

Quebec Heritage

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News



Archaeology, Trade, Tradition and Travel

Aspects of Mohawk, Cree, and W8banaki history

The Long Shadow

A Glimpse of Slavery in the Laurentians

“Do you think there is any hope for us?”

The Fate of the *Llandoverly Castle*

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Cover: Territorial map of the First Nations of Northeastern America, courtesy of the Musée des Abenakis. Illustration by Luc Normandin.

HABITS DIE HARD

Local History in the Age of Reconciliation

by Dwane Wilkin

A legend associated with my soldier ancestor John Bishop has him leaving seed-grain, flour, tools and other pioneer staples with a band of friendly Indians the year he took their land, around 1800. Freed of his burden, Captain Bishop pointed his canoe southward and headed to Vermont to collect his friends and kin, Dudswell Township's first recorded settlers.

It's not much of a legend, I admit. More like an alibi.

In the story that has come down to me, this arrangement was made at a place called High Banks on the St. Francis River, near present-day Bishop-ton, a village that formed the hub of a small farming and lumbering colony in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries before entering its long decline. Here, in the upper valley above the paper mills and the cities downstream, the water still runs clean and deep. There is a stand of old growth pine beside a wide stretch of lingering current. It's a fine spot for swimming.

In his petition for Crown land in 1792, Bishop had described himself as a surveyor, which means he had eyes and was at least functionally literate. You would think a man of his station would want to learn a bit about the people on whom the fate of his enterprise depended: Who were they? What were their names? Where were they from? However, these details are not recorded, and so history has no clue as to their identity. What endured was the hazy fiction of benevolent Native camp stewards happy to fluff the pillows and turn down the sheets for the British Empire. I think now that is the real point of the vignette on the river.

"They just want more money," I still hear fellow Canadians grumble whenever calls to respect Aboriginal rights have boiled into a protest or a blockade that inconveniences travelers or threatens a pipeline. It's the logic of an indignant child arguing her agreed

bed-time. As though 150 years of adapting and struggling to restore ancestral lands, languages, cultures and institutions could be dismissed as a bargaining ploy or a hostage-taking. Woven through such intolerance is a long tradition in this country of denying or marginalizing historical perspectives that challenge the basis of Canada's assertion of sovereignty.

In the nationalist settler-oriented narratives that were my introduction to Canadian history in the 1970s, the take-away lesson in the passage on Native cultures was that they were inferior to

Throughout this past summer, the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN) hosted a series of online discussions on Indigenous history. Along the way I was privileged to get a glimpse of the impressive work being done in First Nations communities around the province to document and share this knowledge for future generations.

The current issue of Quebec Heritage News includes a survey of archaeological sites, a surprising history of the Anglo-Cree fur trade at Waskaganish, the story of Odanak's basketry trade, and the origins of Mohawk Nation villages near Montreal. Does your community have a unique history and heritage to share? We'd love to hear about it.

Let's keep the conversation going.

the European societies who had replaced them. It was a message that echoed the assimilationist thinking of earlier decades when "killing the Indian" in the child had been the stated goal of Indigenous schooling. The main action was always a power struggle between French and English, with Algonquian and Iroquoian allies cast in a brief supporting role that ended with the fur trade and the coming of white settlers. With First Peoples sidelined, settler narratives could unfold safely in their self-affirm-

ing arc: a virgin forest is cleared, fields are ploughed, industry is unleashed, lives are bettered, the nation is forged. It's a great story with a straightforward plot, which just happens to be full of holes.

First there is the nagging question of how Indigenous peoples came to lose 99.8 per cent of all the land that had sustained them before my ancestor settled in what is now Canada. This is not a rhetorical question, it is an overlooked, crucial detail in every settler narrative I have ever read. In the Eastern Townships, where I live, a vast region inhabited by human beings for millennia, historical and contemporary W8banaki heritage is almost entirely absent from public memory. This omission propagates the notion that Alsiganteguk (the W8bankiak name for the St. Francis River valley) was never more than a seasonal hunting ground either before or since colonial times. Selective memory is at work in a lot of these historical representations. Piercing barnacles of received wisdom, complacency and denial would yield a far more informative and nuanced understanding of the past.

Second, the towns and cities and farmlands that we think of as belonging to Quebec and Canada are not just the product of four centuries' worth of occupation by non-Indigenous invaders. They are also places with a much deeper, more ancient connection to the human story. In the words of writer Thomas King, land has always been the "defining element" of Indigenous culture, containing "the languages, the stories, and the histories of a people." It's a concept that my own upbringing and culture admittedly make difficult to grasp. Nor does it square with the colonial view of land as a commodity, which Europeans' claims to sovereignty enabled them to acquire and exploit. But isn't grappling with conflict and difficult puzzles precisely what history is all about?

Traditional homelands and the



methods used to legitimize their transfer to settlers and corporations in the past is where the search for more fulsome accounts of history must begin. The good news is that a lot of the ground work is already being done: as part of the ongoing land-claims process and efforts to transmit traditional languages and cultural practices to future generations, many First Nations have established cultural centres and are pursuing historical archaeological studies in their home territories. One of the most fascinating local history museums in southern Quebec, the Abenaki Museum, is just downriver from where I live, in the W8banaki village of Odanak. So, inspiration and learning resources have never been closer to hand for Canadians who care to look.

By the time the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission released its final report in 2015, many institutions central to Canadian public life, notably governments, churches and universities, had begun opening themselves to dialogue about their own history and arrangements with Turtle Island's original inhabitants. The inquiry documented in painful detail the traumas suffered for generations of Indian Residential School survivors and their families. It also spoke more widely to the fraught legacy of Canada's colonial past, with all its uncomfortable truths.

One of those truths is that Canadians by and large know next to nothing about Indigenous peoples. In the history classes I attended in the 1970s and 80s, I

certainly did not learn about breaches of territorial and title rights by past governments, forced relocations, the Indian Act and the reserve system, or any of the other policies and practices, including Indian residential schools, which have shaped Indigenous history for the last 200 years. Nor did Indigenous worldviews or spiritual practices come up for serious discussion. I was not encouraged to regard Canadian history from the viewpoint of the traumatized and dispossessed. The voices of activists such as the late Secwepemc leader Arthur Manuel, who argued in his *Reconciliation Manifesto* that "Canada was and remains a thoroughly colonial country, built on the dominance of one race over another for the purpose of seizing and occupying their land," could not be heard above the din of drilling rigs and chainsaws.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has called for changes in education – in particular how and what Canadians learn about this country's past – as a crucial step forward in the reconciliation process. Reforms to school curricula that might grant more visibility to First People's history and cultures would certainly help to bridge current knowledge gaps and should be encouraged. But teachers and education ministries cannot undertake this work alone. Museums big and small, historical societies, public libraries and other centres of learning in the community will also need to pitch in, to counter what Mohawk scholar Gerald Taiaike Alfred has called

"the set of uninformed and fundamentally racist beliefs and assumptions" that has long underpinned colonial-settler narratives.

Switching perspectives can be the best way around a difficult impasse, as an earlier chapter in my settler ancestor's story shows. Captured at Quebec while trying to take the city with Benedict Arnold's ill-fated rebel army in 1775, Bishop spent a winter in prison as a guest of the British garrison. For some reason, his attachment to the republican cause waned over the next 17 years. No sooner had Lower Canada put out the word that the "wastelands" of southern Quebec were open to "loyal" settlers, than he was swearing allegiance to the Crown of England. There's nothing like the promise of a fresh start to change old habits.

Dwane Wilkin works with the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN) as a projects director, researcher, writer, editor and community organizer, and is a former print journalist. In early 2020 he led QAHN's efforts to develop and host a colloquium on the theme of Indigenous history and heritage, an event which was later cancelled due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Over the course of the summer, a number of discussions originally planned for the Reconciling History colloquium were presented online, and some of these appear in the current issue of Quebec Heritage News.

LETTER

Lost Suppers

I enjoyed your article on Canterbury Church by Bethany Rothney. Worshipped there with my father many, many years ago. As a youngster in Newport and Eaton Townships, I fondly recall great church suppers at Randboro, Sand Hill and Birchton. These suppers were often provided without benefit of Hydro.

I look forward to future articles.

Jim Hurd
Smiths Falls, On.

