no desire to settle on their lots - the fourteen families in the colony were French Canadian repatriates from New England. The society seems to have been composed of urban middle class members who planned to sell their lots to true colonists once their ten acres had been cleared. Even if they did not insist upon making a profit, however, the sums invested in the clearing operations would place the land above the price most

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[70] SPQ, VII (1873-4), 180.

[71] Ibid., VIII (1874), iv.

[72] Ibid., IX (1875), 279. In 1875 there were only 308 people in the entire township.

colonists could afford.[73]

The lack of farmers made provisions so scarce that the government decided to contribute toward a factory which would manufacture starch from potatoes, thereby eliminating the necessity to import flour for bread.[74] When the society disbanded in 1875, the future of the colony was very uncertain: "Presque chaque jour on voyait des colons abandonner l'entreprise pour des motifs divers; difficulté du transport par suite de l'éloignement, prix élévé des provisions, isolement de quelques-uns."[75] However another boost from the government - the founding of the repatriation colony - was about to save Ditton township from stagnation and abandonment.

Chesham

The township of Chesham does not appear to have been reserved for any colonization society after Bagot Number One gave up its claim in 1870. The principal cause for its neglect was the lack of roads during the early years of the decade.[76]

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[73] In 1875 the society members offered to sell their lands for the sum invested, plus interest.

[74] Le Pionnier, 10 April 1879; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.276.

[75] C. E. Chartier, p.415.

[76] Le Pionnier, 9 May 1879.

In 1870 three French Canadians from the United States, P. U. Vaillant, F. X. Dufresne and Louis Dulmaine, each bought two lots in Chesham, and promised to settle them once the road was completed. When Dufresne started clearing his land in 1871, he was accompanied by Abbé Gendreau of Cookshire who watched him fell the first tree "au nom de la religion et de la patrie." Three acres were cleared and a little shanty built, but Dufresne then returned to the States where he remained until 1875. Meanwhile, in 1872, a Belgian named Abraham Lorrain settled in Chesham, but ill health forced him to leave the following year.[77] The restless and contentious Vaillant[78] arrived in 1873 to build a sawmill. He apparently had ambitions to become the leader of a Franco-American colony[79], which may help to explain why he eventually became one of the sharpest thorns in the side of J. A. Chicoyne, the manager of the repatriation colony. Although a road had reached halfway into the township by 1874, Vaillant and one other family

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[77] Annuaire, 1896-9, p.392; Le Pionnier, 9 May 1879.

[78] Pierre U. Vaillant was born in Assomption County in 1830. He taught school for seven years, then edited the Courier de Saint-Hyacinthe, taught French in Vermont and Illinois, worked as a carpenter for three years in Fall River, Massachussets, became correspondent for the Protecteur Canadien and L'Etendard National, and helped to found L'Echo du Canada. At this point he moved to Chesham, only to return to the United States and journalism in 1881. Alexandre Belisle, Histoire de la presse franco-américaine (Worcester, 1911), p.301.

[79] Ibid.; Le Pionnier, 9 May 1879.

were still the only residents in April, 1875.[80] As in Ditton and Emberton, however, the establishment of the repatriation colony later in the year would rapidly improve this situation.

Emberton

As early as 1866 Emberton was the scene of an organized, though still-born, attempt at settlement. A society of Verchères county residents was formed, ostensibly to colonize the township, but primarily to search for gold in the Little Ditton River. The principal directors were Dr. A. B. Craig, Dr. C. Dansereau and Mr. R. Marchessault. Due to their influence with the government, the Verchères Road was surveyed and begun in 1869, and completed to the future site of Chartierville by 1872.[81]

When the Colonization Societies' Act was passed in 1869, Craig and his associates incorporated themselves into Verchères Society Number One. But they were no more successful in attracting settlers with the government aid than they had been without it. In 1870 Dansereau informed the Minister of Agriculture that the society had invested only a minimal amount in Emberton because it feared that the access road would

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[80] Le Pionnier, 9 May 1879; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.295.

[81] Annuaire, p.396, 399; Le Pionnier, 9 May 1879.

not be completed in time - no more than two and a half of the twenty-five miles had been built. Dansereau went on to ask for special consideration for French Canadian colonists:

> Je remarquerai que l'élément français a beaucoup de difficultés à s'implanter dans l'Est. Il y a trop de queux de colons français et pas assez de têtes, pour faire face à ce maudit élément tory qui y règne en maitre. Je conseillerais au Département, si on veut bien me le permettre, d'être très indulgent vis-à-vis de ses colons français. Ils ont à essuyer dans l'Est, mille tracasseries de tout genre, dans les affaires municipales surtout. Les municipalitées, contrôlées par les Tories, sont l'arme avec lequel on ferraille les Français. Chose inouie, on employe quelques uns de nos prêtres mêmes, que l'on trompe par des semblants de libéralité quasi personnelles, et non à la race, ni à la dénomination religieuse; pour chasser autant que faire se peut, les Français. Je connais l'Est et les hommes qui l'habitent comme personne en Canada. Je connais leur tactique à fond. Que l'honb. Ministre veuille bien me pardonner ces remarques, elles sont faites dans un but patriotique. Je n'ai de rancune personelle contre qui que ce soit, dans l'Est, pas même contre John Henry Pope Ec. M. P. et Cie.[82]

Whether or not Dansereau's complaints about the municipalities were justified, they had nothing to do with Emberton and his Verchères Colonization Society. By 1874 it had cleared only thirty acres and assisted three settlers. When nothing was

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[82]AC, Section West, adj. 4122, Dansereau to Monsieur le Ministre, 21 April 1870.

done the following year, an Order-in-Council placed the society's lands at the disposal of settlers arriving from the United States.[83]

A more successful attempt at settling Emberton was executed by Saint-Hyacinthe Colonization Society Number One. (Dansereau claimed that this was because Commissioner of Agriculture Boucher la Bruère, a native of Saint-Hyacinthe, built that society a road while Verchères got none.)[84] In 1870 the society cleared sixteen acres of 12,051 acre reserve, and in 1871 it built a house to temporarily shelter the newly-arrived colonists.[85] By 1873 forty acres had been cleared and a couple of mills erected. In 1874, the final year of operations, the society spent an additional $455 on its holdings.[86]

Not only did the Saint-Hyacinthe organization promise to employ new colonists in preference to other labour, it even offered to give them the harvests from the lots it had cultivated[87]; yet it was no more successful in attracting settlers

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[83] SPQ, VII (1873-4), 216; IX (1875), 285, 399.

[84] Le Pionnier, 24 Nov. 1871.

[85] Ibid., 6 June 1879.

[86] SPQ, VII (1873-4), 217; VIII (1874), 3.

[87] Ibid., IV (1870), 259.

than its neighbouring societies had been. There were no permanent colonists on its reserve in 1874, and in 1875 only one family had chosen a lot from the eighty-eight cleared acres.[88] This lack of settlers was blamed entirely on "the want of good roads", but it is possible that the society members asked too high a price for their lots. In fact Secretary-Treasurer Chicoyne, when placed in charge of the repatriation colony, made that very charge.[89]

The only colonization societies to enjoy any measure of success were Bagot Number One, which operated in Ditton, and the General Colonization Society of Montreal which operated in Marston. That the latter was the more effective can be largely attributed to the fact that it concentrated the resources of five societies into one area.[90] The Saint-Hyacinthe group also made some progress, but it was handicapped because Emberton township had no good roads.[91]

On the whole, therefore, the fruits of the Colonization Societies Act were very disappointing. As early as 1872

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[88] Ibid., VIII (1874), 3; IX (1875), 283.

[89] JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Reverend Monsieur, 14 May 1875.

[90] SPQ, VII (1873-4), 213.

[91] Ibid., IX (1875), 283.

J. A. Chicoyne, then a provincial "emigration" agent stated that:

> unfortunate experience has demonstrated that in general the people of this Province did not know how to profit by all the advantages which that law might have contributed towards the advancement of colonization [...] It was due to indifference that in many counties no societies were organized, and that two thirds of those which were organized only served at first to shed a passing lustre without giving afterwards an amount of work corresponding with the sum of money placed at their disposal by the Government or by private parties.[92]

The following year the Commissioner of Agriculture reported that, "For the most part, they [the colonization societies] make clearings for the profit of the subscribers. These clearings are expensive and are generally unsatisfactory. Moreover, the large reserves allotted to those Societies must frequently be an obstacle to the settlement of bonâ fide colonists."[93] Finally, the Montreal Society's appetite for land had caused serious dissension between the English and French-speaking inhabitants of eastern Compton. The government, therefore, had no intention of renewing the act once it expired in 1875. It had decided that the only effective way

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[92] Ibid., VI (1872), 353.

[93] Ibid., VII (1873-4), 180. Normand Séguin (p.115) has found that even though the L'Islet and Kamouraska colonization society dissolved in 1856, creditors continued to collect from Hébertville colonists as late as the seventies.

to introduce colonists into an isolated area was to act as its own middleman.

CHAPTER NINE

THE REPATRIATION COLONY

The repatriation scheme, though limited in success itself, was to prove much more effective than the colonization societies in developing Ditton, Chesham and Emberton. During its years of operations in 1875-76, the population of the three townships rose from 323 to 1927.

The provincial government first started promoting repatriation in a small way in 1870, when it appointed Father J. B. Chartier[1] of Coaticook to be a colonization agent. One of his duties was to travel to New England in order to address potential repatriates. In 1871 he published a pamphlet entitled La colonisation dans les Cantons de l'Est, and distributed a third of its three thousand copies in the United States. Chartier's propaganda seems to have had some effect, for in 1871 he was able to spend only ten days in the United States due to the large numbers of prospective colonists (765) arriving in Coaticook from the old parishes and New England. Most of the visi-

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[1] J. B. Chartier was born at La Présentation near Saint-Hyacinthe, on May 14, 1832. He studied at the Saint-Hyacinthe seminary and, after being ordained in 1856, he became a professor and then a director of students until 1863. He then became curé of Clifton (Compton county) and finally of Coaticook. In 1876 Chartier returned to teach at the Saint-Hyacinthe seminary, where he died in 1917. Tanguay, p.310.

tors were directed to the townships of Barnston, Barford, Hereford, Clifton, Ditton, Chesham and Stoke. Those from within the province tended to buy already-cleared farms, but there were problems with the Franco-Americans.

The repatriates usually returned to Quebec out of desperation for money, yet they refused to become servants or farm labourers. Buying cleared land was out of the question, so they insisted upon settling wild lands against the advice of Chartier, who felt that the Franco-Americans lacked the qualities essential to be successful colonists.[2] Such reticence on Chartier's part may have hampered his effectiveness in the eyes of the Department of Agriculture and Public Works, for Assistant-Commissioner L. S. LeSage[3] was not satisfied with his work:

> ... Il trouve que M. Chartier ne fait pas grand chose pour la colonisation. La partie la plus importante qu'il joue dans son rôle d'agent de colonisation, est de toucher ses honoraires. Il dit que les affaires personelles de M. Chartier ne lui donne pas le temps de s'occuper de colonisation, que son plan de rapatriement est trop dispendieux.[4]

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[2] SPQ, VI (1872), 340, 350, 355.

[3] Le Sage was the chief administrator of the province's colonization programmes from 1869 to 1888. For a detailed study of his career see Trépanier.

[4] M. Hamelin, p.46. JAC, Correspondance générale, P. E. Gendreau to Chicoyne, 20 Dec. 1872.

The agency was subsequently ended in December, 1873.[5]

Although Chartier's campaign brought relatively few Franco-Americans back to Quebec, and did little to stem French Canadian emigration, it does seem to have aroused some interest in New England. By 1873 expatriates were more willing to heed the call to return home because a depression had closed many American factories.[6] J. H. Pope, Federal Minister of Agriculture, took advantage of this situation to appoint Father P. E. Gendreau[7] of Cookshire to be special visiting agent to the New England French Canadians, and to make suggestions on what Ottawa could do to encourage repatriation.[8] In his report Gendreau complained that:

> hitherto not a single cent has been offered to Canadians in the United States, in any shape whatever, as an encouragement to them to return to the country, and that

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[5] SPQ, VII (1873-4), 305.

[6] Vicero, p.232.

[7] Gendreau was born at Saint-Pie in 1840, and ordained at Saint-Hyacinthe in 1862, when he became vicar of Compton. Two years later he was curé of Saint-Bernardin de Waterloo. In 1968 he moved to Cookshire, and in 1874 he became "procureur" of the Saint-Hyacinthe Seminary. In 1880 he moved to Ottawa to join the Oblates, and in 1884 he became first President of La Société de colonisation du Lac Temiscamingue. Tanguay, p.346; Trépanier, p.342.

[8] SPDC, VII (1874), 66; Annuaire, 1896-9, p.282.

> the many inducements held out to the Germans, the Scandinavians and the Manonites [sic] have never been extended to our fellow countrymen.[9]

He concluded that:

> the bringing back to Canada of thousands of them [Franco-Americans] will entail less expense and a much less extensive and complicated system of organization than that now in existence for the promotion of immigration and colonization and devoted to attracting immigrants from the various countries of Europe.[10]

But by the time the report was presented, Pope was no longer Minister of Agriculture, so Gendreau's suggestions were ignored.[11]

Because he owned large quantities of wild land in Compton, Pope had a special interest in repatriation. But any hope for a sustained project of this nature lay with the Quebec government because the crown lands were a provincial responsibility. Already in 1872 L. S. LeSage had been ordered to design "un projet destiné à favoriser directement le retour des Canadiens émigrés."[12] He sent J. A. Chicoyne to New

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[9] SPDC, VII (1874), 68.

[10] Ibid., p.67.

[11] Annuaire, 1896-9, p.283.

[12] Ibid., p.276.

England on a study mission the following year. Chicoyne and Father Chartier each presented proposals, but LeSage rejected both, and drew up his own instead.[13] LeSage may have done this because he himself was skeptical of the practicality of any repatriation scheme.[14] He ensured that European immigrants, and even Quebec inhabitants, would enjoy the same advantages as the Canadians returning from the United States. What he designed, therefore, was a repatriation project in name only.

LeSage presented his proposals to the Cabinet in the autumn of 1873, but no immediate action was taken. Then, on June 24, 1874, more than ten thousand Franco-American delegates attended the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations in Montreal where they fervently proclaimed themselves in favour of repatriation.[15] With the formation of the de Boucherville ministry in September, the project finally moved beyond the talking stage. A modified version of LeSage's report became a ministerial measure, and on February 23, 1875, the Repatriation Act was passed.

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[13]JAC, Correspondance générale, P. E. Gendreau to Chicoyne, 20 Dec. 1872; NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XVI, no. 9314, LeSage to Gendreau, 10 Nov. 1873.

[14]NAQ, SL, Correspondence, II, 174, LeSage to J. C. Taché, 27 Feb. 1875; M. Hamelin, pp.181-2; Trépanier, pp.312-3.

[15]Annuaire, 1896-9, pp.283, 4; M. Hamelin, p.181.

Its aim was to make crown lands available at low cost and easy payment terms, and to provide the settler with a home and small cleared acreage. Every head of family could select a hundred acres, with a dwelling house and four acres ready for seeding, at the price of sixty cents per acre, plus $140 for the improvements. This sum was to be repaid within ten years, the lot itself during the first five, and the $140 (interest-free) during the last five. As an alternative, the colonist could clear the first four acres himself, build his dwelling, and receive the $140 as a loan which he would repay in the same manner. No letters patent would be issued until the payments were completed.[16] The department chose the townships of Ditton, Chesham and Emberton to be the site of the original colony because they were still largely unsettled, they were reasonably accessible by rail, and they were close to the United States. Furthermore, colonization societies had built roads and cleared land in all three townships. If the scheme proved successful here, the government hoped to extend it throughout the province.[17]

In charge of the repatriation colony was Jérôme-

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[16] SPQ, IX (1875), 12.

[17] NAQ, SL, Correspondence, II, 229, Le Sage to O'Neill, 2 July 1875.

Adolphe Chicoyne, a former immigration agent who had toured Quebec and New England preaching the virtues of colonization.[18] He was to be directly responsible to the Ministry of Agriculture and Public Works, for the failure of the Colonization Societies Act had taught the government to avoid intermediary bodies. Even the Catholic clergy (who had usually provided the local agents for the colonization societies) were by-passed when Chicoyne decided to move from Sherbrooke to the site of the colony itself. However Chicoyne posed no real threat to Church authority because he himself was a staunchly conservative Catholic. Abbé Elie-J. Auclair, who met the fifty-six year old Chicoyne in 1900, paints the following vivid description of him:

> Gros et court, trapu et comme ramassé sur lui-même, fortement musclé et agile dans ses mouvements, le front prématurément chauve, l'oeil clair et perçant, constamment mobile sous le sourcil épais, la moustache coupée dru en brosse, Chicoyne avait l'air sérieux et avenant tout ensemble.[19]

Chicoyne was born on a farm near Saint-Hyacinthe in

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[18] NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, IX, no. 5283, LeSage to Barnard, 7 March 1872; XIII, no. 7316, LeSage to Chicoine, 24 Jan. 1873.

[19] Elie-J. Auclair, Figures Canadiennes, II (Montréal, 1933), 190-1.

1844, but at the age of three he moved to town to live with his childless godparents.[20] In 1856 he entered the College de Saint-Hyacinthe, but he seems to have been too solitary and too independent to adjust to his new environment. He became so dissatisfied that, after putting in his year at the college, he ran off to New England with visions of making his fortune. The thirteen-year old youth worked for a year and a half in a Connecticut factory, and then went to school for a year in Vermont. Not surprisingly, he soon became disillusioned with his adventure - he reports that he barely avoided contamination in "cet ocean de dissolution." This unhappy experience helps to explain Chicoyne's future zeal in promoting repatriation.

In October of 1859 the young Chicoyne returned to his home, and to the College de Saint-Hyacinthe. Suddenly finding that he was attracted to academic life, he became a very successful student. He studied philosphy during the 1864-65 school term, and law during the summers. At the same time he began to publish articles in the Courier de Saint-Hyacinthe. By 1863 he had evolved from a democrat and revolutionary (to use his own words) to a confirmed conservative. In the fall of 1865 he faced another crisis. Not only was he finished his college course, and therefore forced to choose a career,

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[20]The following biographical material is taken from JAC, V, Mémoires, 31 July 1866.

but his most intimate friend died. The loss pushed Chicoyne towards religion; in December he became a novice with the Oblates in Montreal. But his strong-willed temperament was not suited for a rigorous community life, and in May he returned to his legal studies in Saint-Hyacinthe. Here he practiced law from 1868 to 1872.[21] In 1870 he became Secretary-Treasurer of the newly-formed Saint-Hyacinthe Colonization Society. Two years later Chicoyne's interest in colonization led to his appointment as provincial immigration agent in Montreal. In 1873 his duties were extended to promoting repatriation of French Canadians from the United States.[22] Finally, in 1875, we find him in direct charge of the repatriation colony. From this point until the mid-1880's, Chicoyne would be the driving force behind colonization in Compton county. In fact the remainder of his life would be devoted to the interests of the French Canadians in the Eastern Townships.

At the other end of the repatriation line was Ferdinand Gagnon, editor of the Worcester, Massachusetts Travailleur. He was "entrusted with the care of making known and popularizing among our fellow citizens in the United States the law

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[21]Auclair, p.189.

[22]JAC, Emilie Chicoyne Correspondence 1882-96, Order appointing Chicoyne Chief Emigration Agent for Montreal, 27 June 1873.

passed in their behalf."[23] Born in Saint-Hyacinthe in 1849, Gagnon had left the province in 1868 to become New England's foremost French language journalist.[24] He was an excellent choice for American agent because his influential newspaper published a steady stream of articles promoting the movement, and he travelled extensively among the Franco-American communities trying to recruit colonists.[25]

Each family head who wished to go to the colony from the States was supposed to present Gagnon with a character reference from his parish priest. He would then receive a certificate from Gagnon which entitled him to a reduced train fare. When the colonist reached Sherbrooke, he would report to Chicoyne.[26] Although the Department of Agriculture and Public Works asked Gagnon to enlist only those settlers who had some capital[27], there were many exceptions to this rule. Gagnon wrote to one:

> Après avoir pris des informations sur votre compte on m'a dit que vous n'aviez pas de capital suffisant pour vous risquer dans la forêt. Vous jouissez d'un bon caractère et vous avez du coeur et du courage. Très bien, mais avec cela il faut quelques avances. Je ne vous engage pas à vous rapatrier pour le

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[23] SPQ, IX (1875), 12.

[24] Donald Chaput, "Some Rapatriement Dilemmas", CHR, XLIX (1968), 401; Alexandre Belisle, Livre d'or des Franco-Américains de Worcester, Massachusetts [1920], p.155.

[25] Vicero, p.268.

[26] Le Progrès, 8 May 1875.

[27] ANQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXI, no. 11983, LeSage to

> présent, mais comme vous êtes bien décidé, je vous envoie votre lettre de rapatriement. Ainsi qu'il soit bien compris que vous vous aventurez de vous-même et sans sollicitation de ma part.[28]

The letter actually meant little, for even those who went entirely on their own initiative were not turned away.

One of the first problems faced by Chicoyne was to make an arrangement whereby those newly-arrived colonists who wished to do so could buy the cleared lots of the Bagot and Saint-Hyacinthe Colonization Societies rather than the forested crown lands. Deputy P. S. Gendron of the Bagot Society offered its lots for the sum invested, plus interest (about ten dollars above the regular sixty cents per acre for wild land).[29] When Chicoyne argued that demanding interest constituted speculation, Gendron replied that:

> les sacrifices qu'ont faits chaque année, les membres de la Société, le temps qu'ils ont consacré pour assister aux assemblées, les frais de voyages, ne sont pas comptés et valent à chacun deux ou trois piastres par année depuis six ans, et ceci n'est pas compté.[30]

Chicoine, 7 April 1875.

[28]Quoted in Belisle, Histoire, p.97.

[29]JAC, Correspondance générale, Gendron to Chicoine, 8 May 1875. In March Gendron asked $90 per lot for 16 lots, with 5 acres cleared and sowed on each. NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1875, no. 29577, Gendron to LeSage, 6 March 1875.

[30]JAC, Correspondance générale, Gendron to Chicoine, 8 May 1875.

Unconvinced, Chicoyne charged that even his fellow Saint-Hyacinthe Society members were motivated by "ambition et intéret personnels".[31]

The final arrangement arrived at is not known, but Chicoyne's real problem was with a much less manageable foe - the climate. In early April, Assistant Commissioner LeSage informed him that already there were repatriated colonists waiting in Sherbrooke, and that they were becoming very impatient.[32] When sixteen of these colonists left for La Patrie a week later, they had to walk for two days due to the poor condition of the roads.[33] Gagnon had forwarded over sixty people before he was told to retard the movement until May 15.[34] But even that date still found snow in Chesham and Ditton, with the Salmon and Ditton Rivers flooding and causing widespread road and bridge damage. It became impossible to start construction before June 1 on the large house planned to

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[31]JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Rev. Monsieur, 14 May 1875.

[32]JAC, Correspondance générale, LeSage to Chicoine, April 1875; NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXI, no. 11983, LeSage to Chicoine, 7 April 1875.

[33]JAC, RL, I, Report to Colonization Bureau, 30 April 1875.

[34]Belisle, Histoire, p.99.

shelter the new arrivals in Chesham. Meanwhile the colonists had to be placed in camps and private homes.[35]

To make matters worse, by May 22 almost all the available Ditton lots had been claimed, yet many could not be touched because the government had not completed requisitioning unsettled lots from the colonization societies. Nor had Emberton yet been reserved, so Chicoyne found himself faced with a land shortage. Another annoying obstacle was the absence of roads - Chicoyne was so desperate that he even offered to oversee construction himself, at no additional salary.[36] The combination of bad weather and lack of land and roads resulted in Gagnon again being asked to halt the movement for fifteen to thirty days.[37] On June 7, a frustrated Gagnon informed LeSage that discouraged colonists were returning to New England. Repatriation would be easy, he said, but "vous n'êtes pas organisés, vous n'allez pas assez vite."[38]

Throughout the summer, Chicoyne continued to bombard LeSage with requests that the cancellation of claims be speeded up.[39] Not surprisingly, the strongest opposition to the can-

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[35]JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to LeSage, 14 May 1875.

[36]Ibid., 22 May 1875.

[37]Belisle, Histoire, p.100.

[38]Quoted in Ibid.

[39]JAC, RL, I, Chicoine to LeSage, 24 June, 1 July, 13 July, 19 July, 31 July 1875.

cellations came from the English-speaking population. John Scott of the Glasgow Land Company seems to have been the principal complainant, and his mouthpiece was William Sawyer, the local M. L. A. Chicoyne said he regretted that Sawyer:

> n'ait pas visité cet établissement comme il s'était proposé de le faire sur une invitation spéciale que je lui en avait fait il y a un couple de mois, je pense que je l'aurais convaincu que certains personnes veulent abuser de son influence pour obtenir ce que ni lui-même, M. Sawyer, ni les hommes bien pensants de ce Comté ne peuvent approuver.

He added:

> Si quelqu'interessé essaye de soulever des préjugés de nationalité et de religion autour de cette question, c'est que les bons motifs, les bon raisonnements leur manquent [...] Est-ce qu'il n'y a que des anglais et des protestants de frappés par les cancellements que vous avez ordonnés? Au contraire les canadiens français ont été frappés comme les autres.[40]

Chicoyne finally had his way, for in September the lots were cancelled.[41]

Although it rained so much through the summer that the roads became all but impassable[42], by July 1 one hundred repa-

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[40] Ibid., Chicoyne to Hon. G. Malhiot, 25 Sept. 1875.

[41] Ibid., John Hume's Report on the anglophone grievances arising from land title cancellations in Compton county defended most of those cancellations in Ditton, Chesham, and Emberton. See Hume Report.

[42] JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Gagnon, 24 Aug. 1875.

triation lots had been granted and eighty families settled.[43] Only half were repatriates - ten were Europeans, and the others were French Canadians from the old parishes.[44] With the Chesham house finally ready to accept newly-arrived colonists[45], the future looked brighter. After his August tour of the colony, even Gagnon became more optimistic. He reported that the American colonists in particular were satisfied with their situation:

> Les chemins se transforment, la forêt recule, l'homme prend possession de son héritage. M. Chicoine se multiplie, il voit à tout et fait dominer l'idée religieuse et nationale avec les rudes travaux de ses colons [...] Je vais me remettre à la roue avec une ardeur nouvelle; j'ai la preuve que nos compatriotes ne pourront qu'améliorer leur position en se rapatriant.[46]

Gagnon was so enthusiastic that he sent his father to live at La Patrie.[47]

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[43] Ibid., Chicoyne to Hon. P. Garneau, 1 July 1875.

[44] Ibid., Chicoyne to Gagnon, 1 July 1875.

[45] Ibid., Chicoyne to LeSage, 1 July 1875.

[46] Chicoyne to LeSage, 18 Aug. 1875. Quoted in Belisle, Histoire, p.106.

[47] JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Gagnon, 28 Sept. 1875.

Nor was life in the colony all drudgery, for Chicoyne never missed an opportunity to organize religious and patriotic celebrations. To him, "une petite fête de temps à autre est loin de nier aux progrès de la colonie."[48] On Corpus-Christi day there was a high mass, solemn procession, etc., during which Chicoyne presented the colonists with the numerous loaves of holy bread donated by the Commissioner of Agriculture.[49] Mgr. Racine's visit to the colony a couple of weeks later offered still another occasion for a religious demonstration.[50]

By November, when the influx of colonists had stopped for the winter, 240 families (1100 people) had settled in Ditton and Chesham. 92 families were from the United States, 102 from within the province and 36 from Europe.[51] The expenses were as follows:

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[48] Ibid., Chicoyne to LeSage, 25 May 1875.

[49] Ibid., 19 May 1875.

[50] Ibid., 25 May 1875.

[51] Le Progrès, 17 Dec. 1875.

General organization	$ 2,212.54
Chesham house and sixteen cleared acres	1,229.03
Salmon River bridge	427.44
Ditton and Chesham Road repairs	951.82
New roads	1,539.79
Advanced to seventeen colonists for clearing and houses	3,100.00
Various advances made on account to colonists who had not yet finished clearing their first four acres, or whose buildings were not yet erected	1,412.94
Total	$10,873.56 [52]

Technically, only the first two items could be counted as repatriation expenses, but in fact few colonists ever paid back the money advanced to them.

In order to maintain close control over the winter operations, Chicoyne bought land near La Patrie and moved his family there from Saint-Hyacinthe.[53] By this time he was concerned with attracting professionals as well as industries to give stability to his colony. Unfortunately he met with little success in either field. In his search for a doctor, Chicoyne's standards may have been too high, for he carefully checked into the history of all applicants.[54] After two years

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[52] SPQ, IX (1875), 14.

[53] JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Gagnon, 28 Sept. 1875.

[54] Ibid., Chicoyne to Letellier, 11 Oct. 1875.

with no result, Chicoyne still insisted that the doctor be a good citizen, which appears to have meant a staunch Catholic and loyal Conservative: "Nous avons déjà malheureusement une élément libéral et anti-religieux très prononcé, il nous faut des soldats pour le combattre."[55] In fact the lack of professionals may not have been entirely to Chicoyne's distaste, for it left him with unchallenged control over the colony: "Je suis ici tout ce que les circonstances et mon zèle m'ont fait. Agent du Gouvernement, Maire du Conseil Municipale, Juge de Paix de Sa Majesté, médecin au besoin, pharmacien, marchand, et bientôt grand propriétaire."[56]

But Chicoyne's ambitions did not prevent him from making a determined, and successful, attempt to have a curé appointed to La Patrie. The colony was too poor to support a resident priest, so Chicoyne suggested to the Department of Agriculture and Public Works, that it appoint a priest to be his assistant colonization agent. Although the government would pay half his salary, the priest would also function as the local curé.[57] The department accepted the proposal, and allowed Mgr. Racine

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[55] Ibid., Chicoyne to P. A. Gendreau, 3 May 1877.

[56] Ibid., Chicoyne to Ernest Gagnon, 14 Oct. 1876.

[57] Ibid., Chicoyne to Hon. P. Garneau, 13 July 1875.

to choose Victor Chartier to fill the position.[58]

One might expect that Chicoyne's careful screening of professionals, in order to protect his community from demoralizing influences, would have applied to industries as well. After all, was he not constantly contrasting the evils of the New England factories with the virtues of the Quebec soil? But this was largely nationalist propaganda, because agriculture was the only attraction industry-poor Quebec had to offer its surplus population. Chicoyne's public attacks on industrialization did not prevent him from attempting to set up factories several times throughout his career.[59] In 1875 he did his best to lure a shoe factory to La Patrie. He offered two years of free water power, free buildings, free land and free construction of roads to the plant. He also promised that labour would be twenty percent cheaper than in the larger towns, and that the International Railroad would be only eight miles away within a few months.[60] But the offer was not accepted, nor could he

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[58]NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXIII, No. 13194, LeSage to Racine, 21 Sept. 1875; C. E. Chartier, pp.47-48. Victor Chartier was the brother of J. B. Chartier, former curé of Coaticook. He remained on the government payroll until 1881. Trépanier, p.379.

[59]In 1873, for example, Chicoyne had been involved in the opening of a French ribbon factory in Saint-Hyacinthe. NAQ, SL, Correspondance, I, 317, LeSage to Chicoyne, 13 Feb. 1873; NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, No. 19278, Chicoyne to LeSage, 21 Dec. 1872; no. 19797½, 19 Feb. 1873.

[60]JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Louis Coté, 30 Oct. 1876.

interest anyone in starting a pearlashery. Because a market for the ashes produced in clearing land would have been a valuable source of income for the colonists, Chicoyne suggested that the government finance the operation. The colonists would keep it in repair, and use it for a nominal fee.[61] He also wished to establish a model and industrial farm near the village for the poor of the municipality[62], but nothing seems to have resulted from either project. In the more profitable area of manufacturing lumber, Chicoyne was willing to raise the capital himself; by August of 1876 he was operating a steam sawmill.[63] He also owned the village store, another potentially lucrative enterprise.[64] Chicoyne was certainly not exag-

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[61] Ibid., Chicoyne to LeSage, 10 Oct., 11 Nov. 1875. Le Sage was also very eager to see a pearlashery put into operation, but the government was not willing to take the responsibility. NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXI, no. 11966, LeSage to Gagnon, 6 April 1875; LeSage to Chicoyne, 22 Sept. 1875.

[62] JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Hon. P. Garneau, 30 Aug. 1876.

[63] Le Pionnier, 26 Aug. 1876.

[64] The capital invested in the sawmill and store was $10,000. Chicoyne raised this money by selling shares at $100 each. Chicoyne to Hon. C. B. de Boucherville, 29 April 1876; Stanstead Journal, 9 March 1876.

gerating when he proclaimed, "J'ai fini par assimiler mes intérets à ceux de cette colonie; son succès fera mon succès, de même que sa déchéance pourrait me compromettre."[65]

But the mingling of public duties with private interests left Chicoyne vulnerable to charges of corruption. One colonist complained that his store's prices were double those at Island Brook (in Newport township), and that he sold only to settlers with cash.[66] Worse still, the hostile Sherbrooke Progrès claimed that Chicoyne was selling his own goods as merchant, to himself as government agent[67], and the Liberal opposition in the Assembly also accused him of profiting from his official position at the expense of the colonists.[68]

Nor was criticism of Chicoyne confined to conflict-of-interest charges. Two Irish Catholics claimed that he had rejected their land claims because they were not francophones[69], while, on the other hand, he was chastized for hiring anglophone contractors for the job of clearing one hundred

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[65]JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Hon. J. A. Chapleau, 30 Oct. 1878.

[66]JAC, Correspondance générale, F. X. Caron to 'Monsieur', 10 April 1876.

[67]Le Progrès, 24 Aug. 1877.

[68]Le Pionnier, 8 Dec. 1876.

[69]NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXIV, no. 13951, LeSage to Chicoyne 25 Jan. 1876; no. 13880, 5 Jan. 1876.

acres and building fifty houses. Chicoyne's rejoinder to the latter charge was that none of the colonists had the means to direct the operation, but they would still be employed by it.[70] Nevertheless, the Progrès felt that a Franco-American could have been found to handle the contract. It suggested that Chicoyne might be losing his control over the colony:

> ... en faisant une large part aux commérages mal veillants et à la jalousie de quelques mécontents, il est maintenant notoire qu'il n'a pas toujours agi sous l'impulsion de ces belles qualités, et que sa conduite en plusieurs occasions, a été de nature à autoriser les murmures dont j'ai parlé.[71]

The Progrès, however, almost always aligned itself against the Pionnier, a strong supporter of Chicoyne, so its censures were sometimes motivated by sheer malice. For example, it claimed in January that there was a lack of work for the colonists. ("Il y a malaise, mécontement, murmures parmis un grand nombre")[72], while Chicoyne reported that all colonists not working for Terrill and Bailey in clearing the lots, were

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[70] SPQ, IX (1875), 16.

