
**To Sojourn and to Leave:
Geographical Mobility,
Social and Cultural Rebalancing
in one Region of Quebec**

**The Case of the Eastern Townships
in the 19th & 20th Centuries**

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A note from the Editorial team:

In 2012, Professor Kesteman was the keynote speaker at a convention sponsored jointly by the Fédération Histoire Québec (FHQ) and the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN), which was themed on the Eastern Townships. The text of his address to that convention was published as an article in *Histoire Québec*, Volume 18, No. 1, 2012, pages 8 to 17. We thank Professor Kesteman and *Histoire Québec* for allowing us to reproduce his article in our magazine.

Professor emeritus of the University of Sherbrooke, Jean-Pierre Kesteman graduated from the University of Louvain in Belgium, the University of Sherbrooke and UQAM (Université du Québec à Montreal). His doctoral thesis focused on the development of industrial capitalism in the 19th century in the Sherbrooke Region. He is the author of a number of books about the urban, economic and social history of Quebec, of which, Histoire de Sherbrooke 1802 – 2002, in four volumes, and is co-author of Histoire des Cantons de l'Est (hereinafter cited as HCE).

The historian is not a man or woman of the present. Years ago, what was called “contemporary history” would stop three quarters of a century prior to real time. This

reservation was justified, it was said, by the difficulty, the risk, if not the impossibility, of making a documented judgment on the most recent times.

Written sources were indeed often inaccessible or partial; historians, unable to decide on the records, remained reserved, preferring to abstain from bringing any scientific judgment on this still very fresh past. In fact, the impartiality expected of the historian was made more difficult when the players and protagonists of history were still alive.

This did not prevent other players from delving into the most recent past. But then it was more in the style of an event-driven narrative, a chronicle or journalism. The historian would neither venture into sensational stories, nor into personal testimonials. Moreover, such was not asked of him.

Times have changed. Today's educated public lives in accelerated times, and wants historians to say as much as possible about yesterday or the day before. Organizations that commission the historical narrative of their municipality or of their institution require that the presentation include even the most recent events. A similar approach may be found in the series of volumes of regional history sponsored by the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture¹.

The historian then finds himself hard pressed to shorten this purgatory of recent history at the risk of being overtaken by sociologists, political science specialists or popularizers of all stripes. This is not without difficulties. Consider the fact that it is only very recently that early Soviet records or Vatican archives were partially opened up. In Canada, as in other countries, many documents, going back several decades, are still classified as secret or under conditions restricting accessibility.

Time for the historian, in spite of everything, keeps a thickness of resistance that cannot be compressed. After having written histories of centenaries and bicentenaries, the author of these lines concedes that, for the last thirty years of his narrative, he has played more the role of a columnist than that of a historian². In short, we cannot ignore the hindsight necessary to judge the past. We are only barely beginning to better place the Quiet Revolution in the evolution of Quebec in the 20th century.

When he plays the role of a columnist or journalist, when he treads on the fresh turf of the contemporary, another danger plagues the steps of the historian – the anachronism. In order to render his account more alive, more modern, more sensational, he is tempted to resort to concepts, to a vocabulary, to different ways of seeing, forged for the analysis of the most contemporary problems. A method of projecting the present into the past which often proves to be inadequate.

Historical interpretation does not consist in dressing up the past in contemporary conceptual or terminological clothing. For if we do that, it is precisely the uniqueness of the previous situation that disappears. Ultimately, the past and its difference no longer exist: the past would be only another present. Therefore, historical consciousness dilutes itself into an infinite series of moments without connection one to another. The deletion of chronology and of the context of cause and effect distorts history to that taught at the high school level, reducing it to a sociology or a technology of the past.

These general reflections lead me to consider the framework proposed, in French, for the works of the present convention, which was organized around the theme: *Les Cantons-de-l'Est : lieu de passage, terre d'accueil, espace d'intégration* (literally translated: the Eastern

Townships: place of passage, land of welcome and integration space). These are well reflected by the interpretation brought by most of the guest speakers: a “place of passage” for the Amerindian peoples, a “land of welcome” for the immigrants of the 19th century, and an “integration space” for those of the 20th century.

At first glance, certainly, the breakdown and the complexion given to these three periods appear to be an interesting model for analysis.