ORIGINS UNEARTHED

Searching the Deep Past for Turtle Island's Ancient Peoples

by Paul-Conrad Carignan

Traditional cultural beliefs of several First Nations concerning the peopling of North America maintain that their ancestors have always lived on this Turtle Island. Contrary to scientific explanations, the prehistoric ancestors of these Indigenous Nations did not come from another continent. Origin stories passed down through generations of elders relate how this land was created for them as a future people. They have always lived here and regarded people coming from other continents as visitors.

While worldviews grounded in oral tradition and science diverge sharply, new findings in the field of archaeology continue to yield clues about humanity's ancient presence on Turtle Island, the name that many Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples in North America use when referring to the continent. The discovery and study of man-made artefacts such as tools, bones and pottery, together with more precise dating methods, have greatly improved our understanding of pre-historic indigenous cultures. But piecing together a deeper history of how the continent's first people got here remains a work in progress.

One theory of migration, which has enjoyed prominence for decades, proposes that groups of hunters from Siberia first crossed overland into North America during the planet's last ice age. For thousands of years the low sea levels caused by glaciation exposed a wide plain of dry land between the two continents, the so-called Bering land bridge. Scholars theorized that people and game animals walked across this Beringia bridge and continued their migration southward through an ice-free corridor,

eventually spreading their descendants all across North and South America.

Clovis First culture

The discovery of 13,000-year-old stone projectile points associated with Pleistocene animal bones near Clovis, New Mexico, allowed scientists to estimate when this migration occurred, leading to the idea that "Clovis people" were also the first humans to make Turtle Island their home. Similar stone points have been



Archaeological dig at the Gaudreau site, near Weedon in the St. Francis Valley. Photo: Éric Graillon.

found at many sites in central and eastern North America, including one in Quebec's Eastern Townships. For a long time, Clovis people were thought to be the first to make the journey south through the central ice-free corridor of the continent and were regarded as forbears to all present-day Indigenous peoples. This was the standard theory presented in all archaeological courses through the 1960s and 1970s.

However, subsequent research revealed evidence of an even older human presence on Turtle Island. This work involved studies at a number of archaeologi-

cal sites that predate the Clovis culture by thousands of years. What's more, the stone tool assemblages found at these older sites, dating between 14,000 and 40,000 years ago, didn't match the distinctive Clovis stone-point style. Archaeologists simply classified these artifacts as "pre-Clovis" and were initially unable to offer any clear explanation as to the identity and origins of the people who had made them.

These discoveries contradicted the notion of a "Clovis First" concept in two significant ways. First, there is no evidence that an ice-free corridor existed during the earlier time-frame assigned to the pre-Clovis sites. Second, some of these pre-Clovis sites are situated in South America, very far removed from the majority of known Clovis sites.

The Pacific Coastal Route: the Kelp Highway

What was needed was a new way of interpreting the findings. Researchers turned their attention to a number of archaeological sites found along the Pacific coastline of Canada and the United States, eventually developing a new migration model. Instead of migrants from Siberia following an ice-free corridor into the heart of Turtle Island, the Coastal Route hypothesis suggests they came by way of the Pacific Ocean, following the coastline southward from Beringia along the western edge of North America, eventually proceeding all the way to Tierra del Fuego at the tip of South America.

Rather than hunting big game for their sustenance, this Asian wave of migrants would have been able to rely on abundant coastal resources to meet their needs as they made their way along this "Kelp Highway." As the migration proceeded, groups split off and moved inland,

eventually populating all of North, Central and South America. The Coastal Route Hypothesis is currently the most popular among archaeologists.

Solutrean hypothesis

Claimed similarities in the tool making techniques of North American Clovis people and a European stone-age culture known as the Solutreans form the basis of a third, controversial migration hypothesis that gained widespread attention in 2012 following publication of *Across Atlantic Ice*. The authors' starting point was the observation that stone tool kits associated with North American Clovis and Solutrean cultures were similar, both employed a technique called "overshot" flaking.

The Solutrean hypothesis holds that migrants from Spain and France, the homeland of the Solutreans, could have reached North America by way of a frozen North Atlantic sea, arriving somewhere south of the continental ice sheet between 20,000 and 14,000 years ago. In this hypothesis they became the ancestors of the Clovis people. The researchers cite a similar migration of the Inuit people across the Canadian Arctic ice and Greenland.

Critics point out that there is insufficient evidence to conclude that the ocean during this period was reliably frozen for this migration. Neither are the Solutreans yet known to be adapted to coastal resources nor to have developed the use of boats.

Archaeological research in southern Quebec, meanwhile, continues to reveal much about the human story in our own backyard. The story began when the glacial ice sheets that had covered the continent for hundreds of thousands of years started to melt, about 14 to 12 thousand years ago, during a period known as the Late Glacial Maximum. As the glaciers retreated, Clovis people were able to extend their culture northward.

Paleo-Indian sites

Until fairly recently, evidence for Quebec's earliest known human occupation came from the Late Paleo-Indian period, represented by what archeologists call Plano stone points dating from 10,000 to 8,000 years ago. Southern Quebec in this period would have re-

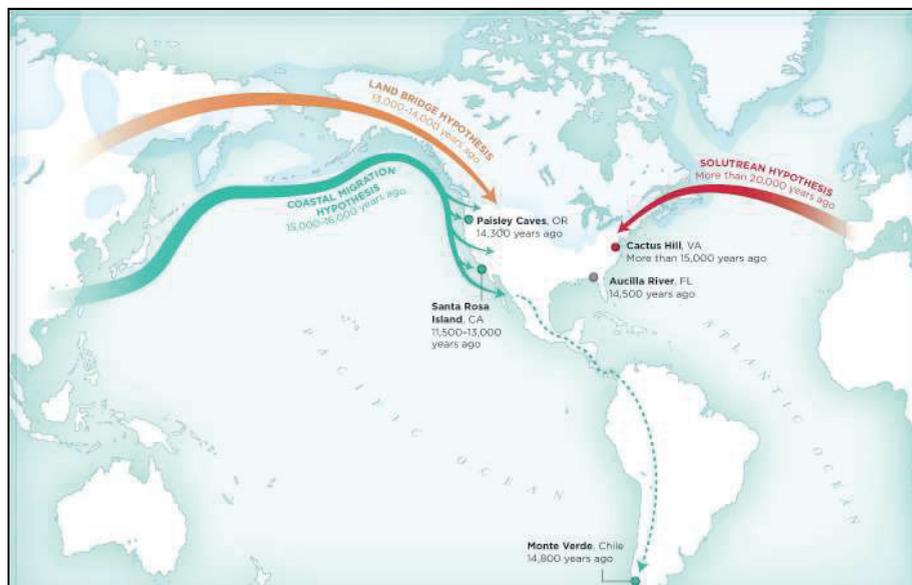


Illustration by Andy Martin in *Guy Gugliotta*, "When did Humans come to America?" *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2013.

sembled the tundra of northern Canada today. Plano Paleo-Indians, like the earlier Clovis Paleo-Indians, hunted herds of migrating caribou for their main sustenance. Plano sites have been found in Quebec since the 1970s. More sites have recently been found in the St. Francis River valley, near Weedon and Bromptonville.

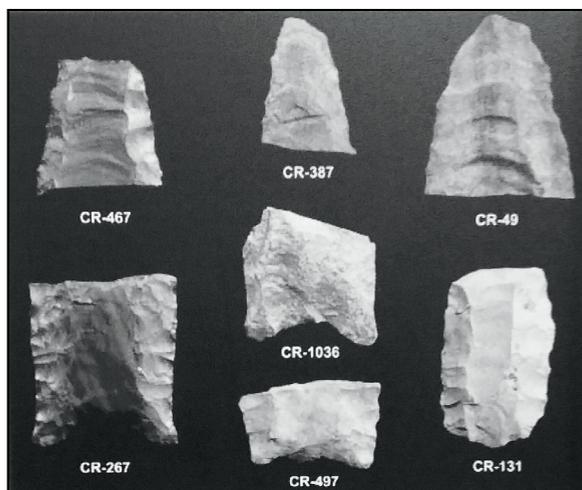
Although Clovis-style points had previously been found at archaeological digs in Ontario, New England and the Maritimes, they were not discovered in Quebec until 2003, at a site near Lake Moganatic in the Eastern Townships. This important site has been dated to around 12,000

years ago, a period scientists refer to as Early Paleo-Indian.

The material legacy of prehistoric peoples grows in abundance the closer we get to the present time. Quebec is home to hundreds of sites associated with the Archaic Period, a time-frame lasting from 8,000 to 3,000 years ago. Indigenous groups during this period adapted their technologies and ways of living to a changing environment brought about by a warming climate.