[71] Le Progrès, 7 Jan. 1876.

[72] Ibid. This reports did not fail to reach LeSage. NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXIV, no. 13721, LeSage to Chicoyne, 18 Dec. 1875.

working on their own land, or bringing logs to his sawmill.[73] On at least one occasion, Chicoyne's critics were forced to eat their words. Foreseeing that roads would be impassable in the spring, Chicoyne acquired funds from the government to purchase seed grain in January.[74] His plan was to distribute it to the colonists according to need; they could repay him once they had gathered their crops. He was, of course, accused of setting himself up as a merchant at government expense, but when the Salmon River did flood, the colonists were only sorry that his stockpile was not larger.[75]

One particularly persistent critic of Chicoyne was P. U. Vaillant of Chesham. He had a personal grievance, for he felt that Chicoyne had interfered with his appointment as postmaster of that township. It appears that Vaillant was not very popular, for though he was the first bona fide settler of the township, Mgr. Racine and many colonists opposed the name of Vaillantbourg for the new village.[76] Chicoyne diplomatically informed Vaillant that he did not like to involve

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[73]JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Gagnon, 4 Jan. 1876.

[74]Ibid., Chicoyne to Hon. P. Garneau, 22 Jan. 1876.

[75]Ibid., Chicoyne to Gagnon, 12 May 1876.

[76]Ibid., 24 May 1876.

himself in Chesham's affairs, but that he would propose using Vaillant's name for the post office, and Notre-Dame-des Bois (the Bishop's choice) for all other purposes.[77] This did not appear to satisfy Vaillant, for he continued to attack Chicoyne in a series of letters to the accommodating Progrès.[78]

On the surface at least, Chicoyne met the many reprovals philosophically. He wrote to Gagnon in the spring of 1876:

> Tu me demande des nouvelles de tes colons. C'est toujours la vieille et antique histoire: les uns trouvent le pays excellent et sont enchantés que tu les aies dirigés ici, les autres ne disent pas grand chose, mais on voit qu'ils regrettent un peu les oignons d'Egypte. Bucher du matin au soir, vivre au lard, à la soupe aux poies [sic], c'est si dur pour des gens habitués à weaver et à spinner et dont l'estomac ne digère que des puddings et des boston-crackers depuis des années. D'autres sont en diable et permettent de to dénoncer dans les journaux.

To Chicoyne, discontentment was not to be worried about because it was unavoidable:

> Comment peut-on s'attendre à autres choses avec une population composée d'élements si divers, composée de gens les plus souvent poussés ici par des déceptions.

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[77] Ibid., Chicoyne to P. U. Vaillant, 11 May 1876.

[78] Le Progrès, 20 April, 28 June, 21 Sept., 5 Oct. 1877.

> Le fait que le gouvernement a pris cette colonie sous sa protection immédiate les rend encore plus exigents, plus grognards.[79]

In fact, he had little reason to be discouraged at this point. With over $12,000 spent by the government during the winter, the settlers were faring quite well.[80] By June 30 the repatriation colony had made significant progress, with 1871 people occupying 3095 cleared acres.[81] Indeed, far from being disillusioned, Chicoyne's idealism waxed stronger than ever. He planned to start a newspaper called La Patrie which "ne s'occupera nullement des questions brûlantes du jour et n'aura d'autre but que celui de rendre le peuple meilleur." He still felt that the colony would become "un foyer d'où rayonnera sur le peuple canadien-français en général le flambeau du patriotisme et des vertus civiques."[82]

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[79] JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Gagnon, 12 May 1876.

[80] The money was spent as follows:

Advanced to colonists	$1460.00
General expenses	879.17
Permanent expenses	274.90
Provisional accounts	9517.94
	$12132.01

Ibid., Chicoyne to LeSage, 4 April 1876.

[81]

Township	No. of Families	No. of People	Buildings	Acres Cleared
Ditton	198	921	278	2055
Chesham	142	636	177	713
Emberton	69	314	66	327
	409	1871	521	3095

SPQ, X (1876), 8.

[82] JAC, RL, Chicoyne to Gagnon, 24 May 1876.

Religious and patriotic ceremonies continued to be held. On June 24, both Saint-Jean-Baptiste day and the anniversary of the first mass in Chesham were celebrated with a long procession ("avec l'image de Notre-Dame-de Lourdes et le drapeau national en tête") from La Patrie to Vaillantbourg. Along the way, fourteen crosses were erected, with the curé reciting an invocation to the Virgin Mary at each one. Near Vaillantbourg they unveiled a thousand pound statue of Notre-Dame-des Bois standing on a huge rock.[83] This spot subsequently became a pilgrimage shrine for the area's colonists, inspiring Chicoyne to write a long poem in its honour.

In spite of the optimistic atmosphere of the early summer of 1876, the colony's problems were far from over. Settlers arriving from New England were disappointed to find that they were not eligible for the $140 loan when they settled on lots already cleared by Terrill and Bailey.[84] To make matters worse, the government was planning to reduce its injection of money into winter programmes, and autumn rain and snow hampered the harvesting of potatoes and other crops. The Progrès claimed that late spring sowing was to blame (an obvious reflec-

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[83] Le Pionnier, 23 June 1876.

[84] NAQ, PW, Lettres, Reçues, 1876, no. 35752, Gagnon to LeSage, 13 July 1876.

tion upon Chicoyne's managerial ability)[85], while Chicoyne lamented that many men had arrived penniless, seeking wages, not land on which to settle.[86]

Chicoyne's ally, the Pionnier, proclaimed that three quarters would get through the winter without any problem - that the complaints came only from a few malcontents.[87] But there were more than a few dissatisfied settlers. Even Gagnon began to be concerned about the management of the colony: "Le râpatriement il s'opère, il operera sur une plus grande échelle, car les circonstances le favorisent, mais du grâce, qu'on veuille bien recevoir nos rapatriés avec de bonnes paroles et des avis charitables."[88] In October, 102 residents signed a petition demanding government aid.[89] They were not supported by Chicoyne who, as late as December, requested only strict necessities for a few families in exceptional straits.[90] They were to repay these advances by working on the road to

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[85]Le Progrès, 27 Oct., 22 Dec. 1876.

[86]JAC, RL, Chicoyne to LeSage, 20 Dec. 1876. This was the same problem the colonization societies had faced earlier in the decade.

[87]Le Pionnier, 17 Nov. 1876.

[88]NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1876, no. 35752, Gagnon to LeSage, 1 Aug. 1876.

[89]Le Progrès, 27 Oct. 1876.

[90]JAC, RL, Chicoyne to LeSage, 20 Dec. 1876.

Scotstown.

Chicoyne said that he himself could assist the colonists by buying logs from them for his sawmill. He asked permission to have all of the wood which was collected from the clearings delivered to him tax free. Also he wanted wood taken from outside the clearings to be subject to a five cent tax only.[91] He realized that official permission could probably not be given, but tacit approval would satisfy him, for he felt that no court would condemn a colonist for cutting a few trees to maintain his family.[92] Of course, Chicoyne himself would be the chief beneficiary of such an arrangement. It was beginning to appear as though he were trying to profit from the colonists' poverty by forcing them to work for him, rather than receiving government assistance.

In January, when the government had still done nothing for the colonists, the Progrès warned that "la misère est aux portes d'un grand nombre de familles."[93] Emberton colonists complained to de Boucherville, the Premier and Minister of

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[91]Regulations of the Crown Land Department forbade colonists to cut timber outside their clearing limits until they had received their letters patent.

[92]JAC, RL, Chicoyne to LeSage, 12 Jan. 1877.

[93]Le Progrès, 26 Jan. 1877.

Agriculture, that "les fausses promesses de votre agent Chicoine de faire construire des chemins dans la Colonie est [...] une cause de découragement."[94] By February, Mgr. Racine had divided $265.34 between thirty families and the local agricultural circle[95], but government assistance was not forthcoming until April when colonists from the needy township of Chesham were sent to Cookshire to work on the roads and thereby earn their seed grain.[96]

Chicoyne was understandably very unpopular by this time. Though his pecuniary interests in the colony were undoubtedly to its benefit, and though his transactions may well have been entirely honest, he had set himself up as a ready-made scapegoat for anyone with a grievance. Even the local curés, Chartier and Gendreau, became critical.[97] Finally, in

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[94]JAC, Correspondance générale (Sec. F, Dos. 5, AR2, Bte. 4), 37 Emberton colonists to C. B. de Boucherville, [N.D.].

[95]ACAS, PP, Saint-Pierre La Patrie, no. 7, "Sommes payées à divers colons nécessiteux de Chesham, Ditton, et Emberton depuis le commencement de l'hiver".

[96]JAC, Correspondance générale, 1876, Théophile Lachance to Chicoyne, 13 May 1876; Le Progrès, 20 April 1876. The government sent $100 worth of seed grain to the area. NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXVIII, 365, J. O. Fontaine to Chicoyne, 4 April 1876.

[97]JAC, Correspondance générale, 1876, Elisée Noël to Chicoyne, 3 Nov. 1876.

May of 1877, the Department of Public Works allowed Chicoyne's appointment as repatriation agent to expire.[98] The colony's status as a repatriation centre thereby officially ended.[99]

The government had expended $80,000 on the project. $28,000 went toward building houses, and $52,000 toward clearing land and constructing roads.[100] The short-term results at least were quite impressive, for a total of 1604 new settlers had arrived.[101] However the results in terms of repatriation were disappointing, because only 782 of the colonists were from

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[98] Ibid., J. A. Chapleau to Chicoyne, 13 Oct. 1876.

[99] JAC, RL, Chicoyne to J. O. Fontaine, 7 May 1877.

[100] Le Pionnier, 17 Aug. 1877.

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		April 16, 1875	Oct. 31, 1876
Ditton -	Quebec inhabitants	110	372
	Europeans	124	99
	Repatriated Canadians	74	498
		308	969
Chesham -	Quebec inhabitants	6	320
	Europeans	0	27
	Repatriated Canadians	1	289
		7	636
Emberton -	Quebec inhabitants	0	240
	Europeans	8	12
	Repatriated Canadians	0	70
		8	322

Annuaire, 1896-9, pp.290, 398, 406.

the United States.[102] Gagnon himself admitted in 1881 that only about six hundred families[103] had been sent back to Quebec,and that about half of these subsequently returned to New England.[104]

This is not surprising because the French Canadians had gone to New England in the first place to escape the rigours and uncertainties of farm life. Furthermore, there was opposition from within the Franco-American community itself. In 1875 Gagnon wrote that "nos journaux en se mettant dans l'arène, s'expose à l'impopularité et par conséquent à des pertes [...] depuis ma nomination le Foyer Canadien, le Travailleur, et l'Ouvrier Canadien de Fall-River sont les seuls qui aient tenu fermement à la cause."[105] The Jean-Baptiste of Northampton, Massachusetts mocked the enterprise in doggerel verse:

> Partant pour la Patrie
> Un char plein de colons
> Pour faire de l'abattie,
> Dans ce vaste Canton.
> Ils ont mangé des croûtes,

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[102]Gilles Paquet's figure is 960, but he does not state how he arrived at it. Gilles Paquet, "L'emigration des Canadiens français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: prises de vue quantitatives", RS, V (1964), 339.

[103]This figure includes families sent throughout the province.

[104]Vicero, p.234.

[105]Quoted in Belisle, Histoire, p.98.

Ne faut pas endouter,
En regrettant sans doute
Les jobs qu'ils ont quittés.[106]

A second source of resistance was New England's French-speaking merchants and professionals, who were uneasy at the prospect of losing their clientèle.[107] More surprisingly, opponents could also be found among New England's French-speaking clergy. In 1875 Gagnon claimed that "Canadian priests, whilst not countenancing repatriation openly, approve of the steps taken so far; only two or three priests have pronounced against this patriotic measure."[108] But the Pionnier commented that the expensive churches being built in New England motivated the priests towards discouraging repatriation: ..."le désir de briller, d'éclipser les Canadiens du pays natal, la vaine gloriale, en un mot, ainsi que l'intérêt personnel, y jouent un grand rôle."[109] Finally, to the disgust of the Pionnier, Manitoba was a more attractive site than Quebec to many of the repatriating French Canadians.[110]

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[106] Ibid., p.340.

[107] NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXII, no. 12500, LeSage to Gagnon, 30 June 1875.

[108] SPQ, IX (1875), 365.

[109] Le Pionnier, 13 March 1874. See also the editions of 9 Jan., 13 Feb., 20 Feb. 1874, and Vicero, p.234.

[110] Le Pionnier, 10 Jan. 1879. Marcus Lee Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (Toronto, 1940), p.171.

There is little wonder, therefore, that the Compton colony did not stimulate a general movement back to Quebec. With the return of economic prosperity in 1879, the émigrés quickly lost all interest in abandoning their adopted homeland. In the final analysis, the whole repatriation scheme only served to injure the French Canadians of New England, because it encouraged American nativists to charge them with disloyalty.[111]

Reference has already been made to the English Canadian reaction to the project. It was among the grievances cited by the Compton branch of the Protestant Defence Alliance, and it was greeted with hostility by the province's anglophone press. But such fears were exaggerated, for 1600 new settlers could have little effect on the over-all population balance of the Eastern Townships. Furthermore, the colony suffered from the inevitable slump after government funds dried up. To make matters worse, the late seventies brought several crop failures. In 1879 Father Victor Chartier of La Patrie reported to Mgr. Racine that "les produits sont de beaucoup moindre que la consummation: de là grandes privations, gêne parfois inquiétante parmi les paroissiens. Les gelées de ce mois ont ruiné des récoltes. Quelques uns seront forcés de

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[111]Vicero, p.357.

quitter la paroise."[112] In 1880 he wrote that "La population a diminué par le départ de beaucoup de familles qui voyaient leurs grains gélés et peu d'espoir de trouver l'ouvrage durant l'hiver 1880." In fact, Ditton's population dropped drastically from 900 in 1879 to 570 in 1880.[113] Still, Chartier remained optimistic. In his report to the Minister of Agriculture, he said that while the unsuitable ones who had forced themselves into the colony were gone for good, most of those departees who had kept their farms would return.[114]

Chesham and Emberton fared no better than Ditton. In 1879 the Chesham curé reported that he had not forced his parishioners to pay the tithe because "La misère a été grande cette année."[115] There was also a lack of money, and even wood, in Emberton.[116]

Very few of the departing colonists ever did return, as the government found out when it attempted to collect the $60,320 still owing from the loans advanced to colonists for

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[112] ACAS, Rapports sur les paroisses, Saint-Pierre la Patrie, 1879.

[113] Ibid., 1880.

[114] SPQ, IV (1880), 400.

[115] ACAS, Rapports sur les paroisses, Notre-Dame-des-Bois de Chesham, 1879.

[116] Ibid., Décollation de Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Emberton, 1879.

clearing their lots.[117] The mayor of Ditton claimed that many of those who had originally taken lots had come only for this "loan", and had subsequently disappeared. An 1885 meeting of Ditton, Chesham and Emberton colonists claimed that 223 of the repatriation lots had been abandoned.[118] Anyone wishing to take over one of these abandoned lots would be saddled with the $140 debt, as well as the regular crown land price of sixty cents per acre.[119] Furthermore these lots were far from being a bargain, for their houses were frequently either in swamps, on stony ground, or where there was no water. In some cases the improvements made valued only $60, though the government had invested the full $140.[120] Even those lots which once had been promising were by 1884 grown up in brush, with their houses in ruins.[121]

It was clear, as the residents claimed, that the government dues were discouraging settlement of the area. The Honourable J. H. Pope himself supported the demands that the

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[117]AC, adj. 4839, Memo. by W. E. Collins, 20 Jan. 1881.

[118]AC, O.C. 1108, Report of Ditton, Chesham, and Emberton Committees, 16 Feb. 1885.

[119]Ibid., P. L. N. Prévost to Commissioner, 5 Aug. 1184.

[120]Ibid., Nagle to Taché, 31 Aug. 1886.

[121]Ibid., Prévost to Commissioner, 5 Aug. 1884.

province give up trying to recoup its losses.[122] Consequently, in 1886 the provincial government finally agreed to drop all extra obligations on the repatriation lands, provided that the lots themselves were paid for by June, 1887.[123] However this still did not satisfy the colonists, for in 1887 the priests of the three townships drafted petitions claiming that the settlers were unable to pay even the sixty cents per acre for their lots.[124] The government granted a delay to June 1, 1888[125], but this deadline was not met. Instead the colonists petitioned for an extension to January, 1890.[126] Finally, in 1898, the Department of Crown Lands gave in (only ten or twelve had paid their sixty cents per acre). It cancelled the sums owing for improvements on all repatriation lots, whether or not the land itself had been paid for.[127]

Though few of the repatriation colonists remained on their holdings, the $80,000 invested in the project was not

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[122] Ibid., J. C. W. Currier to Lynch, 17 Sept. 1884. He also suggested that road work be launched in the area to help relieve the colonists of their debts. NAQ, SL, Correspondance, III, 418, LeSage to J. A. Chaplean, 12 April 1882.

[123] Ibid., Report of a Committee of the Hon. the Executive Council, 28 July 1886.

[124] Ibid., abbé F. Desrosiers to Commissioner, 26 Feb. 1887.

[125] AC, O.C. 1121, Rapport d'un Comité de l'Hon. Conseil Executive, 30 Sept. 1887.

[126] AC, adj. 3451, Petition of Emberton Colonists, Feb. 1889.

[127] AC, O.C. 1244, Rapport d'un Comité de l'Hon. Conseil

entirely wasted. Upon collecting the money for improving their assigned lots, many of the settlers may simply have moved to nearby land outside the reserve in order to avoid repayment. Whatever the reason, the population of Ditton, Chesham and Emberton did not decline after the project ended. Instead it rose slightly, from 1927 in 1877, to 2112 in 1880. When the project had begun, in 1875, there had been only 323 residents in the three townships. By 1880 there were three churches (two with curés), five schools, five post offices, ten saw-mills, two flour mills, five forges, five stores, one hotel, three well-organized municipalities, and sixty-five miles of roads, including one to the railroad station at Scotstown.[128] Though many of these developments were not a direct result of the repatriation programmes, all of them must have been stimulated by the funds poured into the area through that project.

But the settling of three obscure townships was a far cry from the benefits which the government had boasted its repatriation programme would bring. Once it had exhausted the scheme's political potential, the government arrived at the conclusion that this was not the most profitable way to in-

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Executive, 16 Nov. 1898.

[128] Le Pionnier, 30 May 1879.

vest the taxpayers' money. Aside from a small colony in Temiscouata township[129], the whole repatriation idea was dropped after 1876. As Father Chartier had pointed out in 1872, the Americanized francophones were simply not good pioneer material. Nor were there jobs available in the cities, for Quebec herself did not escape the recession which had instigated the repatriation movement in the first place. Consequently, the province actually stopped encouraging francophones to return from the United States - starting in 1877 only those who could support themselves would be welcome.[130] In fact the government washed its hands of the colonization business entirely throughout the remainder of the century. Church-sponsored colonization societies and profit-oriented colonization companies rather ineffectively (in the Townships at least) took over the role of developing the province's wild lands.

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[129]NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXVIII, 252, Magnon to Gagnon, 13 March 1877.

[130]Ibid.; NAQ, SL, Correspondence, II, 438, LeSage to Gagnon, 1 Jan. 1877. Gagnon continued to receive a small grant from the Quebec government until January, 1880. Trépanier, p.315.

CHAPTER TEN

THE COLONIZATION COMPANIES

The memory of the disastrous land grab at the turn of the century was dim enough by 1859 to allow the government to modify the crown land regulations so that a whole township could be reserved by a single interest. The word "reserve" was the crucial one, for although the contract of sale was to be made between the purchaser and the crown, the patents to the lots would be issued to the actual colonists once they had repaid the land company and fulfilled the normal settlement conditions.[1] This ensured against repeating the mistakes made half a century earlier by preventing any single party from acquiring a permanent monopoly over an extensive tract of land. The new regulation was designed to apply to British groups who were interested in establishing large numbers of emigrants in Canada.[2] For unsurveyed townships, the purchaser was to pay fifty cents per acre plus survey expenses at the time of sale. The price for surveyed townships was seventy cents cash, or a dollar on the five year instalment plan. One third of the township was to be settled within two years of the sale date,

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[1] SPC, XVII (1859), Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

[2] SPC, XVIII (1860), Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

one third more within the following five years, and the remainder within the further period of three years. All arable land not settled within ten years would unconditionally revert to the crown.

The fact that the land could never be wholly owned by the colonizers restricted their opportunities for profit[3], so it is not surprising that no one took advantage of this legislation in Lower Canada until after Confederation. By that time the railroad network had extended far enough to make it possible to sell the wood which was cut in the clearing operations. In fact there was often very little difference between the colonization companies which were formed during the seventies and eighties and the timber companies which had been operating for decades. The colonization companies neglected their settlement duties to such an extent that the Department of Crown Lands was virtually obliged to cancel each of their reserves. Nor did any of these corporations make a profit from their timber. Because they were all foreign-owned, they did not have the practical knowledge which the Canadian timber companies had acquired through years of experience. Even more

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[3]Previously land companies had earned most of their money by building mills, etc. but the only way they could now profit was to resell the land at a higher price.

damaging was the restricted market for wood between 1874 and 1885, the period when most of the companies were in operation. The final grant made to such an organization was in 1884, and it had disappeared from the scene by 1893.

The first to take advantage of the 1859 regulation were two companies from France.[4] In 1871 La Société Canadienne Limitée (also known as Société générale forestière de France) acquired 320,000 acres in Beauce and Matapedia. However it survived only two years. In 1872 the Compagnie de Colonisation Franco-Canadienne reserved the same amount of land in the townships of Adstock, Forsyth, Gayhurst, Jersey, Langevin, Watford and Metgermette (its center of operations). Though more successful, this company too had lost its reserve by 1881. A major problem for both companies seems to have been that the French government would not allow its rural subjects to emigrate to Canada.[5] Although successive companies were no more effective in colonizing the province, the government continued to grant them reserves until the early eighties.

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[4]The colonization societies of 1870 had a limited life span, and it was understood that any lots not inhabited when the project ended were to revert to the Crown. The society members hoped at best to break even financially. The Dominion government tried a similar system to colonize the Prairies after 1874. See Macdonald, Canada. Immigration, pp.236-41.

[5]Quinn, pp.538-43.

The Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company

The first colonization company to operate in the Eastern Townships was the Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company, with £225,000 in capital raised by a group of Scottish financiers. They originally bought 70,000 acres from private owners, then in 1873 acquired 10,000 acres of crown land, at least in part, from the reserve of the Compton Colonization Society.[6] Most of the company's property was in Hampden, Ditton and Marston townships.

The company's headquarters were set up in Scotstown (named after the first manager John Scott) on the Hampden-Lingwick boundary. Two hundred men were employed here in 1873, building a dam across Victoria Falls, clearing land and preparing wood for buildings.[7] Among these men were sixty Scots[8] who were reported to be "a very superior class of immigrants both as regarded their physical appearance and intelli-

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[6]Hume Report; SPQ, XXII (1889), 13; NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1876, no. 34068, E. E. Taché to Monsieur, 29 March 1876. According to Aeneas MacMaster, the company's second manager, the Commissioner of Crown Lands actually approached the company, rather than vice versa, when he heard that it was introducing Scottish immigrants at its own expense. JLAQ, IX (1875), 13.

[7]SPQ, VII (1873-4), vii, 307.

[8]Le Pionnier, 16 May 1873.

gence."[9] The company planned to build saw and grist mills, and offered to buy $30,000 of stock in the International Railroad, on condition that it be extended to Scotstown.[10] In addition to the Hampden and Marston property, the Glasgow enterprise owned nearly all of Clinton township at the southern tip of Lake Megantic. It planned to float logs down the Arnold River to the lake and thus to Quebec via the Chaudière.

Lumbering was obviously the primary consideration, but some attention had to be devoted to colonization. The company agreed to lend settlers fifteen dollars for each acre they cleared, until they had reached the quantity required to serve a patent. This sum, plus the government price for the land, could be repaid by working at one of the company's centres of operations.[11] In 1876 Inspector Hume reported that these terms were not only "very liberal", but the company had spent more on its operations than it would ever recover.

Nevertheless the company soon faced what the new manager, Aeneas MacMaster[12], called discouragement from the

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[9] SPQ, VIII (1874), appendix 23 to Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

[10] Hume Report, MacMaster to Hume, 12 Feb. 1876.

[11] Ibid.

[12] MacMaster replaced Scott on September 1, 1875.

government.[13] It had been handicapped from the start because the Crown Lands Department did not allow it to hold the reserve in its own name, as it was entitled to do according to the 1859 regulations. Instead location tickets were issued to separate individuals in Scotland. It was understood that these people would immediately sign their claims over to the company, but the company officials had been forced to use fictitious names, thereby making it very difficult to verify their claims in disputes over land lots.[14]

Nor were such disputes long in arising. In 1874 four lots in Marston, as well as all the Ditton lands, were confiscated by the department, although it had never built the promised road through Ditton.[15] As we have already seen, other local anglophone interests lost lands at the same time, so the company was not alone in its protests. Led by Major McMinn, the English-speaking citizens of eastern Compton charged that the Catholic Church had pushed the de Boucherville ad-

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[13]As early as 1874 the company began complaining when the Department of Public Works refused to pay for the transportation of immigrant settlers from the railhead closest to the colony. Morning Chronicle (Quebec), 21 April 1874; NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XVII, no. 9847, LeSage to William Sawyer, 24 April 1874; no. 9816, LeSage to J. G. Robertson, 11 April 1874.

[14]JLAQ, IX (1875), 177; SPQ, XXII (1889), 3.

[15]Hume Report, MacMaster to Hume, 12 Feb. 1876.

ministration into taking this action. MacMaster himself condemned "the meddling interfering policy of the present Government to all English speaking people."[16] He did have a legitimate grievance, for John Hume's 1876 report was strongly sympathetic with the Glasgow Company's case. Hume found that the company's operations were "being carried on with great energy and success."

As a result the department not only restored the Marston lots, but it promised to replace the Ditton lands with an equal amount of property elsewhere. MacMaster asked that they be in the third range of Hampden, then being held by individual speculators. "The extensive operations of this Company are stimulating the settling of Crown Lands in this neighbourhood and parties holding lands for purposes of speculation should be deprived of them so as to allow others to settle them." Should the government comply, it would "prove that your offer was made in good faith, and redeem your Department from the charges of injustice and partiality."[17] The French Canadian colonizers of Compton were obviously not the only ones to point the finger at others.

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[16] Ibid.

[17] AC, Register Book, Section West, no. 3427, MacMaster to Commissioner, 5 Sept. 1876.

Whether or not MacMaster received full satisfaction in 1876, his problems did not end. He seems to have continued to blame this on the Conservative government, for he soon became a Liberal supporter and one of J. H. Pope's most vocal opponents.

The Conservatives retaliated in kind, for in 1880 a correspondant to the Sherbrooke Gazette reported that all Compton saw mills were working to capacity except the one in Scotstown, which was some twenty-five miles closer to a market:

> This certainly does not speak very flatteringly for the business capacity of the agent of The Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company. You are entitled to great credit, Mr. Editor, for the masterly and incontrovertible manner in which you have defended Hon. Mr. Pope from the dastardly insinuations and false statements made by this unscrupulous and ambitious resident of Scotstown.[18]

The following year, 1881, the Pionnier reported that the colony had made little progress, but it did concede that survival was assured.[19] Finally, in 1889 a movement was begun by the Pionnier to deprive the Glasgow organization of its remaining lands.[20] At least one municipal council petitioned the Mini-

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[18]Sherbrooke Gazette, 26 Nov. 1880.

[19]Le Pionnier, 19 Aug. 1881.

[20]Ibid., 3 Oct., 10 Oct. 1889.

ster of Agriculture and Colonization to cancel the company lands in its area. The French Canadian council of Marston South resolved:

> 1° Que la compagnie, dite 'The Glasgow canadian Land and Trust Co., limited,' possêde dans cette municipalité vingt-trois (23) lots contenant quatre mille cinq cent vingt huit (4528) acres de terre;
>
> 2° Que ces lots sont presque tous le long du chemin public et par conséquent faciles à être occupés et colonisés;
>
> 3° Que ces lots ne sont pas occupés depuis douze ans;
>
> 4° Que la dite compagnie a fait faire quelques défrichements sur ces lots, il y a environ quinze ans, mais faute de culture et n'étant pas occupés, ces défrichements sont presque disparus par la pousse de jeunes arbres; les quelques bâtisses qui ont été construites sur ces lots sont presque toutes tombées en ruines et celles encore debout ne valent rien, de sort que ces terrains aujourd'hui ne valent pas beaucoup plus que ceux entièrement en bois debout;
>
> 5° Que d'après les informations de ce conseil, la dite compagnie ne vendrait ces terrains qu'en bloc ou par quantités tels qu'un colon ne peut acheter.
>
> La dite compagnie en détenant ainsi cette étendue de terrain cause un dommage sérieux à notre municipalité en arrêtant la colonisation, les nouveaux colons qui pourraient venir s'établir ici ne le font pas étant obligés de se placer au milieu de la forêt en arrière des dits terrains et notre colonie, faute de population reste toujours pauvre, etc.

> Ce Conseil conclût en vous demandant que le gouvernement s'entende avec la dite compagnie pour acheter ces lots le plus avantageusement possible et les remettre en vente au plus bas prix que votre gouvernement le pourra faire, afin que les colons puissent les acheter, ...[21]

In 1894 the Glasgow Company finally sold its Lake Megantic lands.[22] Its record of high anticipations, followed by bitter disappointments, would be repeated by all the subsequent colonization companies.

The Canadian Land Reclaiming and Colonizing Company

The rather limited accomplishments of the Glasgow Company did not prevent the Crown Lands Department from reserving still another block of land for a British association in 1875. The provincial government was preoccupied with its repatriation scheme at the time, so it probably felt that this was the best way to appease the English-speaking Townshippers who were constantly demanding more British immigration.

In fact James Whyte, the organizer of the Canadian Land Reclaiming and Colonizing Company, was one of the pro-

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[21]ACAS, PP, Saint-Zenon de Piopolis, Session of Municipal Council of Marson South, 7 Oct. 1889.

[22]J. P. Jones II, part 1.

vince's immigration agents. Whyte spent most of his time recruiting emigrants and capital in his native Scotland.[23] He became a thorn in the side of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, for he was constantly bombarding the office with far-fetched projects which he demanded be put into effect without delay. On one occasion the Assistant Commissioner, L. S. LeSage, commented: "I know pretty well the kind of mischief he can play and I don't think he can do anything that can injure the present administration. The man is very much inclined to dictation and that is a line of conduct that ought not to be encouraged."[24]

It was on one of his voyages between Canada and Britain that Whyte succeeded in interesting the captain and the first mate of his ship in one of his land schemes. The captain was W. H. Smith, and the first mate, J. P. Jones, who later wrote the unpublished "History of Lake Megantic."

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[23]Whyte claimed to be instrumental in the founding of Sherbrooke's Canadian Meat and Produce Company, as well as Compton's Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company. NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1874, no. 28769, Whyte to de Boucherville, 19 Nov. 1874.

[24]NAQ, SL, Correspondance, II, 219, LeSage to J. G. Robertson, 23 June 1875. Upon being hired as a special agent for the Dominion in 1875, Whyte was dropped by the province. As this left him with only half his former salary, he complained bitterly. After threatening to take his case before Parliament, he was reinstated by the provincial government. NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1875, no. 30133, Whyte to LeSage, 8 April 1875; no. 32288½, Report of C. Moreau, 1 Oct. 1875; LeSage to Whyte, 26 March 1875; Whyte to P. Garneau, 25 Sept. 1875; no. 32903, Whyte to P. Garneau, 11 Nov. 1875.

These two English seamen persuaded a third, Captain James Scobie Wilson, to join the enterprise.

Whyte's next step was to publicize his scheme widely in Scottish newspapers. He claimed to have been granted 30,000 acres of crown lands in Ditchfield and Spaulding.[25] A town called Montagu was to be built on the Spider River in the latter township. The name was in honour of the Duke of Manchester who had been involved in colonizing New Zealand, and who appears to have been the President of the new company.[26] A homestead of a hundred acres would be sold for $397. It would include ten cleared acres and a comfortable house. The colonist need have no money, for he could work for the company, but "the adaptability or qualification of each applicant is considered, and care is taken to disabuse his mind of any erroneous ideas respecting the colony."[27]

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[25] 30,000 acres in Ditchfield, Spalding, and Whitton were reserved for, not granted to, the company. SPQ, XXII (1889), 3; AC, Section West, O.C. 998, 4 June 1875.

[26] NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1874, no. 28769, Whyte to de Boucherville, 19 Nov. 1874; Macdonald, Canada. Immigration, pp.98-9.

[27] Daily Witness, 9 Oct. 1876; The Scotsman, 30 Dec. 1875. Both quoted in J. P. Jones. The company arrived at its price for the settler was follows -

100 acre farm	60.00
Cost of clearing 10 acres	150.00
House	100.00
Management costs (25% of outlay)	62.50

The latter claim was somewhat misleading, for Whyte professed to own a fantastic "steam apparatus, so constructed as to be adapted to clearing, chopping, sawing, road making, [...] pulling up the trees by their roots at once."[28] No longer would the settler have to wait for years before the stumps in his clearing rotted away. This invention was reported to be able to strip an acre a day of thick old-timbered land in Scotland, but it does not appear to have left much of an impression on the Ditchfield forests.[29] For all Whyte's claims that the machine would revolutionize colonization, he would remain primarily interested in selling timber, for this was where the profits lay. He assured prospective stockholders that "though the lumber trade is experiencing a period of depression, this cannot continue."[30]

Interest on money invested by the company (10% upon outlay)	25.00
	$397.50

NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1876, no. 34973, Niccoll Learancke (sec.) to de Boucherville, 4 July 1876.

[28]Newspaper clipping in J. P. Jones. The "steam land clearer" was invented by a Scottish farmer named Andrew Gilchrist, who became president of the Scottish Steam Cultivation Company. It consisted simply of a wire rope which was placed around a tree, then attached to a steam engine. NAQ, PW, Lettres Reçues, 1874, no. 28769, Whyte to de Boucherville, 19 Nov. 1874.

[29]The Department of Agriculture and Public Works never was overly sanguine about its possibilities. NAQ, SL, Correspondance, II, 219, LeSage to J. G. Robertson, 23 June 1875.

[30]Newspaper clipping in J. P. Jones, II, part 1.