It is nevertheless highly revealing to compare these three themes, as presented in French, with those proposed for the same convention of Anglophone historians. If “Land of Passage” presents no problems, by contrast, the differences in points of view between *terre d'accueil* and “Place of Settlement”, or between *espace d'intégration* and “Home of Communities” will be acknowledged. Indeed, the French theme *être accueilli en un endroit* (literally translated: to be welcomed in a place) conveys a stronger sense than the English “to establish, to settle oneself in a place”. Similarly, the French concept of *intégration* emphasizes the notion of togetherness, while that of “Home of Communities” relates to multiplicity.

Thus, simply within the theme titles, a difference may be observed, even a divergence in the readings of our regional history proposed by each of the two communities!

The themes, as expressed in English, call to mind a historical vocabulary, let's say, neutral or, in any case, less marked by fashion, since it was already used in the 19th century. On the other hand, two of the three themes retained in the French language apply an interpretation or a presumption marked by very contemporary concerns: *l'accueil* et *l'intégration* (welcome and integration)! Is it

not the programme proposed for refugees and immigrants of the 21st century?

As a preliminary note to this convention, it seems therefore useful to look at the broad outline of the history of the Eastern Townships for the last two centuries which may be measured in terms of the concepts proposed in French: land of passage, welcome and integration. To get straight to the heart of the matter, here are the three theses I intend to develop:

1. The concept of “land of passage”, far from being limited to the epoch of the Amerindians, characterizes the different waves of immigrants who have arrived in our region for more than 200 years.
2. Except in very exceptional cases, the persons having come to settle in the region were neither welcomed nor pushed away by the previous populations, but rather ended up by finding their place in a generalized indifference.
3. The arrival of one migratory wave did not culminate in the integration with the previous group, but rather in the development of opposing cultures, even antagonistic. And this opposition did not die out until the arrival of a third migration, which revives a new phase of antagonism.

The Eastern Townships – a Land of Passage

After the end of the Amerindian period, marked by nearly 10,000 years of forms of constant or seasonal nomadism, the last two centuries of the region's history are, as a rule, considered to be that of a lasting settlement of populations coming from Europe, sometimes by the detour of the United States. But, in this context, what does “lasting” mean?

Indeed, the history of communities who, in successive waves, arrived in the Eastern Townships in the 19th and 20th centuries, leads to the following evidence: the great majority of individuals and families stayed in the region for only a limited time. By that, it is meant – a few months, a few years, the time of a generation, or for a career. After that, these people resumed their migratory path to other regions on the North American continent or returned to their native land. The documentation on this phenomenon is extensive, but for the present purposes, only a certain number of sufficiently characteristic examples will be retained.

The first wave of settlement in the region is made up of Americans, primarily from New England, who settle beginning in the 1790s. Twenty years later, in 1812, their population numbers are estimated at 20,000 persons. But soon, the trend reverses. In 1818, local observers estimate the scale of the exodus in the direction of Ohio, Pennsylvania, the Great Lakes Region or Upper Canada at around 4,000 individuals³.

From 1834, land companies such as the British American Land Company encourage immigration from the British Isles and the North of Europe. For 1836 alone, 6,000 immigrants land in the region. But this wave of arrivals triggers an inverse effect, because some American families, settled here for a generation, leave the region for the more Western States⁴. Thus, American merchants, like Tylar H. Moore or Frederick Henry Goodhue, solidly established in Sherbrooke sell their properties on which they had developed dams, saw mills and textile factories, and leave, one to Illinois and the other, to Wisconsin⁵.

And the contagion of departure soon reaches the newest immigrants. In the autumn of 1836, a group of Germans from Bremen settle

in Sherbrooke, where they will work on the construction of the Aylmer Bridge and at the opening of King Street, but they leave in the summer of 1837⁶. In the newly built village of Victoria, several hundred British, Swedish or German colonists, barely settled in, abandon their lands in 1838 and remove to Upper Canada. The English immigrant P.H. Goss, an educated and stubborn man, who buys a lot in Compton in 1837, leaves for Ontario after two disappointing growing seasons⁷.

In the period from 1840 to 1860, there are many cases of farmers of American ancestry who depart the Townships to establish themselves in Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa or even California. It is the same for craftspeople, who are drawn by the new cities like Chicago or the manufacturing hubs of New England, like Lowell (Massachusetts). In 1860, a journalist notes that *the last ten years have seen an enormous exodus of our best population to the West*⁸.