Hunting during the Archaic Period shifted from caribou to moose and deer, smaller game animals and Turtle Island's abundance of fish, both fresh-water and marine. Large wood-working tools, like axes, gouges and adzes, made their appearance as the tundra gave way to a forested environment.

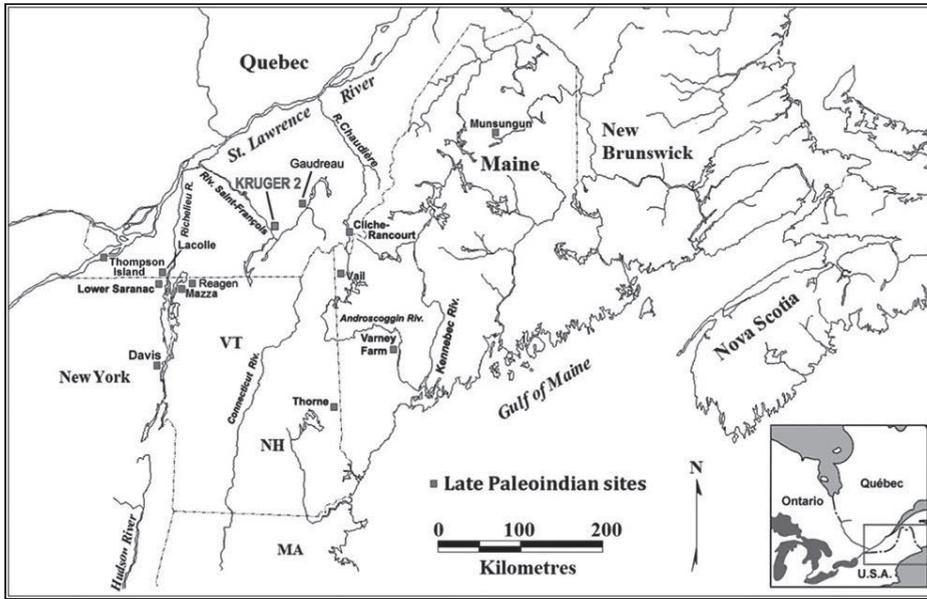
Archaeologists distinguish between three major Archaic Period cultures: the Laurentian, Maritime and Shield archaic cultures. It is hypothesized that Laurentian and Maritime archaic populations of southern Quebec were descended from early Paleo-Indian Clovis ancestry, whereas late Paleo-Indian Plano populations gave rise to Shield archaic people.



Tool fragments recovered from the Cliche-Rancourt archeological site near Lac aux Araignees in the municipality of Frontenac. Photo: Anthropology Department, University of Montreal.

The Woodland Period into the Contact Period

In the Woodland Period, spanning from 3,000 years ago to the era of



Archeological digs in southern Quebec, from Francois Courchesne, Claude Chapdelaine and Lara Munro, “The origin of smectite in the soil of the Kruger 2 archaeological site, Brompton (Quebec), Canada,” *Geoarchaeology*, June 2019.

European contact (1000 C.E. to 1400 C.E.) archaeologists also identify and differentiate three cultures, on the basis of particular regional adaptations. These are the Meadowood, Point Peninsula and Laurel cultures. Appearance of pottery is a distinctive marker of the Woodland Period, as is the cultivation of corn, beans and squash (the famous Three Sisters).

Agriculture would give rise to larger, more permanent villages such as those belonging to the Saint Lawrence Iroquois, Huron-Wendat and Haudenosaunee nations. Birch-bark canoes, snowshoes and the bow-and-arrow are all believed to have developed during this time. Burial mounds, an influence from the Mississippian and Adena cultures further south, are found in southern Quebec and adjacent areas.

The arrival of Europeans (beginning of the Contact Period), which ends the former Woodland Period, began with the brief Norse-Viking presence on Turtle Island, dated to circa 1000 C.E. More continuous contact with Basque, Breton and French Europeans, from the fourteenth century C.E. through the sixteenth century C.E., marks the transition from traditional stone and bone tool-making technologies to the usage of metal as European trade goods became available.

The Viking presence has so far been confirmed at just a handful of places – in Newfoundland, Minnesota and isolated

sites around the Great Lakes. Other studies have focused on the early presence of Basques and Bretons, known to have operated seasonal whaling and fishing stations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Jacques Cartier’s last visit to the St Lawrence River Valley in 1541-42 forms the end of this presentation of the important Contact Period.

Though archaeology can and surely will continue to add much to what we know about the past, the story of relations between Indigenous and European settler societies from this point forward enters a new phase, in which written documents form the mainstay of historical narrative.

Paul-Conrad Carignan is a métis Anishnabe (Algonquin) and Huron-Wendat educator. He is franco-Ontarian by birth, but has lived in Quebec’s Eastern Township for almost 40 years, exploring his French and Indigenous ancestry. Over the years, he has learned a great deal about his Indigenous heritage from elders in various First Nations communities, and he now shares these teachings with others, from his farm near Magog. He is the author of two National Museum of Man publications concerning archeological research into the Indigenous Beothucks of Newfoundland.

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WOVEN FROM ASH

Traditional Basketry and the Cultural Heritage of the W8banakiak

by Gabriel Petiquay, Sue Vollant and David Bernard

With help from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) the Grand Council of the Waban-Aki is currently working with Quebec's Institut national de la recherche scientifique (INRS) on a research project entitled "Abaznodali8wdi: La route des paniers," a study of ash-basket making amongst the W8banakiak (referred to as Abenaki people in older literature) from the year 1500 C.E. onward. Students enrolled in David Bernard's course on the history of Indigenous peoples at Kiuna Institute took part in this project over the winter of 2020. Their research included interviews with community members, as required by Grand Council protocol, and the preparation of a final research report, from which the following article has been adapted.

Note: The symbol "8" expresses a nasal "o" sound.

founded by Jesuits and W8banakiak themselves as a mission village of New France around the year 1670. The name Odanak, in the W8banaki language, literally means "village." Roughly 3,000 people identify as W8banakiak today, most of them residing at Odanak and

In W8banakiak stories, human beings were created out of black ash, signifying the tree's special place in their material culture. In fact, the tree has been closely linked with traditional W8banaki lifeways and waterways for thousands of years. It is widely regarded as a living link with the community's Indigenous past, which its current status as a threatened species, caused by an infestation of beetle known as the emerald ash borer, now jeopardizes.

Known for its flexibility and resistance, local black ash wood was the preferred material for such indispensable items as canoe ribbing, snow shoes and containers, and for many other practical tools. Moreover it was the wood of choice for countless generations of W8banakiak basket crafters.

The making of an ash-wood basket begins with the search for and felling of a good tree, typically found growing in a marshy area. Next, two men remove the bark and begin detaching layers

of wood by pounding the felled trunk along its length with the back of an axe. Pounding gradually loosens the wood fibres, yielding thin strips of wood ten feet or more in length, which the men further split into narrower bands. Finally, these splints are run through a polishing machine and made into rolls, which are then distributed to the community's weavers.

Prior to the nineteenth century, ash-wood baskets served practical ends, such as carrying foodstuffs, but by 1850 the artistry of Indigenous weavers had gained such renown that basket sales gave rise to a thriving commerce, gener-



W8banaki artist Annette Nolett giving a basketry workshop at the Abenaki Museum in Odanak. Photo: Renee Arshinoff.

The name W8banaki (sometimes spelled Wabanaki) is often translated as "People of the East," a reference to the vast expanse of lands in northeastern North America that they occupied in former times and which now comprise the territories of southeastern Quebec, western Maine and northern New England. There are two W8banaki Nation communities in Quebec today, both situated near the St. Lawrence River: Odanak and W8linak.

Odanak, which lies on the eastern bank of the St. Francis River near its junction with the St. Lawrence, was

W8linak, with others living elsewhere in Quebec, Ontario and the United States.

Black ash is a medium-sized deciduous tree native to southern Quebec and the northeastern United States that typically reaches 65 feet in height and 20 inches in diameter at maturity. When harvested, its characteristically straight-grained and flexible sapwood may be easily separated into thin strips. The species is adapted to wet soils and thrives especially well along stream banks and in flood plains. It has tended to dominate lowland valleys and marshy woodlands, with just over half of its range in Canada.

ating substantial income. Beginning around mid-century, interest in traditional ash baskets spiked among tourists, and from that point on, weavers began experimenting with different shapes and colours in their work, responding to their customers' tastes. It was around this time that weavers started dyeing their splints and adding blades of sweet-grass to their creations.