Continue it did, however, for when Captain Wilson retired from his ship to move his family to Ditchfield in 1876, he was bitterly disappointed with Whyte's accomplishments. He later wrote to the Montreal Gazette:

> I was in a good position at the time, and my family comfortably situated, my children being at a good school, all of which Mr. Whyte, who visited my house, knew well; and yet he had the audacity and the heartlessness to use his influence in persuading my wife to come out to Lake Megantic, where she as well as myself were given to understand a large town was in course of being laid out, and roads and streets forming, a map of the intended town being shown us.[31]

Instead he found that the 'city' of Montagu consisted of one acre of felled trees and one shanty. Whyte soon left Wilson in charge of the embryonic colony, while he went to Britain to sell shares. As a result, not only did Wilson have to use some of his own money to pay company debts, but he did not even receive any salary. He was eventually forced to again take command of a vessel to keep himself and his family from starving.[32]

A few months after Captain Wilson's arrival, Jones

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[31] Montreal Gazette, 13 Oct. 1877. In J. P. Jones, II, part 1.

[32] Ibid.

followed with his family. At first he could find no house, as the only one belonging to the company was occupied by Wilson. Wilson also had the job which Jones had been promised - that of manager of the company store. To make matters worse, the 30,000 acre grant was a myth, for "all they had granted Mr. Whyte was the first right, for five years, to put settlers on the lands of Ditchfield and Spaulding." When a settler was placed on a lot, it was to be held in the settler's name and the location ticket paid by him. Wilson and Jones actually had to buy their own lots. The company had built a log house on the shore of Lake Maccannamac (Spider Lake), but on a lot belonging to someone else. This "was to be the nucleus of the much vaunted town of Montagu." In short:

> we soon found that everything was not as Mr. Whyte had represented, and that his beautiful land scheme, and the company's operations etc. were pretty much of a swindle, and by the next summer the company had gone all to pieces; and we, the too-confiding victims were left on our beam ends, and our own resources.[33]

The company's stores and plant, teams, vehicle, boat and so on were all sold. It even forfeited the reserve purchase money, "an exaction never attempted by the Government

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[33]J. P. Jones, II, part 1.

from settlers who have improved their lands to a reasonable extent, but who have been prevented by poverty from completing the payments thereon." In 1907 Jones and his family were the only people left in the area who had ever had any connection with the company.

Buy Whyte was not to be so easily discouraged. In 1878 he asked for 10,000 acres in Whitton[34], and the following year he obtained a 13,000 acre reserve in Ditchfield instead. 1153 acres in Spaulding were later added. Whyte was given until August 1, 1880 to fulfill certain conditions, the primary one being to build roads and establish a fixed number of settlers. As with his former company, the lands could be granted only by the government directly to the individual settlers.[35]

Whyte recruited his colonists from among the English-speaking population of Montreal, and settled them at Lake Maccannamac in Ditchfield. The Department of Crown Lands could hardly have been surprised when complaints began to emanate from these settlers. It sent three different investi-

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[34]AC, Register Book, Section West, no. 1780, the Honourable Provincial Secretary to the Department, 28 March 1878.

[35]AC, Section West, O.C. 1044, E. E. Taché to Whyte, 23 May 1879. Also "Memorandum on the difficulty existing between the Dominion Land and Colonization Company and the Messrs. G. B. Hall and Co."

gators into the area to make reports.[36] On August 5, 1880, O. B. Kemp reported that he had found only fifteen actual settlers at the lake, whereas Whyte had sworn that there were thirty-six or thirty-seven. Many settlers had been led into an agreement with Whyte whereby they would make their own improvements, and, worse still, Whyte did not even fulfill the few promises which he had made. The settlers were therefore paying Whyte forty cents an acre, in addition to the regular sixty cents paid to the government, for no reason whatever. Nor did Whyte pay them for their road work, or fulfill the conditions set by the department. As a result, the roads were in a terrible state. The final grievance was that Whyte had given the settlers no written guarantee that he would make the roads or that they would get letters patent from the government once they had paid for their lands. Inspector Kemp concluded angrily:

> To report in favour of Mr. Whyte is to shut the door in the face of intending settlers - is to advertize that the Department is indifferent to settlers and settlements, and will tenderly care for speculators who build airy castles in circulars and newspapers to humbug the unwary, hard-working man, who in his anxiety to secure a home falls an easy prey to the apparently philanthropic schemes of such adventurers.

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[36] Ibid., O.C. 1031, "Report of Commission of the Honourable the Executive Council dated the 10th April 1880."

> [...] An excuse for non-performance of conditions appears in a different light to a gentleman in his office in Montreal to what it does to the poor settler in his log-cabin in the woods.
>
> [...] The moment the settler's confidence is weakened a great portion of his energy and ambition are gone, and he becomes a dead weight in the community.[37]

Because the other two investigators also opposed the renewal of the reserve, it was finally cancelled. Whyte's colonizing days were finally over, for his life ended in a mental institution.[38]

The Dominion of Canada Land and Colonization Company

By 1880 it should have been very clear that colonization companies were not an efficient way to attract immigrants. However this probably mattered little to the government, because newcomers were the last requirement of a province many of whose native citizens had to find employment in a foreign country. What experience did prove was that crown land reserves could always be rescinded, after a company had paid several large installments on them. Crown lands had traditionally been one of the provincial government's major sources of revenue,

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[37] Ibid., D. B. Kemp's Report, 5 Aug. 1880.

[38] J. P. Jones, I, part 2.

but that revenue had come from timber companies who paid an annual fee for the right to cut logs within a specified area, plus taxes on the logs taken. Most of the colonists, on the other hand, neglected to pay even the nominal charge for their land grant. The colonization company provided the ideal compromise because it was designed to make a profit from the timber chopped in its clearing operations (and was therefore always willing to pay for its reserve), yet it was also supposed to encourage colonization. In addition, the Crown Lands Department eventually permitted the companies to count native-born Canadians as part of their required quota of settlers. As a result, the government could gather revenue from its crown lands without bringing the wrath of the French Canadian colonization proponents down upon its head.

The third major colonization company to exploit the Lake Megantic area began its overtures to the Crown Lands Department in December, 1879, when Francis Stockwell, on behalf of several English capitalists, applied for 300,000 acres in the eastern Compton and southern Beauce area.[39] Their proclaimed objective was to settle British immigrants on farms, and to breed cattle for export to foreign markets. They offered to pay cash for the land.

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[39]AC, O.C. 1044, Report of Commissioner of Crown Lands, 30 March 1881.

The Assembly's Standing Committee on Agriculture, Immigration, and Colonization recommended that the proposal be rejected[40], but on December 30 the government offered 100,000 acres at the usual sixty cents per acre.[41] The conditions required that at least forty families be settled the first year, sixty the second, and fifty each of the third and fourth years. These families would fulfill the same settlement duties as ordinary settlers, and, once again, the 1859 regulation dictated that the letters patent could not be issued to the company, but only to the individual colonists. This in effect meant that the corporation did not own the land in any sense. However the directors eventually convinced the government to bend the regulation by promising to grant 5000 acres of the reserve directly to the company once the settlement conditions had been fulfilled. On this tract, they would have to clear ten acres for every hundred, and invest $1000 in buildings. Altogether, the Dominion Company received much the largest reserve of any colonization organization since Confederation -

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[40] JLAQ, XIV (1880), 351.

[41] Assistant Commissioner, L. S. LeSage himself asked to become a member of the board. NAQ, SL, Correspondance, III, 43, LeSage to F. W. Stockwell, 27 Dec. 1882.

Whitton	-	20,590 acres	
Spaulding	-	21,602 acres	
Ditchfield	-	5,595 acres	
Louise	-	6,604 acres	
Gayhurst	-	16,641 acres	
Marlow	-	8,000 acres)	
Nomtagi	-	4,308 acres)	Outside the
Metalik	-	8,011 acres)	Eastern Townships
Humqui	-	6,257 acres)	
Awantjish	-	1,000)	
		99,609	

Of this amount, 1,390 acres, found to be already occupied by squatters, were subracted from the reserve.[42]

The organization's president was Lord Dunmore, Lord-in-waiting to Queen Victoria.[43] It was incorporated as the Dominion of Canada Land and Colonization Company, with a radically modified and enlarged list of goals. The export of beef was no longer mentioned; instead the company was to engage "in all the different branches of industry in the country, such as warehouses, factories, dwelling houses, stores, wharves, and such other premises, buildings, machinery and plant. And to make such roads, tramways, canals or other works of a like or similar nature as may be necessary."[44]

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[42]AC, O.C. 1044, Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 30 March 1881. The standing Committee reluctantly supported this arrangement, but it insisted that conditions should be carried out to the letter, and that no more such sales should be made until the results of this one were learned. JLAQ, XIV (23 July 1880), 350.

[43]The Dictionary of National Biography, I (London, 1951), 665.

[44]AC, O.C. 1044, O. B. Kemp's Report, 26 Oct. 1882.

Though the company did not admit it, the most important "branch of industry" was of course manufacturing lumber.[45]

The Dominion Company's interest in timber soon led it into a conflict with rivals in the same field. Stockwell tried to prevent the G. B. Hall Lumber Company from cutting in his company's special reserve, though it held a licence to do so, by taking a writ of injunction before the Superior Court in Sherbrooke. The government had recently declared that timber companies were to wind up operations the following May on any crown lots reserved for colonists during the previous year. Stockwell contended that because his company had acquired the 5000 acres through a regular and complete sale, it fell under the protection of the new regulation. Hall replied that, by law, he was entitled to a renewal, and that he had the right to cut logs until letters patent were issued. To strengthen his rather weak case, he added that the clearings made by the Dominion Company were unfit for settlement, that only one of its houses was inhabitable, and that the quantity of lumber cut was greatly in excess of what was needed for building houses.

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[45]As with Whyte's Canadian Land Reclaiming and Colonizing Company, considerable publicity was devoted to two portable engines which were to be used in the clearing operation. Jones, II, part 1; Woodley.

Fearing the precedent that a victory for the Dominion Company would set, E. E. Taché, the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, testified in favour of Hall. He emphasized that, until they were actually settled upon, crown lands were considered to be reserves only. Furthermore, when the Hall Company had first applied for a timber licence, it had been informed that it could operate within the designated limits until 1889, even though licences were subject to yearly renewals. Finally, Taché emphasized that no colonization company since 1869 had been allowed to infringe upon the cutting rights of the licence holders. He concluded that "in future timber berths situate within the subdivided portions of this Province would not be worth buying should they be exposed at any moment to be enveloped in some colonization scheme and there [sic] area thereby reduced by 100,000 acres at a time."[46] Much of Taché's testimony about precedents was irrelevant for the Dominion Company was basing its case on a new regulation, and it was the only colonization company to have been given the chance to acquire the letters patent to a block of crown land. It was this 5000 acre block, not the whole 100,000 acre reserve, that the company was trying to protect. Though he lost the first case, Stockwell did manage to win before a court of

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[46]AC, O.C. 1044, "Memorandum on the difficulty"...

appeal.[47]

The next problem he faced was the squatting families on the 5000 acre reserve in Whitton. The forty-four squatters, mostly French Canadians, refused to accept the terms offered by Stockwell. The Crown Lands Department tried without success to convince the company to accept land elsewhere in place of that already occupied. It then warned the company that before it evicted anyone, that person would have to be paid for his improvements. The ministry also emphasized that attempts must be made to keep the squatters on their lots.[48]

The possibility that French-speaking settlers would be evicted by an English corporation was potentially very embarrassing for the government. Therefore when French Canadian clergymen and politicians took up the squatters' cause[49], the Dominion Company was dealt a trump card which it played to full advantage. On June 12, 1882, Stockwell reached an agreement with the government whereby the squatters could stay on company land, and be dealt with on more liberal terms than the immigrants, on condition that they be considered part of the

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[47]Quebec, Debates of the Provincial Legislature, 19 Feb. 1883, p.454.

[48]AC, O.C. 1044, E. J. Flynn to Stockwell, 30 July 1881.

[49]Unidentified newspaper clipping in Jones, II, part 1.

two hundred families the company was obliged to settle.[50] However Stockwell failed to reach an agreement with the squatters before the June 30 deadline set by the government. The colonists' obstinacy appears to have been encouraged by the local priest - in fact Mgr. Racine himself refused to intercede on the company's behalf.[51]

In order to force the squatters to accept a settlement, Stockwell finally took legal action against several of them, demanding that they abandon their land or pay $250 for damages. Father Brassard, the Winslow curé, begged the government to intervene, saying that the squatters were willing to pay for their land, but not to the Dominion Company.[52] The Department of Crown Lands replied that its hands were tied, and suggested that the squatters accept Stockwell's terms. Brassard was assured that when the colonists paid the company, the department would issue the letters patent directly to them.[53] But the squatters remained distrustful, and Brassard asked for a government inspection, charging that the land company had brought not settlers but beggars who were

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[50]AC, O.C. 1044, O. B. Kemp's Report, 26 Oct. 1882.

[51]Ibid., part II, Stockwell to Lynch, 3 Oct. 1882.

[52]Ibid., Brassard to Taché, 5 Aug. 1882.

[53]Ibid., Taché to Brassard, 14 Aug. 1882.

living at its expense.[54]

The government bush ranger, P. W. Nagle, found that nothing had been done in Spaulding and Ditchfield, and not enough in Whitton. In the latter township, 560 acres had been slashed, 340 acres partly cleared, and 270 acres were ready for crops. There were thirty-one houses, fifteen of which were occupied by immigrant families, and five by single men. Most of the men worked on company roads, but only about four miles had been completed. Not surprisingly, however, a sizeable quantity of timber had been cut.[55]

Stockwell protested that there were over forty settlers, and that Nagle had been misled because more than one family lived in some of the fifteen houses in order to be close to the road work. He claimed that after submitting his report, Nagle had conceded to him privately that the company did have its full quota of settlers for the year.[56]

The Department of Crown Lands must have been impressed by Stockwell's defence, for a couple of months later it sent another agent, O. B. Kemp, to report on the company's operations. Kemp's first act was to attend a meeting between the

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[54] Ibid., Brassard to Taché, 14 Aug. 1882.

[55] Ibid., Nagle to Taché, 30 Aug. 1882.

[56] Ibid., Stockwell to Lynch, 19 Oct. 1882.

company's representatives and the squatters. He counselled the latter to accept company terms "in spite of several obnoxious conditions" such as the reservation of mineral rights, mill sites, and fisheries.[57] Most of the squatters followed Kemp's advice, but he reported that if he had inspected the company lots before the meeting, he would have told them to stick to their original position. He found that without the squatters, the company did not have the required number of settlers for the year; the department had therefore been outmanoeuvered again. There were 43 houses, 965 acres slashed and 127 acres cleared. Only twenty-five families and five single men resided in the colony, and they had not been brought directly from Britain as the Dominion Company had promised, but had been approached after their arrival in Quebec, then lured away from their original destinations.

Kemp was convinced that the whole operation was more a speculative than an agricultural one, because the prospectus claimed that the settler would be able to pay for his lot from

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[57] Ibid., O.C. Kemp's Report, 26 Oct. 1882. The conditions outlined by J. B. Picard, M.L.A. for Richmond-Wolfe, were still more "obnoxious". The squatter had to build and maintain, at his own expense, all fences between his and the company's lands; he was not able to require 'découvert' of company lands adjoining his; he could cut no wood on his land until letters patent were issued; and installments on the land had to be paid without fail every year - if they were sixty days overdue, the company could reclaim the property. Le Pionnier, 17 May 1883.

the sale of timber, whereas the law stated that until letters patent were issued, timber could only be used for buildings, fences and firewood.[58] Secondly, a great deal of work had been done, and an immense amount of timber taken, on lots unfit for settlement. Kemp therefore advised the department to insist upon the expired deadline it had set for the company to reach an agreement with the squatters. In this way, the squatters need not be counted as company settlers, legally enabling the government to cancel the whole reserve.

This recommendation was not heeded, for 1883 found the Dominion Company still struggling for existence. It was becoming increasingly unpopular, however, for Deputy J. B. Picard of Wolfe-Richmond launched a bitter attack against it in the Assembly on February 19. He charged that the Cabinet must have bowed to outside pressure when it made the arrangement, because much of the reserve was near the International Railroad, and therefore very valuable. William Sawyer of Compton rose to the defence of the company, claiming that it had built a number of good houses and new roads, made extensive clearings, and that it had not sold any wood. But Sawyer was alone in his stand. George Irvine, M.L.A. for Megantic county, proclaimed that he had no confidence in colonization

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[58]Actually, since 1872, colonists who had made two payments and fulfilled the other settlement conditions could obtain permits to market the timber on their lots. 36 Vict., cap. 8.

companies in general, and that the Dominion Company was simply using colonization as a pretext to sell lumber. He said that the colonists were actually being paid to stay on their lots, and, like Picard, he felt that the terms of the contract should be executed to the letter. Even the Commissioner of Crown Lands, W. W. Lynch, admitted that the results were not what they should have been, and that he too had lost confidence in colonization companies. Lynch confessed to having been swayed by the prestige and influence of Lord Dunmore and other members of the organization: "On devait avoir des engins spéciaux pour faire le défrichement. Tout devait marcher comme par enchantement et la forêt devait en peu de temps faire place à de riants chalets élévés au milieu de ferms [sic] superbement cultivés. C'était un pays de cocagne que l'on devait avoir, ni plus ni moins." E. J. Flynn also conceded that the enterprise had not been a great success, and Premier Mousseau promised that no more large concessions would be made. He believed that putting an intermediary between the government and the colonists was prejudicial to the interests of the latter.[59]

In spite of this near unanimity of opinion, no immediate action was taken against the Dominion Company. In April,

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[59]Quebec, Debates of the Legislature, 19 Feb. 1883, pp.431, 443-4, 447, 450, 452, 458.

P. W. Nagle criticized it harshly in still another report. He emphasized that the old country settlers "keep going and coming and shifting about in such a manner that one hardly knows where to find them from one month to another."[60] But the department was still not convinced, for it again decided to check into Nagle's findings.

In June, two men named A. B. Filion and J. Lloyd made an investigation. Filion claimed that Nagle's report was substantially correct. The company was counting young boys and single men, whereas the 1881 agreement specified families. It had established only thirty-three of these, which, with the squatters, gave it a total of seventy-seven. The conditions required that one hundred families be settled during the first two years. A large sum of money had been spent but to little effect, for the lands cleared were impractical for settlement.[61] Still the situation was not clarified, for Lloyd, the other inspector, criticized Nagle's report. He found ninety-seven, not seventy-seven families, and claimed that the company had "opened up a number of roads and by the expenditure of a very large amount of money have aided most materially in the opening up and development of the

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[60]AC, O.C. 1044, Nagle to Taché, 11 May 1883.

[61]Ibid., part II, Filion to Lynch, 27 June 1883.

country."[62]

Whether or not the details of Nagle's report were correct, it was quite apparent that the Dominion Company had not lived up to expectations. In July it asked the government to cancel all but the Whitton, Spaulding, Ditchfield and Louise tracts, leaving 55,381½ acres. To that date, it had paid $36,000 plus interest, while the cost for the diminished reserve was only $33,228. The company asked that the difference between the two sums be refunded, and that the number of families required be reduced to 111. This would mean that the quota had already been reached.[63]

Surprisingly enough, the government reacted favourably to the proposals, but it insisted upon several modifications. The number of acres was more strictly limited - 22,550 for purely settlement purposes, plus the 5000 acre block for the company itself. Also the squatters were not to be considered as inhabiting the company's reserve, and ninety more families had to be settled within the next three years. Licences for lumber companies would not be renewed for the three year

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[62] Ibid., Lloyd to Dunmore, 20 June 1883.

[63] Ibid., H. B. Brown to Lynch, 5 July 1883.

period, but neither the Dominion Company nor its settlers were to be allowed to cut outside their clearing areas. Finally, the government would refund $8217.[64]

The position of the Dominion Land Company was secure for another three years, but the collapse of the timber market in 1884 completely ruined it. In 1885 Nagle reported that "the settlers have done nothing of themselves except to occupy the lots and shift about from time to time."[65] The company, which had sold its portable steam mills and all its lumber, seemed to be at a standstill. In 1886 Nagle found that many of the company's settlers had left the country, or moved to other lots which they occupied as squatters.[66] He recommended cancellation of the reserve because it had become a nuisance to lumbermen and future settlers.[67] Jones claims that most of the company's efforts were a dead loss - its settlers, tiring of the hard work, soon left, and the houses were either burned down or taken away piece by piece.[68] In the end the sharehol-

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[64]AC, O.C. 1072, "Report of a Commission of the Honourable the Executive Council," 15 Oct. 1883.

[65]AC, O.C. 1044, Nagle to Taché, 9 Feb. 1885.

[66]Ibid., part II, Nagle to Taché, 6 Dec. 1886.

[67]Ibid., 15 Dec. 1886.

[68]J. P. Jones, 1882.

ders were the real losers, because $30,000 had been paid to the government, and $50,000 had been spent on clearing operations. This may help to explain why the Department of Crown Lands hesitated so long before cancelling the contract.

La Compagnie de Colonisation et de Crédit des Cantons de l'Est

The Lake Megantic area was subjected to the efforts of still one more colonization company before the system was abandoned forever. Unlike the others, the headquarters of this one was in France, for the indefatigable Chicoyne managed to find some French investors who had not been frightened away by the misfortunes of their predecessors. Chicoyne's experience and determination brought this group closer to success than any of the other companies in the Townships, but it too eventually had to admit defeat.

Chicoyne first began to fish for French capital in 1877, towards the end of his tenure as chief of the repatriation colony. He proposed to Gustave Bossanges, Paris agent of the Allen Steamship Line, that he imitate the English practice of sending capital to Canada to be invested by notaries at eight percent interest. Characteristically, the nationalistic motive was underlined: "En voulant mettre ce plan à exécution j'espère fortifier la position de l'élément français dans ces Cantons et affranchir petit à petit une foule de

colons des griffes d'usurier, qui leur extorquent [?] 12 à 20 par 100 d'intéret. Les capitaux anglais dont j'ai parlé remplissent bien ce dernier but, mais non le premier."[69] But Bossanges was apparently not receptive to the idea, for two years later Chicoyne had still not heard from him.[70]

Chicoyne's big chance finally came in 1880. That year he went to Europe as representative of the Eastern Townships (Sherbrooke) Colonization Society, ostensibly for the purpose of attracting French and Belgium settlers to its crown land reserve in Woburn township.[71] Mgr. Racine had founded the society on April 14, "afin de conserver les éléments constitutifs de notre nationalité contre les efforts que font de puissantes compagnies pour faire occuper par des émigrés européens cette partie du pays que nous habitons."[72] Though hilly, the Woburn reserve was a valuable block of land, for Father Victor Chartier of Emberton reported that: "J'ai trouvé ce township plus colonisable que m'y [sic] attendais.

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[69]JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Bossanges, 1 Sept. 1877.

[70]Ibid., Chicoyne to Mélayer Masselin, 2 April 1879.

[71]Ibid., Chicoyne to Taché, 30 Dec. 1882. Almost all of the original Woburn property claims had been rescinded after Bush Ranger Nagle reported that "I have not found nor do I know of a single instance where proprietors or parties holding land in Woburn have occupied the land or complied with the land or Government regulations as to settlement duties, etc." AC, adj. 4866, memo by W. E. Collins, 19 Jan. 1881; Extract from P. W. Nagle's report dated 29 Sept. 1880.

[72]ACAS, Biographies des prêtres du diocése de Sherbrooke. Quoted in J. G. Lavallée, p.38.

Sur tout le parcours du chemin que le gouvernement m'a autorisé de faire ouvrir, nous avons trouvé presqu'aucun lot qui ne fut pas propre à la colonisation, et il y a ainsi sept milles de chemin."[73]

Officially on a recruitment drive to send European settlers to Woburn, Chicoyne actually wasted little time in this endeavour. He went directly to Paris where he met G. Mollat, a Nantes lawyer and director of the conservative newspaper, L'Espérance du Peuple. Mollat became so interested in Chicoyne's ambition to attract French capital to the Eastern Townships that he offered to introduce him to some wealthy Nantes citizens. Chicoyne was subsequently received by Adolphe Bécigneul, a notary, and presented to his uncle, Abbé Eugène Marie Peigné, missionary of the Immaculate Conception Order, and heir to the fortune of his grain merchant father. Because he wished to find a worthy cause for his wealth, Abbé Peigné invited Chicoyne to describe his project on a pilgrimage to Lourdes. Chicoyne's arguments were forceful and patriotic enough to persuade Peigné to advance the funds needed ($20,000) for a colonization company. The only condition was that his nephew, Eugène Bécigneul (Adolphe's son), accompany

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[73]ACAS, PP, Saint-Augustin de Woburn, no. 7, V. Chartier to Racine, 4 Sept. 1880.

Chicoyne to Canada to help manage the company's affairs.[74]

In June, 1881, after Mgr. Racine had obtained a papal blessing for the enterprise, "La Compagnie de Colonisation et de Crédit des Cantons de l'Est" was incorporated.[75] Chicoyne was the director-general, and the three "censeurs" were Abbé Peigné, Adolphe Bécigneul and Raphaël de Bouay de la Bégassière, a Nantes landowner and ex-captain of the papal zouaves. Chicoyne was in charge of local operations, while the censeurs, who were to be elected yearly, were supposed to survey the general affairs of the company. No decision or resolution could take effect until it had been supported by at least two of these three men.[76]

There were also nine administrators to direct the company. They were to attend, or be represented at, an annual meeting in Sherbrooke, so at least five of them had to live in the Eastern Townships. Each year three vacancies would be created, to be filled by election. An eligible candidate had to own a minimum of five shares. (A censeur had to hold ten

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[74]La Compagnie de Colonisation et de Crédit des Cantons de l'Est, Notice sur son but et son Organisation (Sherbrooke, 1881), pp.11-12; Alphonse Cauchon, Lac Megantic: la compagnie Nantaise, le chemin de fer 1879-1936 [Sherbrooke, 1936], p.3; Gravel, Lac Mégantic, p.83.

[75]La Compagnie, p.13. This rather unsonorous name was chosen by Chicoyne in order to avoid "tout ce qui serais de nature a froisser la susceptibilité des anglo-protestants, qui possedent encore le haut du pavé dans ces Cantons de l'Est." JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Peigné, 12 Dec. 1880.

[76]La Compagnie, pp.31, 35.

shares.) At the annual meeting each administrator was to cast as many votes as he had shares. The first nine administrators were all prominent men, either in the Townships, or in Nantes:

> Charles Paumier (President) - Former notary in Nantes
> J. A. Chicoyne (Vice-President) - Sherbrooke lawyer
> M. G. Mollat - Nantes lawyer
> Adolphe Langlais - "arbitre de commerce" in Nantes
> Jacques Picard - Wotton landowner and notary, M.L.A. for Richmond-Wolfe
> H. C. Cabana - Sherbrooke lawyer and ex-mayor
> Elisée Noel - Sherbrooke notary and provincial colonization agent
> William Murray - Sherbrooke businessman and Vice-President of the "Compagnie Typographique" which owned the Pionnier
> Eugène Bécigneul (assistant director)[77]

In order to enlist support in Quebec, the company's propaganda carefully emphasized the conservative Catholic background of the French shareholders. The 1884 prospectus proclaimed: "Ses actionnaires français appartiennent exclusivement à la bonne école et représentent par leurs idées, par leurs principes, la vieille France d'autrefois, cette France chrétienne dont nous sommes si justement glorieux d'être issus."[78]

The first shares to be placed on the market numbered

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[77] Ibid., pp.31, 36.

[78] Quoted in Cauchon, p.5.

177, at the price of 500 francs ($100) each. The company planned eventually to divide its capital into two classes of $100,000 (1000 shares at $100 each). Class B funds would be used to lend money to colonists, farmers, and others at a moderate rate of interest. Land of low value would be taken over by the company, which would in turn sell it to colonists who could occupy it as tenants until they had paid for it.[79] Although steps were taken towards impementing this banking scheme, it was never actually brought into operation.

The Class A funds were destined for a colony in Woburn township. To begin with, Chicoyne planned to pay three dollars an acre for the 4628 acres owned by Lemuel Pope.[80] This block would be called the "Domaine". Then there were 35,000 acres of crown lands available at only sixty cents an acre; Chicoyne felt that two hundred of these lots (approximately 20,000 acres) were suitable for colonization.[81]

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[79] Le Compagnie, pp.12, 26, 29.

[80] JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to L. Pope, 5 Nov. 1880; Chicoyne to Peigné, 16 Nov. 1880. This was the only large land claim in Woburn not to be annulled by the Department of Crown Lands in 1880. A local road builder and land speculator, Lemuel Pope may well have been protected by the fact that he was John Henry's first cousin. Channell, p.246.

[81] Ibid., Chicoyne to Peigné.

Once the land was purchased, a sawmill would be built in Woburn, at the site of the future village of Channay. (The name was adopted from the home of Chicoyne's French ancestors.) One tenth of each government lot would be cleared, and the wood sent to the sawmill. A farm would be established on the meadowland, where the wild hay could be cut. Lots would be sold to colonists at a price covering company expenses.[82] All commercial wood, except that used for heat and buildings would be reserved by the company. Nothing would be done for the moment on the Domaine, because no settlement duties were required there. Until the Channay mill was built, logs would be floated down the Arnold River to the southern tip of Lake Megantic. From here they would be taken to the sawmills of the town of Lake Megantic. The expenses would be as follows -

To purchase the Domaine (4628 acres)	- 64,020 francs
To purchase 200 government lots (20,000 acres)	- 60,000 francs
To clear the government lots	-100,000 francs
To build a sawmill at Channay	- 20,000 francs
To establish the farm	- 30,000 francs
Divers	- 25,980 francs
	300,000 francs, ($60,000)

[82] Two years later the price was fixed at seventy-five cents an acre. Up to half the value of the clearings made by the colonists would be lent to them, and they would obtain title to the land only when the debt was repaid. There were to be five annual payments at six percent interest. JAC, RL, II, "Mémoire sur les affaires de la Compagnie de Colonisation et de Credit des Cantons de l'Est," 6 May 1882.

Chicoyne felt there would be a $36,000 profit from selling the wood accumulated in the clearing operations. Furthermore, "cette première opération," Chicoyne announced, "n'est que le début de fonctionnement de notre projet."[83]

In December, Lemuel Pope's land was purchased, and, a month later, Chicoyne began to take steps towards acquiring the B.A.L. Company's 11,200 acre Ditton tract.[84] In order to make the Ditton land more attractive to the Nantes investors, he exploited the desire of a French Trappist monastery to purchase Canadian land which would serve as a new home should government taxation force them to leave Meilleray.[85] Upon Chicoyne's suggestion, the Canadian-born Père Jérome[86] was sent to investigate the B.A.L. Company holding, about three and a half miles from La Patrie in Ditton township.[87] Chicoyne claimed that the Quebec-Boston Railroad (it never materialized) would pass nearby, and that "l'installation d'une

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[83] Ibid., I, Chicoyne to Peigné, 16 Nov. 1880.

[84] Ibid., Chicoyne to Peigné, 12 Dec. 1880.

[85] Ibid., Correspondance, Abbé Eugène to Monsieur, 12 Feb. 1881.

[86] Born Vertume Peloquin, Père Jérome joined the Trappists of Sainte-Justine in Langevin county in 1865. Because the chapter's days were numbered, he went to the Gethsemany monastery in Kentucky in 1869. The tropical climate, combined with his hot-blooded temperament, prevented him from strictly observing the regulations so he soon returned to Sainte-Justine. When the establishment dissolved in 1871, he moved to England where he was ordained. From 1873 to 1880, he lived in the French monestery at Meilleray, twelve leagues from Nantes. C.E. Chartier, p.325.

[87] JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to H. C. Cabana, 5 Nov. 1880.

Trappe à cet endroit y empêchera la fondation d'une colonie anglaise ou protestante."[88] Of course the monastary would further enhance the value of the surrounding property, giving the Nantes Company a chance to make a profitable investment. In communicating this to his superiors, Chicoyne again bolstered his case by exploiting anti-Protestant sentiments: "Il me fait peine de songer que les anglais et les protestants s'enrichiront par les sueurs des Pères Trappistes."[89] Chicoyne was so eager to see the land developed that he declared: "le Père Abbé devrait être amené à faire cette fondation même s'il n'est pas expulsé de Melleraye."[90] But he continued to guard his company's interests carefully, for even when the Trappists did buy 800 acres of the 11,200 acre block, Chicoyne counselled Peigné not to buy the Ditton land until he knew for certain that the new monestary would be built.[91]

For two years Père Jérome worked to improve the Ditton property (christened Bethlehem). He cleared eighty-five

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[88] Ibid., Chicoyne to Peigné, 16 Nov. 1880.

[89] Ibid., 12 Dec. 1880.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., 20 Jan. 1881.

acres, purchased a mill, and constructed a road and chapel, but all was in vain, for when Abbé Eugène visited him in 1882, he expressed disappointment with the area's roads and climate, and alarm at the heavy expenditures. Though $8000 had been invested in the Bethlehem operation, the property was still not worth $5000.[92] The Trappists would be forced to sell at a loss unless they could hold on until colonists arrived. This would be difficult because the $2000 debt contracted by Père Jérome considerably aggravated the monastery's tenuous financial position.[93] As a result, Chicoyne was asked to liquidate the whole enterprise in 1883.[94] Needless to say, he had long since dropped his own plans to invest in Ditton. Instead he continued to concentrate his attention on Woburn. To the 4600 acre Pope tract, he added 9449 acres of crown lands in April, 1881.[95] In revealing the opportunistic side of Chicoyne's personality, the Trappist episode, like some of those connected with the repatriation colony, helps to

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[92] Ibid., Correspondance, Abbé Eugène to Cher Monsieur, 4 Jan. 1883.

[93] Ibid., 1 March 1883.

[94] Ibid., RL, II, Chicoyne to Abbé V. Rousselot, 23 May 1883. The Meilleraye Trappists later founded a chapter at Lake of Two Mountains. C. E. Chartier, p.329.

[95] JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Peigné, 14 April 1881.

explain why he was never able to attract any truly loyal supporters during his career as a colonization entrepreneur in Compton.

Having acquired sufficient land, Chicoyne's next step was to assure that his enterprise would be given plenty of favourable publicity. This he did by becoming editor of the Sherbrooke Pionnier:

> Malgré mes occupations presque sans nombre, les amis m'ont encore imposé la responsabilité de la rédaction du Pionnier. C'est une tâche que je n'ai pu refuser en présence des sollicitations d'hommes haut placés dans notre movement catholique et français. Ce journal est indispensable à la réussite de nos projets et de l'oeuvre de colonisation dans ces Cantons de l'Est. Plus tard, j'espère que vous nous fournirez un bon breton pour rédiger notre Pionnier, et je n'occuperai la charge qu'en attendant que les circonstances me fournissent un remplacement.[96]

Chicoyne's chosen replacement, E. Pingault, arrived from France in December, 1881. The following month, he took over as editor.[97] Chicoyne's well-laid plans were soon upset, however, for Pingault was lured away to the opposing Progrès camp.