After the American Civil War (1861-1865), these migrants reach Nevada, Kansas, Alabama, New Mexico, and Montana. Then, after the completion of the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railway in 1885, it is the opening up of Western Canada which attracts a significant proportion of the Anglophone community: these departures target the vast undeveloped lands of Alberta or Saskatchewan, as well as the new cities of Calgary, Edmonton or Winnipeg⁹.

The cities of Montreal and Toronto would remain poles of attraction for two centuries.

Wars, hazardous weather, poor soils and topography, as well as cultural isolation may partly explain the relative briefness of the stay in the Townships. But these causes are more opportunities or incentives to seek fortune elsewhere. Because the essential lies more in the seduction, sometimes imagined, that

elsewhere is better than living in the disappointment of the present.

Remember that the population of native-born Americans who arrived in the Townships after 1793 have a past as migrants¹⁰. For these people, as elsewhere for the immigrants from Europe, the future opens on an undeveloped yet constantly progressing continental space, called "the Frontier", which characterizes the American West until 1890 and the Canadian West until 1920.

From 1850, one would have thought that the constant and massive arrival of French Canadian immigrants to the country and cities of the Townships was to result in a settlement of the population. It was not the case.

In the country, French Canadian pioneers settle on more mountainous, swampy or isolated terrains. Their family farms, less commercial than those of the Townships populated by Anglophones, are less successful, and these settlers are frequently doomed to indebtedness or to poverty, which precipitates their exodus to American industrial cities. At first, this exodus is temporary; sometimes followed by a return, and then a subsequent departure, this time often permanently. Between 1880 and 1920, priest reports are without illusions: *The natural growth of the population, writes one of them, is disappearing in the scourge of emigration which does not slow for one moment*¹¹.

In the cities of the region, the situation is no better. From 1845, industrialization draws many French Canadians from the seigneuries, where the demographic surpluses can find no place on the ancestral lands. These cyclical migrations, punctuated by agricultural crises, pour populations with no attachment, looking for work, into Sherbrooke, Coaticook, Magog or Farnham. For the most part, these persons

form a non-specialized workforce of diggers, labourers, carters, day workers.

Until 1930, when the American border closes to them, this population of French-Canadian workers will offer a show of constant movement. From one industrial centre to another, it moves, a migration that is framed by the broad space polarized on the Eastern Townships, the Montreal Region and countless manufacturing towns of New England, and, as vector, an extensive rail network.

The instability of the stay is indeed strongly linked to employment, since no aid exists for the unemployed, whether seasonal or long term. Because the labour market is not yet unified across the continent, it is often possible to find a job in another city, especially in the United States. Granted, a few years later, a new crisis would force these former Townships inhabitants to migrate once again, but an automatic return to the town of origin is seldom ensured.

This is borne out by peeling back, decade by decade, the nominative lists of censuses, showing that few working class French Canadian families who were present in a given town a decade earlier are still resident.

So, then, a kind of ceaseless ballet of arrivals and departures rather than a lasting settlement of families who will put down roots in the towns of the region must be imagined.

In the 19th century, the phenomenon of settling followed by leaving is attested by contemporary witnesses, by notarial contracts, in newspaper reports or by the study of the nominative lists of censuses; from the 20th century, it is government statistics that furnish another type of data relating to the growth (or to the loss) of populations. Once again, conclusions are clear: the magnitude of emigration surpasses that of immigration.

The demography of the Eastern Townships, in spite of a sustained natural increase essentially attributable to the high birth rates among French Canadians and Catholics until 1965, remains marked by a structural and important migratory deficit.

Table 1 shows that, in barely 70 years, the most Eastern counties (Hautes-Appalaches) lost nearly 94,000 residents.

TABLE 1
Demographic Imbalance of the Counties of the Eastern Townships, 1901-1971 ⁽¹⁾

	1901-31	1931-51	1951-71
Piedmont ⁽²⁾	- 21 146	- 672	- 2 382
Estrie, except Sherbrooke ⁽³⁾	- 10 078	- 2 274	- 17 730
Hautes-Appalaches ⁽⁴⁾	- 37 682	- 23 125	- 33 058
Sherbrooke ⁽⁵⁾	+ 9 676	+ 9 699	+ 10 832
Eastern Townships	- 59 230	- 16 372	- 42 348

Notes :

(1) Births minus deaths minus the population difference between two or more censuses;

(2) Brome, Missisquoi, Shefford;

(3) Richmond, Stanstead;

(4) Wolfe, Compton, Frontenac;

(5) County of Sherbrooke.