Weavers developed new ornamental techniques influenced by changing tastes and preferences. Some could weave miniature baskets on the tips of their finger, which they used to decorate their larger baskets. Others found markets for such novelty items as book-marks.

"The main source of income for families from the middle or end of the 1800s until 1940-1950 was basketry," according to Daniel G. Nolett, director of the Abenaki Council of Odanak. "It was the main source of income at Odanak." Several large and beautiful homes were built in the community during this period, and W8banakiak dressed in the latest fashions, all thanks to earnings from basket sales. The village's prosperity was noted in reports prepared by Odanak Indian agents in the nineteenth century.

Basket making followed seasonal rhythms. Weavers worked from autumn



Dora O'bomsawin (1889-1952) displays W8banaki baskets at an Indian souvenir stall in Asbury, New Jersey, c.1935. Note the pile of ash splints and sweet-grass at her feet.

till spring to ready their wares for summer markets at popular vacation resorts in the northeastern United States, Quebec and Ontario. Between roughly 1880 and 1920, each family of basket makers had its own sales territory. Come summer, families would board the train and head to coastal destinations in

Maine, New Hampshire and Connecticut, to Burlington on Lake Champlain in Vermont, and as far away as Ontario and Michigan.

In time, handmade baskets fell out of fashion, and the once lucrative commercial trade of the W8banakiak collapsed at the end of the 1960s. However, subsequent generations of artisans have kept the tradition alive, and visitors to the Abenaki Museum today can still find striking contemporary examples of this heritage craft on display in the museum gift shop.

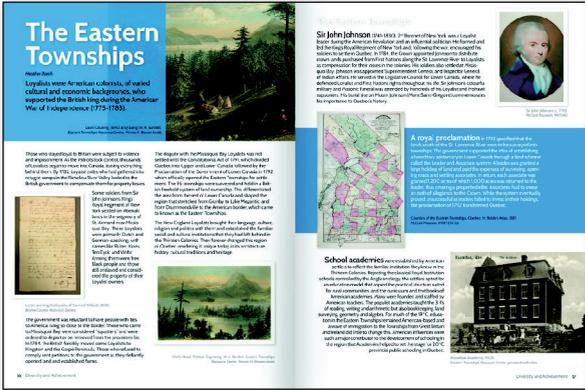
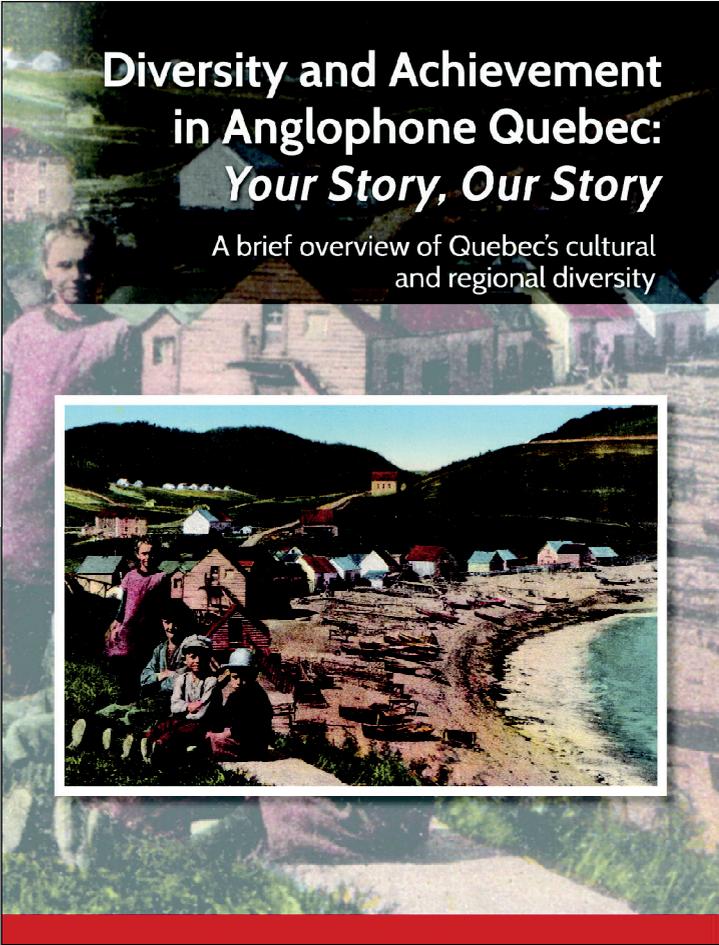
Meanwhile, the black ash die-off in southern Quebec is raising concerns about the continued survival of Wabanaki basketry and has prompted community members to demand better protection of the precious few woodlands that remain.

David Bernard teaches history at Kiuna Institute in Odanak and works as a researcher with the Ndakinna Office of the Grand Council of the Waban-Aki Nation, which is conducting a multi-year study of W8banaki traditional land-use, occupancy and ecological knowledge in southern Quebec.

Gabriel Petiquay and Sue Vollant are currently studying at Kiuna.



Jean-Marie Msadoques (1923-1984) and Alexandre R. O'bomsawin (1931-1997) pound the trunk of an ash tree with the blunt side of their axes, beside the Catholic church in Odanak, c.1960s.



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HERE WE GATHERED

Tiohtià:ke and the Origins of Mohawk Nation Settlement in New France
by Eric Pouliot-Thisdale

Indigenous land acknowledgments have become commonplace at many public gatherings in recent years, and help to underline relationships that continue to exist between Indigenous peoples and their traditional territories, including cities and towns where most Canadians conduct their lives nowadays. Behind these rote phrases, however, lies a more complex tale of commercial rivalry, religious zeal, warfare and geopolitics that would help bring Montreal into existence as an outpost of New France in the mid-seventeenth century, and contribute, ultimately, to the establishment of three Mohawk Nation territories in the island's vicinity.

From ancient times, and certainly long before French fur traders and missionaries laid claim to Montreal, diverse groups of Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples gathered on the island periodically to settle their differences, trade and socialize. While physical evidence of a permanent prehistoric village has yet to be found, ancestral ties to Tiohtià:ke, the Mohawk-language name for the island of Montreal, are recorded in the oral traditions of modern day Algonquins, Atikamekws and Iroquois.

Archaeologists and historians use the term St. Lawrence Iroquoians to describe the agricultural, village-dwelling people Jacques Cartier briefly encountered in the St. Lawrence River in the 1530s, but no single theory about their identity and what became of them has yet gained unanimity among Mohawks from Kanehsatake, Akwesasne or Kahnawake. Sailing up the St. Lawrence River (known as *Kanatarowanenneh* in Mohawk) 75 years after Cartier's visit, Samuel de Champlain noted that the large villages and maize fields Cartier described were nowhere to be seen, hence the mystery.

Archaeologists have suggested that the St. Lawrence Iroquoians may have been overcome militarily by Algonquian rivals, with survivors absorbed into other First Nations cultures. However, this theory is rejected by some Mohawks who believe that they are descended directly from the people Cartier encountered 500 years ago. A third theory posits that the St. Lawrence

Iroquoians were a group of people who had in earlier times moved northward into the St. Lawrence and become intermingled with Algonquian populations then living in the valley, giving rise to historic Mohawk culture. Whatever their history was, it is certainly tempting to imagine that St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture might have gradually arisen out of the melding of different First Nations customs and practices.

Above an entrance to the Collège de Montréal, on Sherbrooke Street West, a Latin inscription recalls the original purpose of the religious settlement established here during the French Regime on the side of Mount Royal in 1677 by the Order of Saint Sulpice: *Hic evangelizabantur Indi* – literally,

“Where we evangelize Indians.” A pair of stone-built towers, vestiges of the fort built here in 1685 to protect the Mountain mission from Iroquois raids, also stands to remind us of the history of resistance to what was viewed as European encroachment into their world.