During this period, Chicoyne also found time to remodel

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[96] Ibid., 31 March 1881.

[97] Le Pionnier, 12 Jan. 1882.

Mgr. Racine's colonization society into a subsidiary of the Nantais company.[98] Racine remained the president, but Abbé Peigné became the vice-president, and the society's role was limited to encouraging:

> les intérêts religieux de la future paroisse de St. Augustin. Grâce à cette société, nous allons recevoir une subvention de l'Etat pour nous ouvrir une route à travers la forêt; notre Compagnie étant fondée en apparence dans un but purement commerciale ne pourrait pas, d'après le loi du pays, avoir le même avantage.[99]

By the autumn of 1881, the company had acquired the necessary land, but its operations had yet to begin. Nonetheless Chicoyne had already spent Peigné's $20,000[100] and was asking to be allowed to raise the value of shares from 100,000 francs to 250,000 francs ($50,000). Peigné wanted to borrow the extra money instead, but Chicoyne replied that this would seriously compromise the project.[101] He added that he had hesitated to sell shares locally in order to avoid

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[98] Ibid., 24 March 1881.

[99] JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Peigné, 5 May 1881.

[100] Quinn, p.544.

[101] JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Peigné, 31 Oct. 1884.

introducing the anglophone population into the enterprise.[102] When the French investors began to complain about having to take all the financial risks, Chicoyne retorted that if he had to sell shares in order to inspire confidence in the French buyers, he would see to it as soon as time allowed. Because this would mean travelling outside the Eastern Townships to avoid the English-speaking market[103], Chicoyne never did find the opportunity to do this. No doubt he realized that the French directors were already too deeply involved to let him down.

In November they obligingly launched a campaign to sell more shares. A circular was sent to the diocesan clergy as well as to select friends in Nantes. Copying the example set by Chicoyne, the circular made a strong appeal to religious faith and cultural nationalism:

> Le but que nous nous proposons est d'enlever au protestantisme le monopole de la colonisation des immenses forêts vierges du Bas Canada [...]
>
> Deux siecles d'occupation anglaise et de pression persécutrice n'ont pu altérer ni la pureté de la foi, ni l'amour de la mère-patrie chez ces familles généreuses et fidèles [...]

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[102] Ibid., Chicoyne to Charles Paumier, 24 Nov. 1881.

[103] Ibid., Chicoyne to A. Langlais, 28 March 1882.

> Aujourd'hui les besoins du commerce, l'activité fièvreuse de l'industrie, je ne sais quelle fermentation qui travaille les peuples de notre vieille Europe, ont déterminé un mouvement considérable vers ces immenses régions, si fécondes en beaux bois de commerce et en céréales, si riches en toutes sortes de métaux précieux. Cette situation nouvelle menacerait l'excellence [sic] population Franco-Canadienne d'être absorbée par le flot toujours grossissant de l'émigration anglaise, et cependant ces admirables enfants de l'antique royaume de France veulent demeurer catholiques et franco-canadiens. Ils tournent vers nous leurs mains suppliantes et le regard de leur espérance.
>
> Jacques Cartier et les colons qui le suivirent étaient en majeure partie des Bretons, c'est à la fidèle et catholique Bretagne de venir en aide à leur descendants [...]

But material considerations were not entirely forgotten:

> La forêt acquise peut contenir trois cent mille stères de bois propres au commerce.
>
> Les prairies si vastes et fécondes conviennent admirablement à l'élevage des bestiaux et à l'établissement d'importante fromageries d'un produit très avantageux. Sans parler des précieuses mines qu'on peut arriver à découvrir en des terrains situés sur une rivière dont les flots roulent de l'or, du cuivre et de l'étain, nous pouvons espérer les bénéfices serieux résultant de l'exploitation des bois, des productions agricoles et de la plus-value de terre dont le prix peut

> facilement déculper en quelques années.[104]

Though emotional appeals were also part of Chicoyne's technique, he prudently asked that the circular remain in France because of its anti-English bias.[105] It was not needed in Canada anyway, for by February, 1882, Frenchmen had taken all the shares.[106]

This gave Chicoyne a free hand, not only to implement his programme, but to widen its scope. Having decided to build a sawmill at the town of Lake Megantic rather than at Channay, Chicoyne invested $17,280 in thirty-seven acres of town property. Twelve acres were to be used for the mill, and twenty-five for speculation.[107] Chicoyne added 106 acres at the mouth of the Arnold River (in Clinton township) to serve as a station for the steamboat which would haul the log booms to the Lake Megantic mill.[108] After contracting to supply over two million feet of wood[109], he started to erect

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[104]Quoted in Cauchon, p.5.

[105]JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Paumier, 21 Dec. 1881.

[106]Le Pionnier, 23 Feb. 1882.

[107]JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Paumier, 16 Nov. 1881.

[108]La Compagnie, p.22.

[109]JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Paumier, 24 Nov. 1881.

the building which was to be no ordinary saw mill. With the circular saw alone it would cost $10,000. In addition, a variety of other saws were to be installed in order to make use of all the wood cut in clearing operations. The building would also house a flour mill at an added expense of $5000. Finally, the metal for the steam engine would have to be imported from England, making the completed machine cost $3500. The building as a whole, therefore, would require $18,500.[110] Unfortunately future developments were to prove that such a large outlay of capital was unwarranted.

In December, 1881, President Charles Paumier began to worry about the declining French market for timber, but Chicoyne assured him that the Central and South American demand was more than adequate.[111] When Paumier and Abbé Peigné again expressed concern in March, Chicoyne assured them that, "Je vois dans cette Compagnie une institution toute providentielle qui, avec le temps, va répondre à un grand besoin dans nos Cantons de l'Est." He had to admit that there had been unexpected delays in cutting the logs, but he still felt that the

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[110] Ibid., "Notice et mémoire sur les Moulins Nantais en construction au Lac Mégantic," 31 Dec. 1881. The projected cost turned out to be quite accurate. Ibid., "La Compagnie de Colonisation [...] Exposé de la Situation."

[111] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 21 Dec., 27 Dec. 1881.

contract could be filled.[112]

As for colonization itself, Chicoyne was even more confident. By March, 1882 he had still not bothered to draw up a plan[113], yet he actually discouraged the French administrators from recruiting emigrants:

> Du reste ne vous préoccupez pas des colons autrement que donner des informations incidemment. Si nous cherchons à recruter ouvertement, on se montrera exigeant envers nous. Notre politique devra être de laisser venir dans notre colonie ceux qui rempliront les conditions voulues pour y amener le progrès et le prospérité.[114]

Once the project had succeeded, Chicoyne predicted, people would flood in from the old parishes and the United States, as well as from France. Nonetheless he promised to start advertizing as soon as the government extended its road beyond Channay to the crown lots where the first arrivals would be settled.

In April, when Chicoyne finally did begin preparing for colonists in Woburn, 2000 acres of crown land were trans-

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[112] Ibid., 28 March 1882.

[113] Ibid., 2 March, 28 March 1882.

[114] Ibid., 6 April 1882.

ferred to his company from the Sherbrooke Colonization Society's reserve. This land was to serve as pasture for a Swiss cheese factory at Channay.[115] The factory would in turn serve as a market for the Woburn colonists' milk. Chicoyne also planned to build a small sawmill at Channay for the use of the settlers.[116]

At the same time, Chicoyne was taking steps to launch the Class B half of the enterprise. When the town of Coaticook's Société de Construction (a type of community trust company) was liquidated, Chicoyne and several of his Sherbrooke colleagues bought all the shares for $1700. They planned to resell them to the local clergy and French Canadians as shares in Class B of the company's operations.[117]

Buy Chicoyne remained preoccupied with the Lake Megantic operations, for he had not sold any Class A shares in Quebec, and he again needed more money. On April 30 he drew up a list of expenses -

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[115] Ibid., Chicoyne to Abbé H. O. Chalifoux, 2 March 1882.

[116] Ibid., "Mémoire sur les affaires"..., 6 May 1882.

[117] Ibid., "Mémoire sur la classe B," 4 Aug. 1882.

Clearing and seeding the Domaine	$ 300
Construction of the Moulins Nantais in Lake Megantic	$ 5,000
Operation of the Moulins Nantais	$ 5,500
Owed to various people	$ 1,500
	$12,300

The company still had $6636.95 on hand, which left a total of $5663.05 to be raised. And, further in the future, $20,000 would be needed to exploit the Domaine.[118] In August, Chicoyne warned that by June 30, 1883 he would have spent $39,254.46.[119] But the French directors replied that shares were not selling well in France, no doubt because of the lack of dividends from the first year's operations. Chicoyne had promised immediate profit, but delays in getting the wood to Lake Megantic, and in constructing the mill and its railroad branch, meant that returns had been slow in coming.[120] Finally, in November, Chicoyne announced that a two and a half percent dividend would be paid. But in order to continue operations, $10,000 would be needed to cut wood, $3000 for the Channay colony, and $2000 for mill operations.[121] Chicoyne still opposed making a loan - he wanted the French officials

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[118] Ibid., "Mémoire sur les affaires"...

[119] Ibid., Chicoyne to A. Langlais, 22 Aug. 1882.

[120] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 6 Nov. 1882.

[121] Ibid., 23 Nov. 1882.

to sell 150 more shares - but in December he was forced to borrow $2000 at seven percent interest.[122] By that time, he had doubled his estimate to $20,000 for cutting and floating operations[123], but France sent only $4000, saying that $8000 more would be available in the spring.[124]

The company's finances were clearly in a dangerous position, but this was not Chicoyne's only headache, for the government began to exert pressure to start colonizing. Because nationalist deputies were crying for strict measures against Lord Dunmore's Dominion Land Company, the Department of Crown Lands could not be overly lenient towards the Nantais people.[125] Chicoyne's excuse for the company's neglect in this area was that the government had not completed its road to the crown land reserve before the previous autumn. He emphasized that real progress had been made in Woburn. The company farm now had a barn and stable, as well as nearly one hundred acres of cultivated land. In addition, a sawmill and store had been erected in the village of Channay. The cheese factory would be completed in the spring, and fifty colonists would be brought from Switzerland to operate and help

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[122] Ibid., 4 Dec. 1882.

[123] Ibid., 23 Dec. 1882.

[124] Ibid., 6 Jan. 1883.

[125] Ibid., 25 Feb. 1883.

supply it. He concluded with the strongest argument in his favour:

> Si notre Compagnie était coupable de spéculation illicite, si elle constituait un obstacle à la colonisation de Woburn, soyez convaincu que la Société dont Sa Grandeur Mgr. Racine est Président ne manquerait pas de nous retirer sa confiance et d'introduire à notre place un élément plus digne de remplir les nobles desseins qu'elle a conçus en se faisant réserver ce Canton.[126]

The Minister of Crown Lands replied that he was not satisfied with Chicoyne's excuses, but because Mgr. Racine was associated with the project, he would grant a twelve month delay.[127]

Chicoyne's desperate demands for money persisted throughout the winter. Money was needed for more clearing, for cattle, for advances to the colonists, for payment of the government instalment, and for the Lake Megantic mill.[128] The government pressure, and the lack of financial resources, forced Chicoyne to restrict logging in order to concentrate upon establishing the colony.[129] Of course this did not augur

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[126] Ibid., Chicoyne to E. E. Taché, 30 Dec. 1882.

[127] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 20 Jan. 1883.

[128] Ibid., Chicoyne to Langlais, 21 Jan. 1883.

[129] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 27 Jan. 1883.

well for the year's earnings. But Chicoyne did not intend to allow colonization to encroach too heavily on the profit-making operations. He was confident that if the required capital for both fields could not be raised, he could count on some English-speaking deputies, who were his political allies, to "adoucir les rigueurs administratives."[130]

Unfortunately for Chicoyne, the French shareholders became more and more dissatisfied. In March, he had to assure them that the Minister of Crown Lands was not hostile towards them by reiterating that $3000 in government money had been spent on roads and bridges in the company's reserve. He added that the government never took back lands where colonization had been initiated, and that by autumn the company would have at least made a start on its best holdings. Even if some of the property was seized, the company's down payment would be returned. Finally, the colony would always have the private Domaine, which included the best agricultural land, and which could supply the sawmill for a good ten years.[131] As for local financial support, Chicoyne promised to begin offering the Class B shares to the general public at the first opportunity. However it would be impossible for him to sell Class A shares because his Eastern Townships compatriots had invested all

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[130] Ibid., 25 Feb. 1883.

[131] Ibid., 6 March 1883.

they could afford in Class B, and he still did not have time to travel to the rest of the province.[132]

If the shareholders were reassured, their relief was short-lived, for in mid-summer Chicoyne recommended that the meadow land of the valuable Domaine be sold to settlers immediately because there was not enough money to develop it. This was the one piece of land that the company held clear title to, but Chicoyne rationalized that its sale would attract a more prosperous class of settlers, thereby aiding the cheese factory and guarding against charges of speculation.[133] But such philanthropy clearly did not appeal to the French directors, for Chicoyne began to complain that they were acting as if they had lost confidence in his administration. He asked that a delegate be sent from Nantes to investigate[134], but instead he himself was requested to go to France to submit a report.[135]

When he arrived in Nantes, Chicoyne learned that Pingault, the former editor of the Pionnier, had been sending copies of the enemy Progrès de l'Est to the Nantes directors.[136] The Progrès had indeed been critical of the whole

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[132] Ibid., 5 March 1883.

[133] Ibid., 22 July 1883.

[134] Ibid., 15 July 1883; Chicoyne to Peigné, 6 July 1883.

[135] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 31 Aug. 1883.

[136] JAC, Voyages en Europe: 1877-85, Chicoyne to Caro-

operation. It reported that the wood market was flooded, that employees were complaining about their salaries, and that the company was threatening to sue the man who had installed the Moulins Nantais machines. It also carried on its long-standing personal vendetta with Chicoyne, of whom it stated:

> Ceux qui savent comment il a conduit les travaux du gouvernement dans les cantons du rapatriement, savent aussi que M. Chicoine est un homme de jugement sur et solide, muri par une longue expérience dans l'art de faire de l'argent, d'un désintéressement à tout épreuve et ne travaillent que pour la plus grande gloire de la religion et l'avancement du Canada français! Les profits sont peut-être lents à venir, mais les riches capitalistes qui lui ont confié leurs milliers de francs, doivent s'attendre à recueillir ces mérites spirituels plutôt que de l'or, eux qui ont entrepris ces grands travaux en vue de la conversion des "sauvages" du Canada! Lorsqu'il a dévotement baisé les mains de l'abbé de Belle-Fontaine, avant de reprendre la route du pays lors de son premier voyage, M. Chicoyne a dû leur faire comprendre par cet acte d'humilité et de piété qu'à l'example du Divin Maître, son royaume n'est point de ce monde![137]

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line, 11 Oct. 1883. Rivals for subscriptions as well as government patronage, Sherbrooke's two French language newspapers, though both Conservative supporters, were to be found on the opposite side of almost any local issue. The Progrès finally joined the Mercier forces after the hanging of Riel.

[137] Le Progrès de l'Est, 15 Sept. 1883.

In spite of these attacks, Chicoyne was again able to dispel the directors' fears, for he informed his wife that "tous ces MM. sont on ne peut mieux disposés en ma faveur [...] Je t'assure que Pingault et Bélanger ont bien mal réussi dans le but machiavélique qu'ils voulaient atteindre en envoyant leur sale feuille ici en France: ils m'ont fait du bien au contraire."[138] Chicoyne returned to Quebec without additional money, but at least he again had moral support.

Meanwhile matters had not gone so well back in Compton. A second Bécigneul brother, Louis, who had been sent to investigate the company's operations in Chicoyne's absence, was openly stating that the Moulins Nantais would be abandoned in order to concentrate on colonization. Worse still, the Bécigneul brothers were supported by those whom Chicoyne had left in charge of the operation. Chicoyne's wife lamented, "Mon pauvre Adolphe ce n'est seulement pas en des mains inhabiles que tu as laissé la gestion des affaires; c'est à des traitres qui ont en vue leur avancement personnel plutôt que la réussite de votre grande enterprise."[139]

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[138]JAC, Voyages..., Chicoyne to Caroline, 6 Oct. 1883.

[139]JAC, Caroline Chicoyne Correspondence: 1880-1883, Caroline to Chicoyne, 19 Sept. 1883. The young Bécigneuls remained a thorn in Chicoyne's side until he withdrew from the company. Eugène had been appointed as Chicoyne's assistant, but had been placed in charge of colonization at Channay, where he would be out of the way. Abbé Peigné demanded a more res-

But Chicoyne had won this round at least. In December of 1883 he declared a $6363.52 profit, which meant that the company could offer a five percent dividend.[140] Furthermore, colonization progressed well enough to satisfy the government, and the company store in Lake Megantic proved to be profitable.[141]

To reassure the French investors, Chicoyne fused the Class B shares with Class A, which meant that his Sherbrooke colleagues became investors in the mill and colonization operations. This undoubtedly strengthened the confidence of the French shareholders, but it also meant that Chicoyne would lose some of his freedom of action in Quebec. In addition, the fusion failed to bring the necessary extra capital, for in spite of the declared profit, the company was still unable to support itself. Once again Chicoyne began issuing appeals for money ($10,000) from France. He rationalized that because the Quebec public had been led to believe that he had gone to Nantes in order to prevent the French shareholders from dropping the enterprise, a campaign to sell

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ponsible position for his nephew, but Chicoyne refused to submit saying he was "plutôt un fardeau qu'un auxiliaire." JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Paumier, 24 Jan. 1884. Louis was worse, for not only did he openly boast that he had been sent to spy on Chicoyne, but his wild behaviour became a scandal throughout the countryside. Ibid., Chicoyne to Peigné, 10 April 1884.

[140] JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Paumier, 6 Dec. 1883.

[141] Ibid., Chicoyne to Langlais, 23 Dec. 1883.

shares within the province would only reinforce this opinion and weaken the company's position.[142] Whether the French directors believed this rather flimsy excuse or not, they obligingly sent $5000 in January.[143]

In truth, the company had reason to maintain its confidence in Chicoyne. During the winter of 1883-84 over four million feet of timber were cut, the mill operated smoothly, colonists began to buy the Domaine lots, and a group of Swiss immigrants arrived with machinery for manufacturing cheese.[144] When the log drive of four million feet of spruce, and a million feet of pine and cedar began on schedule in April[145], the company's financial embarrassments finally appeared to be over. However disaster lay just around the corner.

In May, 1884 Chicoyne announced a "Krach" in the New York market - the European commercial crisis had finally reached America.[146] The price of wood dropped quickly, and, although Chicoyne managed to maintain the budget at an equili-

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[142] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 13 Dec. 1883, 3 Jan., 6 Jan. 1884.

[143] Ibid., 24 Jan. 1884.

[144] Ibid., 13 Feb., 24 Feb., 20 March, 19 April 1884.

[145] Ibid., Chicoyne to Rumery, Birnie and Co., 18 April 1884.

[146] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 15 May, 30 May 1884.

brium, most of the profits came from the store.[147] Even Chicoyne's unending optimism was sorely tested: "Il est bien évident que si la crise se continue il faudra ou créer de nouvelles opérations payantes, ou bien diminuer nos frais généraux à tout prix."[148] Never one to back down in the face of a challenge, Chicoyne chose the former alternative.

Though no one up to that point had made a profit from selling land to colonists, Chicoyne acquired 2200 more acres from the government in order to start a second company farm called Toutes Joies.[149] The Department of Crown Lands, which was beginning to learn from experience, laid down stringent conditions. Within two years the company would have to build a Swiss Gruyère cheese factory, as well as instruct at least six Quebec students in the manufacturing process. Within three years, five percent of the land was to be under cultivation (ten percent within five years).[150]

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[147] Ibid., 16 Nov. 1884. In November the statement of profits was as follows -

Store	$3162.90
Sale of lots at Lake Megantic	427.37
Mill	959.25

Ibid., 22 Nov. 1884.

[148] Ibid., 16 Nov. 1884.

[149] Ibid., Chicoyne to Cher Monsieur, 26 Sept. 1884.

[150] AC, O.C. 1082, "On the application of the Eastern Townships Colonization and Credit Company," 4 Nov. 1884.

Though selling timber would normally have been more profitable than selling land to poor colonists, Chicoyne's colonization and land speculation projects did pay dividends. The Sherbrooke Committee's annual report of November 25 recorded that the Domaine farm had been rented to Swiss colonists who were operating butter and cheese factories on a small scale; several other Domaine lots had been sold to French Canadians; colonization of the government lots in Woburn had been a success, with good crops harvested; the value of the Clinton property at the southern tip of Lake Megantic had increased with the construction of a government quay; and the Lake Megantic town lots were also becoming more and more valuable. Finally, the store at Lake Megantic had brought a seventeen and an eigth percent profit in the previous eleven months. The report concluded that with $3418.35 on hand (this figure was soon to become a subject of controversy), the company could proceed at a slow pace without further shares being sold. However more money would be required if the company were to hold its lumber until prices were restored.[151]

Winter logging and sawmill operations would obviously not be extensive, so Chicoyne was granted a six months leave

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[151]JAC, RL, II, "Le Compagnie de [...]. Exposé de la Situation."

of absence.[152] He took advantage of this opportunity to acquire a federal grant through J. H. Pope in order to pay his expenses to Switzerland where he was to recruit more cheese-making immigrants.[153] But Chicoyne's real motive for going to France was to rescue the company from stagnation by convincing Abbé Peigné to embark on another share-selling programme. This he had little trouble in doing - $50,000 was to be invested by one of Peigné's rich connections alone.[154] It appeared certain that the company would easily ride out the recession, but Chicoyne seemed to be jinxed. At the last minute, his Sherbrooke colleagues pulled the rug out from under him by submitting a special report which accused him of having purposefully placed the company in a dangerous financial position by withdrawing all the funds before he had left for Europe.

Chicoyne's reconstruction of the events leading up to the bombshell unfolds as follows. When the November 25 report was being drafted, he had wished to stress the fact that more money was urgently needed, but the other directors had supported H. C. Cabana's contention that the enterprise could proceed, though painfully, without more shares being sold. To keep the

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[152] Ibid., Chicoyne to Paumier, 30 Nov. 1884.

[153] Ibid., 7 Nov. 1884; Chicoyne to Pope, 7 Jan. 1885.

[154] Ibid., Voyages en Europe: 1877-85, Chicoyne to Caroline, 20 Feb. 1885.

peace, Chicoyne had signed the report but he had done everything in his power to sell more shares upon arriving in France. Meanwhile the Sherbrooke directors had begun to realize the true gravity of the situation. It was in order to cover up their mistake in the November report that they informed Nantes that Chicoyne had withdrawn, in a lump sum, the $3302 owed him as salary. By doing this, they claimed, he had placed the company in an impossible financial position. Chicoyne contended that in reality the company had only had $173.42 in account when the November report had been filed, and that he had sold over $3000 worth of wood before leaving for Europe. From this sum he had paid company bills, and taken for himself only what he needed to settle his affairs (about $1000) before his voyage. He could prove that the "caisse" was in as good a position when he left Quebec, as when the November report had been drafted.[155]

Quite naturally, the March report had a disastrous effect upon the prospects for selling shares in France. Chicoyne reported to his wife: "Le rapport du 'bureau' canadien est arrivé comme un obus prussien parmi ces têtes françaises si spirituelles, à idées si généreuses, mais en même temps il faut le dire, si légères et si facilement échauffées."[156]

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[155] Ibid., Chicoyne to Caroline, 6 March 1885.

[156] Ibid.

The Nantes committee decided to advertize their shares anyway, but to little avail.[157]

Poor Chicoyne certainly had a right to be bitter:

> Depuis bientôt un mois que je suis en France j'ai travaillé sans relâche, et avec tout l'habilité possible à dresser mes batteries pour monter à l'assaut des actionnaires dans le but si noble de sauver une entreprise bonne et solide en elle-même et si utile à notre patrie. Juste en moment d'allumer la mêche, mon bras est emporté par ce boulet maladroitement lancé par mes propres campagnons d'armes.[158]

However he was partly to blame himself because, as administrator of the company, he should have made its financial position perfectly clear to the Sherbrooke directors, and he should not have signed the overly-optimistic November report. Autocrat that he was, he appears not to have taken the committee seriously, and to have decided to rescue the company on his own accord by selling shares in France.

This reversal was the last straw for Chicoyne. The company simply did not have enough capital to continue operations, so he counselled Abbé Peigné to liquidate it at the first favourable opportunity. He warned that if his advice were not

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[157] Ibid., 11 March, 24 March, 1 April 1885.

[158] Ibid., 6 March 1885.

followed, "il devra y avoir un crac épouvantable avant longtemps."[159] But instead, Adolphe Bécigneul was sent to Lake Megantic with $2800 to try to salvage the enterprise.[160] In effect, he replaced Chicoyne as manager, who wrote to his wife in April, "je pense que notre Compagnie va tourner en affaire de famille. M. Peigné va s'en emparer et le faire conduire par ses neveux. Tant mieux."[161] In June he informed the Sherbrooke directors that he no longer wished to be responsible for the company's affairs, other than as a single member of the administration.[162] Finally, in July he resigned as director general.[163] To charges that he was abandoning the company in its hour of need, he replied that he had been eased out by Peigné and Bécigneul.[164] Chicoyne's final recommendation to the company was to abandon the 1881 crown land grant (9449 acres). In this way not only could it avoid the reputation of being an obstacle to colonization, but the

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[159] Ibid., 24 March, 1 April 1885.

[160] Ibid., 7 April 1885.

[161] Ibid., 9 April 1885.

[162] Ibid., RL, II, Chicoyne to Messieurs les Administrateurs..., 23 June 1885.

[163] Ibid., 3 July 1885.

[164] Ibid., Chicoyne to Cher Monsieur, 14 Aug. 1885.

money reimbursed could be invested in the 1884 Toutes Joies grant (2200 acres).[165] By December, Chicoyne had resigned completely from the administration.[166]

Still the company struggled on. In July of 1886 it issued a report claiming that twenty acres of the Toutes Joies farm had been cleared, and that thirty of its ninety-eight other lots were occupied. The report blamed the slow progress on the oversized Lake Megantic mill, which manufactured too much lumber in a time of crisis, thereby diverting money destined for colonization in Woburn. Wishing to return to its original purpose, colonization, the company asked the government for permission to retain the Toutes Joies farm and twenty-four improved lots. It wanted the money it had paid toward the other lots to be credited towards those it retained.[167] In harmony with its expressed desire to concentrate upon colonization alone, the company sold its Lake Megantic mill for $12,000 (about two thirds the cost) to Frank Dudley of Portland, Maine.[168]

In December of 1886, P. W. Nagle submitted a report to

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[165] Ibid., Chicoyne to Administrators, 10 Nov. 1886.

[166] Ibid., Chicoyne to G. Mollat, 30 Dec. 1885.

[167] AC, Register Book, Section West, 1887, no. 4553, Report of la Compagnie de Colonisation des Cantons de l'Est, 6 July 1886.

[168] Le Progrès de l'Est, 3 Sept. 1886.

the Crown Lands Department supporting the company's request to be credited with the instalments it had paid on the relinquished lands. He also recommended that the time allotted for construction of the cheese factory be extended.[169] But two more years passed and very little was accomplished. Nagle reported that colonization was progressing at a snail's pace: "Where parties have left or went to the States, others have taken their places, and a few who were absent have returned to reside."[170] In Channay, the company still owned a store and operated a good saw mill in connection with a grist mill, but it had failed to establish the cheese factory, or to improve the Ferme Toutes Joies. Nagle recommended that the company at once abandon claim to all lots not settled, including Toutes Joies. He even felt that, in the interest of the settlers, the company might have to liquidate itself in the near future.[171]

Refusing to give in, the Nantes directors made still another desperate effort to salvage the enterprise. After expensive materials were imported from Europe to build the cheese

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[169]AC, Section West, adj. 5681, Nagle to Taché, 31 Dec. 1886.

[170]The Parish Reports do indicate a slow growth in Woburn's population: 1884 - 58, 1886 - 90, 1887 - 97, 1888 - 134, 1889 - 160, 1890 - 164, 1891 - 187. ACAS, Rapports des Paroisses, Saint-Augustin de Woburn.

[171]AC, Section West, adj. 5681, Nagle to Taché, 30 June 1888.

factory[172], Bécigneul convinced the government to issue letters patent in the name of the company, rather than in the names of the settlers. This would enable him to force the settlers to pay for the improvements made. In return, Bécigneul promised to expand the clearing operations, to lend cows to the colonists, and to establish butter and cheese factories.[173]

In 1892 the company was still struggling for survival, but Abbé Peigné informed Mgr. Racine,

> Notre pauvre société de colonisation est sur le point de rendre le dernier soupir. La trop lourde dette dont elle a été chargée dès sa formation, l'a ruinée. Les créanciers qui ne touchent plus leurs intérets demendent une liquidation dans laquelle l'actif aura peine à solder le passif.

However Peigné was still unwilling to abandon the project entirely. He said that as one of the six creditors he would get one sixth of the land upon dissolution. This would probably include the Woburn farm and a considerable portion of the prairies:

> Mon intention, si les choses se font ainsi, est de créer une nouvelle société ayant pour capital ma part dans la partage d'une valeur d'environ

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[172] Le Pionnier, 21 Oct. 1887, 21 June 1888.

[173] AC, Section West, adj. 5681, Bécigneul to Taché, 5 Sept. 1889.

> 38,000 F [francs]. Il serait alors créé 76 nouvelles actions valant réellement chacune 500 F et je les donnerai en échange aux personnes à qui j'avais moi-même placés des anciennes. J'en aurai 45 à 50 à remplacer ainsi, la plupart à des confrères dont je tiens à ne pas tromper la confiance.[174]

The elderly Peigné even declared that he was willing to become the parish priest of Woburn, but Mgr. Racine rejected the offer.[175] In the end, nothing came of the whole face-saving device, for in 1893 the company finally breathed its last.[176]

Like the other colonization enterprises in Compton county, the Nantais Company was a complete financial failure. However it had come very close to success, and it greatly benefitted the area in which it operated. In Woburn, roads were built and the nucleus of a town established.[177] Lake Megantic, with the large Moulins Nantais, was an even greater beneficiary. Altogether, the company invested a total of $60,000, a sum which represented invaluable aid to any pioneering district.

Though Chicoyne's lofty anticipations had once more

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[174]ACAS, PP, Saint-Agnès de Lac Mégantic, Peigné to Racine, 18 Aug. 1892.

[175]ACAS, RL, I, no. 879, p.605, Racine/to Abbé Peigné, 30 Aug. 1892.

[176]Le Pionnier, 17 March 1893.

[177]Judging from the Parish Reports, Channay was much

been disappointed, he continued to work for colonization. 1885 found him petitioning the Department of Crown Lands, on behalf of the Sherbrooke Colonization Society, for a list of lots available in Louise township (South of Ditchfield).[178] In fact, his enthusiasm for large-scale projects was not dampened, for he even considered Assistant Commissioner LeSage's suggestion that he acquire a majority interest in the British American Land Company.[179] However the Lake Megantic project proved to be the last major colonization enterprise which Chicoyne would ever be directly involved in. In October, 1885 he asked the Pionnier administrators for permission to write articles encouraging colonization[180], and by January he was editor once more.[181]

Soon afterward, Chicoyne's attention turned towards a new field - politics. In February, 1886 he was elected Mayor of Lake Megantic[182], and in 1890 he became Sherbrooke's second French Canadian mayor.[183] That same year he attempted unsuc-

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like the other French Canadian pioneer communities, though slightly poorer. ACAS, Rapports des Paroisses, Saint-Augustin de Woburn, 1884-91.

[178] JAC, RL, II, Chicoyne to Taché, 10 Nov. 1885.

[179] Ibid., Chicoyne to LeSage, 13 Nov. 1885.

[180] Ibid., Chicoyne to L. E. Panneton, 20 Oct. 1885.

[181] Ibid., Chicoyne to Mademoiselle, 6 Jan. 1886.

[182] Le Progrès de L'Est, 2 Feb. 1886.

[183] Amédée Gaudreault, Les Maires de Sherbrooke (Sherbrooke, 1954), p.19.

cessfully to become Compton county's provincial Conservative candidate.[184] Then in 1892, Richmond-Wolfe elected him to the Legislature. Chicoyne was apparently a very good speaker, for Abbé Auclair claims that he became known as the Nestor of the Legislative Assembly.[185] He remained a member of the House until 1904 when his career was cut short by paralysis. Though only sixty years old, the physically powerful Chicoyne was forced to spend his remaining years in helpless inactivity - a tragic end to a life which had endured more than its share of frustrations.

J. A. Chicoyne was in many ways a typical example of Quebec's nineteenth century lay élite. His background and interests were shared by most of his fellow French Canadian spokesmen - he was classically educated and trained as a lawyer; he dabbled in journalism and was interested enough in French Canada's romantic past to be called an amateur historian[186]; and finally he became a full-time politician. Nor did his obsession with colonization set him apart (except

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[184]JAC, Correspondance Générale: 1888-95, Bécigneul to Chicoyne, 22 May 1890.

[185]Auclair, II, 189, 191.

[186]Chicoyne traced his family tree to France, and, to the amusement of some of his detractors, subsequently changed the spelling of his name from the French Canadian "Chicoine." He arranged to have a stained glass window from Jacques Cartier's home sent to Canada before the building was demoli-

possibly in degree) from the mainstream of educated Quebec society. This was the central theme of most of the province's literature, and a good many editorials, sermons, and political speeches. Much of the rhetoric was borrowed from the conservative Catholic thinkers of France who wished to guard the old values associated with an agrarian economy.

This ideal was irresistable to an élite who could see that the forces of modernization were drawing their people into a foreign country at an alarming rate. Had not urbanization and Americanization become equated in their minds, it is doubtful that they would have been so persistant in identifying the survival of the traditional lifestyle with the survival of French Canada itself. But even Quebec's cities had powerful English-speaking populations and countless pitfalls to corrupt the sturdy French Canadian habitant, leaving him susceptible to assimilation. Chicoyne, for one, mistrusted cities no matter where they were to be found. In 1893, as Chairman of the Legislative Assembly's Special Committee to examine the causes for migration from the countryside, he did not differentiate between the evils of those in the United States and those in Quebec.[187] However one cannot help but

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shed. He also began to write a history of the Eastern Townships, but he never seems to have completed it. JAC, RL, I, Chicoyne to Le Melayer Masselin, 2 April 1879; II, Chicoyne to L. Tarouilly, 10 April 1882.