Source: HCE, p. 484. These data were compiled by the author of the article from censuses of Canada and figures obtained from the Bureau de la statistique du Québec.

Table 1 shows that, in barely 70 years, the most Eastern counties (Hautes-Appalaches) lost nearly 94,000 residents.

For the Western Counties (Piedmont), the total of losses reaches 24,000 essentially during the period before 1930, and for Centre Counties (except Sherbrooke), 30,000. Only the County of Sherbrooke draws more people than it loses, for a net gain of 30,000 persons. In general, in the 20th century, the region will have lost nearly 120,000 people in seven decades.

These are statistical calculations, balancing the outward flux from the region and other incoming flux to the region. When we consider that a large part of the exodus of the Anglophone population was offset by the arrival of the Francophones, we will understand that these figures underestimate the phenomenon of emigration.

The concept of a land of passage does not then limit itself to the Amerindian experience, but also characterizes the various waves of immigrants who came to our region for more than 200 years, of whom, the French Canadians.

In the Face of the Newly Arrived, Welcome, Hostility or Indifference?

To speak of a land of welcome is a recent concept, in the sense that, in modern society, certain community members, often grouped into charitable or social assistance organizations, welcome to a city, refugees having come from countries afflicted by political turmoil or by economic crises.

In fact, since the end of the Second World War and especially for the past forty years, several waves of immigrants of this type have found mooring, often temporary, in the region, primarily in Sherbrooke.

The movement begins after 1945 with Europeans, displaced from their homeland following the exodus ahead of the advance of Soviet troops and the retreat of the German armies. They were in Germany and Austria in camps so-called “for displaced persons”. There is mention of the arrival in Sherbrooke of immigrants from the Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia, in 1948, who live in old military camps and are hired by the textile factories suffering from the lack of a qualified work force¹².

In 1956, the Cold War triggered the arrival of Hungarians, and then it was the Vietnamese (“boat people” of the 1970s). Following that, a number of Latin Americans fleeing the dictatorships (Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua) or, more recently, East Europeans, following the fall of the Berlin Wall or with the wars in Yugoslavia (Russians, Serbs, etc.).

Nevertheless, in most cases, this phase of relief, offered upon arrival, remains brief because a good number of these people, by reason of their skills or their determination for an independent life, quickly find paying jobs. Dispersed in the social and professional fabric, these “welcomed” immigrants quickly melt into the population and often leave the region, drawn by Montreal or other larger cities in the country.

Taken in this sense, the concept of a “welcoming society” should then be viewed as a marginal phenomenon. In our opinion, it does not lead to the recognition of a new community seeking to make a place within the population. It touches more on a charitable attitude within a governmental immigration policy seeking to avoid concentrating the new immigrant populations in the metropolis of Montreal.

The only case of that type that we know of in the 19th century concerns the unannounced

arrival in Sherbrooke of Scottish immigrants from the Hebrides, who land with no provisions and that a charitable campaign will help to get through winter¹³.

To contrast an attitude of welcome, the historian must mention cases of distrust by the regional populations vis-à-vis strangers in transit - *'in passage'*. It must be said that the presence of these strangers is generally associated with offences, even to social unrest. We will limit ourselves to quoting violence attributed to Irish workers employed for the building of the railways between 1851 and 1853¹⁴, or to the hostility declared by the population against Italian "strike breakers" recruited by the Grand Trunk railway company in 1899¹⁵.

These cases remain limited and incidental. By far, the enormous majority of Canadian or foreign immigrants who have come to the region in the last 160 years were neither welcomed nor pushed away. The concept of welcome does not apply to these tens of thousands of individuals or families who put down anchor, often for a limited time, and find work in the city or clearing land.

The fact that, in the 19th century, various ethnic communities are spread throughout virgin lands, away from other communities, minimizes accordingly the extent for occasions of conflict between antagonistic religious or ethnic groups¹⁶. In this way, the Eastern Townships of the 19th century form an ethno-cultural mosaic, different from the American "melting pot" or recent Canadian multiculturalism.

Integration of Communities or Juxtaposition of Antagonistic Cultures?