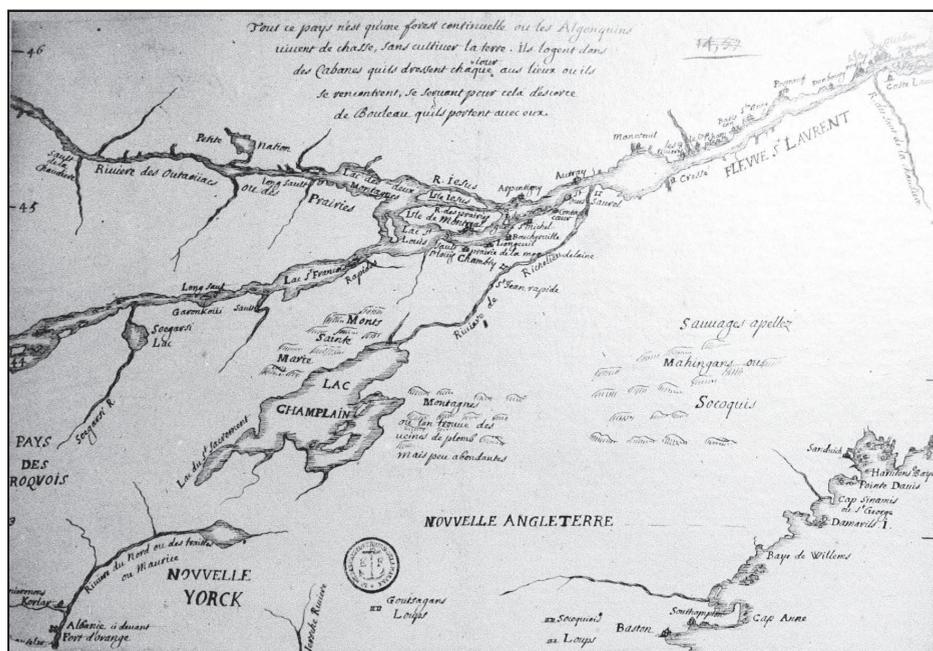
Whatever its prehistoric origins, the distinctive longhouse culture with its Great Law of Peace, maize agriculture, palisaded villages and alliances gave the five nations of the Iroquois (or Haudenosaunee) Confederacy considerable strength and political stability. At the time of European contact, Iroquois nations occupied a vast triangular territory that stretched from the Lower Great Lakes in the west, to the South Shore of Montreal in the east, and the Finger Lakes of upstate New York in the south.

With the coming of manufactured goods, introduced by European traders, old rivalries intensified, and Iroquois and Algonquian peoples found themselves in fierce competition for hunting grounds, trade routes, and access to buyers. Since traders initially came and went, Mohawks associated with the Confederacy and their councils would not have considered it necessary to agree on formal land- and resource-sharing arrangements with the newcomers. In the Indigenous worldview, people were not masters or owners of nature, they were part of it.

From the first years of Champlain's colonial project, the French had shown their commitment to their Innu, Algonquin



Latin inscription above an entrance to the Collège de Montréal. Photo: Éric Pouliot-Thisdale.



Claude Bernou (attributed in Newberry Library catalogue), *Carte du Saint-Laurent, du lac Champlain et de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, c.1675, facsimile in Alphonse Louis Pinart (ed), *Recueil des cartes, plans et vues relatifs aux États-Unis et au Canada*, New York, Boston, Montréal, Québec, Louisbourg (1651–1731) (Paris, 1893).

and Wendat (Huron) allies by joining in military campaigns against the Mohawks and Onondagas. New France's entry into this network of alliances therefore placed the young colony on poor terms with a formidable foe.

Though lacking in good sources of tradeable furs near their historic villages in Iroquoia, the Iroquois were able to deploy a combination of diplomacy and military might to position themselves as middlemen, supplying Dutch – and later English – traders with beaver pelts obtained in the north from Algonquin and Wendat suppliers. In the 1630s, to consolidate their control of the fur trade, groups of Iroquois led frequent raids on French-allied Algonquians in the St. Lawrence and Ottawa valleys, expanding their influence westward to the Great Lakes region.

Some groups of Iroquois viewed the prospect of a permanent French presence on *Teotiake* as a threat to their commercial dominance, and within a year of Ville Marie's founding in the spring of 1642, the new settlement was targeted for attack.

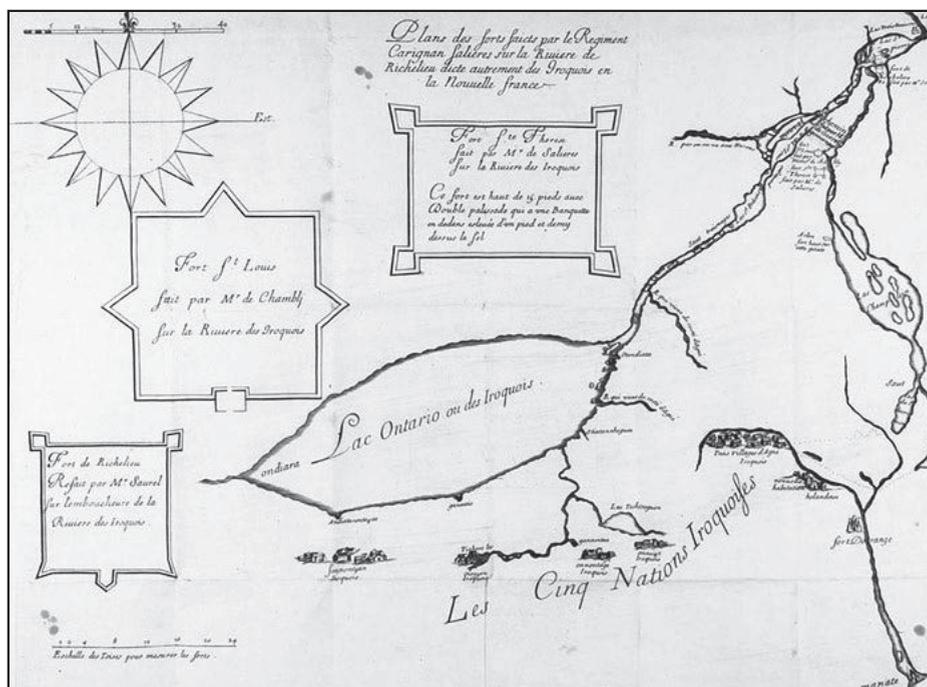
During the first of a series of raids on the island, beginning in 1643, the colony's leader, Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, shot dead an unidentified Iroquois chief. Groups of Iroquois would raid Montreal again in 1645 and 1646 and sporadically thereafter until a short-lived truce with the French was agreed in 1653. But "cruel wars" against settlers resumed after 1657. (An interesting map printed in

H. Beaugrand's 1884 book, *Le Vieux-Montréal 1611-1803*, records that the first clash of settlers and Iroquois occurred in the vicinity of the post office and the Bank of Montreal at the appropriately named Place d'Armes in Old Montreal.)

To better defend the St. Lawrence colony, protect their Wendat and Algonquin allies and continue luring more converts to Christianity, the French built eighteen forts in the river valley between 1658 and 1672, including Fort St. Marie, Verdun, Pointe aux Trembles, Rivière des Prairies, Lorette, Sault au Récollet, Lachine, and the Mountain. Fortifications were also built at Laprairie, Longueuil and Lake of Two Mountains.

But it was the arrival of 1,200 French soldiers from the Carignan-Salières Regiment under Lieutenant General Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy in 1665 that signalled a turning point in the conflict. The soldiers' arrival coincided with a shift in New France's stance toward the Iroquois, which would see colonial officials under Governor Daniel Rémy de Courcelle and Intendant Jean Talon forcefully press for an end to hostilities, through a combination of diplomacy and military strikes at the heart of Mohawk country.

A new round of Franco-Iroquois peace talks begun in late 1665 resulted the following year in prisoner-exchange agree-



Plan des forts faits par le Regiment Carignan Salières sur la Rivière de Richelieu dite autrement des Iroquois en la Nouvelle France, c.1666. Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN 4170798. Knowledge of this territory was very meagre, its source being the reports of Ménard and Chaumonot, Jesuit Missionaries.

ments and pledges from four western nations – Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Oneida – to stop harassing Algonquins and Wendats in their trade with Montreal, in effect, acknowledging the sovereignty of the French king. Three treaties were ratified in the course of 1666, but not by Mohawks, who persisted in their raids.

Behind the scenes, Talon was pursuing a much harder line: submission of all the Iroquois nations to French rule, or else face annihilation. Plans for the first expedition against Mohawk country got under way in January 1666, but ended in failure for the French soldiers, who were ill-prepared for a winter march and forced to retreat. A second campaign at the end of July was abruptly cut short so that a group of Mohawk emissaries could be escorted to Quebec for further peace talks. However, colonial authorities were not dissuaded from their war footing.

In a letter to Tracy and Courcelle dated September 1, 1666, Talon expressed his view that a fall campaign against the Mohawks would be more advantageous for the colony than continuing to seek peace. In October, an army of 1,300 soldiers, including 100 Algonquin and Wendat guides, proceeded south along the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, and into the Mohawk River valley, where they sacked four villages, burning longhouses, destroying crops and food stores and plundering valuables such as knives and cookware.