[187] JLAQ, appendix 1, p.395.

notice a certain ambivalence in Chicoyne's attitude towards urbanization in Quebec. In his report he did not go so far as to say the government should discourage the growth of centralized manufacturing plants, even though he claimedthat they were drawing people from the land. He clearly regretted the evolution towards a highly specialized and integrated economy[188], but he realized that Quebec farmers had no choice but to adapt or be ruined. The report therefore stressed the importance of improved agricultural techniques, a more practical system of education, farm credit, and sensitivity to the market. Colonization was not forgotten, but it occupied a secondary place, and for the first time he remarkedupon the importance of distinguishing between arable land and that suited only for mines and timber. Chicoyne's ideal was a pastoral, self-sufficient Quebec, but he was practical enough to realize that if French Canada were to survive, it would have to change with the times. Otherwise he would not have become so involved with the speculative aspect of the Nantes project, even to the detriment of settlement itself, and he would not have rejected the ultramontare wing of the Conservative party for the moderate Chapleau forces.[189]

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[188] Ibid., p.382.

[189] Auclair, II, 192. In his dissertation, Trépanier (pp.249-50) makes the useful distinction between the doctrinaire and the pragmatic "apôtre de la colonisation."

The failure of the colonization companies symbolized the dilemma of French Canadian nationalists, caught between the imperative to preserve and the imperative to adapt, for it proved impossible to settle the reserves and make a profit from the timber at the same time. The best timber land was not necessarily the most arable, with the result that lots were often cleared and houses built in impractical places. Furthermore, British companies were inexperienced, both as colonizers and lumbermen, and it was always difficult to convince British emigrants to settle in Quebec. Consequently, not only were the few immigrants who were introduced to the area ill-suited to be colonists, but they were kept busy clearing lots for the companies, rather than improving their own farms.

The French organization was less handicapped. Chicoyne was experienced in managing colonies, and French-speaking settlers could be found with the province. But Chicoyne seemed to lack an acute business sense; he tended to allow his ambition to overwhelm his sense of judgement. The result was that he over-extended the Nantais Company's operations during a period of financial recession. In spite of

this, the company might have been modestly successful had not internal rivalries scuttled it.

Still, all was not in vain, for the colonization companies injected valuable doses of capital into the pioneer economy of eastern Compton. They built mills, even whole villages; constructed roads; invested in railroads; and provided employment as well as markets for local inhabitants. In this sense they were much more beneficial than the true timber companies, which did little for the areas in which they operated. The colonization companies also represented an advance over the older B.A.L. Company, for their settlement terms were usually liberal, and the government did not hesitate to confiscate their reserves when they failed to fulfill their obligations. Furthermore they were operating in an area which was generally poorly-suited for farming; therefore their failure to establish a significant number of colonists cannot be said to have retarded the development of the area. Finally, by temporarily appeasing the proponents of colonization, these companies freed the provincial government from direct involvement in land settlement schemes, an involvement which had proved costly during the seventies. Even if the colonization companies were little more than timber merchants in disguise, the government had been very shrewd when it encouraged their formation. In the following chapter we will see that when the large injections of private and public capi-

tal into eastern Compton ended during the eighties, the area had a strong enough economic base to continue a slow development.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE FRENCH CANADIAN PARISH IN COMPTON COUNTY

In chapter seven we compared the economic position of the French Canadian colonists with that of their anglophone neighbours, primarily by using the 1831, 1852, 1861 and 1871 manuscript census reports. This chapter will, in a sense, begin where chapter seven ended, for it is based primarily upon the Parish Reports which priests of the Sherbrooke Diocese began to submit regularly to Mgr. Racine in 1878. However the very nature of these documents dictates that the emphasis will be switched from economic development to the social and cultural aspects of the francophone communities.

Most French Canadians entered Compton county as scattered colonists and labourers in the older English-speaking townships, or as compact groups of colonists on the crown lands further East. Some Catholic parishes were therefore quite large in area, with many Protestant farmers contained within their boundaries, while others consisted entirely of small, localized enclaves of French Canadians in the wilderness. The Catholic Church discouraged contact with the Protestant English Canadians because of presumed dangers to the French Canadians' faith, morals and language. But some social intermingling was

unavoidable in the areas where the francophones worked for and lived among Protestants. As in chapter seven, we will compare the French Canadians in the older anglophone centres with those in the newly-colonized areas, this time in an attempt to determine whether the wilderness, or a tame but foreign environment, had the greater impact upon the mores of the uprooted francophones.

The French Canadian Colonies

(i) Saint Romain de Winslow

Winslow, at the northern tip of Compton, was the first township in the county to be colonized by French Canadians. As we have already seen, they were first lured to the northern half of Winslow by free fifty acre land grants offered by the government in 1848. By 1851, 253 French Canadians had arrived from the South Shore of the St. Lawrence. The colonists still did not have their own priest, but they were served alternately by the curés of Saint-François de la Beauce and Saint-Gabriel de Stratford.[1] Then, in 1856, Father Duhaut of far-away Wotton took charge of the mission[2] because both

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[1]ACAS, PP, Saint-Romain, "Notes sur la Paroisse de Saint-Romain de Winslow" by Father Brassard, 23 Nov. 1880.

[2]ACETR, RL, II, 13, Cooke to Duhaut, 13 Feb. 1856.

Wotton and Winslow had become part of the new Diocese of Trois-Rivières in 1852. This arrangement was obviously far from ideal, and it tended to exacerbate relations between the Winslow colonists and the Church officials during the difficult early years of settlement.

The first strains between hierarchy and parishioners came in February, 1856 when Mgr. Cooke of Trois-Rivières asked the Winslow people to begin building a chapel near the centre of the township. The site, which had been arbitrarily pinpointed on a map[3], proved to be in a swamp. Father Duhaut made two alternative suggestions, but he was too late to prevent the settlers from voicing their own preferences. Many of them wanted the chapel to be built where the actual colony was, rather than in the projected centre of any future population. They were so insistent that the priest asked his bishop to take punitive measures in order to make his charges more co-operative. For example, Duhaut suggested, Winslow could be attached to the Stratford parish, and receive the services of a priest only once every three months until the colonists built the chapel.[4]

Thus began a long involved struggle between the mission-

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[3] Ibid., p.14.

[4] ACAS, PP, Saint-Romain de Winslow, Duhaut to Cooke, 25 March 1856.

ary on one hand, and a body of the colonists on the other. A similar struggle over the chapel site was enacted in many new missions, where the same positions were invariably taken. The settlers wanted the church near their homes because the local village often grew around that site, thereby enhancing the value of the nearby property. The Church authorities, on the other hand, preferred a central location in order to avoid inconveniencing later colonists, or having to move the building in the future. The bishop was not always on the side of the enlightened however, for he usually depended upon the reports of the priests he had sent to investigate the area. The decisions these visiting priests made were often controversial because intimate knowledge of an area was needed in order to predict the course future colonization would take. Fortunately the bishops remained flexible in these matters, so that in many cases the colonists were actually able to win their point.

In the Winslow affair, for example, Mgr. Cooke was more the arbitrator than the director. From the first he refused to follow Father Duhaut's advice that the recalcitrant colonists be officially reprimanded. Instead he asked the priest to try to find a church site which would satisfy the inhabitants, with the proviso that "ils doivent se montrer

dociles et ne pas prétendre nous faire la loi."[5] Nevertheless, Duhaut continued to insist upon a site which displeased the majority. The frustrated priest complained that the curé of Lambton was working against him in order to annex Winslow to his parish. He reiterated that "Si les habitants de St. Romain n'avaient plus accès à Lambton, tout s'arrangerait à merveille."[6] The Lambton parishioners responded to these charges by giving Winslow six months either to join the Quebec Diocese, or cease attending mass at their church.[7] This left Mgr. Cooke with little choice but to take a tougher stand. In June he ordered Winslow to start building immediately. If the opponents persisted, there would be no chapel whatsoever, and Winslow would be served by Stratford.[8] The warning was to no avail, for two and a half months later some Winslow parishioners sent Mgr. Cooke a petition threatening "des mesures d'opposition sérieuses suivant eux, mais réellement frivoles."[9] The petition claimed that the church site was

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[5]ACETR, RL, II, 33, Cooke to Duhaut, 5 April 1856.

[6]ACAS, PP, Saint-Romain de Winslow, Duhaut to Cooke, 26 May 1856.

[7]ACETR, RL, II, 43, Cooke to Duhaut, 5 June 1856.

[8]Ibid., pp.52-3, 14 June 1856.

[9]Ibid., p.68, 1 Sept. 1856.

near land which could never be cultivated. Cooke responded with a pastoral letter which stated that there would be no Mass or confession at Winslow until the chapel was completed. Meanwhile the colonists would have to go to Mass in Stratford, while the Lambton missionary would serve them for confessions, burials, marriages and at Easter.[10]

Even the "interdiction" failed to move the Winslow parishioners, so in October Duhaut felt compelled to justify his own obdurateness to the bishop. He argued that the site he had chosen would become central in the future because neighbouring lands were being purchased. Secondly, it was an excellent property in its own right, with good lumber, all eight acres under cultivation, and fifty others readily available. Thirdly, the cemetery was already blessed, and the frame of the building had been completed. Fourthly, the number of workers was growing; and fifthly, it would be impossible to reconcile the opposing internal factions within the near future. Duhaut was so adamant that he asked the bishop to relieve him of the mission in the event that the site should be changed.[11]

Neither side budged until November, when a third of the

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[10] Ibid., p.77, "Aux fidèles du township de Winslow," 9 Sept. 1856.

[11] ACAS, PP, Saint-Romain, Duhaut to Cooke, 29 Oct. 1856.

inhabitants began to build a chapel on a site of their own choosing. Mgr. Cooke angrily authorized Duhaut to tell them that:

> .... quand ils voudront construire une chapelle, ils devront m'addresser une requête en forme et signée de la majorité, comme celle qu'ils ont bien su faire et présenter en opposition; que puisqu'ils veulent prendre les formalités légales, qu'on désirait leur epargner, on y tiendra à l'avenir, et que ne règlerai à l'amiable mais tout strictement et selon la loi.[12]

The parishioners' open defiance does seem to have broken the stalemate, however, because nine months later a building was being erected on a site chosen by Duhaut's rival, the curé of Lambton.[13] In fact, Duhaut had dropped from the picture entirely, for Winslow was included with the Stratford mission for the time being.[14]

Although the wrangling had lasted for over a year, the wounds healed quickly. In 1858, Bishop Cooke wrote: "Les gens de St. Romain, finiront par se faire aimer et leur zèle leur méritera une desserte mieux suivie, avec St. Gabriel

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[12]ACETR, RL, II, 104, Cooke to Duhaut, 6 Nov. 1856.

[13]Ibid., p.153, Cooke to Godbout, 12 Aug. 1857.

[14]Ibid., p.164, 15 Sept. 1857.

[Stratford]".[15] By acting as mediator between the opposing factions, rather than taking an inflexible stand, the bishop had managed to save face while satisfying the colonists at the same time.

The internal divisions were a symptom of the rapid influx of settlers into North Winslow. In fact most of its arable land had been settled within ten years of the first colonist's arrival. The community was already quite a stable one by 1860, but some of the inhabitants retained frontier characteristics. In 1861, for example, Mgr. Cooke addressed a pastoral letter to his Saint-Romain charges, chastizing them for the scandal caused by a man who had openly denounced the priest in church. Punitive measures against the mission were threatened, but when the guilty party was persuaded to ask for pardon publicly the indiscretion was forgiven.[16]

However more trouble erupted the following year when the Winslow Catholics bitterly criticized their priest, Father Bouchard, for choosing to live in the smaller mission at Lake Aylmer, rather than at Saint-Romain.[17] Once again they

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[15] Ibid., p.165, Cooke to Bouchard (of Saint-Gabriel), 28 April 1858.

[16] ACETR, RL, III, no. 4, "Aux fidèles de la Mission de Saint-Romain," 30 Jan. 1861.

[17] Ibid., no. 37, Cooke to Bouchard, 26 Sept. 1862.

threatened to join Lambton and the Quebec Diocese.[18] The bishop's office rebuked the three leaders who had sent a petition; "Croyez que ce n'est pas comme cela que l'on écrit à un Evêque et que si l'on veut obtenir une faveur ce n'est pas par des menaces. Vous gâtez votre cause."[19] The letter added that Bouchard was free to choose the place of residence he wished, and that the best policy was to try to win him to Winslow through persuasion, not threats. Nonetheless Bishop Cooke did intervene on behalf of the colonists. He admonished Father Bouchard for not choosing Saint-Romain, which was the wealthier parish, and ordered him to spend six months in each parish in future.[20] The matter was diplomatically settled the following year when Bouchard was replaced by F. X. Vanasse, who was asked to reside in Winslow full-time.[21]

The colonists of Winslow cannot be described as dutiful sheep, passively deferring to the wishes of the Church leaders, nor can they be labelled rebellious and unruly frontiersmen. The methods they used, and the determination they

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[18] Ibid., no. 61, 8 Nov. 1862.

[19] Ibid., no. 38, Cooke to P. Gagné, Capt., et autres, 26 Sept. 1862.

[20] Ibid., no. 61, Cooke to Bouchard, 8 Nov. 1862.

[21] Ibid., no. 50, 30 Sept. 1863.

showed, may not have been characteristic of the typical French Canadian parish, but it is significant that they were not trying to free themselves from the traditional institutions of authority. Ironic as it may seem, the colonists were defying the Church's wishes so that their chapel and their priest would be located as close as possible to their homes.

The seventies and eighties were years of further stabilization in Winslow, for the French Canadian population did not grow beyond 980. Not only were there no more major disputes, but the $3200 debt incurred for the church presbytery and sacristies was quickly and quietly paid. In 1871 the parishioners spent $400 for additions and repairs to the presbytery, and in 1875 and 1877 church improvements cost them $3400.[22] The 1873 Parish Report records an income of $274.34 for the fabrique (vestry), plus $250 in tithes and $190 from other sources for the curé.[23] By 1878 the fabrique's revenue had increased to $404.78 and the tithe to $310.50.[24]

After 1873 the tithe appears to have been the curé's

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[22] Annuaire, Deuxième Decade, pp.120-2.

[23] ACAS, Rapports sur les Paroisses et Missions, Saint-Romain, 1873.

[24] Ibid., 1878. In the poor parish of Hébertville, near Lake St. John, the fabrique's revenue for 1875 was $900.00. N. Séguin, p.210.

only source of revenue, so he was relatively poor compared to his confrères in the Montreal Diocese, whose average income in 1864 was $740.30.[25] Furthermore, the 1878 tithe was as high as collections would go prior to the 1890's. However the curé seems to have taken into consideration the poverty of his charges, for he was generally satisfied with their contributions. He probably had good reason to be because a debt of $2355, contracted for improving the church interior in 1883, was reduced to $500 by 1891.[26] The only vices to be repeatedly noted were drunkenness and dancing, which were common enough sins in the seigneurial parishes as well. In the final analysis, the parish priest could boast that: "Ma paroisse est une paroisse modèle; elle est composée en entière de canadiens-français venant des paroisses qui avoisinent Québec, et cette population se fait remarquer par son union et sa soumission."[27]

While it is true that Saint-Romain's status as a canonical parish after 1868 gave the Church more clearly defined

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[25]Serge Gagnon, "Le diocèse de Montréal durant les années 1860," in Le Laic dans l'Eglise Canadienne-Française de 1830 à nos jours (Montréal, 1972), p.121. In 1900 the average income for a country curé in the province was $600. Pierre Savard, "La vie du clergé québecois au XIXe siècle," RS, VIII (1967), 270. Between 1871 and 1900, however, the curé of Hébertville managed to collect twice that amount. See N. Séguin, p.209.

[26]In 1891 the fabrique of Hébertville was in debt by more than $18,000. N. Séguin, p.212.

[27]ACAS, PP, Saint-Romain, no. 3, P. Brassard to Racine, 27 Nov. 1874.

legal powers[28], it would be a mistake to conclude that Winslow's submissiveness was a product of civil coercion. As we shall see when examining other parishes, the Church's spiritual authority was always sufficiently potent to render unnecessary any recourse to its secular powers. The threat that a priest would be withdrawn, or that they would be deprived of the sacraments, was sufficient to move even the most stubborn French Canadian colonists. This does not mean that the Church officials felt the legal safeguards were superfluous. In the Sherbrooke Diocese particularly, the priests argued that these were too ambiguous in the unincorporated missions. However it is significant that in all the disputes we shall encounter in Compton, the bishop resorted to ecclesiastical sanctions only - legal threats were never uttered.[29]

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[28]P. B. Mignault (pp.17, 19, 25, 181, 221) and S. Pagnuelo (pp.357-61) claim that ecclesiastical taxes were legally enforceable even in unincorporated missions, but some curés were under the impression that the Church's position was not totally secure until a parish had been civilly, as well as canonically, incorporated.

[29]Normand Séguin (p.207) insists that "le contrôle clérical sur la communauté rurale est un contrôle institutionelle avant d'être un contrôle moral voir idéologique." Through exorbitant taxation, the parish priest was able to become an important financial power in the community (pp.212-13, 216-17, 243). This may well be true, but the parish he bases his conclusions on seems to have been particularly demanding, at least in comparison with those of Compton (see footnotes 26, 27, and 28). Unlike the curé of Hébertville (N. Séguin, p.216), none of those in Compton would leave because of disputes over money prior to 1891. For our purposes, however, it is more important to determine whether the Townships curés

(ii) Saint-Venant de Hereford

The second major French Canadian colonization drive within Compton took place in Hereford township, ten years later than that of Winslow. Because Hereford was at the opposite extremity of the county, adjacent to the American border, it was impossible for the French Canadians to flow in spontaneously from the seigneuries. Unlike Winslow, therefore, the Hereford colonists were guided by priests from the first. Father J. B. Champeaux of Napierville (curé of Stanstead from 1849 to 1851) was assisted in the project by Father Eusèbe Durocher of Beloeil.[30] The principal layman in the colony was F. Paquette who built the sawmill and store[31], and gave the village its name. These three men were apparently attracted to the area by the potential profits to be made from its timber.[32] In 1861, they and some French Canadians from the older townships bought all the available crown land in the northeastern corner of Hereford (about 200 lots of 100 acres

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commonly resorted to legal threats as in Hébertville (see N. Séguin, p.214), or simply to social and religious pressure, in order to collect the taxes in the first place. Without reading their sermon notes, this is an impossible task. However one might ask how effective legal threats could remain when they were never implemented. Also, if civil coercion was the key factor, why did the priests find it much easier to collect tithes, etc. in parishes where their charges were not scattered among the English Canadians?

[30] Drapeau, p.187.

[31] Le Pionnier, 12 Nov. 1875.

[32] Blanchard, p.345.

each).[33]

Their first concern was to open roads into the area. In 1862 the government spent over $3000 on the Hereford and Auckland Road[34] which ran northward from the United States, along Hereford's eastern boundary (through Paquetteville) to Auckland township. Whatever the reason was for building a road to Maine, it was of little help to potential colonists who would need connections with the other townships. J. B. E. Dorion of le Défricheur actually suspected that J. H. Pope was trying to discourage French Canadian settlement of the area.[35] Although an additional $2000 was directed towards opening the Paquetteville Road eastward from the colony to the town of Coaticook in Stanstead county, this road would not be completed for another three years. In 1863 Father Champeaux petitioned the Honourable G. E. Cartier, as a special friend of the colonist, to renew the Paquetteville Road grant so that the route could be used year around. Champeaux complained that the only means of communication with the outside world was the Hereford and Auckland Road, which was "one half longer

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[33]Albert Gravel, Précis Historique de Quatre Paroisses du Diocèse de Sherbrooke (Sherbrooke, 1964), pp.2-3; Le Pionnier, 22 May 1868.

[34]JLAQ, I (1867-8, appendix 12.

[35]Le Défricheur, 9 April 1863.

at least, and very bad." He emphasized that "we do not ask for free grants; instead of them give us roads, then more roads, and more roads still."[36]

As Champeaux must have been aware, Cartier no longer had any authority because the Reform Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry was in power. Cartier transferred the petition to N. F. Belleau, Minister of Agriculture and Public Works, who appeared to be very concerned: "It is unnecessary to assure you, Sir, of my desire to see the sacred cause of Colonization attended with success. Be convinced that I will do everything in my power to assist those who devote themselves to it."[37] In his annual report Belleau conceded that of the three hundred land claims filed on the Hereford and Auckland Road, few were actually occupied because the settlers had to pass through the United States to reach them.[38] But assistance was slow in forthcoming. In January, 1864 Champeaux wrote to Bishop Larocque of Saint-Hyacinthe: "J'ai du Gouvernement de belles promesses pour les chemins; mais ce sont des promesses rouges."[39] The following November L. S.

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[36] SPC, XXI (1863), no. 58.

[37] Ibid., Belleau to Champeaux, 30 April 1862.

[38] Ibid., no. 4.

[39] ACAS, PP, Saint-Venant, no. 7, Champeaux to Larocque, 6 Jan. 1864.

Lambert, the first curé of Saint-Venant de Paquette, wrote: "Jusqu'à présent les chemins ont toujours été si mauvais qu'il m'a été impossible de sortir."[40] By 1865, only eight of the Pacquetteville Road's sixteen miles had been built. Finally, that year the Inspector of Agencies recommended that it be completed at once because all the settlers in the eastern part of Hereford had to buy and sell in the United States.[41] As a result the government spent $300 on the road in 1865, and $1200 in 1866[42], by which time most of it was passable for wheeled vehicles.[43] (It may be no coincidence that the Macdonald-Brown coalition had replaced the Reformers in 1865.)

With such careful supervision by the clerical authorities, one might expect that Hereford was able to avoid the internal squabbles which plagued Winslow. But here, too, people could not agree upon the best location for the church. However it was not the colonists but their leaders who were to blame in this case. At one level there was a debate as to whether to build at the junction of the Hereford-Auckland and Paquetteville Roads, or twenty arpents further West on the

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[40] Ibid., L. S. Lambert to Larocque, 12 Nov. 1864.

[41] SPC, XXIV (1865), Report of Inspector of Agencies.

[42] JLAQ, I (1867-8), appendix no. 12.

[43] SPDC, 1867-8, no. 3.

Paquetteville Road.[44] The latter site, chosen by Father Durocher, was closer to Paquetteville itself. It had been approved by Mgr. Larocque, but this did not settle the issue, nor did it prevent another group from demanding a chapel completely removed from the Paquetteville area. Champeaux charged that Vicar P. E. Gendreau of Compton parish led this third faction.[45]

By January, 1864 a chapel had been built on Durocher's site[46], but the following November found it still without a floor and inclined to "donne entrée à tous les vents."[47] The building was still incomplete a year later.[48] In fact the movement to change the site from the north-eastern corner of the township appeared to be gaining ground. Father Archambault of Saint-Hugues, who had been appointed by Mgr. Larocque to investigate the dispute, chose yet another site, far-removed from the village. Champeaux charged that, after blindly picking a mountainous spot on the map, Archambault had arranged for his nephew to buy the neighbouring land lots.[49] Whether or not

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[44] ACAS, PP, Saint-Venant, no. 7, P. E. Gendreau to Larocque, 2 May 1863.

[45] Ibid., Champeaux to Rev. Moreau, 24 Feb. 1863.

[46] Ibid., Champeaux to Larocque, 6 Jan. 1864.

[47] Ibid., Lambert to Larocque, 12 Nov. 1864.

[48] Ibid., Lambert to Lottinville (sec.), 22 May 1865.

[49] Ibid., Lambert to Larocque, 9 Nov. 1865.

this was true, Champeaux finally got his way, for Pacquetteville became the locale for the church.

Clearly, colonists were not the only ones occasionally to place material over spiritual interests. Even priests could be tempted by the potential wealth of the new settlements. Once again, however, the mediating influence of the bishop appears to have curtailed the dispute.

The second major problem to face most young missions was the poverty of the colonists, and again Hereford was no exception. The tithes it rendered were so sparse that it would have been impossible for a priest to subsist on them. It was no coincidence, therefore, that Hereford's first resident priest, Solomon Lambert, came from a wealthy family.[50] Judging from one of his first reports, a private source of income was essential:

> .... la manque des choses les plus indispensables est bien peu propre à réjouir. Déjà plusieurs fois j'ai demandé à mes paroissiens, mais je comprends qu'il est impossible de rien avoir de pauvres colons qui ont eu le malheur de voir toutes leurs récoltes perdues par les pluies continuelles que nous avons eu [sic] cet automne. Quant à moi personnellement je ne vois pas comment je pourrai retirer ce qu'ils m'ont souscrit.[51]

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[50]Gravel, Précis, p.3.

[51]ACAS, PP, Saint-Venant, Lambert to Larocque, 12 Nov. 1864.

The 1865 crop supported the population[52], but the parish still rendered only $160, three quarters of which was paid in labour. Lambert also received $100 a year from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and $60 for two years from neighbouring Saint-Malo d'Auckland[53], but this was still not enough to subsist on. In 1866 he asked Mgr. Larocque to write a pastoral letter demanding that Hereford pay $300, but the bishop decided that because there were so few colonists, the priest should continue to live on what he could collect.[54] One third of the people still failed to contribute in 1869, their excuse apparently being that they wished to become a parish.[55] Father Lambert supported this idea, for it would strengthen his position, thereby obliging everyone to contribute. Instead Larocque reminded the Hereford colonists that, if Lambert were to leave, it would be impossible to find another priest who could support himself from his personal income.[56]

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[52] Le Pionnier, 8 Nov. 1866.

[53] ACAS, PP, Saint-Venant, Lambert to Larocque, 16 Oct. 1866.

[54] ACESH, RL, V, 38, Larocque to Lambert, 11 Sept. 1866.

[55] ACAS, PP, Saint-Venant, Lambert to Laroque, 25 Oct. 1869. Saint-Venant did not become a canonical parish until 1889.

[56] ACESH, RL, VI, 329, Larocque to Lambert, 29 Aug. 1871.

Unfortunately for Lambert, he seems to have gone further than simply supporting himself, for in 1876 we find him claiming $1046 spent in building the presbytery.[57] The new Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe, Mgr. Moreau, simply replied that the parish owed Lambert nothing because he had over-stepped his instructions in erecting such a costly building.[58] Once again, therefore, a bishop had intervened on behalf of the colonists against their priest.

The Hereford settlers continued to be poor debtors, for during the eighties their fabrique paid nothing towards the $462 Father Champeaux had loaned for constructing a chapel. Nevertheless the parishioners did become more faithful in paying their ecclesiastical dues. Although the Catholic population grew by little more than twenty-five percent between 1879 and 1891, during that period the fabrique's income increased from $160 to $500, and the tithes expanded from $83 to $400. Nor was there any challenge to the curé's authority. His most frequent complaints were of relatively commonplace vices - "le luxe", "la boisson", "les dames", "les blasphèmes", and "les promenades".[59]

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[57]ACAS, RL, I, no. 83, Lambert to Racine, 1 Dec. 1876.

[58]Ibid., no. 94, Judgement of Mgr. Moreau, 1 March 1877; ACESH, RL, P. Dignan to Lambert, 3 March 1877.

[59]See ACAS, Rapports..., Saint-Venant, 1879-91.

(iii) Saint-Malo d'Auckland

Just as in nearby Hereford, the development of Auckland began early in the sixties after Thomas E. Dagenais, a priest from Sainte-Marthe, and J. O. Bureau, an M.L.A. from Napierville, bought property in the township. They managed to acquite 113 lots of crown land, as well as some B.A.L. Company lots.[60] There were 180 colonists in February, 1863, the year the Hereford-Auckland Road was completed and Auckland's own Bureauville Road (supervised by Father Dagenais) reached Eaton.[61] The former route led to the United States, while the latter provided an outlet to the entire Eastern Townships region.

As in Winslow and Hereford, a debate broke out when the time came to choose a site for the chapel. Virtually all of the colonists signed a petition opposing the location chosen by Bureau and Dagenais.[62] It appears that the two leaders wanted the church near their land, while the inhabitants felt that it should be further South at Saint-Malo, where the centre

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[60] SPC, XXI (1863), Report of Minister of Agriculture and Statistics; Albert Gravel, Deux Paroisses en Bordure des Bois-Francs (Sherbrooke, 1967), p.3; Drapeau, p.189.

[61] JLAQ, I (1867-8) appendix no. 12; ACAS, PP, Saint-Malo, no. 9, Petition to Mgr. Cooke, 7 Feb. 1863.

[62] Gravel, Deux, pp.5-6.

of the population was to be found. The curé of Richmond, who was sent to investigate in 1864, supported the petitioners[63], as did the colony's missionary, Father Gendreau of Compton. Gendreau even went so far as to state, "Je me défie beaucoup du désintéressement de ces MM. colonisateurs qui pensent avant tout à leurs propriétés."[64] Although Dagenais insisted that opposition to his site was generated by intrigues from Hereford, to the South, the chapel was finally built at Saint-Malo in 1866.[65] Once again, therefore, the bishop was forced to protect the colonists against the apparently self-interested motives of the community leaders, both lay and clerical.

But internal dissension was not to be Auckland's primary handicap. Its real problem was the barren and mountainous nature of its terrain. In 1890 there were still only 621 French Canadians living in the township (ninety-two percent of the population). As with the other colonization parishes, the curé had little to fear from Protestant contacts - except that the girls from his parish often married Americans when they went to work in factories South of the border.[66] Much

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[63] Ibid., p.7; ACETR, RL, No. 62, Cooke to T. E. Dagenais, 2 Nov. 1864.

[64] Quoted in Gravel, Deux, p.8.

[65] Ibid., pp.9, 11.

[66] Ibid., p.12.

more serious was the inadequacy of the tithe. None could be collected in 1878, and only $37 was produced the following year. At the same time, the fabrique's income was between $20 and $30. Fortunately the situation began to improve in 1884, so that by 1891 the small population was actually able to contribute $400 in Church dues. Not surprisingly, the curé had no complaints about the moral conduct of his parishioners, outside the fact that they attended dances. His authority was even strong enough to prevent the opening of a hotel in 1889.[67]

(iv) Sainte-Edwidge de Clifton

Like those of Hereford to the South, and Auckland to the East, Clifton's first French Canadian settlers began to arrive during the sixties. By 1871 they were numerous enough in the originally English-speaking eastern half of the township to warrant visits from a missionary[68], but most of the francophones were colonists in western Clifton.[69] They continued to be concentrated in the West during the following two

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[67] ACAS, Rapports ..., Saint-Malo, 1879-91.

[68] ACESH, RL, III, 275, Larocque to L. S. Lambert, 12 Oct. 1871; ACAS, PP, Sainte-Edwidge, no. 7, 1871 Requête des Catholiques de Clifton Est.

[69] Ibid., P. E. Gendreau to Larocque, 3 Feb. 1863; Le Pionnier, 17 Nov. 1871.

decades, when their numbers grew from 604 to 1016. In general, therefore, contacts between the French and English-speaking populations were minimal.

Clifton differed from Compton county's three other early French Canadian colonies in that no major quarrels appear to have developed in relation to the site of its chapel. The good conduct of the parishioners continued into the seventies and eighties, for the curé expressed satisfaction with the tithe collected (around $400), and had no extraordinary sinners or troublemakers to report.

(v) Saint-Agnès de Ditchfield

Twenty years after the beginning of Compton's first wave of French Canadian colonization (in the North), and ten years after the second (in the South), a third movement began in its easternmost townships. It was in this isolated and mountainous area that many of the province's colonization societies and companies operated. One of the earliest centres of activity was near the source of the Chaudière River, where the boundaries of Whitton and Ditchfield meet. This was also the most promising site, for during the eighties it would become Compton's largest town.

There were already enough colonists here in 1875 to petition for a priest to visit them, and to ask for permission

to build a chapel the following year.[70] In 1877 they were granted a post office, to be named Morinville in honour of one of the first settlers.[71] In 1878, however, the citizens opted for Agnès because Sir John A. Macdonald's wife had visited them that year. Her name came to apply to the Ditchfield side of the river, while the Whitton side was simply called Lake Megantic. The settlement's real boom began in 1879, with the arrival of Pope's International Railroad. By 1890 Lake Megantic was a town of 1173. It had a large French Canadian majority, for the parish of Sainte-Agnès de Ditchfield (which included part of Whitton township) held 1384 Catholics in 1890.[72]

Construction of the first chapel, which the Catholics had begun petitioning for in 1876, was delayed because the Whitton inhabitants to the South objected to the choice of Agnès as the site. The dispute was not settled until 1882, when Mgr. Racine confirmed the original decision by decree.[73] Such local opposition is not surprising when one considers the boom-town atmosphere of Lake Megantic. Not only had it mushroomed into existence within a remarkably short time span,

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[70]Gravel, Lac Mégantic, p.73.

[71]J. P. Jones, vol. II, book 1.

[72]ACAS, Rapports..., Sainte-Agnès, 1890.

[73]Gravel, Lac Mégantic, p.87.

but it was geographically very isolated. In 1888 the town's main street was actually the scene of a wild West-style gun duel which resulted in the death of an American who had been sworn in as a constable to arrest Donald Morrison, a local Scot. Morrison, who had been harrassing the inhabitants of his father's expropriated farm, was protected by the Scottish settlers. Resisting the temptation of a sizeable reward, the clannish Scots succeeded in hiding "the Megantic outlaw" from the authorities for over a year, thereby subjecting the Quebec police to a humiliating cat and mouse chase which was widely-publicized throughout North America. Peaceful and industrious as they were, the Highlanders proved by this incident that they were quite willing to take the law into their own hands.

Contact with these stubbornly independent people did not seem to affect the French Canadians of this area, for they were as submissive as in the older colonization parishes. Their curé had nothing more serious to report than a few habitual drunkards, and by 1888 he had become satisfied with the tithe contributions. At $600 in 1891, these were the largest in the county. In addition, the fabrique was able to raise $900 during the same year.

(vi) Sainte-Cecile de Frontenac

Industries were not the only magnet for French Canadians in Whitton township, for in 1880 it supported an agricul-

tural colony large enough to become a separate mission. But Sainte-Cecile's settlers were long plagued with serious transportation problems; in 1883 the missionary reported that "ces pauvres gens n'ont aucun chemin de sortie; ils sont là renfermés au milieu du bois, loin du curé et des médecins."[74] Five years later the colonists complained that the government was still ignoring them.[75] However they did multiply steadily - from 177 in 1880 to 433 in 1890.[76] In 1888 they were even given the services of their own curé.[77]

As in the parish of Sainte-Agnès, the proximity of Scottish colonists seems to have had little effect upon the mores of the French-speaking settlers. Far from forcing their curé to discourage inter-group contacts, the French Canadians actually asked to be separated from the Scottish-dominated municipality of Springhill in order to escape what they felt was exorbitant taxation.[78] In fact they were so eager for independence that they even ignored their curé's recommendation to reject the stiff territorial concessions de-

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[74]ACAS, Rapports ..., Sainte-Cecile, 1883.