The history of the Eastern Townships is emblematic for having known a complete reversal of the linguistic and cultural majority

within the span of two centuries. A population of American or British origins, English speaking and essentially non-Catholic will have to work out living with waves of French language Canadians and of the Catholic religion.

Today, the regional numbers are still 7 to 8% Anglophone. The reversal of the majorities came between 1870 and 1930, depending on the County. It is undeniably a long-term phenomenon, which, depending on circumstances, has seen both acceleration and slowdown.

It is on this background that must be situated the question of settlement of successive waves of immigrants with very different cultural features (languages, attitudes, religions, etc.), and the eventual integration of these new populations into the structures and attitudes in place.

From the outset, it must be said that our region has not known cultural monolithism. Rather, there have been dynamic tensions between two cultures or two phases of culture. These tensions have led to divisions, if not breaks in the social fabric. But when a third group with stronger characteristics appears on the scene and succeeds in making up an important element within society, it is then that these divisions or previous oppositions fade and grow into a common front or faction against the OTHER, against this third party, whose presence is too different or threatening.

The oldest cultural tension in the region is the division between the Loyalists and British immigrants, on the one hand, and the republican spirited Americans, established in the Townships not for ideological and political motivations, but rather for economic reasons.

These two groups, apart from the English language (and again, the differences in pronunciation and vocabulary are already evident), have scarcely anything in common.

The Americans are the sons of the Revolutionaries of 1776. They are the first colonized people to have won independence by taking up arms. They favour local grass-roots democracy, in which free individuals and proprietors agree to tax in order to provide schools or roads. They have a sense of individual freedom, initiative and mistrust state control.

Their religious spirit is more at ease in the Evangelical churches, in sects or with dissidents.

They will accuse the Loyalists and British immigrants, especially English, arrived after 1815 of enlisting in state-controlled superstructures (the English royalty, the Church of England, the Colonial power), valuing a conservative mentality, respecting nobility and birth, and following orders coming from above.

These opposing views lead to strain, sometimes political. Thus, in the 1830s, many Americans from the Townships support Papineau against the British Colonial powers.

Toward 1850, the will of American descendants to annex to the United States instead of reconciling to dependence upon the British Colonial rule shows up in the Annexionist movement^{17*}.

Confederation in 1867 modifies the situation of all Anglophones of the Townships (Americans and British). From members of the Canadian majority, they become a minority in the new Province of Quebec. At the same time, the industrialization of the region draws a predominately French Canadian worker-population into the cities. The tensions between the Americans and British dim, because both are confronted with the arrival of

a third culture, Catholic and Francophone, that they perceive as a threat or an invasion.

From 1863, an intense swelling of public opinion mobilizes the Anglophone elite. Faced with fears induced by the power of the future Province of Quebec, they seek political solutions. They end by finding them in constitutional guarantees by the Federal Government, negotiated at the last minute by Alexander Galt¹⁹. The most important clauses will protect the boundaries of the Counties of the region and minority rights regarding scholastic matters²⁰. In the following decades, vigilance will remain strong among the most radical of the opinion leaders like John H. Graham or Robert Sellar²¹. Nevertheless, there is little inter-ethnic violence, which will be limited to very incidental or individual cases.

For nearly a century, between 1870 and 1950, the coexistence of the two cultures will be translated into profound divisions within the regional society, particularly in urban areas. These divisions concern language, religion, morality and the nature of civil society. Among the questions which divide the communities are the sale of alcohol, private or public property of services, confessional education, the place of religious symbols in the public space, the neutrality of associations, British Imperial pride, the place of women in society, contraception, the morality of leisure and in clothing.

This coexistence will not result in the integration of one group into the other, nor any dynamic leading to a third culture that might have united the two²². Only a slow shift in the weight of the Anglo-Protestant population will alter the intensity of the cultural rift, assigning ever more weight to French and Catholic values²³.

The period between 1880 and 1920 corresponds to a relative balance between the two communities. Franco-Catholics will then further deepen their claims.

Different events would encourage this: the establishment of a Catholic bishopric in Sherbrooke (1874), the hanging of Louis Riel (1885), the nationalistic episode of the Honoré Mercier government (1885-1892), the appearance of nationalistic tenors like Henri Bourassa, cultural movements such that for the *Monument National*** and the distribution of newspapers like *La Tribune* (1910). All of this arouses claims to a more important social or political place for French Canadians. This was the case during elections where they struggle within the parties, both Liberal and Conservative, in order to oust the traditional Anglo-Protestant candidates.