It was in the wake of this destruction that a treaty with all five Iroquois nations was reached in 1667, and Sulpician missionaries were able to step up their Christianizing efforts among the displaced Mohawk refugees. Some would eventually move with the priests to *Teotiake*, settling briefly at their Mountain mission. In 1696, some families moved to Sault-au-Récollet, and moved again in 1721, this time to the Sulpicians' mission at Oka. Many people belonging to Kanehsetake Mohawk First Nation today trace their family history through these migrations.

Migrations rooted in the destruction of Mohawk villages in the seventeenth century also figure in the story of Kahnawake. In 1674, Jesuit priests obtained permission to settle Mohawk refugee families on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, beside a series of rapids called Sault St-Louis, better known today as the Lachine Rapids. Governed by the Jesuits until the creation of reserves in 1851-56, the village was moved several times before finally coming to its present location in 1716. The priests named the village Saint-François-Xavier-du-Sault, but its Mohawk name is far more familiar today, and reflects its proximity to the Great River: Kahnawake means “at the rapids.”

Eric Pouliot-Thisdale is an historian and researcher of Mohawk-Innu ancestry with 20 years' professional experience. His past work has focused on military and demographic archives and his skills and knowledge are frequently called on by First Nations authorities to support land claims and to carry out genealogical research. Author of numerous published articles and academic papers, Eric developed a methodology for analysing demographic data that has yielded new information about the historical identity of military veterans from Indigenous communities. Much of his work may be found on the website of Library and Archives Canada and on their publications website, Voilà. He is currently completing a degree in history at the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM).

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THE VIEW FROM WASKAGANISH

A Cree History of Canada's Anglophone Roots in the North
by James V. Chism

Canada's Anglophone heritage began on James Bay, in a small Cree village in northern Quebec. If you find this surprising, it's because this story doesn't get much play down south.

In former times Waskaganish was known by many other names, including Charles Fort, Rupert River House, Rupert's House and Fort Rupert. It is a place with an ancient past, where the history of Cree and European peoples joined in the making of today's Canada.

Waskaganish is also unique in that the community employed an archaeologist here for many years to conduct professional research on their territory, yielding new information about the deep past which has added considerable knowledge to Cree oral traditions. A new generation of future archaeologists continues to work with experts from the Cree Regional Cultural Institute.

Like Indigenous communities everywhere, Waskaganish's history is rooted in prehistory. At the end of the last Ice Age, between five and six thousand years ago, the earth's crust began to spring back up, relieved of the heavy pressure of the thick glaciers. Cree elders express this still-ongoing glacial rebound when they say "the land is growing," referring to formerly wet places that are now higher and drier. When the land that is now Waskaganish Territory did finally come out of the sea, Waskaganish's oldest ancestors and fabled creation heroes could finally come from their former homelands to the east, west and south.

In 2012, a Waskaganish hunter discovered a chipped and polished stone blade on a former beachline that had emerged from the sea about 4,500 years ago. Crews of young Cree under the guidance of archaeologists have been excavating and researching what turns out to be the first evidence of a wave of



Alanson Skinner and Thomas Jacob pose with furs at the Rupert House trading post, 1908. Skinner was an anthropologist from the United States. Photo: American Museum of Natural History collection.

hunting families coming here from the Labrador coast between 4,300 and 4,500 years ago. Unlike the large chipped stone tools of such an early time period found elsewhere in James Bay, the ancient stone tools found outside of Waskaganish were of all different sizes, including tiny ones whose use is under intense discussion. All of them had been chipped and then partly polished. They were clearly not bearers of the same material culture as the other tools found.

Young future Waskaganish archaeologists are eager to discover more about these newly discovered "Ancient Ones."

Other ongoing research has concerned more recent waves of migration, dating to about three thousand years later. These were people whose material culture included pottery with an Iroquoian flavour in its design. Waskaganish and Cree regional archaeologists also find evidence of later waves of migration coming from the south and elsewhere. Discussions about the origins of this pottery are complicated and interest-

ing, and will surely add still more to our knowledge of the human story of James Bay.

The most recent wave of migrants, those of European origin, occurred just over 350 years ago. These people were very much welcomed, and for good reasons.

Indigenous peoples across North America developed a continental trading network that was in place for thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans. When they got here, European fur traders discovered that they only needed to plug into that network to do business. And the goods they introduced were indeed "exotic" from an Indigenous point of view.

While some people today might scoff at beads from Venice or other such items, the original peoples of North America were drawn to their beauty. Beautiful stones for making outstanding tools had long accounted for a sizeable part of the commerce among First Nations. Beauty counted as much as practicality and uniqueness. The pre-European

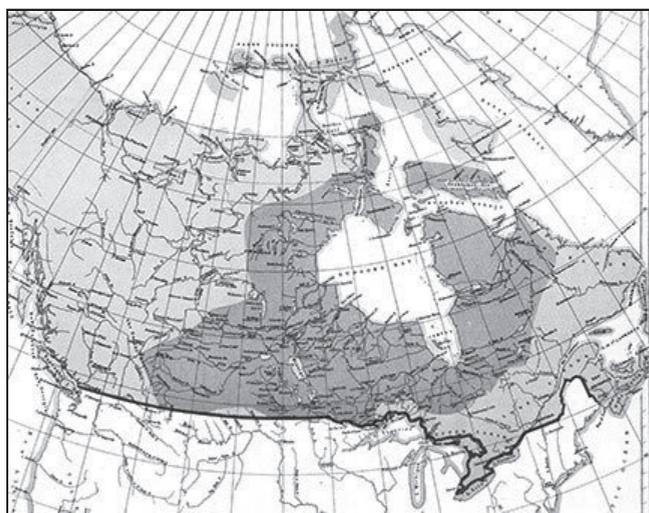
trade in metals such as copper was especially rare. As a result, many items considered common in Europe were highly valued commodities. It is no mystery as to why the earliest English to arrive at today's Waskaganish were enthusiastically welcomed.

As one might guess, Indigenous trade networks had their own power struggles, much like today's business world. The Dutch, and later their English successors at Fort Orange (today's Albany, New York) had plugged in to the network via the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Confederacy; and the French at Quebec had done so via the Hurons. The Hurons enjoyed old connections to the best animal pelts found among Cree and other Algonquian-speaking nations to the north, while Mohawks and other Iroquois peoples sourced their pelts further to the south. When lower-quality southern furs were being trapped out in the mid-seventeenth century, the Iroquois began a campaign to expand their territory, eventually destroying the Huron-Wendat Confederacy and taking over the northern branches of the fur-trade. Cree elders tell many stories of "Nottaway" raids into Waskaganish territory.

The Anglophone story began in the midst of these turbulent years of violent struggle for control of the northern fur grounds. Competition for trade was not restricted to First Nations. England was struggling, with little success, to get around French control of the St. Lawrence River and the monopoly that merchants in New France had on northern fur supplies. Events then took an unexpected turn. Irritated by restrictions placed on their trading activities by French colonial authorities, two *coureurs des bois*, Médard des Groseilliers and his brother-in-law Pierre-Esprit Radisson, approached England with a plan.

Des Groseilliers and Radisson travelled first to Boston and persuaded the English to try what sports fans would call an end-run around New France and her Huron partners by sailing into Hudson Bay and establishing trading settlements at the mouths of several

rivers there. After an aborted first attempt from Boston led by a local captain named Zachariah Gillam, des Groseilliers and Radisson travelled to England where they convinced a cousin of King Charles II to champion their cause. Prince Rupert, the king's cousin, succeeded, and in the summer of 1668 he sponsored two ships for this risky northern effort. The ship carrying Radisson was damaged in a storm and forced to turn back, but the *Nonsuch*, carrying des Groseilliers and piloted by Captain Gillam, completed its journey, dropping anchor at the end of September. At the



Hudson's Bay Company Map of North America, 1850, showing the territories claimed by the HBC, granted by King Charles II. David Rumsey Collection.

suggestion of local hunters the ship's crew chose as their landing spot the mouth of the Rupert River, where they built a camp and over-wintered.

The Cree knew that having a supply point for exotic goods in their homeland would strengthen their position in the Aboriginal trade network. They promised to spread the word of the English arrival, and in the spring of 1669, a reported 400 hunters turned up in Waskaganish with pelts to trade. The *Nonsuch* returned to England later that year with a heavy and profitable cargo of furs, which led the king to grant a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) the following spring.