[75]ACAS, PP, Sainte-Cecile, no. 7, Fathers L. E. Nadeau and N. M. Huot to Racine, 22 July 1888.

[76]ACAS, Rapports ..., Sainte-Cecile, 1880-1891.

[77]ACAS, PP, Sainte-Cecile, N. M. Huot to Racine, 23 July, 28 Aug. 1888.

[78]Ibid., X. O. Bernier to Racine, 25 Feb. 1889.

manded by Springhill. As a rule, however, the Sainte-Cecile parishioners were very obedient to their priest. Alcohol was his only consistent complaint, and tithes were faithfully paid. From $45 in 1880, the tithe and supplement grew to $257.50 in 1891. The fabrique's revenue reached $143.70 the same year.

(vii) Saint-Zenon de Piopolis

Scots began settling Marston township, to the South of Whitton, as early as 1856[79], but development languished until the seventies, when the government expropriated the B.A.L. Company holdings.[80] Marston's inhabitants were not recorded separately in the 1870-1 Census Reports, but by 1880 they were 880, with over a third speaking French. Ten years later the francophones had become half the population of 1117.

The first French Canadians to settle in Marston were papal zouaves who had served in Rome. In 1871 they founded a colony called Piopolis in the southern part of the township. The Montreal Colonization Society, which was in charge of the project, also established many settlers from the St. Lawrence parishes. This was necessary because the well-educated

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[79]J. P. Jones, vol. II, book 1.

[80]See Drapeau, p.192; SPC, XVIII (1860), no. 12.

zouaves deserted the area when they had acquired their fill of clearing land.

Possibly because the site for the village of Piopolis was chosen in advance, there were no disputes over the location of the church. In fact, Piopolis was a model parish from the first. Its resident priest complained occasionally of alcohol, but more often he mentioned no transgressions whatever. Although the number of parishioners changed little throughout the eighties, church revenues increased steadily. The fabrique collected $90 in 1878 and $125 in 1891, while the tithe was $129 in 1878 and $340 in 1891. In only two of the fourteen years did the curé claim that tithes were insufficient.[81]

(viii) Saint-Léon de Marston

A second settlement of French Canadians in Marston, called Saint-Léon, came into being during the eighties. In 1886, when its first Parish Report was filed, there were 116 Catholics. By 1890 their number had grown to 177. As with most of the young settlements, the tithe was not paid regularly by all, but there were no serious breaches of conduct to report.

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[81]Unless indicated otherwise, statistics given throughout the remainder of the chapter are from the Rapports sur les Paroisses et Missions.

(ix) Saint-Pierre La Patrie

Like Piopolis, La Patrie became the centre of a highly organized colonization project in 1871. We have already seen how the attempts of Eaton township residents (led by J. H. Pope) to improve their Ditton holdings met with little success during the sixties, so that the way was left clear for the French Canadian Colonization Society of Bagot. Though it did make extensive clearings, by 1874 the colony still had only fourteen families. In 1875 the unoccupied lots attracted the attention of the repatriation organizers, who decided to make Ditton the centre of colonization for Canadians wishing to return from the United States. They christened the principal village La Patrie, and placed a government agent, J. A. Chicoyne, in direct charge of the colony. Over $80,000 was invested in the project, but to little avail, for the clearings and their buildings were soon abandoned by the colonists. The labour of the Ditton colonizers was not entirely wasted, however, for they did build roads, and the money they spent did attract permanent settlers to the township (though not to the cleared lots). The net result was that the population figure remained quite stable (approximately 850) during the eighties when government assistance was no longer forthcoming.

Unlike the Piopolis colony, in Ditton there was a controversy over the projected location of the Catholic church. In 1871 Father Gendreau of Cookshire chose the future La

Patrie site because it was between Pope's West Ditton colony and that of the Bagot Society, further East. This satisfied neither area, for the West Ditton inhabitants felt slighted, and some of the Bagot colonists insisted upon having a separate parish for East Ditton and Chesham.[82] The conflict ended in 1873, however, with the acceptance of Gendreau's site.

Judging from the fears that French Canadians were being assimilated in New England, one might expect that a Franco-American influx into the area would have brought a host of new problems. But such was not the case in the repatriation colony founded in 1875. The Ditton curé did have a few novel complaints to add to the usual trilogy of drunkenness, dancing and blasphemy. He felt, for example, that the children were poorly raised, and that Sundays were not observed scrupulously enough. In 1896, he made clear what he considered to be the principal culprits: "L'avancement de ma paroisse est nul, surtout à cause du débit extraordinaire de liqeurs enivrantes, des habitudes de largesse contractées dans les Etats-Unis, d'où viennent les 19/20 de mes paroissiens, et du trop grand amour qu'ont les habitants pour les chantiers." But Ditton was no den of iniquity, and her curé was quick to add: "Quant au progrès spiritual, je suis heureux de dire qu'il est pour moi un grand sujet de joie."[83] He was usually satisfied with the

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[82]C. E. Chartier, pp.42-4.

[83]ACAS, PP, Saint-Pierre La Patrie, 1896.

tithe collected, and with good reason, for the church's income rose steadily in spite of the stagnating population growth.[84]

(v) Notre-Dame-des-Bois de Chesham

The first attempt to settle in Chesham was made by a Franco-American in 1871, but by 1875 there were still only two colonists in the township. It then became part of the grand repatriation colony scheme, with the result that by 1880 its population (831) was almost as large as Ditton's. However Chesham failed to retain all of its inhabitants during the following decade - by 1890 they were only 621 in number.

The most serious dispute to take place in the colony concerned the choice of a name for its village. One of the original settlers, Pierre Vaillant, insisted upon Vaillantbourg, while Mgr. Racine preferred the more religious Notre-Dame-des-Bois. In the end, Racine's wishes prevailed, for the turbulent Vaillant attracted little sympathy from his neighbours.

Of a more persistent nature were the financial problems caused by the parish's declining population. The curé was not pleased with the tithe collection prior to 1889, although he

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[84] In 1879 the fabrique raised $140, while the curé collected $150 in tithes plus a supplement of 48 bushels of potatoes. By 1888 the fabrique was collecting $300 annually, and the tithe was $331.

did realize that crop failures were partially responsible. The parishioners' principal transgressions were not the usual drinking and dancing, but "les fausses [sic] rapports" (1880), "mauvaises discours" (1881), "se décrier les uns les autres" (1882) and "Calomnie et Médisance" (1884) (1886-89) (1891). The presence of the volatile Pierre Vaillant may well have had something to do with these internal squabbles.

(xi) Décollation de Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Emberton (Chartierville)

As early as 1866, a group of Verchères county citizens attempted to found a colony in Emberton, to the South of Ditton and Chesham. But even with the assistance provided by the 1869 Colonization Societies Act, they met with little success. Another society, Saint-Hyacinthe Number One, did erect some buildings, but by 1875 it had managed to place only one family on its holdings. Although Emberton then became the third repatriation township, its population reached only 383 in 1880. The population of Emberton (unlike Ditton and Chesham) did continue to grow during the eighties, but by 1890 it was still only 422.

The fabrique's revenue was insufficient to liquidate a $500 debt contacted in 1885, but this was due more to poverty than to indifference, for the curé expressed satisfaction with the collections after 1882. In 1879 and 1880 he deplored the

ignorance and spirit of division within his parish, but thereafter the principal vices were the two standard ones - drinking and dancing.

(xii) Saint-Augustin de Woburn

Woburn was the last Lake Megantic township to be colonized by French Canadians prior to 1890. This was the centre of operations for Chicoyne's Nantes-financed colonization company. The enterprise, which began operations in 1880, did not meet with a great deal of success so that by 1890 there were still only 187 parishioners in Saint-Augustin.

The yearly tithe never went beyond seventy dollars, but the missionary was sympathetic towards the colonists: "Il y a beaucoup de pauvreté. C'est peut-être la cause de l'infidélité du paiement de la dîme. On est très fidèle et très courageux pour assister aux missions."[85] His major complaints were "un peu la dance, un peu la boisson".[86]

The French Canadian settlers of Compton county exhibited little of the unruly behaviour which is often associated with frontier settlements. On the most frequent subject of

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[85] Rapports ..., 1890.

[86] Ibid., 1887-8.

disagreement between priests and colonists, that concerning the location of the church, the bishop often found that the colonists' protests were justified. Furthermore, careful preliminary organization practically eliminated these disputes in the later colonies. Much more significant than the outbreak of such debates is the fact that, in spite of their poverty, the colonists never hesitated to request that a church be erected and a priest appointed as soon as possible. In addition most of them seem to have done their best to pay the tithes and other dues, and the number who failed to attend Easter confession rarely exceeded half a dozen. The colonists drank and danced too much in the opinion of their priests, but seldom were there any illegitimate births or women of questionable virtue to report. The most flagrant "pécheurs scandaleux" were the two or three habitual drunkards in each parish.

French Canadian Parishes in the Protestant-Dominated Townships

There were English-speaking Protestants in many of the parishes we have just examined, but their relationship with French Canadians was usually very different than it was in the older townships to the East. Both the French and English-speaking inhabitants of the younger townships were poor colonists who lived in communities distinct from each other. In the older townships, on the other hand, the majority of the

French Canadians were tradesmen or labourers employed by the long-established English Canadian farmers. This not only placed the two groups on a different social and economic level, but it brought them into daily contact with each other. For the parish priest this presented problems very different from those related to the frontier.

(i) Saint-Thomas de Compton

In 1851, ten years before the French Canadians began to open new townships in Compton county, 478 of them were living in the township of Compton.[87] Poor and scattered among Protestant families as they were, these francophones were in great peril of being assimilated into the majority.[88] In 1856, the year he was appointed to be the county's first curé, James Daly reported that:

> At Compton there is nothing done whatever for me, they began a list but did not finish it - The Church is deeply sunk in debt, which you will see in a few days, my dwelling is really humble. Eaton and Hatley will not pay expenses as I will be obliged to hire a horse to attend them [...] there are many Catholics here very

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[87]Demand for agricultural labour remained high in the more prosperous districts of the Eastern Townships throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. See for example, PAC, R.G. 17-I, Canada, Department of Agriculture, Correspondence no. 2055, Report of George Lanigan, 1866.

[88]ACAS, PP, Saint-Thomas, Daly to Mgr. Prince, 16 Feb. 1858.

> indifferent, these mixed marriages cause a great deal of coldness -.[89]

The following year Mgr. Prince gave Father Daly permission to visit Canadian and American dioceses to collect money for his mission. His letter of introduction read:

> Mr. James Daly has under his care the Missions of Compton, Eaton, Hatley and Coaticook, situated among Protestant populations of the eastern portion of the Diocese. On account of the poverty of his new settled congregations, he is forced to perform the divine services in a miserable Chapel at Eaton, in a loghouse at Hatley, in a common house at Coaticook. There is a church at Compton, but unfortunately sunk in a debt of several hundred pounds.[90]

The problem was not so much that the employers were Protestants as it was that many of the French Canadians remained in Compton only long enough to earn money for their passage to the United States.[91] Daly became so discouraged that in 1858 he asked for, and received, permission to transfer to Connecticut.[92] He had reason to despair, because by 1860 the number of French

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[89] Ibid., 10 Oct. 1856.

[90] Ibid., no. 7, Copie d'une lettre de recommendation donnée à Mr. Daly, Missionnaire de Compton, pour faire une quête en faveur de son Eglise," 9 Jan. 1857.

[91] Drapeau, p.184.

[92] ACAS, PP, Saint-Thomas, Daly to Prince, 20 July, 30 Sept. 1858.

Canadian farmers in Compton had dropped from forty to twenty-four, while the more transient labourers had increased from thirty-four to fifty-seven.[93]

The francophones continued to increase their numerical strength during the sixties, but their material position changed little. Even in the seventies and eighties, Compton continued to be a temporary dwelling-place where "Les familles catholiques sont se éparses et si pauvres, si peu stables dans le même endroit, que les jeunes sont bien souvent dans l'occasion de s'épouserentre parents ou de s'allier aux protestants."[94] The curé described the cause for the slow growth of his flock as follows: "Le township de [...] Compton ne se colonisera toujours que bien difficilement. Tous ou presque tous les biens de Compton appartiennent à des riches propriétaires qui ne peuvent être achetés que par des colons très à l'aise. Ce qui se présente rarement."[95]

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[93]Manuscript Census, 1851 and 1861. The printed Census Reports for 1861 record only 180 French Canadians, which is far below the actual number. The problem is that people's origins were not recorded by the enumerators in 1861, and the English-speaking enumerators in the older townships tended to anglicize French names. For some unknown reason, however, the number of francophones in Newport and Lingwick is greatly over-estimated. The 1861 census editors therefore seem to have assigned origins rather haphazardly in mixed townships. There is the consolation that in Compton county, at least, the mistakes tended to balance each other.

[94]Ibid., no. 7, J. B. Chartier to Larocque, 20 Jan. 1865; 22 Oct. 1867.

[95]Ibid., J. O. LeBlanc to Larocque, 30 April 1871.

Not only were the French Canadians poor, but their transient status and daily contacts with Protestants weakened the authority of the Church over them. They seldom donated more than two-thirds of the allotted tithe ($400), which led their curé to write in 1885: "On remarque une grande négligence et beaucoup de mauvaise volonté par rapport au paiement des dîmes. En outre, une assez grande négligence du devoir paschal et de l'assistance à la Ste. Messe."[96] Mgr. Racine threatened to withdraw the curé if Compton did not become more generous[97], but the Parish Reports of the three following years were no brighter. Estimating that over one-fifth of his parishioners were not practicing Catholics[98], Father Choquette complained that he could actually discern an odious "esprit mercantile" among them.[99]

Even the English-speaking Catholics of Compton set a poor example for the French Canadians. In October, 1890, when Mgr. Racine made Compton a parish in an attempt to augment the income of its hapless curé, the Irish Catholics protested

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[96]ACAS, Rapports ..., Saint-Thomas, 1885.

[97]ACAS, RL, I, no. 486.

[98]ACAS, Rapports ..., Saint-Thomas, 1891.

[99]Ibid., 1881.

vehemently.[100] They claimed (much like Robert Sellar) that the parish system infringed upon their British liberties because it enabled the Church to collect taxes by law. Their spokesman was J. B. Watts, who remarked that the Catholic Church had always flourished outside Quebec without such a system, and predicted that its implementation in Compton would cause some Catholic farmers to leave the township.[101] The anglophones also feared the creation of a fabrique[102] because the French-speaking majority would control it. Watts complained that "The active promoters of the scheme who are a few recent comers from the French county and notoriously ambitious of the post of Church-warden, openly say that they will take care that there shall be no English-speaking Church-warden elected."[103] Such defiance of the bishop was unheard of in the colonization parishes by this late date. Although

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[100]ACAS, PP, Saint-Thomas, no. 7, J. E. Choquette to Racine, 27 Dec. 1890.

[101]Ibid., J. B. Watts to Racine, 23 Nov. 1890.

[102]Though it was technically possible to have a fabrique (vestry) in an unincorporated parish (i.e. a mission), and to have a true parish without a fabrique (Mignault, pp.25, 221, 227) the canonical incorporation of a parish was usually associated with the election of churchwardens (officers of the fabrique). The primary function of the fabrique was to be legally responsible for the property of the parish. Prior to its formation, the curé or bishop had to fulfill this role.

[103]See footnote 101.

the French Canadians took no part in the incident, it does illustrate why the Church preferred to isolate them from the English-speaking inhabitants of the Townships.

(ii) Saint-Camille de Cookshire

Like nearby Compton, Eaton township was an early centre of American colonization where there was no wild land available by the time the French Canadians began to enter the Eastern Townships. Although the first francophones entered Eaton in 1834, they still numbered only 100 in 1851. Again they were mostly transient farm labourers who could not afford to support a chapel until 1853, when they converted an old school house for the purpose.[104] Their numbers grew slowly but steadily enough during the fifties and sixties (366 in 1870) to encourage Mgr. Larocque of Saint-Hyacinthe to appoint a resident curé in 1867. He also favoured construction of a real church in Cookshire, the township's principal village.[105] Although the majority opposed changing the site from Eaton Corner[106], they soon gave in to the bishop's wishes. However the Eaton Catholics were far from zealous in liquidating the $2500 debt

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[104] Annuaire..., Deuxième Décade, pp.389-91.

[105] Ibid., p.392.

[106] ACAS, PP, Saint-Camille, Gendreau to Larocque, 20 March 1869.

incurred in building the church.[107] Father Gendreau, who was responsible to the creditors, became so desperate by 1873 that he sought permission to take a parish in the United States in order to improve his finances.[108] In 1874, when the newly-consecrated Mgr. Racine visited Cookshire, the parish debt was still $1809.44.[109] He paid it off upon the understanding that Cookshire would reimburse him without interest. Although the curé did his best to remove the debt before repairs became necessary, it never went below $433. By 1890 it was back to $1000.[110]

In fact, Eaton's Parish Reports indicate the same degree of religious indifference as in Compton. Furthermore, the curé had no doubts as to where the blame lay. In 1878 he wrote, "Le population qui n'est pas catholique, est infidèle-paienne, adorant leur bien-être et leur corps. De là, difficulté pour les catholiques de vivre de la vie de la foi. - De là indifférence pour la pratique de la Religion." Of 171 Catholic families, eleven were mixed, with only the

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[107] Annuaire..., Deuxième Décade, p.394.

[108] ACAS, PP, Saint-Camille, Gendreau to Larocque, 10 May 1873.

[109] Annuaire..., Deuxième Décade, p.397.

[110] Ibid., p.398; ACAS, Rapports..., Saint-Camille, 1889-91.

wife and children practicing religion; eighty-four, mixed and otherwise, practiced no religion whatsoever; and eight marriages were not recognized by the Church.[111] The curé actually had to side-step the rules of the Church by baptizing some children in their homes because their parents were either too indifferent or too poor to dress them and take them to the chapel.[112] To make matters worse, the one Catholic school was very poorly operated:

> Les enfants qui sont tous canadiens ne peuvent apprendre le catéchisme parceque l'institutrice est irlandaise, ne pouvant enseigner le français. Et les enfants ne comprennent pas l'anglais suffisament.[113]

Apart from the problem of contacts with the English Canadians, there was the question of stability, for in 1879 thirty-six families went to the United States, and forty-one new families arrived. The migratory trend continued throughout the early eighties, with the number of families entering and leaving sometimes reaching the teens during a single year. The growth in French Canadian numbers, from 43 to 735 during the eighties, was therefore not as encouraging as it might

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[111] *Ibid.*, 1878.

[112] ACAS, PP, Saint-Camille, Gendreau to Larocque, 20 March 1869.

[113] ACAS, Rapports..., Saint-Camille, 1879.

appear. Until they began to sink roots in the township, there could be no real progress within the French-speaking community. Unfortunately for that community, the Protestants of Eaton were quite content to hold onto their farms, as the Annuaire diocésain remarked in 1888:

> L'aisance dans laquelle ils vivent presque tous, la fortune et l'influence de quelques-uns des leurs et surtout la conscience de leur supériorité numérique, en vertu de laquelle ils sont maîtres absolus dans toutes les affaires, les ont toujours tenus à l'abri de cetter fameuse 'fievre de l'Ouest', qui leur a été si funeste partout ailleurs.[114]

(iii) Sainte-Famille de Newport (Island Brook)

French Canadians were slow to infiltrate the five B.A.L. Company townships of Newport, Westbury, Bury, Lingwick and Hampden. Not only were the land prices too high, considering that there was ample crown land to the North and East, but the Scottish immigrants attracted by the company were too poor to hire farm labourers.

The township of Newport, to the East of Eaton, was unlike the remaining B.A.L. Company territory in that it was first settled by English Canadians, not immigrants. But the population grew very slowly, barely reaching 400 by 1860.

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[114] Annuaire..., Deuxième Décade, pp.401-2.

132 French Canadians settled in Newport during the sixties, but their progress was no more impressive. They added only forty-five to their number during the seventies, and had declined to 160 by 1890.

The first Parish Report was filed in 1886, when $35 in tithes was collected. Because the Catholic population dropped quickly within the next five years, by 1891 the tithe yielded only $16. In spite of this paltry amount, the missionary felt that his charges were doing their best. Aside from some drunkenness, he had no complaints about their conduct. The good behaviour of the French Canadians may be partially explained by the fact that most of them were settlers, not transient labourers.

(iv) Saint-Louis de Westbury

There was a handful of French Canadians in Westbury as early as 1851, but by 1860 they were still no more than twenty-five. They added only sixty-four to their ranks during the sixties, but this was enough to make them twenty-five percent of the population by 1870. The growth rate of the French-speaking population began to accelerate during the seventies, and was further stimulated by the opening of a pulp mill at East Angus in 1882.[115] In 1890 there were 592 French Canadi-

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[115]Albert Gravel, Henry Caldwell et le Township de Westbury (East Angus) (Sherbrooke, 1961), p.15.

ans in the township, sixty-one percent of the population.

The Catholics built a chapel in 1884, and began to be served by a resident priest in 1887. Two years after his appointment, Father Boudreau became involved in a dispute with the pulp company, claiming that it had forced its employees to vote for a Protestant over a Catholic.[116] The following year he complained that five family heads in his parish were guilty of insubordination.[117] Soon afterward, eleven men petitioned Mgr. Racine to replace their curé because he was despotic and viciously critical of his parishioners.[118] However the malcontents must have eventually been appeased, because Father Boudreau remained in East Angus for another seven years. During the later eighties he gradually became more pleased with his tithe collections, which did increase rapidly (from $37.50 in 1885 to $296 in 1891). In 1891 the fabrique still owed $1420 for the new church, but it would have little trouble paying this sum, for its income had reached $600 per year.

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[116] ACAS, PP, Saint-Louis, no. 7, F. Boudreau to Racine, 18 Jan. 1889.

[117] ACAS, Rapports..., Saint-Louis, 1890.

[118] ACAS, PP, Saint-Louis, no. 9, Pétition, Jan. 1890.

(v) Saint-Raphael de Bury

The first French Canadians did not arrive in Bury township until the mid-sixties. In 1871, when they were about seventy-five in number, they bought half an acre of land for a church in the village of Robinson. With considerable outside assistance, they were able to complete a chapel the following year. But the French Canadian numbers remained almost static for the next twenty years, leaving them unable to pay off their $300 loan until Mgr. Racine came to their rescue in 1877.[119]

With poverty came religious indifference, which was aggravated, in the missionary's eyes at least, by the pernicious influence of the Protestant majority: "Comme dans les autres Cantons, la population que l'on appelle protestante est à peu près infidèle." Furthermore, in 1878 twelve of the forty-seven Catholic families had one Protestant spouse. Finally, there were only mixed schools, which the priest considered very dangerous for morals, "à cause du défaut de surveillance de la part des maîtres et maîtresses."[120]

In spite of such moral handicaps, the Bury missionary found that "la population catholique de Bury pratique la foi,

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[119] Annuaire..., Deuxième Décade, pp.33-4.

[120] ACAS, Rapports..., Saint-Raphael, 1878.

- mieux qu'à Cookshire, par ex." As for their behaviour, he reported: "Population sédentaire, bonne. - Ivrognerie de la part d'engagés du chemin de fer. Ces engagés ont disparu à l'automne."[121] During the eighties complaints about the effects of Protestant contacts became rarer. The missionary even began to feel that the tithe collected was sufficient, considering the size and material circumstances of the Catholic population.

(iv) Saint-Paul de Scotstown

The village of Scotstown, near the Lingwick-Hampden border, was founded by the Glasgow Canadian Land and Trust Company in 1873. During the first few years Scottish immigrants supplied the labour for its one important industry, a sawmill. The only francophones in the area were a small group of French immigrants who in 1874 founded Franceville, three to six miles East of Scotstown. At first they had no money, no houses and scarcely any road.[122] The English-speaking population and the Quebec Government both offered some assistance,[123] but the colony long remained on a very

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[121] Ibid.

[122] Le Pionnier, 3 Sept. 1875; Le Progrès de l'Est, 21 Aug. 1885.

[123] SPQ, VIII (1874), General Report of Commissioner

shaky foundation.[124] The road to Franceville remained deplorable as late as 1885 when the founder, André Pinotau, still had only twenty-four French neighbours.[125]

Meanwhile, French Canadians had finally begun to settle in Hampden and Lingwick. By 1880 there was a total of 122 francophones in both townships. Their numbers declined in Lingwick during the following decade, but in 1884 they began to colonize Hampden in earnest. By 1890 they were 540, over half the township's population. Scotstown became a parish in 1885, and received a resident curé in 1888. Most of the French Canadians lived in their own communities, which helps to explain why the curé had no disturbances to report, and why the tithe was always a respectable sum ($225 by 1891).

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of Agriculture and Public Works. The Franceville colonists were not able to become part of the colonization Societies programme, and therefore had to build their own houses (NAQ, SL, Correspondance, II, 104, LeSage to L. Pope, 16 Sept. 1874) but in 1875 they were given the same money grants as the repatriation colonists of Ditton and Chesham ($140 for each improved lot). NAQ, PW, Lettres Envoyées, XXI, no. 12328, LeSage to Chicoyne, 25 May 1875.

[124]In 1874 Lemuel Pope, the local road overseer, reported that aside from one man who was a poet and artist, the eight French families all consisted of good capable workers. Ibid., Lettres Reçues, 1874, no. 28914½, L. Pope to LeSage, 13 Dec. 1874. See also no. 26361, L. Pope to Thom, 24 June 1874; Lettres Envoyées, XX, no. 11468, E. Moreau to Chicoine, 4 Dec. 1874.

[125]Le Progrès de l'Est, 21 Aug., 4 Sept. 1885.

The authority of the Catholic Church over Compton's French Canadians deteriorated noticeably wherever there was no centralized French-speaking community. In Compton and Eaton townships, Church taxes were paid reluctantly and the number of Catholics who did not attend Easter confession (a good indication of the number who did not practice their religion) often passed the hundred mark.[126] Illegitimate births, though still uncommon, were more frequent here than in the other parishes (ten were recorded between 1878 and 1891). Admittedly, some of the difficulties can be blamed on the Irish, who may have been less obedient than the French Canadians, but they were only five percent of the Catholic population in both parishes.

Most of Westbury's French Canadians were industrial labourers. They therefore lived in one community, East Angus, but they were more transient than colonists were, and they came into daily contact with Protestants. Consequently, they too neglected their religious duties; as many as 80 out of 630 did not go to Easter mass in 1889. However this was the year of the dispute between the curé and some of his parishioners; the

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[126]In the Diocese of Montreal in 1864, the average number who did not attend confession at Easter was 57 per 1,000. Serge Gagnon, p.119.

attendance did improve after that. On the whole, the French Canadians of Westbury were more submissive Catholics than those of Compton or Eaton, but much less so than those of Newport, Bury and Scotstown. Although these three parishes were in anglo-dominated townships, most of their French Canadians were colonists or farmers. Their situation differed only in degree from that of the French Canadian colonists in the younger townships further East. They were simply smaller in number and a little closer to English-speaking neighbours. When French Canadians first began to settle in Bury during the sixties, for example, their missionary frequently bemoaned Protestant influences. However he soon became much more satisfied with his post than did the priests of Compton and Eaton. Because most of them lived on their own farms, the Bury francophones would tend not to associate with Protestants, but even more important, they would feel greater social pressure to respect the authority of the Church than would the rootless labourers of Compton and Eaton. Just as we could conclude in chapter seven that the French Canadian's economic position was determined less by his proximity to anglophone models than by the physical nature of his environment, here we can conclude that the anglophones influenced his relationship with the Church, not so much because he copied them as because amongst them he found himself relatively isolated from the influence exerted by the curé and French Canadian community.

As the Townships missionaries had been pointing out since the 1830's, the danger for the French Canadians was not that they were becoming Protestants, but that they were simply losing all religious sentiment (admittedly much the same thing as far as the priests were concerned).

The effect, as a social unit, that the compact parish had upon the French Canadians cannot be over-stated. It ensured that, in contrast to the adventuresome, independent pioneers we associate with the Prairie West, the colonists of the Eastern Townships would not enter an unknown, hostile environment, nor attempt to found a utopian new society. Far from casting off the obligations they had once faced, they used the home parishes as models for their colonies. The chapel, which was always built as soon as possible, became the centre of the community.[127] In contrast to the labourers, the French-speaking colonists paid their Church taxes quite willingly, and seldom questioned their curés' decisions. One can easily understand why the Catholic Church would concentrate upon colonization in its endeavour to preserve the identity of French Canada.

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[127] In this comparison it should be made clear that I am dealing only with the myth of the western frontier - its individualistic character has probably been exaggerated.

CONCLUSION

French Canadian colonization in the Eastern Townships was essentially over by 1890. Schemes to settle the more isolated and barren areas had proven futile, and an upsurge in industrialization was soon to create the jobs necessary to prevent emigration to New England. There were no replacements when those who had been associated with colonization passed from the scene - Mgr. Racine died in 1893, Abbé Cousineau in 1896, J. H. Pope in 1889, and J. H. Chicoyne (after years of inactivity) in 1910. These men all played an important role in the drama of the peaceable conquest of the Eastern Townships. True, the final act had not yet been performed, for the English Canadians were still in much the strongest position in the South-West where they had been concentrated from the beginning. There was nothing to prevent them from holding onto their relatively prosperous farms, but they had already shown that, just as their forefathers had refused to settle the more marginal land to the North and East, they would refuse to send their sons to man the factories mushrooming in their midst. As a result, the anglophone population would expand no further, and the region would become more and more French in character. This would inevitably encourage even successful English-speaking farmers to move out. Once it had begun, the exodus could only accelerate in speed.

Between 1851 and 1890 the English-speaking population of the Townships grew from 60,510 to 69,077, not enough to prevent its decline from two-thirds to one-third of the total population. Even in the South-West the political authority of the anglophones was being challenged during the nineties.[1] Industrialization might be needed to deliver the coup de grâce[2], but French Canadian colonization had already turned the tide by putting the anglophones on the defensive within the region they had once claimed as their own.

The colonization movement took many forms. Prior to mid-century, most of the French-speaking families simply moved onto the land nearest the seigneuries. This was, to a large extent, a natural and spontaneous migration with very little organization or direction from lay or clerical leaders. The Church clearly favoured this development, and missionaries did stimulate it, but only when emigration to New England reached crisis proportions did the bishops throw their full weight be-

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[1]See Gordon O. Rothney, "Political nationalism: Sherbrooke, 1866-1966," in Sherbrooke Daily Record, 11 June 1966; Dale C. Thomson, "Louis St. Laurent: Eastern Township boy," Journal of Canadian Studies, I (1966), 34.

[2]In 1971 there were still 45,000 English Canadians living in the Eastern Townships, but this was only about ten percent of the total population. Gary Caldwell, A Demographic Profile of the English-speaking population of Quebec 1921-1971 (Lennoxville, 1973), p.33.

hind expansion into the Townships. In 1848 an attempt was made to organize a large-scale colonization movement, but, due in part to a conflict between the lay and clerical organizers, the project enjoyed only a limited success. However it did stimulate the government to redress some of the abuses in the land-granting system, as well as to build colonization roads and to organize a more effective municipal government system.

The legal reforms were in effect by 1855, after which the zeal associated with the winning of responsible government seems to have diminished. Only with Confederation and the creation of a separate provincial administration did politicians again become interested in colonization. Anxious to appease demands that it take advantage of its authority over crown lands, the provincial government launched a colonization societies programme in 1869 and a repatriation colony in 1875. The centre of both projects was eastern Compton County, the one area in the Townships with a significant amount of crown land remaining. But these townships had been neglected for the very good reason that they were isolated and generally quite mountainous. Consequently, the government-sponsored colonies proved to be disappointments. By the end of the seventies, the politicians had abandoned the land settlement business to private European-financed companies, again to little avail.

The real progress was being made outside the crown

lands. The unguided expansion of the French Canadian population in the townships adjacent to the old seigneurial holdings continued just as it had begun in the thirties. The colonists gradually expanded the agricultural frontier by purchasing lots which had been held by absentee proprietors since the early 1800's. It was in these peripheral townships that the franocophone numbers grew fastest during the nineteenth century. From here they were only beginning to expand onto the originally English-speaking farms of the South-West, where the way had been prepared for them by rural and urban labourers.

Wherever they opened a new colony, the French Canadians quickly established a parish modelled on those they had left behind. Only in those areas already inhabited by anglophones, where the French-speaking population was more scattered and transient, did the curé's spiritual and temporal authority decline. The large majority of French Candians lived in townships where there were relatively few Protestants, so their institutions quickly became indistinguishable from those in the old St. Lawrence valley communities. Geography impelled the French Canadians to adopt an agricultural system similar to that of the anglophones, but there was no blending of the two cultures in this hinterland between the former seigneuries and the English-speaking stronghold. This even applied to areas inhabited by both populations at the same time, in part because the priests did their best to minimize inter-group contacts.

Consequently it was all the more likely that when the French Canadians gained the upper hand, the English Canadians would simply leave. With the French Canadians suddenly on their doorsteps, the anglophones could no longer ignore the fact that they were a small minority with an uncertain future in the province of Quebec. The West, where most of the exiles went, offered security from cultural conflicts, as well as brighter economic prospects.

Cultural security, on the other hand, was one of the Townships' strongest attractions as far as the French Canadians were concerned. This explains why they moved onto land spurned by the anglophones. To encourage them to do so, their newspapers and clerics constantly reminded them of the virtues of agrarian life as opposed to that in the city.

The Sherbrooke Pionnier was the most extreme francophone newspaper in this respect. An 1868 editorial argued:

> On parle beaucoup aujourd'hui de l'établissement de manufactures, afin de créer des centres dans lesquels nos produits trouveront des marchés avantageux; mais il est evident que la production des provisions et des matières brutes ne peut marcher de front avec le nombre toujours croissant des consommateurs: de là, la rareté de provisions et la cherté de la nourriture. C'est pourquoi il est bien permis de demander s'il ne vaudrait pas autant, sinon mieux, appliquer nos capitaux à l'ouverture de nouveaux cantons et développer

> ainsi de nouvelles branches de commerce; le pays en général et les centres d'affaires en particulier, en retireraient probablement plus d'avantages que n'en promet l'établissement des manufactures.[3]

In 1871 the Pionnier conceded that factories were necessary to keep French Canadians in Quebec[4], but by 1875 it was debating that the commercial crisis was proof that people could not rely too heavily upon industries: "C'est sur le sol qu'un peuple devient riche et se fait grand. C'est par la culture de la terre qu'une nation se met en état de supporter facilement tous les renvers qui peuvent lui arriver."[5] In 1878, and again in 1880, the Pionnier demanded a law which would force all artisans to a five year apprenticeship, thereby keeping farmers on the land.[6] During the following decade its opposition to urbanization grew even more vehement: "la grande industrie devient le plus mortel ennemi de la société;" "l'homme fut destiné pour cultiver la terre;"[7] "De l'industrie, du commerce il en faut, mais il faut aussi que les arts mercantiles

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[3]Le Pionnier, 17 April 1868.