Furthermore, the constant decline in their demographic weight, which accelerates between 1900 and 1945, pushes the Anglophones to compromise (!). When they become a minority, they propose alternating equality to Francophones. This strategy was called *la bonne entente* ("good understanding"). It proposed alternating Mayors in bi-ethnic towns, Deputies in federal and provincial ridings and various local agreements concerning the sharing of political power²⁴.

After 1920, a sort of social and ideological schizophrenia is witnessed in the French Canadians. English remains the language of work, and in a good share of businesses as well as in signage. The economic organization remains in the hands of English-speaking Montrealer, Torontonion or American leaders. But, apart from material life, cultural life is more and more defined by the Catholic clergy.

This is the time where the leading Catholic clerics develop, without any reserve, an interpretation of their settling into the Eastern

Townships which is the counterpart to that done by the Anglo-Protestant leaders. When Jean I. Hunter evokes again in 1939 *The French Invasion of the Eastern Townships*, Abbé Auclair will speak of the Catholic and French penetration into the region, qualifying it as a *leçon d'énergie nationale*²⁵ ("a lesson in national energy"). Soon a movement will begin for the partial francization of toponyms²⁶.

If, on the labour front, the clergy opposes American trade unions and promotes Catholic unions, this same regional clergy dreams of a different society, advocating ultramontane values, even corporatist (inspired as much by *l'Ancien régime**** as by authoritarian regimes like those of Salazar, Mussolini, Franco or Pétain), a society which would know no separation between civil life and Catholic organizations²⁷. These theories presume that, henceforth, French Catholic society no longer needs to take into account a sharing of civil life with Anglo-Protestants.

A new rift comes into play at the end of the 1960s, this time between two segments of the French-Canadian population. Nonetheless, at this time, due to a lack of time or space, we must suspend the analysis at this point²⁸. These major divisions in the Townships society had the effect of marginalizing the emergence of third cultural communities. Here, the demographic weight and the ideological colours of the conflicting blocks were key (Loyalists against Republican Americans, Anglo-Protestants versus Franco-Catholics, upper middle class against working class).

The arrival of other immigrants from foreign countries (European, then Latin American, Asian and African) would have required a larger demographic scale, allied to a net racial or religious specificity, to have a chance of playing a significant role in the regional social mainstream. But, in most cases, these

arrivals rarely surpassed 50 adults per ethnic group and were not repeated, with some exception. In addition, linguistic or religious features predisposed these persons to alignment with either the Franco-Catholic or Anglo-Protestant communities²⁹.

Only three ethnic groups have been able to play, at some time, a complementary role in the regional mainstream. These are the Irish, very present in Sherbrooke and in the Richmond Region, a bridge between the French Catholic community and the Anglophones; the Gaelic and Presbyterian Scots established in the poorer lands of the Hautes-Appalaches, who maintained a sort of isolation for 50 years before being wiped out by anglicization, education and the rural exodus³⁰. And finally, the Jewish community in Sherbrooke, between 1870 and 1970³¹.

Certainly, the region has experienced for decades, as it still does, the regular arrival of migrants of varied origins. Some stay only a short time and leave for elsewhere, but others assimilate themselves slowly into one or other of the linguistic groups³². In this last case, it is more the case of individuals or a few isolated families, and, except for the sound of their names or sometimes their religious faith, these persons often pass unnoticed after a generation or two.

It is time to conclude. For the last two centuries, the regional culture of the Eastern Townships has evolved according to the slow or rapid changes of ethnic, religious and linguistic communities that have succeeded to one another. This evolution was marked in a contradictory manner:

1. by the geographic instability of communities, for which the region has been for a long time only a land of passage and transition;
2. by the long-term pattern of cohabitation, opposition, if not antagonism between the

two dominant cultures, the Anglo-Protestant and the French Canadian Catholic;

3. as a corollary, by the more or less rapid absorption of third groups, proportionally to the weight of the group in space and time.

All of this suggests that major cultural shifts do not depend as much on cultural values in question as on the political and mainly demographic strengths that underlie them. A society which is weakened politically or which does not renew itself through its birth rate cannot advance its cultural values. It either dies or becomes the thing of folklore.