Parts of this history deserve to be emphasized. First, the HBC charter established a private commercial colony on a vast territory, overspreading all the land containing rivers that drained into

Hudson Bay. The estate took in what is now northern Quebec and Labrador as well as much of Canada's prairie heartland and sections of the northern United States, stretching from the McKenzie River basin in the north to the Atlantic Ocean in the east and the Rockies to the west.

Second, the charter put a governor in charge of the colony and named Prince Rupert himself as head of the HBC. England had not yet established colonial laws whereby original inhabitants of "occupied" countries were considered English subjects with full protection of individual rights and powers to govern themselves according to tradition. So, just two people would determine the nature of governance and commerce in lands that cover much of what is now Canada.

The choice of the HBC's first governor of Rupert's Land was amazing: a well-educated and socially connected, radically egalitarian Quaker named Charles Bailey, currently imprisoned in the Tower of London for his religious views. Bailey was freed from the Tower to assume responsibility for setting policies toward First Nations and administering the territory. Prince Rupert also proved a fateful choice for the head of the HBC.

Research shows that Rupert was interested in alchemy and mineralogy; while there is no evidence that this interest helped des Groseilliers and Radisson win English support for their Hudson Bay expedition, the voyage carrying Bailey to Canada to establish Charles Fort also carried a professional prospector. Thus, Waskaganish was not only the world's first HBC trading settlement and the seat of Rupert's Land government, but also Canada's first base of prospecting operations. Furthermore, the English built a coastal ship here, meaning that it was apparently the first English "shipyard" in Canada.

The way HBC business was conducted under Bailey influenced how the company would operate for many years, until the pre-Lord Selkirk period, when interest in taking land for Scottish farmers and herdsmen broke the tradition of simply being a link in the Aboriginal



Aerial view of Waskaganish today. Photo: courtesy of the Cree Nation of Waskaganish.

trade network. For instance, Bailey addressed important members of his contact groups respectfully as “King and Councillors.” The first Cree “king” was King Cuscuda. Bailey sent his men with guns to drive away groups of Haudenosaunee raiders who threatened to kill and enslave local Cree. He was also a man who believed in working with supposed enemies. When New France sent the Jolliet brothers north to cut off English contact with Cree hunters, Bailey befriended and did business with them. This bond with the Jolliets was so strong that later, when France finally sent an army against the English James Bay settlements, a letter was sent from the Jolliet settlement to Charles Fort warning them of the French attack. (The surprise attack in 1686 came before there was a chance to move cannons to a new outer wall, rendering the guns useless, since firing them would have blown down their own wall. A real “whoops” moment in history.)

Charles Fort and two other James Bay settlements would be placed under command of the legendary Montreal-born soldier, Pierre Le Moynes d’Iberville, who had played a key role in their capture. England recaptured the posts in 1693. Cree at Waskaganish and in the surrounding region were by then strongly tied to the English trade. Throughout its modern history, the community has maintained a close attachment to Canada; this bond was so strong that during Quebec’s 1995 sovereignty referendum, Waskaganish and the other

Cree communities voted to stay part of the Canadian federation had Quebec chosen to leave. Future control over mineral and hydroelectric resources of the James Bay region suddenly seemed uncertain. Once again, the Anglophone heritage of the Cree homeland had a strong impact on Canada as a nation.

The people of Waskaganish and the Cree in general still love being out on the land, but things are changing rapidly. The new Cree world is a complicated blend of traditional and modern. One finds both English and French educational streams in schools and while many Cree are now tri-lingual, the Cree remain fiercely attached to their language.

The financial and political organization of the Cree Nation homeland, known called *Eeyou Istchee*, is basically modern, self-governing, and one that participates in resource development. Quebec’s Cree deal with modern Quebec and Canada on what they feel is a state-to-state footing, though there will surely be adjustments to how power is shared in the future. While Cree history is strongly tied to the Anglophone world, dealings in other non-Cree languages are comfortable as long as “respect” is the operational spirit of communication.

Waskaganish is moving confidently towards the future. They welcome you to visit or join them.

James V. Chism is a retired archaeologist with more than 60 years’ experience who excavated widely in the U.S. and Europe before moving to Canada in the mid-1960s. As Staff Research Associate at the University of Manitoba, he was responsible for excavations at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park. He later worked as Staff Archaeologist with Canada’s National Historic Sites Service, responsible for the Canadian fur trade and head of artefact research. He spent 43 years in northern Quebec, first with the National Museum of Canada; then as Federal-Provincial Studies Coordinator for James Bay archaeology, ethnology and history; and finally as Curator of Archaeology for the Waskaganish Cultural Institute.



Hudson Bay Company wharf and supply depot on Charlton Island in southeast James Bay near the mouth of the Rupert River, 1930s. The HBC built its first depot here in 1679. Photo: HBC Archives.

NEW USES FOR OLD BUILDINGS: REPURPOSING HERITAGE IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

ON THE ROAD TO RECONCILIATION

A New Life for Divinity House, Bishop's University
by Bethany Rothney

In October 2019, after two years of deliberations, Bishop's University announced that Divinity House would be undergoing renovations to create a new welcome centre for Indigenous students at Bishop's and nearby Champlain College.

The project had been tabled in 2017 when a Task Force on Divinity House was established to decide what was to be done with the by-then vacant and dilapidated building. Bishop's Principal Michael Goldbloom pointed out that there was no formal meeting place on campus for Indigenous students.

For several years now, Bishop's has acknowledged its location on unceded Abenaki territory. Reconciliation has been a major topic in the media and at institutions in recent years. The Canadian government and many institutions have been seeking ways to create more spaces for Indigenous communities. Goldbloom's suggestion no doubt reflected this view.

Once the decision to transform Divinity House into an Indigenous centre had been made, the question of funding became the top priority. Dr. Trygve Ugland, Secretary-General and Vice Principal of Government Relations and Planning at Bishop's, who has been a part of the task force from the beginning, set out to find donors and to petition the government for grants. He brought the suggestion of turning Divinity House into an Indigenous centre to officials at the Ministry of Education, who loved the idea.

Divinity House was built in 1891, making it one of Bishop's University's oldest buildings. It provided housing for Faculty of Divinity students until the faculty closed in 1970. It then served the general undergraduate population until 1988, at which time it was converted to office space for faculty. In more recent years, Divinity House has sat vacant, slowly deteriorating to the point where some thought the building should be torn down. Fortunately, there have been no "negative surprises" thus far in the renovation process, Ugland says.

Those who appreciate the historical value of the Bishop's campus were no doubt pleased to hear that tearing down Divinity House had been taken off the table. Ugland is excited about the project, calling it "extremely interesting." The hope, he says, is not just to give Bishop's current Indigenous students a space of their own, but to attract students who may be considering attending a more urban university such as McGill or Concordia. According to Ugland, "students have the opportunity to go to

the big cities, but if they don't want to because they are from a rural area or they would rather a rural university experience, Bishop's is more appealing."

Having a space dedicated to Indigenous students is not only appealing but also serves as an opportunity to engage with local Indigenous groups. According to Ugland, the university has already been in contact with Indigenous groups, and hopes that they will use the centre to full advantage, inviting elders and community leaders to visit and educate. Furthermore, if funding is available, Ugland says that the school also hopes to attract academics and artists.

The inclusion of Indigenous elders illustrates Bishop's desire to encourage reconciliation on campus. Ugland notes that the whole campus community will be welcomed and encouraged to visit the centre once the renovations are complete. The centre will serve not only Bishop's Indigenous students, but also those at Champlain College.

The plan for the renovations at Divinity House were originally scheduled to be completed by November

2021. This timeline, of course, was made before the Covid-19 pandemic put the country on hold. But Ugland is still optimistic that the crisis will not delay the renovations long enough to postpone the projected late 2021 opening.

Ugland's optimism and excitement have been a bright spot in what have otherwise been uncertain times. Only months after the project was announced, protests in support of the Wet'suwet'en people, who had been defending their land against the Coastal GasLink pipeline, erupted across Canada. As protests and blockades began to simmer, a banner went up on the front porch of Divinity House: "We want a future, not a pipeline." While the issue of the Coastal GasLink pipeline, and even the concept of reconciliation, have been divisive in Canada, local Indigenous communities are seeing the efforts made at Bishop's. For a number of years, the university has participated in Orange Shirt Day, a day of remembrance for those who suffered in residential schools.