[4]Ibid., 11 May 1871.

[5]Ibid., 29 Oct. 1875.

[6]Ibid., 6 Dec. 1878; 10 Dec., 17 Dec. 1880.

[7]Ibid., 27 Feb. 1880.

soient en tout proportionnés, ou plutôts subordonnés à l'art par excellence, l'agriculture;"[8] "L'émigration dans les villes, voilà l'ennemi;"[9] "Pour nous canadiens-français, la culture de la terre est notre sauvegarde, car par elle nous avons l'indépendence."[10]

Mgr. Racine's pastoral letters are also filled with admonitions to remain attached to the soil:

> Faites aujourd'hui ce que vos ancêtres ont fait: attachez-vous au sol, défrichez et cultivez la terre: l'agriculture sera toujours pour le peuple canadien l'élément matériel le plus puissant de sa prospérité.[11]

> Après la foi, le bien qu'un peuple estime le plus, c'est la possession de la terre, la possession d'un partie du territoire national, quelque petit qu'elle soit.[12]

> L'agriculture est le plus ancien et le plus utile de tous les arts, c'est elle qui donne à l'homme la nourriture et le vêtement.[13]

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[8] Ibid., 18 Feb. 1886.

[9] Ibid., 19 April 1891.

[10] Ibid., 16 Oct. 1891.

[11] Mandements...Sherbrooke, no. 43, 1 June 1883.

[12] Ibid., no. 42, 30 March 1891.

[13] Ibid., no. 59, 6 Dec. 1892.

Whatever the reasons which caused its birth[14], the agrarian myth (and therefore the colonization momement) received much of its strength in the latter half of the nineteenth century from the hope that it would counteract the exodus to New England's mill towns.[15] Benefitting from hindsight, we now realize that industrialization of the province would have been a more satisfactory solution. But even if this had been possible at the time[16], the Catholic Church, which largely defined the goals and outlook of French Canadian society, could hardly be expected to promote the aggressive individualism associated with industrial and commercial entrepreneurship. The Church taught French Canadians to preserve their religion and language at all costs, and these had quite

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[14]One school attributes the growth of the agrarian mentality to the destructive social and economic effects of the British Conquest [M. Séguin, p.256; Michel Brunet, "The British Conquest: Canadian Social Scientists and the Fate of the Canadiens," CHR, XL (1959), 93-107], while the other argues that the French Canadian élite deliberately chose to perpetuate an ancien régime mentality and conservative Catholic ideology. Ouellet, Histoire Economique, pp.477, 539-94; Hamelin and Roby, pp.169, 371, 376.

[15]See Germain LeSage, "Un fil d'ariane: la pensée pastorale des évéques canadiens-français," in Le Laïc, p.44; René Hardy, "L'ultramontanisme de Laflèche: Genèse et Postulats d'une Idéologie," RS, X (1969), 200.

[16]It has been argued that for reasons that were entirely unrelated to language, religion, or ideology, Quebec was doomed to lag behind New England in the development of secondary industries. See Albert Faucher and Maurice Lamontagne, "History of Industrial Development," in J. C. Falardeau, ed., Essais sur le Québec contemporain (Québec, 1953), pp.23-27.

naturally come to be associated with the traditional rural life-style. Consequently, when faced with a threat as serious as the emigration to New England, the clerics automatically reacted by trying to strengthen the society as they knew it.

But when it came to a choice between losing French Canadians from the province, or accepting the growth of towns in Quebec, the élite would inevitably, if reluctantly, pick the latter alternative. This is why we find contradictory statements on industrialization emanating from the same sources. For example on July 31, 1891, the editor of the Pionnier wrote an enthusiastic article on the $25,000 extension being planned for the Paton wool factory. It is also interesting to note that he began to support protective tariffs for industries ten years before Macdonald's National Policy came into effect.[17] Nor do we ever find Mgr. Racine commenting upon the demoralizing effect of industries in Sherbrooke. In fact he even found one consolation in the exodus of French Canadians to the United States, namely that it would help develop their aptitude for business, and make them more appreciative of the benefits of industry.[18] Finally, attempts

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[17] Le Pionnier, 3 Sept. ff. 1869. L'Union des Cantons de l'Est of Arthabaskaville was more sympathetic to urbanization. See 12 Feb., 29 April, 22 July, 29 July 1868; 21 March, 19 Dec. 1872; 2 Jan., 31 July, 6 Nov. 1873; 22 March 1874; 10 May 1877.

[18] Mandements...Sherbrooke, no. 6, 29 March 1875.

by French Canadian colonizers to establish industries were not uncommon in the Eastern Townships. One example is the village of Roxton Falls, founded by the Montreal Association des Townships. In 1849 a missionary enthusiastically described its industrial prospects: "Le site en est vraiment magnifique et bien choisi. La Rivière Noire, [...] court au milieu et fournit de nombreux et intarissables pouvoirs d'eau, pour moulins et manufactures de toute espèce."[19] There were also the lumber and flour mills, and the shoe and cheese factories promoted by the arch-colonizer, J. A. Chicoyne, during the seventies and eighties. Priests themselves occasionally became involved in opening factories. Because of his heavy investments in local enterprises, Father J. B. Chartier of Coaticook lost his church and presbytery to creditors in 1877 when the town was hit by a commercial recession.[20]

Of course many of these industries were small enough to be associated with virtues similar to those of the rural milieu, and most of them would directly benefit the local farmers by providing easily accessible markets.[21] Given that they

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[19]Ed. Leblond to Mgr. Bourget, Sept. 1849. Quoted in Rapport [...] de Montréal (1850), p.5.

[20]Gravel, Coaticook, pp.88-90.

[21]See Fernand Dumont, "Idéologies au Canada Français (1850-1900); Quelques Réflexions d'ensemble," RS, X (1969), 154; Jean Louis Beauregard, "Agrarian Thought in Selected French Canadian Novels and Poems, 1846-1918" (MA thesis,

may have been the only viable industries in those pre-hydro-electricity days, it does not necessarily follow that the French Canadian promoters' motives were primarily capitalistic ones. But even if nationalistic considerations were uppermost in the minds of men like Chicoyne, it should be clear that they were as concerned with arresting the French Canadian exodus as they were with keeping Quebec a rural society. In most cases, however, they saw no contradiction in the two goals, for colonization nicely suited both.

Both goals were essentially conservative, but social scientists have been a little too eager to write off nineteenth century colonization as a reactionary and unproductive movement. It is true that in the Eastern Townships French Canadians were directed to areas which descendants of the original American and British inhabitants shunned as uninhabitable, and agricultural progress was hindered by overcrowding inferior land, but if one believes that cultural survival is worth making material sacrifices for, then French Canadian colonization in the Eastern Townships was a remarkable success. Not only did it hold thousands of people who would normally have moved to the United States, it also ensured that the French Canadians would dominate the one region within their province which had been considered an anglo-saxon stronghold.

Bishop's University, 1974), pp.48-9. Trépanier (pp.141-4) makes a useful distinction between agricultural industries which were associated with the rural milieu, and those requiring large-scale capital investment and specialized manpower.

APPENDIX A

Grants Given in the Eastern Townships Under the Leader and Associates System 1796-1809*

* Between 1796 and 1828 grants given outside the sytem totalled 201,547 acres. McGuigan, I, 379-84.

Date of Patent	Township	Acres	Leader	No. of Acres	Acres rec'd. by Leader	Acres rec'd. by Associations
1796	Dunham[1]	40,895	Thos. Dunn*	34	34,095	6,800
1797	Brome[1]	41,757	Asa Porter	32	35,351	6,400
1797	Bolton[1]	62,621	Nicholas Austin	53	52,021	10,600
1798	Farnham[2]	15,600	Samuel Gale	22	11,200	4,400
1799	Dorset[1]	52,800	John Black*	44	44,000	8,800
1800	Grantham[1]	25,400	Wm. Grant*	34	18,600	6,800
1800	Upton[1]	22,600	D. A. Grant*	38	15,000	7,600
1800	Stanstead	26,800	Isaac Ogden	24	22,000	4,800
1800	Broughton	21,000	Henry Junken Wm. Hall*	19	17,200	3,800
1800	Stukely[#]	22,000	Samuel Willard*	25	17,000	5,000
1800	Hereford[#]	22,200	James Rankin	23	17,400	4,600
1800	Eaton[#]	24,400	Josiah Savage	31	18,200	6,200
1801	Shefford	33,800	John Savage	38	26,200	7,600
1801	Barnston[#]	22,000	Robert Lester* Robert Morrogh*	18	18,400	3,600
1801	Orford[#]	13,600	Luke Knowlton	15	10,600	3,000
1801	Newport	11,000	Edmund Heard	10	9,000	2,000
1801	Stanbridge[#]	39,800	Hugh Finlay*	39	32,000	7,800
1801	Brompton[#]	40,894	Wm. Bernard*	33	34,294	6,600
1801	Shipton[#]	58,000	Elmer Cushing	46	48,800	9,200
1802	Stoke[#]	41,715	Jane Cowan	40	33,715	8,000
1802	Chester	11,000	Simon McTavish*	9	9,200	1,800
1802	Halifax	11,000	Benjamin Jobert*	9	9,200	1,800
1802	Inverness	11,000	Wm. McGillivray*	9	9,200	1,800
1802	Wolfestown	11,000	Nicholas Montour*	9	9,200	1,800

Date of Patent	Township	Acres	Leader	No. of Acres	Acres rec'd. by Leader	Acres rec'd. by Associations
1802	Leeds	11,200	Isaac Todd*	9	9,400	1,800
1802	Ireland	11,000	Jos. Frobisher*	9	9,200	1,800
1802	Durham#	21,600	Thos. Scott*	18	18,000	3,600
1802	Compton	25,200	Jesse Pennoyer Nathaniel Coffin Jos. Kilborn	21	21,000	4,200
1802	Wickham#	22,364	Wm. Lindsay*	18	18,764	3,600
1802	Arthabaska	11,000	John Gregory*	9	9,200	1,800
1802	Thetford	21,200	Mervin Nooth	18	17,600	3,600
1802	Ely#	11,000	Amos Lay	19	7,400	3,600
1803	Ascot#	19,230	Gilbert Hyatt*	30	13,230	6,000
1803	Bury	11,000	Calvin May	9	19,200	1,800
1803	Hatley#	22,374	Henry Cull* Ebenezer Hovey	33	15,774	6,600
1803	Ditton	11,000	Menrod Yoemans	16	7,800	3,200
1803	Clinton	11,000	John F. Holland	9	9,200	1,800
1803	Bulstrode#	23,591	Patrick Langan*	20	19,591	4,000
1805	Kingsey#	10,708	Samuel Holland	9	8,908	1,800
1805	Melbourne#	26,032	Henry Caldwell John Donaldson	36	18,832	7,200
1805	Dudswell	11,132	John Bishop	9	9,332	1,800
	Totals	963,313	47	937	773,913	187,000

[1] Held as tenants in common, not as joint tenants

[2] 15,600 acres in common

* approximations

* merchants or engaged in commercial activities

many lots over and under 200 acres; difficult to estimate exact acreage

APPENDIX B

Estimates of Grants and Settlements to 1822 by

Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor General*

* McGuigan, I, 385-90.

Township	Crown Reserves (contents in acres)	Clergy Reserves	Reserves Granted	Reserves Ungranted	Remarks as to Settlement
Acton	13,656	9,207	22,858	18,714	No settlements
Ascot	8,118	7,538	29,400	11,600	Well settled and many roads travelling to same
Arthabaska	4,558	4,558	11,000	11,794	No settlements
Auckland	9,488	9,488	1,200	44,244	Uncertain as to settlements
Barford	5,600	5,400	24,200	--	Partly settled
Barnston	8,800	8,800	41,875	1,800	Well settled
Bolton	11,176	11,176	60,884	--	Well settled
Brome	7,933	7,933	39,630	--	Well settled
Broughton	8,600	8,800	22,405	21,000	Some settlements
Brompton	7,000	8,800	43,400	--	Some settled along the River St. Francis
Bulstrode	9,344	9,452	21,110	25,427	No settlements
Bury	8,000	8,000	11,000	33,000	Some settlements
Blandford	7,664	7,200	37,400	--	No settlements
Chester	8,800	8,800	24,200	19,600	3 or 4 houses in a ruinous state
Clifton	8,547	8,689	42,371	400	Partly settled
Clinton	2,600	2,000	11,000	400	No settlements
Compton	7,571	7,716	38,122	141	Well and thickly settled and several mills
Ditton	8,800	8,800	11,000	33,000	Uncertain as to extent of settlement
Dorset	10,200	10,200	51,000	--	No settlements
Dunham	8,179	8,179	40,217	--	Well Settled
Dudswell	7,340	7,565	14,032	23,100	Partly settled
Durham	8,294	8,536	46,665	--	Partly settled, in front principally
Eaton	5,912	5,912	6,400	23,161	Settlement in different parts and mills
Ely	8,325	8,400	25,600	16,700	Some settlements

Township	Crown Reserves (contents in acres)	Clergy Reserves	Reserves Granted	Reserves Ungranted	Remarks as to Settlement
Farnham	8,295	7,764	40,994	3,967	Well settled in the eastern part
Granby	7,531	7,586	36,995	--	Some settlements, granted to militia under agency (1795-96)
Grantham		10,600	47,000	13,000	Tolerably well settled in some parts, and militia thereon
Ham	8,800	8,800	13,400	30,600	No settlements
Halifax	8,800	8,800	22,800	21,200	Some settlements
Hatley	9,159	8,062	24,544	17,415	Settled in different parts, and mills etc.
Hereford	8,800	8,800	22,000	22,000	Some settlements and no mills
Horton					No settlements, lately surveyed for militia
Inverness	8,800	8,800	11,400	32,600	A few houses along Craig's Road
Ireland	8,807	8,807	11,500	33,037	Settled in some parts
Kingsey	8,452	8,562	30,072	13,317	The front is tolerably well settled
Leeds	8,837	8,837	23,260	22,427	Some settlements, especially on Craig's Road
Lingwick	8,800	8,800	12,000	32,000	Uncertain as to settlements
Milton	5,800	5,926	28,940		Some settlements
Melbourne	5,775	5,983	29,800		Well settled in several parts
Nelson	7,559	7,743	36,696		No settlements
Newport	8,800	8,800	23,000	21,000	Some settlements
Orford	10,613	10,612	16,813	36,200	Settled on the front
Potton	8,357	8,347	42,465		Partly settled and mills thereon
Roxton	12,800	12,800	24,000	12,000	Uncertain as to settlements
Shefford	8,800	8,800	32,200	--	Well settled, some good roads and mills
Simpson	8,882	8,536	41,122	--	Settled along the front
Shipton	11,167	11,185	56,900	--	Well settled in several parts, mills and good roads
Stanstead	10,825	10,575	51,535	--	Well settled, several mills, a village, etc.
Somerset	7,483	7,619	37,750	--	No settlements

Township	Crown Reserves (contents in acres)	Clergy Reserves	Reserves Granted	Reserves Ungranted	Remarks as to Settlement
Stanfold	9,728	9,977	25,520	23,506	No settlements
Stoke	10,477	9,934	42,776	7,400	Partly settled
Stukely	8,703	8,719	39,642	4,800	Partly settled
Sutton	8,800	8,800	42,000	2,000	Partly settled
Stanbridge	8,000	7,800	41,340	--	Well settled
Shenley	8,800	8,800	11,000	33,000	No settlements
Tingwick	9,400	9,000	47,000	800	A few houses along Craig's Road
Thetford	8,800	8,800	22,000	22,000	No settlements yet
Tring	8,800	8,800	21,900	21,100	No settlements
Upton	8,734	8,741	24,855	19,200	Some settlements
Warwick	9,400	9,000	22,800	22,600	No settlements
Wendover	7,202	6,557	13,303	19,743	Some settlements near the River
Wickham	--	9,010	32,997	25,079	Some settlements in several parts since 1815 when they were commenced by disbanded troops
Westbury	2,571	2,249	11,576	--	Some settlements
Windsor	10,135	10,158	51,007	--	Settled along the front
Weedon	8,800	8,800	11,300	32,700	No settlements, northeast part not arable
Wolfestown	8,800	8,800	11,000	33,000	One or two houses and clearnings

- List of Townships named, but not actually surveyed -

Adstock	Jersey	Stratford
Coleraine	Marlow	Woburn
Chesham	Marston	Whitton
Ditchfield	Risborough	Wotton
Emberton	Spalding	Winslow

APPENDIX C

Land Granted to the British American Land Company

as Recorded in Langelier

County	Township		Acres	Date
Bagot	Acton	5,373	(4,447	1840
			(926	1842
Brome	Bolton	9,458	(813	1842
			(8,645	1847
	Brome		2,400	1840
	Potton	9,882	(800	1840
			(3,600	1842
			(5,482	1847
	Farnham		4,607	1847
			26,347	
Drummond	Grantham		4,400	1842
	Kingsey		2,000	1842
	Simpson		15,400	1842
	Wendover	18,030	(6,400	1842
			(11,630	1854
	Wickham	16,054	(3,408	1840
			(12,646	1842
			55,884	
Richmond	Stoke		(100	1836
			(134	1840
		27,029	(8,000	1842
			(16,795	1847
			(2,000	1862
	Windsor	11,100	(10,900	1842
			(200	1852
	Shipton		(100	1838
		11,410	(5,250	1842
			(6,060	1847
	Melbourne		(100	1835
		5,558	(3,308	1836
			(2,150	1842
	Brompton		(1,777	1840
		9,451	(1,200	1842
			(6,474	1847
			64,548	
Shefford	Ely		(3,600	1840
		12,829	(1,600	1842
			(7,629	1847
	Granby		(2,200	1840
		5,931	(3,331	1847
			(100	1854
			(300	1855
	Milton		(2,074	1840
			(600	1842
		7,574	(4,400	1847
			(200	1855
			(100	1856
			(200	1860

County	Township		Acres	Date
	Roxton		(3,850	1840
			(15,882	1852
		26,609 2/3	(5,651 2/3	1854
			(100	1855
			(126	1869
	Shefford		(1,969	1842
		10,760	(8,791	1852
	Stukely		(50	1835
			(200	1840
		10,148	(2,658	1842
			(7,140	1847
			(100	1864
			73,851 2/3	
Sherbrooke	Ascot		(47	1835
			(200	1838
		6,515	(2,000	1847
			(4,200	1852
			(75	1865
	Orford		(2,231	1836
			(400	1840
			(1,433	1842
			(36,046	1848
			(141	1868
			(436	1872
			47,202	
Stanstead	Barford		(4,200	1842
		9,200	(5,000	1847
	Barnston		(50	1835
			(5,080	1836
		8,381 ½	(1,547	1840
			(1,704 ½	1842
	Hatley		(11,157	1836
		14,830	(1,131	1840
			(2,542	1842
	Stanstead		1,981	1836
			34,392 ½	
Wolfe	Dudswell		(750	1836
			(5,805	1840
		15,911	(8,187	1847
			(100	1860
			(950	1862
			(119	1871
	Weedon		(8,600	1840
		14,256	(5,456	1847
			(200	1857
	Wolfestown		200	1862
			30,367	

County	Township		Acres		Date
Compton	Auckland	8,200	(3,800		1842
			(4,400		1847
	Bury	89,588	(2,000		1840
			(87,588		1847
	Clifton	17,094	(8,250		1842
			(8,844		1847
	Clinton		2,600		1847
	Compton	2,033	(128		1835
			(1,865	(app.)	1836
			(40		1842
	Ditton		2,200		1847
	Eaton	19,150	(2,200		1835
			(12,300		1836
			(4,350		1842
			(300		1862
	Hereford	7,380	(2,780		1858
			(4,400		1860
			(200		1862
	Lingwick	5,100	(2,400		1840
			(2,600		1847
			(100		1860
	Newport	32,325	(3,000		1835
			(3,800		1840
			(19,100		1847
			(100		1849
			(6,025		1858
			(300		1860
	Westbury	3,834	(800		1840
			(1,972		1847
			(1,062		1861
	Winslow		75		1861
			186,579		

APPENDIX D

English-Speaking Population by Origin

1851-1852

1860-1861*

* Canada, Census Reports

1851-1852

	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Canada	U.S.
Arthabaska	18	14	247	682	75
Beauce	7	5	123	249	9
Brome	194	76	226	5036	1732
Compton	519	992	293	3754	1048
Drummond & Acton	236	154	892	2501	151
Megantic	347	430	1494	2603	36
Missisquoi	306	106	567	6007	1701
Richmond	400	676	1366	3110	419
Shefford	179	183	803	3323	703
Sherbrooke	327	199	1070	2002	316
Stanstead	288	113	306	6553	2201
Wolfe	58	2	123	588	66
Totals	2,878	2,950	7,510	36,408	8,457

1860-1861

Arthabaska	30	13	394	1319	77
Beauce	6	4	82	313	1
Brome	233	149	337	8371	1975
Compton	530	1095	313	5218	1056
Drummond & Acton	257	157	721	3829	217
Megantic	267	546	1391	4418	62
Missisquoi	234	155	541	8439	1539
Richmond	446	604	923	5067	474
Shefford	180	95	757	4029	650
Sherbrooke	394	140	497	2907	443
Stanstead	283	120	350	8282	2263
Wolfe	45	64	143	812	102
Totals	2.905	3,142	6,449	52,994	8,859

APPENDIX E

Urban Population of the Eastern Townships

1851-1901*

* Canada, Census Reports

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
1. Arthabaska						
Arthabaskaville		608 (571)*	730 (704)	992 (947)	1034	995 (974)
Princeville			511 (493)	699 (678)	837	742 (725)
Victoriaville			1425 (1371)	1474 (1415)	1300	1693 (1651)
Warwick			542 (529)	929 (903)	853	790 (762)
			3218 (3097)	4094 (3943)	4024	4220 (4112)
Total pop.		13095 (11251)	17611 (16111)	20521 (18668)	23254	23371 (22631)
2. Beauce						
Agnès						288 (121)
St. Ephrem						380 (380)
						668 (501)
Total pop.						28514 (27171)
3. Brome						
Brome						555 (99)
Eastman						630 (412)
Knowlton						760 (224)
Sutton						691 (299)
						2636 (1034)
Total pop.						13397 (4766)

* The French Canadian urban population figures are enclosed in brackets

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
4. Compton						
Compton						457 (140)
Cookshire						804 (338)
Lake Megantic					1173	1883 (1558)
Sawyerville						428 (71)
Scotstown						791 (380)
Waterville				413 (119)	516	576 (123)
					1689	4939 (2610)
Total pop.				19581 (7706)	22779 (10808)	26460 (14460)
5. Drummond						
Drummondville				900 (726)	1955	1450 (1308)
Total pop.				17239 (13298)	20669	20288 (17614)
6. Megantic						
St. Ferdinand						721 (677)
Thetford Mines						3256 (2994)
Plessisville			721 (717)	776 (775)	1323 (1323)	1586 (1584)
						5563 (5255)
Total pop.			18879 (12074)	17385 (12157)	22233 (21276)	23621 (18721)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
7. Missisquoi						
Bedford					1571	1364 (639)
Cowansville					639	699 (195)
Dunham			248 (47)	288 (93)	327	277 (117)
Farnham			1317 (1062)	1888 (1585)	2822	3114 (2256)
Frelighsburg				278 (84)		231 (103)
Philipsburg	469 (76)	393 (61)		259 (76)	230	214 (99)
Sweetsburg					303	255 (105)
N.D. de Stanbridge					1245	
			1565 (1109)	2713 (1838)	7137	6154 (3514)
Total pop.	14320 (3610)	16036 (5087)	14802 (6734)	15766 (7644)	16713	14481 (7916)
8. Richmond						
Asbestos						783 (706)
Danville		540 (105)	621 (235)	825 (308)	884	1017 (393)
Kingsbury						237 (105)
Melbourne		243 ?	270 (60)	305 (72)	289	224 (37)
New Rockland						139 (41)
Richmond			715 (205)	1571 (575)	2056	2057 (1212)
Windsor Mills				879 (502)	1591	2149 (1501)
		783	1606 (500)	3580 (1457)	4820	6606 (3995)
Total pop.		8884 (1312)	11213 (3718)	14598 (6263)	16329 (8499)	17821 (10812)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
9. Shefford						
Granby		700 (227)	876 (451)	1040 (619)	1710	3773 (2730)
Roxton Falls			992 (889)	1170 (1037)	908	818 (800)
Ste. Prudentienne						339 (336)
Waterloo			1240 (505)	1617 (722)	1733	1797 (983)
W. Shefford						351 (268)
			3108 (1845)	3827 (2378)	4351	7078 (5117)
Total pop.		17779 (12034)	19077 (12683)	23253 (16494)	23263 (18738)	23628 (18086)
10. Sherbrooke						
Sherbrooke		2974 (698)	4432 (2256)	7727 (3957)	10097	11765 (7480)
Lennoxville				788 (245)	960	1120 (305)
				8015 (4202)	11057	12885 (7785)
Total pop.		5899 (1419)	8516 (3544)	12221 (5828)	16088 (8753)	18426 (10645)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
11. Stanstead						
Beebe Plains				372 (77)	412	477 (141)
Coaticook				2682 (1309)	3086	2880 (1631)
Dixville				380 (25)	514	430 (82)
Hatley, N.						261 (88)
Magog				1248 (366)	2100	3516 (2545)
Rock Island						615 (256)
Stanstead Plain				578 (183)	600	618 (253)
				5260 (1960)	6712	8797 (4996)
Total pop.				15556 (4749)	18067	18998 (8744)
12. Wolfe						
Beaulac						326 (317)
Lake Weedon						572 (508)
Marbleton						694 (416)
Weedon Centre						640 (640)
Garthby & d'Israeli				792 (790)	1793	2286 (2243)
						4518 (4124)
Total pop.				11741 (10251)	15018 (13332)	16316 (14885)

APPENDIX F

Annual Production of Eastern Townships Saw Mills*

* Canada, Census Reports

	1860-61	1870-71	1880-81	1890-91
Arthabaska)	$ 51,000	$114,802	$551,009	$497,194
)				
Drummond)	76,480	192,765		
Brome	23,225	101,912	96,209	191,109
Compton	9,000	79,080	185,496	515,455
Megantic	11,620	59,869	193,847	126,474
Missisquoi	70,800	114,345	81,465	80,700
Richmond)	191,402	121,922	242,077	681,160
)				
Wolfe)	5,590	20,919		
Sherbrooke		56,000	32,430	82,550
Stanstead	30,985	156,011	88,932	135,192
	$ 494,917	$ 1,196,602	$ 1,730,318	$ 1,922,194

APPENDIX G

Agricultural Production in the Eastern Townships

1851-1890*

* Canada, Census Reports, 1852-1891; Appendix D, JLAC, V (1846).

[illegible]	Land Under Cultivation	Wheat		Barley		Rye	Peas & Beans		Oats		Buckwheat		Indian Corn		Potatoes		Turnips		Hay[2]	Wool	Maple sugar	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs	Butter	Cheese	Beef	Pork
[illegible]	Acres	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	tons	lbs	lbs					lb	lbs	Barrel	[illegible]
-57																														
[illegible]ford	37,752	4,371	40,198	448	4,781	679	7,493	822	6,660	2,633	47,681	845	7,178	109	994	873	49,279	46	3,498	3,935	9,366	120,136	3,901	760	4,077	1,994	40,568	400	98	1,13
[illegible]ton	10,903	230	2,087	557	6,680	834	9,453	350	2,054	1,242	15,290	83	696	3	4	387	26,530	12	617	11	3,313	171,954	1,47	382	1,785	889	18,419	0	55	46
[illegible]ton	61,590	2,405	26,823	90	1,596	288	3,636	365	5,352	3,062	87,693	1,052	16,288	1,580	31,876	1,045	57,410	87	15,203	26,421	34,145	193,401	14,30	2,489	14,508	2,220	322, 77	103,492	2,479	1,31
[illegible]ton	44,382	2,385	28,239	491	7,341	332	4,073	149	3,269	2,966	88,103	1,367	42,640	265	5,399	879	49,876	69	3,201	18,449	25,135	260,851	9,55	1,854	9,324	1,516	139, 71	76,150	548	1,715
[illegible]mond	35,365	4,293	38,997	84	1,000	119	1,230	1,020	9,073	4,922	91,879	795	10,468	321	4,761	905	52,830	80	13,889	9,302	20,749	74,483	7,80	1,692	8,559	2,599	133,509	5,639	586	2,57
[illegible]ster	1,017	29	338	...	3	16	109	13	113	46	583	9	154	19	184	28	1,206	4	196	258	86	5,880	23	38	97	70	1, 35	...	1	16
[illegible]ford	42,709	1,702	19,830	868	11,236	1,140	15,425	642	6,467	3,578	80,162	1,616	10,811	23	314	1,771	130,746	280	32,338	77	16,083	161,407	7,74	1,308	6,647	3,878	139, 64	4,572	394	1,16
[illegible]sequoi	54,971	2,299	29,509	11	98	334	4,517	270	5,261	3,211	94,855	471	6,257	1,475	36,634	883	56,328	55	11,846	23,203	31,872	88,861	13,03	2,440	12,399	1,879	327,099	180,396	2,354	2,46
[illegible]mond	28,241	1,652	17,756	104	1,681	152	800	154	1,946	2,921	65,990	496	10,352	247	4,004	587	42,472	98	16,866	10,715	17,281	95,688	6,31	1,064	6,230	1,242	164,376	29,437	741	891
[illegible]fford	42,213	2,138	18,657	101	910	123	1,116	353	4,411	2,486	46,449	1,419	19,256	860	15,779	885	45,076	80	10,306	14,032	18,356	117,560	12,21	2,198	9,751	2,352	262,679	30,005	664	2, 36
[illegible]brooke	12,034	343	4,056	44	570	29	409	46	708	729	20,721	306	5,756	135	3,109	239	12,027	21	5,331	4,468	6,063	40,679	2,33	837	2,095	408	46,125	7,430	752	276
[illegible]stead	74,675	4,020	53,782	253	5,387	112	1,726	175	3,835	4,526	139,223	812	16,997	804	19,217	1,117	93,833	62	10,250	29,614	41,807	259,929	14,94	3,370	16,516	1,976	307,693	67,325	4,431	13,734
[illegible]fe	6,888	623	6,210	93	1,022	73	737	99	852	598	11,453	437	8,563	30	265	395	19,395	74	4,300	4,247	2,383	49,692	1,32	277	861	453	19,503	2,810	90	243
Totals	452,020	26,490	286,482	3,164	42,285	4,231	50,744	4,458	50,001	32,920	790,082	9,708	155,416	5,871	422,540	9,994	637,008	968	127,841	144,732	226,639	1,640,521	95,92	18,709	92,844	63,814	1,922,130	510,616	13,19	30,65
-60-61																														
[illegible]thbeska	42,220	2,948	43,141	1,183	15,458	1,911	24,267	1,012	9,442	7,146	194,386	1,751	39,820	36	755	2,188	216,581	165	20,995	7,547	18,807	195,985	8,94	1,854	7,238	3,746	153,795	1,145	248	3,770
Beauce	25,183	198	2,758	1,906	36,918	1,151	23,902	502	5,763	4,456	86,264	486	6,456	1	20	756	79,827	18	1,485	4,543	9,956	274,288	4,13	985	4,546	2,131	76,401	50	17	1,26
Eaton	84,934	1,516	27,020	489	12,608	288	4,645	266	6,010	5,862	193,026	1,537	39,293	1,488	44,390	1,635	215,032	124	33,814	26,893	44,014	414,317	17,38	3,657	12,575	1,905	664,113	98,342	1,147	2,19
Compton	67,283	1,787	21,710	1,768	43,797	347	5,074	127	2,958	7,149	243,851	2,244	65,767	181	5,591	1,386	197,239	184	34,975	15,528	39,619	392,226	11,78	2,547	12,932	2,185	250,063	66,369	791	3,70
Drummond	53,429	4,309	55,404	404	6,016	606	7,319	1,327	15,997	10,647	240,573	1,777	36,480	295	5,377	1,917	190,725	349	71,829	7,041	28,611	157,926	10,43	2,690	8,616	3,407	227,813	5,751	614	3,01
Dufferin	2,856	193	2,120	52	658	44	431	143	1,767	546	8,388	98	1,306	22	319	184	16,925	20	2,141	384	1,136	15,997	40	262	397	200	10,188	608	90	179
Essex	79,347	2,223	28,648	2,080	36,172	2,273	32,465	1,292	14,33	11,124	255,648	2,039	42,875	21	206	2,727	334,040	411	68,632	14,099	35,808	195,362	13,88	2,548	12,278	6,097	294,731	5,784	1,012	4,40
Frontenac	92,099	3,008	52,716	608	23,027	132	1,603	1,037	20,381	7,708	251,646	1,040	23,711	1,610	56,827	1,933	218,553	78	14,710	21,543	38,976	242,466	16,17	4,232	9,556	2,703	779,527	186,518	4,887	2,48
Glengarry	43,677	1,216	18,686	469	9,659	336	6,042	222	3,853	5,801	160,145	1,269	44,675	169	4,254	1,183	165,230	287	69,043	11,232	25,650	205,801	8,32	1,759	6,637	1,498	248,796	20,190	472	1,77
Grenville	73,126	2,455	40,833	641	11,319	373	5,173	1,592	22,570	6,607	169,766	2,713	68,175	629	18,282	2,596	254,887	132	18,884	21,193	33,089	327,780	14,55	3,925	10,718	2,496	433,981	51,402	2,640	3,40
Grey	17,907	217	4,043	187	4,551	78	1,352	43	1,256	1,863	55,936	696	17,869	97	3,084	435	60,847	63	17,649	4,448	11,069	90,785	2,70	848	2,813	509	78,616	9,900	759	81
Huntingdon	90,998	2,262	40,694	1,067	31,521	83	1,440	246	6,112	7,677	296,684	1,588	47,237	751	1,408	1,474	271,296	92	32,355	22,529	61,504	473,256	15,52	4,173	20,250	1,704	348,626	51,022	1,046	4,16
Leeds	26,567	588	7,710	761	12,756	533	6,826	242	2,525	2,619	61,552	2,433	53,463	12	253	1,068	118,176	229	20,054	4,520	8,489	161,375	3,86	920	3,330	1,647	78,855	9,049	212	984
Totals	700,249	22,418	345,483	11,575	248,460	8,155	120,539	8,051	113,975	79,205	2,217,865	19,671	487,127	5,312	140,766	19,482	2,339,358	2,152	406,566	161,500	356,728	3,147,564	126,31	30,440	111,884	30,216	5,645,703	567,162	13,13	33,71