A note from the translator

Supplementary information which may be useful:

* Around 1850, there was a serious "Annexionist movement" on the border region of Quebec's Eastern Townships, where the American-descended majority felt that union with the United States would end their economic isolation and stagnation as well as remove them from the growing threat of French-Canadian political domination. Leading proponents of this genuinely bipartisan movement were careful not to appear disloyal to Britain, however, and they actively discouraged popular protest at the local level. Fearful of American-style democracy, the local elite also expressed revulsion toward American slavery and militaristic expansionism. Consequently, the movement died as quickly in the Eastern Townships as it did in Montreal, after Britain expressed its official disapproval and trade with the United States began to increase. (Source: Wikipedia)

**The *Monument National*, now a historic theatre located in Montreal, was erected between 1891 and 1894 as a cultural centre for French Canadians.

***According to Wikipedia, the *Ancien régime* was the monarchic, aristocratic, social and political system established in the Kingdom of France from approximately the 15th century until the latter part of the 18th century; the *Ancien régime* ended with the French Revolution. The term is occasionally used to refer to the similar social and political order of the time elsewhere in Europe.

Notes

¹ For the Eastern Townships, refer to: Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, Peter SOUTHAM and Diane SAINT-PIERRE, *Histoire des Cantons de l'Est* (sic), Sainte-Foy (Québec), Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998, 829 p. (hereinafter cited as HCE) and, more recently, to: Guy LAPERRIÈRE, *Les Cantons-de-l'Est*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval (Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, Collection : Les régions du Québec. Histoire en bref, n° 13), 2009, 197 p.

² Among others: Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, *Histoire de Lac-Mégantic*, Lac-Mégantic, 1985, 349 p.; ID., *La ville électrique. Un siècle d'électricité à Sherbrooke, 1880-1988*, Sherbrooke, Éditions Olivier, 1988, 234 p.; ID., *Histoire de Sherbrooke 1802-2002*, Sherbrooke, Éditions G.G.C., 2000-2002, 4 volumes.

³ Census taken by Elisha Thomas in: *Quebec Gazette*, January 28th, 1819; letter from Oliver Barker and others to Louis Gugy, *Quebec Gazette*, November 23rd, 1818. The population of the Township of Barnston, judged at 1434 inhabitants in 1812, has no more than 1168 in 1819, following the departure of 51 families for the Western States.

⁴ HCE, p. 122-123.

⁵ Archives nationales du Québec, à Sherbrooke, *notaire Bureau*, 4 mai 1836; 5 mars 1842; *notaire Ritchie*, n° 3618, 6 juillet 1842.

⁶ *Montreal Gazette*, December 15th, 1837.

⁷ P. H. GOSSE, *Farm Journal*, National Archives of Canada, R 2692-0-3-E.

⁸ *Stanstead Journal*, March 7th, 1861.

⁹ « Un bon nombre de citoyens de Richmond et de Melbourne ont émigré vers le Nord-Ouest ces dernières années », *Progrès de l'Est*, April 7th, 1885.

¹⁰ For a large number of American families who settle in Barnston between 1796 and 1812, settling in the Eastern Townships constitutes the third or fourth time they had moved in fifty years, in: Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, *De Barnston à Coaticook. La naissance d'un village industriel en Estrie, 1792-1867*, Sherbrooke, Éditions GGC, 2011, 356 p., p. 65.

¹¹ HCE, p. 262-264.

¹² *La Tribune*, Sherbrooke, December 9th, 1948.

¹³ *Montreal Gazette*, November 6th, 1838; August 22th, 1842.

¹⁴ Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, « Les travailleurs à la construction du chemin de fer dans la région de Sherbrooke (1851-1853) », *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, n° 31, 1978, p. 525-545; ID., *De Barnston à Coaticook...*, op.cit., p. 154-155.

¹⁵ *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, June 17th, 1899 (Richmond).

¹⁶ HCE, p. 245-250. The fractioning of bi-ethnic municipalities permits resolving the problem in rural areas such as Winslow, Whitton, Windsor or Marston. As for the reaction of the Orangemen faced with the arrival of the Irish (Catholic) around 1850-1860, these were limited to a few parades "swords at the side" (*Le Pionnier de Sherbrooke*, July 21th, 1871).

¹⁷ HCE, p. 176-178, 423-424. See also: J.I. LITTLE, *State and Society in Transition. The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships, 1838-1852*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, 320 p.; ID., *Loyalties in Conflict. A Canadian Borderland in War and Rebellion, 1812-1840*, University of Toronto Press, 2008, 182 p.

¹⁸ The idea was launched in 1863 to create a unified English political party to oppose the stranglehold of the French and clerical majority on Crown lands, education, the municipal system or electoral splitting: HCE, p. 425-426.

¹⁹ *Sherbrooke Gazette*, November 19th and 26th, 1864; *Stanstead Journal*, November 24th, December 1st, 8th and 15th, 1864; *Canadian Gleaner*, December 2nd, 1864.

²⁰ *The British North America Act*, articles # 60 and 93, and Appendix 2.

²¹ In addition to the weekly *The Canadian Gleaner*, published in the County of Huntingdon, SELLAR is known for his best-seller *The Tragedy of Quebec. The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers*, 1907 et sq., 120 p. Reissued several times. John Hamilton Graham is one of the Grand Masters of freemasonry in Quebec and the publisher of the *Richmond Guardian*.

²² Nonetheless, during the period previous to 1875, a tendency manifested itself among some French Canadians to marry non-Catholics, to convert and to anglicize their name.

²³ For case studies on this problem, see: Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, « Le comportement associatif dans une ville biculturelle : Sherbrooke, 1850-1920 », in Roger LEVASSEUR, dir., *De la sociabilité : spécificité et mutations*, Montréal, Boréal, 1990, p. 269-280; Wolfgang HELBICH, "Bicultural Cohabitation in Waterloo, Quebec, 1850-1925", *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies / Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est*, # 6, 1995, p. 57-68; Judith BECKER and Wolfgang HELBICH, « Catholiques et protestants à Waterloo, Qué., 1860-1920 : des relations complexes dans une période de changement de majorité », *Études d'histoire religieuse*, vol. 66, Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, 2000, p. 29-48.

²⁴ The term *la bonne entente* ("good understanding") appears for the first time in *Le Pionnier*, September 14th, 1867.

²⁵ Jean I. HUNTER, *The French Invasion of the Eastern Townships. A Regional Study*, Master's degree thesis in sociology, McGill University, 1939; Élie-J. AUCLAIR, « La pénétration catholique et française dans les Cantons-de-l'Est. Leçon d'énergie nationale », in *Semaines sociales du Canada, V^e session, Sherbrooke, 1924*, Montréal, Action française, 1924, p. 360-373.

²⁶ We owe to this movement, among others, the coining of the neologism "Estrie" to replace Cantons-de-l'Est, which was considered but a carbon copy of "Eastern Townships"; Jean MERCIER, *L'Estrie*, Sherbrooke, Apostolat de la Presse, 1964, 262 p.

²⁷ This current was prevalent in the farming community inside the Union catholique des cultivateurs. See: Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, *Histoire du syndicalisme agricole au Québec*, UCC-UPA, Montréal, Boréal, 2^e édition, 2004.

²⁸ The analysis model of the restart of a new antagonism precipitated by the arrival of a third culture and the weakening of previous divisions could certainly apply to other historic phenomena in the history of the Eastern Townships. For example, the emergence of a working class in the face of the combined interests of the English upper middle class and the French middle class (1880-1950). Or, the new division after the marginalization of the Anglophone element (post 1950), when regional French Canadian society is home to the opposition between small rural and urban property owners sensitive to the anti-state, anti-capitalist movements such as Social Credit, on the one hand, and the new class of professionals and academics, which supports itself on the intervention of the Quebec state stemming from the Quiet Revolution.

²⁹ In the 1880s, several Belgian families come to settle in Sherbrooke. In 1888, they found a mutual aid society, but decide to celebrate *la Saint-Jean-Baptiste* with French Canadians, *Progrès de l'Est*, August 24th, 1888.

³⁰ See: Jean-Pierre KESTEMAN, *Les Écossais de langue gaélique des Cantons-de-l'Est. Ross, Oscar Dhu, Morrison et les autres*, Sherbrooke, Éditions GGC, 2000, 88 p.

³¹ Michael BENAZON, "Ostropol on the St. Francis: The Jewish Community of Sherbrooke, Quebec – A 120-Year Presence", *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, # 12, 1998, p. 21-50.

³² After 1945, the region of Mansonville-Sutton receives numerous immigrants, divided amongst about twenty different nationalities (Ukrainian, Polish, German, Swiss, etc.).