[illegible] - includes acres of beans

[illegible] data lost for some townships, so figures for 1851 may not be accurate

[3] For Farnham West, see Brome county

Town	Land Under Cultivation	Wheat		Barley		Rye	Peas & Beans		Oats		Buckwheat		Indian Corn		Potatoes		Turnips		Hay[2]	Wool	Maple sugar	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs	Butter	Cheese	Beef	Pork
	Acres	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	tons	lbs	lbs					lbs	lbs	Barrels	lbs
1850																													
Canadaway	37,352	4,371	40,198	448	4,781	679	7,493	822	6,660	2,633	47,681	845	7,178	109	994	873	49,279	46	3,498	3,935	9,366	120,136	3,901	760	4,077	1,994	40,568	400	98	2,150
Ellicott	10,803	230	2,087	557	6,660	834	9,453	350	2,054	1,242	15,290	83	696	3	4	387	26,530	12	617	11	3,313	171,954	1,47	382	1,785	889	18, 19	0	55	46
Ellicott	61,590	2,405	26,823	90	1,596	288	3,636	365	5,352	3,062	87,693	1,052	16,288	1,580	31,876	1,045	57,410	87	15,203	26,421	34,145	193,401	14,30	2,488	14,508	2,220	322, 77	105,492	2,479	2,331
Gerry	44,362	2,385	28,239	491	7,341	332	4,073	149	3,269	2,966	88,103	1,367	42,640	265	5,399	879	49,876	69	3,201	18,449	25,135	260,851	9,56	1,854	9,324	1,516	139,071	76,150	548	1,975
Portland	35,365	4,293	38,997	84	1,000	119	1,230	1,020	9,073	4,922	91,879	795	10,468	321	4,761	905	52,830	80	13,889	9,302	20,749	74,483	7,8	1,692	8,559	2,599	133,09	5,639	586	7,657
Sheridan	1,017	29	338	...	3	16	109	13	113	46	583	9	154	19	184	28	1,206	4	196	258	86	5,880	23	38	97	70	1, 35	...	1	10
Villenovia	42,709	1,702	19,830	888	11,236	1,140	15,425	642	6,467	3,578	80,162	1,616	10,811	23	314	1,771	130,746	280	32,338	77	16,083	161,407	7,74	1,308	6,647	3,878	139, 64	7,572	334	1,7 6
Westfield	54,971	2,299	29,509	11	98	334	4,517	270	5,261	3,211	94,855	471	6,257	1,475	36,634	883	56,328	55	11,846	23,203	31,872	88,861	13,03	2,440	12,399	1,879	327,098	180,356	2,354	2,968
Fluvanna	28,241	1,652	17,756	104	1,681	152	800	154	1,946	2,921	65,950	496	10,352	247	4,004	587	42,472	98	16,866	10,715	17,281	95,688	6,31	1,064	6,230	1,242	164,476	29,437	741	831
Pomfret	42,213	2,138	18,657	101	910	123	1,116	353	4,411	2,486	46,449	1,419	19,256	860	15,779	885	45,076	80	10,306	14,032	18,356	117,560	12,214	2,198	9,751	2,352	264,079	32,005	664	2,136
Arkwright	12,034	343	4,056	44	570	29	409	46	708	729	20,721	306	5,756	135	3,109	239	12,027	21	5,331	4,468	6,063	40,679	2,32	837	2,095	408	46,025	7,430	752	376
Stockton	74,675	4,020	53,782	253	5,387	112	1,716	175	3,835	4,526	139,223	812	16,997	804	19,217	1,117	93,833	62	10,250	29,614	41,807	259,929	14,94	3,370	16,516	1,976	307,699	67,325	4,432	13,734
Chautauqua	6,088	623	6,210	93	1,027	73	737	99	852	598	11,453	437	8,563	30	265	395	19,395	74	4,300	4,247	2,383	49,692	1,32	277	861	453	11,609	2,810	90	43
Totals	452,020	26,490	286,482	3,164	42,285	4,231	50,744	4,458	50,001	32,920	790,082	9,708	155,416	5,871	122,540	9,994	637,008	968	127,841	144,732	226,639	1,640,521	95,92	18,709	92,844	63,814	1,922,130	510,616	13,193	30,402
1850-61																													
Northeaska	42,220	2,940	43,141	1,163	15,458	1,911	24,267	1,012	9,442	7,146	194,386	1,751	39,820	36	755	2,188	216,581	165	20,995	7,547	18,807	195,985	8,964	1,854	7,236	3,746	153,795	1,145	248	5,107
Essuce	25,183	196	2,758	1,906	36,918	1,151	23,902	502	5,767	4,456	86,264	486	6,456	1	20	756	79,827	18	1,485	4,543	9,956	274,288	4,131	985	4,546	2,131	76,401	50	77	1,5 9
Evans	84,934	1,516	27,020	489	12,608	288	4,645	266	6,010	5,862	193,026	1,537	39,293	1,488	44,390	1,635	215,032	124	33,814	26,893	44,014	414,317	17,38	3,657	12,575	1,905	664,113	95,342	1,149	, 35
Hampton	67,263	1,287	21,710	1,768	48,797	347	5,074	127	2,958	7,149	243,851	2,244	65,767	181	5,591	1,386	197,239	184	34,975	15,528	39,619	392,226	11,791	2,547	12,932	2,185	258,163	68,369	731	2,573
Drumond	53,429	4,309	55,404	404	6,016	606	7,319	1,327	15,997	10,647	240,573	1,777	36,480	295	5,377	1,917	190,925	349	71,829	7,041	28,611	157,926	10,434	2,690	8,616	3,407	227,813	3,751	612	1,013
Kortony	2,856	193	2,120	52	658	44	431	143	1,767	546	8,388	98	1,306	22	319	184	16,925	20	2,141	384	1,136	15,997	48	262	337	200	10, 88	600	90	178
Essenic	78,147	2,223	28,648	2,060	36,172	2,273	32,465	1,292	14,33	11,124	255,648	2,039	42,875	21	206	2,727	334,040	411	68,632	14,099	35,808	195,362	13,86	2,588	12,278	6,007	294,231	5,784	1,017	4,433
Hinsdale	92,092	3,008	52,716	608	23,027	132	1,603	1,037	20,381	7,708	251,646	1,040	23,711	1,610	56,827	1,933	218,553	78	14,710	21,543	38,976	242,466	16,17	4,232	9,556	2,703	779,527	186,518	1,987	, 8
Pomfret	43,677	1,216	18,606	469	9,659	336	6,042	222	3,853	5,801	160,145	1,269	44,675	169	4,254	1,183	165,230	287	69,043	11,232	25,650	205,801	8,32	1,759	6,837	1,578	248,094	20,198	472	1, 7
Portland	73,126	2,455	40,833	641	11,319	373	5,173	1,582	22,578	6,607	169,766	2,713	68,175	629	18,282	2,596	254,887	132	18,884	21,193	33,089	327,780	14,55	3,925	10,718	2,494	433,681	51,402	2,645	4,411
Sheffield	17,907	217	4,043	187	4,551	78	1,352	43	1,256	1,863	55,936	696	17,869	97	3,084	435	60,847	63	17,649	4,448	11,069	90,785	2,78	846	2,813	509	78,616	9,901	753	471
Cherrybrook	90,996	2,262	40,694	1,067	30,521	83	1,440	246	6,112	7,677	296,684	1,588	47,237	751	1,408	1,474	271,296	92	32,355	22,529	61,504	473,256	15,53	4,173	20,250	1,704	348,626	51,022	1,046	5,15
Stockton	26,267	588	7,710	761	12,756	533	6,826	242	2,525	2,619	61,552	2,433	53,463	12	253	1,068	118,176	229	20,054	4,520	8,489	161,375	3,86	920	3,330	1,647	78,855	9,089	212	480
Totals	700,249	22,418	345,483	11,575	248,460	8,155	120,539	8,051	113,975	79,205	2,217,865	19,671	487,127	5,312	140,766	19,482	2,339,358	2,152	406,566	161,500	356,728	3,147,564	128,31	30,440	111,884	30,215	3,645,703	507,162	13,139	27,71

[1] Does not include acres of beans

[2] Data used for some townships, so figures for 1851 may not be accurate

[3] For Parnham West, see Broome county

	Land Under Cultivation	Wheat		Barley		Rye		Peas & Beans		Oats		Buckwheat		Indian Corn		Potatoes		Turnips		Hay	Wool	Maple sugar	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs	Butter	Cheese	Beef Barrels	Pork Barrels
	Acres	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	tons	lbs	lbs					lbs	lbs		
[illegible]																														
[illegible]ssasaga	77,582	28,512	6,563													293,314	4,893	14,939	40,124	15,982	11,644	2,613	18,078	5,203	248,179	935		
Bruce	51,262	6,275	40,622	7,643	15,509			183,884	36,180	7,659						140,161	1,298	13,560	23,360	496,114	7,721	1,645	12,208	3,649	180,387	27		
Essex	108,090	19,712	4,946	11,423	7,691			124,089	28,329	418						259,466	15,812	46,211	41,567	610,582	21,120	3,632	11,098	2,972	1,052,155	51,320		
Grenville	102,489	24,397	26,540	363	5,115			144,961	21,429	56,235						352,063	60,638	33,947	63,565	622,619	15,743	3,124	17,239	3,606	356,488	67,890		
Dundas	81,653	40,517	2,344	2,836	7,112			171,107	93,866	9,188						278,279	10,781	18,774	45,929	130,771	12,903	3,701	15,216	4,867	318,494	7,144		
Glengarry	9,163	2,716	108	855	19,973			267,986	29,961	14,723						33,260	1,114	1,005	+	+	+	3,208	18,430	6,197	464,403	4,726		
Grenville	111,441	24,340	27,781	47	2,444			17,592	1,534	1,902						498,967	33,360	29,031	54,413	187,123	17,627	5,066*	13,034*	5,171*	977,803*	82,588*		
Hastings	102,004	27,306	6,864	5,587	15,652			271,820	72,922	2,507						204,044	9,261	38,259	54,734*	523,622*	21,709*	11,076	9,194	1,805	365,056	14,466		
Huntingdon	62,365	15,710	3,669	238	17,705			166,583	13,076	61,809						250,366	31,109	21,156	35,890	283,105	32,783	4,604	13,913	4,422	768,709	33,952		
Hereford	107,174	20,724	7,174	292	4,519			128,412	29,194	9,999						339,910	12,774	31,631	50,076	385,272	18,315	1,262	3,894	893	102,034	4,625		
Shefford	28,382	3,223	984	317	14,160			167,353	35,491	30,865						90,505	16,698	9,663	16,213	101,666	3,769	4,183	15,176	3,015	547,602	23,511		
Stanstead	109,967	27,409	10,799	39	1,922			49,761	15,348	5,903						340,462	36,028	39,515	59,615	741,248	15,122	1,378	8,341	2,092	162,131	835		
Wolfe	50,446	9,666	4,031	218	6,481			168,781	51,744	24,124						152,448	6,857	12,511	24,068	174,040	6,115							
Totals	1,009,038	251,007	142,425	1,571	6,658			75,157	58,144	2,289						3,233,245	240,623	310,202	509,554	4,272,144	162,882	45,492	155,821	43,892	5,553,136	287,119		
				31,429	124,941			1,957,486	487,218	227,621																				
[illegible]																														
Arthabaska	90,143	32,462	12,461													155,710	10,732	27,947	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°		
Beauce	75,380	9,457	19,194	5,347	15,274			277,822	49,277	4,378						53,833	7,152	18,685	⊠	⊠	⊠	4,644	9,786	3,272	1,598,350	121,610		
Bonne	127,726	28,464	16,310	6,714	6,998			140,145	27,667	168						183,374	32,717	57,745	34,338	828,073	27,818	4,858	21,129	4,056	710,468	26,332		
Compton	149,298	34,181	61,783	724	6,114			215,919	18,195	52,711						279,824	137,930	56,594	74,479	839,484	27,618	7,608	36,022	9,320	884,171	2,048		
Drummond	91,200	32,587	8,833	6,014	13,134			241,882	97,094	4,820						125,420	16,101	28,895	98,618	211,877	36,309	⊠	⊠	⊠	⊠	⊠		
Dorchester	15,926	4,869	553	303	23,832			360,193	18,786	12,394						22,550	1,709	4,151	⊠	⊠	⊠	3,844▲	17,704▲	4,013▲	685,855▲	6,834▲		
Frontenac	109,070	25,691	28,060	353	10,222			52,266	2,426	1,847						244,655	40,981	35,794	57,210▲	321,083▲	24,489▲	5,708‡	10,486‡	4,621‡	1,383,173‡	26,780‡		
Gaspe	128,987	21,308	18,364	2,707	9,936			262,389	72,312	1,021						152,155	14,845	50,660	40,939‡	42,411‡	24,473‡	5,402	20,952	4,760	781,487	7,284		
Huntingdon	79,113	24,937	13,181	1,244	15,698			283,052	13,025	66,092						131,159	61,568	32,237	66,748	671,206	26,259	5,574	12,960	4,260	1,247,432	14,958		
Richmond	141,510	27,915	13,083	416	4,643			173,331	22,724	5,455						190,667	13,799	49,597	44,372	526,678	25,083	1,709	3,658	903	154,036	1,924		
Shefford	30,150	6,204	8,475	284	21,460			264,693	26,963	24,872						51,867	54,912	13,159	14,508	99,364	6,073	4,814	13,979	3,379	961,186	16,642		
Shefford	127,337	37,727	30,802	69	1,617			74,573	8,098	2,511						287,536	75,662	52,313	56,972	1,110,845	23,309	~	~	~	~	~		
Stanstead	61,535	10,428	9,648	205	6,078			245,944	38,022	20,174						87,895	13,794	19,685	~	~	~							
Wolfe	1,227,375	296,230	240,747	608	5,395			112,672	62,514	900						1,966,645	481,902	446,857	488,184	4,651,021	221,531	44,161	146,676	38,584	8,407,456	223,912		
Totals				24,988	140,401			2,704,881	457,103	192,343																				

+ Not separated from Bagot County

* Includes St. Thomas and St. George of the seigneury of Foucault

° Included with Drummond County

⊠ Not separated in Census

▲ Includes Broughton of Beauce County

‡ Includes St. Thomas and St. George of Foucault

~ Included with Richmond County

Counties	Land Under Cultivation[1]	Wheat bu.	Barley bu.	Rye bu.	Peas bu.	Oats bu.	Buck-Wheat bu.	Indian Corn bu.	Potatoes bu.	Wool lb.	Maple Sugar lb.	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs
1844															
Arthabaska	7,644	11,339	2,690	64	2,213	15,242	2,550	262	64,475	2,528	23,389	1,482	292	1,317	682
Beauce	2,305	679	2,233	515	178	3,613	16	0	14,162	664	6,999	912	274	330	281
Brome	49,000	19,352	1,333	890	2,648	52,881	11,516	12,741	198,787	26,983	30,360	9,176	2,001	13,254	2,021
Compton	40,980	28,831	7,727	355	779	65,021	20,605	2,649	212,150	25,397	125,824	6,722	1,153	9,796	1,477
Drummond	25,270	25,205	2,242	214	6,929	56,626	3,273	1,486	158,842	13,457	28,267	5,319	1,010	6,207	1,931
(Acton)	106	35	22	0	10	156	0	48	350	0	715	22	8	4	12
Megantic	22,362	16,301	7,981	3,877		31,552	818	2	179,965	10,513	39,434	4,494	626	4,219	1,536
Missisquoi[2]	54,019	20,792	568	3,888	5,503	77,805	9,482	20,321	219,911	38,327	19,784	11,724	2,317	15,287	2,434
Richmond	24,807	16,305	2,702	963	2,073	40,707	5,555	2,206	124,217	14,904	55,231	4,996	746	6,010	1,268
Shefford	26,570	12,495	1,385	1,781	2,599	29,392	4,497	7,585	149,046	13,459	33,395	5,473	1,017	6,326	1,291
Sherbrooke	10,254	4,007	1,179	71	328	16,081	5,117	1,093	54,980	6,173	23,523	1,994	455	2,311	554
Stanstead	58,477	35,147	6,774	275	1,639	91,558	10,391	6,818	313,043	41,658	117,769	10,887	2,112	16,857	2,503
Wolfe	2,756	2,599	129	6	33	2,413	1,794	153	15,368	2,003	12,934	456	91	734	144
Totals	324,821	193,088	36,965	12,899	26,514	482,898	75,614	55,364	1,705,295	196,065	517,624	63,657	12,102	82,652	16,134

[1] Includes gardens, as well as land under pasture and under crops

[2] For Farnham West, see Brome county

APPENDIX H

Eastern Townships

Population by Township*

*Canada, Census Reports, 1852-1901; Appendix D, JLAC, V (1846).

COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS	1844			1851-52			1860-61			1870-71			1880-81			1890-91			1900-01		
	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%
ARTHABASKA COUNTY	3218	2408	75	6231	5183	83	13095	11251	86	17611	16111	91	20521	18568	91	23254	22017	95	23371[A]	22631	97
Arthabaska	677	659	97	1470	1461	99	2927	2790	95	4204	4205	98	4179	4065	97	5212	5117	98	5368	5281	98
Blandford	282	273	96	392	384	98	310	309	100	533	531	100	597	595	100	573	572	100	440	440	100
Bulstrode	157	152	97	307	306	100	510	493	97	766	730	95	799	797	98	2082	2082	100	3467	3461	100
Chester	57	52	91	931	931	100	3400	3395	99	3692	3680	100	4247	4217	99	4195	4162	99	3885	3870	100
Horton	28	28	100	89	89	100	191	191	100	371	368	99	766	752	100	1145	1131	99	1657	1638	100
Stanfold	1089	1067	98	1418	1405	99	2150	2087	97	2464	2440	99	2679	2635	98	2921	2890	99	2304	2280	99
Tingwick	668	43	6	981	164	17	2227	1006	45	3043	2004	66	3341	2395	69	3503	2697	77	3047	2539	83
Warwick	677	659	97	643	443	69	1380	980	71	2448	2153	88	3513	3321	95	3623	3512	97	3203	3132	98
BEAUCE COUNTY (PART)	847	104	12	3180	2782	87	6809	6403	94	10253	10031	98	12457	11382	91	19957	18646*	93	28514	27171	95
Adstock	–			Not Erected			58	58	100							682	682	100	988	981	100
Aylmer				364	264	100	865	865	100	1083	1083	100	1488	1488	100	859	854	99	1204	1203	100
Broughton	347	95	27	612	305	50	1689	1426	84	2036	1825	90	1671	803	48	1579	1160	73	1559	1549	100
Dorset							8	8	100				264	264	100	346	346	100	C		
Forsyth	77	0	0	390	390	100	677	673	98	1153	1152	100	1047	1046	100	1248	1247	100	2030	2023	100
Gayhurst							70	70	100							889	889*	100	B		
Jersey				109	43	39	164	75	46							1299	1050*	81	C		
Lambton	76	9	12	558	558	100	880	859	96	1525	1515	99	1624	1592	98	1780	1752	98	2075	2060	100
Marlow				23	1	4	29	0	0							318	318*	100	C		
Price				42	41	98	50	50	100												
Shenley							242	242	100	955	955	100	1557	1556	100	3194	3163	99	6217	5965	96
Spalding, Ditchfield, Woburn, Risborough, Clinton				9	9	100				7	3	43	396	235	60	1234	713	58	3400	3088	91
Tring	347	0	0	1173	1171	100	2077	2077	100	3501	3498	100	4410	4398	100	6529	6472	99	7641	7214	94

A - Ste. Eulalie excluded (Aston Township)

B - Included with Spalding, etc.

C - Included with Shenley

* - Rough approximation based on the number of Catholics

COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS	1844			1851-52			1860-61			1870-71			1880-81			1890-91			1900-01		
	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%
BROME COUNTY	8589	1010	12	11510	2226	19	12732	1644	13	13757	3471	25	15827	4910	31	14709	5063	34	13397	4766	36
Bolton	1684	180	11	1936	442	23	2526	582	23	2878	694	24	3235	1220	38	3274	1380	42	2909	1264	43
Brome	1782	94	5	2095	115	5	3136	212	7	3492	965	28	4047	970	24	3775	1126	30	3515	984	28
Farnham East	1998[A]	556	28	3304[A]	1291	39	1925	449	23	2066	791	54	2499	1267	51	2045	1027	50	1882	1012	53
Potton	1438	73	5	1707	69	4	1994	45	2	2178	184	8	2330	322	13	2253	530	24	1978	475	24
Sutton	1687	107	6	2468	309	13	3151	356	11	3143	837	27	3666	1131	31	3362	1000	30	3113	1031	33
COMPTON COUNTY	5766	410	7	7463	841	11	10210	1676	16	13665	3785	28	19581	7706	39	22779	10808	47	26460	14460	55
Auckland				14	0	0	8			260	238	92	417	370	89	677	621	92	891	801	90
Bury	835	15	2	783	0	0	989	0	0	1215	73	6	1605	94	6	1621	96	6	1560	115	7
Chesham										8			831	821	97	621	616	99	770	769	100
Clifton	346	0	0	380	0	0	544	10	?	1263	604	48	1639	814	50	1840	1016	55	2066	1378	67
Clinton (See Beauce also)										8											
Compton	2292	273	12	2718	478	18	3013	575[F]	6	2852	687	24	2993	773	26	2409	834	35	3016	1094	34
Ditton										8			898	813	91	827	800	97	1079	1055	98
Eaton	1535	89	6	1500	100	7	1905	141	7	2144	366	17	2456	434	18	3078	735	24	3028	808	27
Emberton				Not Erected						8			383	369	96	422	409	97	799	779	96
Hampden							103	0	0	936	33	4	547	36	7	1066	540	51	1181	469	40
Hereford	311	0	0	346	0	0	366	176	48	1230	630	51	1498	933	62	1814	1332	73	1864	1433	77
Lingwick				808	0	0	564	0[D]	0	801	38	5	1035	86	8	1022	73	7	791	69	9
Marston							100	0	0	C			980	347	39	1117	537	48	1407	849	60
Newport	233	3	1	342	0	0	403	10[E]	0	924	132	14	1134	177	16	1121	160	14	1092	143	13
Westbury	61	30	49	115	10	9	297	25	8	363	89	25	510	235	46	973	592	61	1978	1113	56
Whitton							309	0	0	C			945	328	35	2156	1467	68	3430	2586	75
Winslow				457	253	55	1617	749	46	1677	895	53	1817	1079	60	1499	980	65	1510	1039	69

A - Includes Farnham West of Missisquoi

B - With Newport

C - With Hampden

D - Manuscript Census shows no F.C. names. The official census recorded all Roman Catholics as French Canadians

E - Mistake in census - there are at most 3 F.C. families recorded in manuscript census, while official census records 296

F - The printed Census Reports record only 80 French Canadians

COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS	1844			1851-52			1860-61			1870-71			1880-81			1890-91			1900-01		
	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%
DRUMMOND COUNTY	6242	3209	52	8932	5049	57	12356	7592	61	13961	10487	75	17239	13298	78	20669	16842	81	20288	17614	87
Durham	1739	327	19	2208	418	19	3152	566	18	3806	1561	41	3877	1743	45	3289	1635	50	2964	1612.	54
Grantham	1001	582	58	1401	972	69	2395	1945	81	2829	2512	89	4764	3688	90	6780	5990	88	6113	5564	94
Kingsey	1916	1036	54	2262	1184	52	2403	1148	48	2267	1389	61	2310	1326	57	2460	1553	63	2387	1606	67
Simpson	69	47	68	87	62	71	271	237	87	A			A			A			A		
Upton	1012	999	99	2184	2068	95	2942	2939	100	3676	3672	100	3814	3808	100	4130	4123	100	4043	4034	100
Wendover	77	38	49	216	153	71	337	262	78	757	685	89	1279	1144	89	2300	2155	94	3443	3355	97
Wickham	428	180	42	574	192	33	856	495	58	936	668	71	1195	977	82	1610	1386	86	1587	1443	91
Acton (BAGOT COUNTY)	130	121	93	425	352	83	2703	2249	83	3811	3687	97	4887	4585	94	5300	5050	95	5069	4862	96
MEGANTIC COUNTY	5809	2042	35	10432	5564	53	16200	9735	61	18879	12074	64	17335	12157	70	22233	17204	77	23621	18721	79
Halifax	975	655	67	2895	2550	88	4823	4324	90	4992	4396	88	4441	3948	89	3748	3383	90	3628	3323	92
Inverness	1479	109	7	1951	196	10	2481	327	13	2741	537	20	2657	547	21	2601	938	36	2419	1003	41
Ireland, Coleraine	691	132	19	802	206	26	990	255	26	1318	469	36	2021	1367	68	7248	6624	91	3604	2788	77
Leeds	1430	90	6	1944	135	7	2550	182	7	2754	288	10	1748	104	6	2450	341	14	2128	451	21
Nelson	158	13	8	471	203	43	1078	706	66	1633	1316	81	1821	1589	87	1753	1553	89	1895	1716	91
Somerset	1062	1043	98	2292	2256	98	3996	3801	95	4349	4205	97	3899	3810	98	4433	4365	98	4486	4441	99
Thetford	14	0	0	75	18	24	282	140	50	1092	863	79	798	792	99	8			5461	4999	92
MISSISQUOI COUNTY[C]	9250	1391	15	11016	2319	21	16036	5087	32	14802	6734	44	15786	7644	49	16713	9070	54	14481	7916	55
Dunham	2854	449	16	3391	817	24	3903	678	17	3564	961	27	3988	1239	31	3735	1317	35	3477	1361	39
Farnham West	. D			D			2530	1729	68	2697	2062	76	3185	2529	79	4342	3243	75	4502	3430	76
St. Armand	3269	392	12	3558	508	14	3546	541	15	2923	739	29	2807	691	29	2541	872	34	2410	1024	42
Stanbridge	3127	550	18	4067	994	24	6057	2139	35	5618	2972	53	5806	3185	55	6095	3646	60	4092	2101	43

A - With Wendover

B - With Ireland and Coleraine

C - Foucault Excluded

D - Included with Farnham East in Brome

COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS	1844			1851-52			1860-61			1870-71			1880-81			1890-91			1900-01		
	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%
RICHMOND COUNTY	4608	501	11	6640	664	10	8884	1312	15	11313	3718	33	14598	6263	43	16329	8499	52	17821	10812	61
Brompton	412	10	2	749	8	1	1168	265	23	856	330	39	1425	854	60	1765	1263	72	2210	1792	81
Cleveland	A			A			1916	89	5	2113	460	22	3286	1037	32	3305	1268	38	3273	1324	40
Melbourne	1544	61	4	2016	94	5	1864	36	2	2560	456	18	2701	640	24	2755	717	26	2226	725	33
Shipton	2360	409	17	3285	432	13	2672	266	10	2975	749	25	3172	917	29	3202	1201	38	3610	1733	48
Stoke	13	13	100	8			97	70	72	508	362	71	771	572	74	1133	975	86	1512	1393	87
Windsor	279	8	3	590	130	22	1167	568	49	2201	1361	62	3243	2238	73	4167	3128	75	4990	3916	80
SHEFFORD COUNTY	6354	2239	35	11083	5884	53	17779	11984	67	19077	12683	66	23233	16494	71	23263	18739	81	23628	18086	77
Ely	321	66	20	1018	584	57	1748	1094	63	2123	1421	67	2548	1744	68	2747	2199	80	2735	2145	78
Granby	1715	366	21	2392	737	31	3271	1223	39	3101	1417	46	3919	2339	60	4505	3034	67	6433	4530	70
Milton	937	740	78	1741	1508	87	2790	2532	91	3084	2928	95	3322	3158	95	3402	3374	99	2937	2870	98
Roxton	200	158	79	1226	1015	83	3438	3025	88	3388	3144	93	3527	3287	93	2671	2571	96	3307	3108	94
Shefford	2030	321	16	2512	468	19	3712	1928	52	4782	1812	38	4553	1718	38	4974	2967	60	3573	1888	53
St. Prudentienne [C]													1996	1656	83	1832	1832	100	1669	1386	83
Stukely	1151	588	51	2194	1572	72	2820	2182	77	2539	1901	75	3358	2592	77	3130	2690	86	2774	2159	78
TOWN OF SHERBROOKE	2503	379	15	4847	699	14	5899	1419	24	9516	3544	42	11771	5828	48	16088	8753	54	18426	10645	58
Ascot	1451	171	12	3825	692	18	2200	253	12	3244	905	28	3744	1272	34	4894	1903	39	4822	1956	41
Orford	250	73	29	1022	7	1	725	463	64	840	383	46	1236	599	49	1079	540	50	1839	1209	66
Sherbrooke (City)	802	135	17	D			2974	698	24	4432	2256	51	7227	3957	55	10097	6305	62	11765	7480	64

A - Not included in Census

B - Not inhabited

C - Small area made up of territory from Roxton, Milton, Granby and Shefford Townships

D - Included in Ascot and Orford

COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS	1844			1851			1861			1871			1881			1891			1901		
	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%	Total	F.C.	%
STANSTEAD COUNTY	6893	383	6	10255	781	8	12258	935	8	13138	3212	24	15556	4749	31	18067	7204	40	18998	8744	46
Barford	376	0	0	428	11	3	700	52	7	1339	535	40	1846	1018	55	2145	1352	63	1957	1311	67
Barnston	2403	89	4	2492	165	7	3098	329	11	3711	868	23	5300	1925	36	5780	2418	42	5362	2493	47
Hatley	1967	161	8	2014	217	11	2274	319	14	2318	729	31	2485	753	30	2577	882	34	2759	1061	38
Magog	Not Erected			754	57	8	1059	113	11	1174	332	28	1248	366	29	2869	1687	59	4368	2943	67
Stanstead	4147	133	3	4567	331	7	4847	122	2	4596	748	16	4677	687	15	4696	852	18	4542	936	21
WOLFE COUNTY	546	65	12	2235	1393	62	6548	5357	82	8823	7504	85	11741	10251	87	15018	13332	89	16316	14885	91
Dudswell	401	5	1	500	22	4	727	102	14	875	157	18	1311	387	30	2143	1072	50	2131	1114	52
Garthby				141	141	100	275	243	88	824	816	99	792	790	100	1793	1751	98	2612	2560	98
Ham	12	1	8	142	62	44	833	727	87	1336	1211	91	2053	1916	93	2631	2482	94	3293	3182	97
Stratford				124	124	100	413	408	99	A			720	704	98	723	723	100	769	768	100
Weedon				299	292	97	809	696	85	1286	1169	91	1783	1668	94	2219	2139	96	2167	2102	97
Wolfestown	97	59	61	366	130	36	1472	1230	84	2089	1827	87	2348	2133+	91	2554	2368	93	2479	2352	95
Watton	36	0	0	663	622	91	2019	1961	97	2413	2325	96	2724	2653	99	2955	2926	99	2865	2807	98

A - With Garthby

* - Includes St. Camille

\+ - The Census records 1,311 Germans and 1 French Canadian when it is actually vice versa (L'Union des Cantons des l'Est, 15 July 1882)

APPENDIX I

Finances of the Colonization Societies*

* Quebec, Sessional Papers, 1869-75

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Manuscript Sources

A. Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Archevêché de Sherbrooke

1. Archevêché de Sherbrooke. ACAS II-B-1 (1874-1947)
2. Parish Papers for Compton county (1874-1891)
3. Registres des lettres. RL1 (1874-1893)
4. Correspondance and official papers of Compton county missionaries and curés (1874-1893)
5. Mgr. Antoine Racine Papers (1842-1893)
6. Rapports sur les Paroisses et Missions (Compton county)

B. Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Archevêché de Québec

1. Registres des lettres. RL1-RL24 (1816-1851)
2. Registre de l'Evêché. L,M,N,O
3. Letters from priests and bishops to Archbishop of Quebec (Alphabetical file)

C. Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Archevêché de Montréal

1. Registres des lettres de Mgr. Lartigue. RLL9 (1838-1840)
2. Registres des lettres de Mgr. Bourget. RLB1-RLB48
3. Saint-Hyacinthe file
4. Diocese of Sherbrooke file (1874-1876)

D. Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Evêché de Trois-Rivières

1. Registres des lettres de Mgr. Cooke et Mgr. Laflèche. RL1-RL6 (1852-1874)
2. Letters from priests and bishops to bishop of Trois-Rivières (Alphabetical file)

E. Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Evêché de Saint-Hyacinthe

1. Registres des lettres, série I. RL1-RL7 (1852-1874)

F. The Quebec Diocesan Archives (Anglican)

1. Section II - Series B. Parishes of the Diocese of Quebec. Volumes 1-25
2. Series G. Diocesan Papers. Volume 14, Church Society (1842-73)

G. National Archives of Quebec

1. Province of Quebec, Department of Agriculture and Public Works
   (a) Lettres Envoyés, vol. 9 - vol. 29 (1872-1877)
   (b) Lettres Reçues, 1874-1876
2. Siméon LeSage Papers
   (a) Letterbooks, vol. 1 - vol. 5
   (b) Lettres reçues

H. Archives of the Department of Agriculture and Colonization, Quebec

1. Register Book. West section Canada East 1869-1890 (Letters and orders-in-council relating to colonization in Compton county)

I. Archives du Séminaire de Sainte-Hyacinthe.

1. Jérôme-Adolphe Chicoyne Papers
   (a) Letterbooks, vol. 1 and 2 (1875-1886)
   (b) Correspondance générale: 1858-1895
   (c) Voyages en Europe: 1877-1885
   (d) Caroline Chicoyne. Correspondance: 1880-1883
   (e) Correspondence related to Trappist monastery: 1881-1883
   (f) Notes sur la Compagnie de Terres
   (g) Mémoires. 31 July 1866

J. Public Archives of Canada

1. British American Land Company Papers. MG24, I54
   (a) Correspondence: 1835-1889
   (b) Commissioner R. W. Heneker's Letter Book (1880-1888)
2. Alexander T. Galt Papers. MG27, I, D8
   (a) Correspondence: 1858-1891 (vol. 1 - vol. 4)
   (b) Memoranda, Reports, etc.: 1859-1891
   (c) Miscellaneous. Letter Books: 1859-1866, 1883-1886
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L. Eastern Townships Historical Society (Sherbrooke)

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Le Messager de Saint-Michel (1935-1938)
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Le Pionnier de Sherbrooke (1866-1893)
Le Progrès (1874-1878)
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The Sherbrooke Freeman (1864-1865)
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