For a school that sits on unceded territory, it is clear that Bishop's is doing what it can to reconcile the past and make way for a more diverse, more inclusive future.

Bishop's University History student Bethany Rothney interned with QAHN in 2020.



WAR CRIME ON QUEBECERS

The Sinking of the Llandoverly Castle by Sam Allison and Jon Bradley

Washed Ashore

The body of Captain William James Enright, Chief Medical Officer of the 22nd Battalion (“Van Doos”) was washed ashore on October 14, 1918. He had died a few months before, on June 27, when his ship, His Majesty’s Hospital Ship *Llandoverly Castle*, had been torpedoed approximately 120 miles west of the Fastnet Rock Lighthouse off the southern coast of County Cork, Ireland. Even if he had survived the sinking, the cold Atlantic waters, and made it into a lifeboat, he may have been killed as the submarine machine gunned to death the survivors in all but one of the lifeboats.

Unlike many of his murdered colleagues, his body had slowly floated via the tides and wind to finally touch shore again in the Pas-de-Calais region of northern France on the English Channel. Identified via documents, his uniform remnants and lifebelt, he was buried with full military honours at the small Les Baraques Military Cemetery. This area remained an active military cemetery until 1921. The majority of those buried served with the Allies in World War I, although a few German soldiers as well as some World War II casualties are also interred there.

Enright was born on February 19, 1873, in Port Daniel in the Gaspésie, the second of twelve children of Thomas Enright and Isabelle McPherson. He received his medical training at McGill University in Montreal in the mid-1890s, and later completed a speciality in New York City in plastic surgery. On September 20, 1898, he married Margaret Johanna Doyle of Frampton (Beauce, former County of Dorchester) and settled in



Nursing sisters who lost their lives in the *Llandoverly Castle* disaster:

Top row from the left: Margaret Jane Fortescue, Rena “Bird” McLean, Jessie Mabel McDiarmid.

Second row: Minnie Asenath Follette, Carola Josephine Douglas, Margaret Katherine Gallaher.

Third row: Alexina Dussault, Christina Campbell, Anna Irene Stammers.

Fourth row: Mae Belle Sampson, Matron Marjorie “Pearl” Fraser, Mary Agnes McKenzie

Not pictured: Jean Templeman and Gladys Irene Sare.

his hometown of Port Daniel, where he and his wife raised six children.

Enlisting in June 1915, Doctor Enright had a varied and meritorious military medical career, including being “Mentioned in Dispatches.” Initially appointed to the rank of Captain and attached to Number 4 Canadian Stationary Hospital (French Canadian) in June 1915, he was promoted to Chief Medical Officer of the Van Doos and experienced front-line action from September 11 to 28, 1915, while part of the 5th Canadian Infantry Brigade.

While briefing his replacement for an impending leave, he was severely wounded in the leg by shell fire and convalesced back to England for a long and difficult recovery. Once fit again for duty, he was assigned to Number 8 General Hospital (headquartered at Saint-Cloud, France) and was fulfilling these medical duties when the HMHS *Llandoverly Castle* was torpedoed.

Lost at Sea

Nursing Sister Alexina Dussault drowned when her lifeboat was sucked into the whirlpool created by the sinking of the *Llandoverly Castle*. All fourteen of the Canadian nurses on the hospital ship attempting to escape in lifeboat #5 were lost. Her enlistment record describes her as being of “Medium complexion, blue eyes, dark brown hair. Roman Catholic. She has a scar on her left index finger 1½ inches long.”

Alexina Dussault was born on March 25, 1875, in St. Hyacinthe, Quebec (east of Montreal on the Yamaska River) to Napoleon Dussault and Octavie Laliberte. She enlisted as a nurse almost immediately after the declaration of war, September 25, 1914. Lieutenant Dussault was immediately assigned to the Nursing Service of the Canadian Army Medical Corps and

Nursing sisters compilation.

Photos: www.cbc.ca/radio/thesundayedition, June 17, 2018.

treated sick and wounded soldiers in casualty, auxiliary and field hospitals in several locations in France and England. Almost continually in action, she volunteered for duty on the hospital ships that repatriated seriously wounded and sick Canadians back to Canada. Completing many of these mercy missions on the HMHS *Araguaya* and *Letitia*, she was posted to the *Llandoverly Castle* on March 22, 1918.

Survivors of the Canadian Medical Corps

Major T. Lyon
528654 Sergeant A. Knight
536288 Private G. R. Hickman
69 Private W. Pilot
522907 Private F. W. W. Cooper

Sergeant Arthur Knight offered this chilling account of the lifeboat that he shared with the nurses:

Unflinchingly and calmly, as steady and collected as if on parade, without a complaint or a single sign of emotion, our fourteen devoted nursing sisters faced the terrible ordeal of certain death, only a matter of minutes, as our lifeboat neared that mad whirlpool of waters where human power was helpless.

I estimate we were together in the boat about eight minutes. In that whole time, I did not hear a complaint or murmur from one of the sisters. There was not a cry for help or any outward evidence of fear. In the entire time, I overheard only one remark when the Matron, Nursing Matron Margaret Marjory [see note below] Fraser turned to me as we drifted helplessly towards the stern of the ship, and asked, "Sergeant, do you think there is any hope for us?"

I replied, "No," seeing myself our helplessness without oars and the sinking condition of the stern of the ship. A few seconds later we were drawn into the whirlpool of the submerged afterdeck, and the last I saw of the nursing sisters were as they were thrown over the side of the boat. All were wearing lifebelts and of the fourteen two were in their nightdresses, the others in uniform. It was doubtful if any of them came to the surface again.

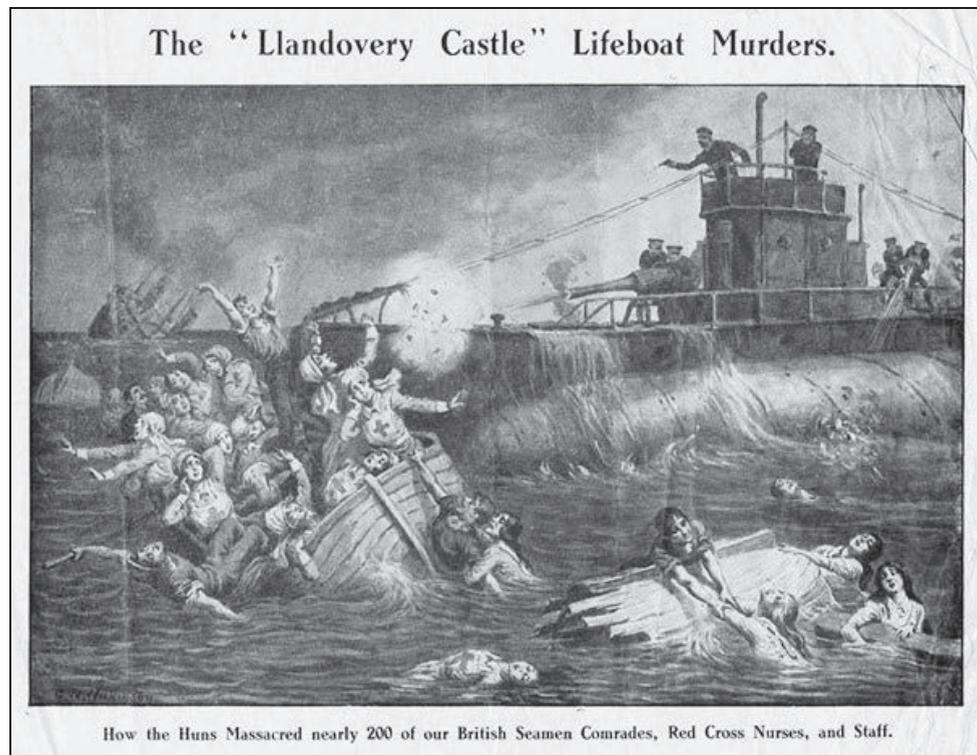
Note: Margaret Marjory Fraser (b. 1885, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia) was the daughter of former Nova Scotia Lieutenant-Governor Duncan Cameron Fraser and predeceased by her brother, Lt. James Gibson Laurier Cameron (b. 1895, New Glasgow, N.S.), who was killed in action

in France on March 4, 1918.

As a designated hospital ship, and in conformity with Article 41 of the *Manual of Laws of Naval War*, the ship was painted white over her whole superstructure, with a bright yellow funnel and a wide green stripe (2-metres high) running horizontally her whole length. Several large red crosses were also painted on her hull. At night, the green band and red crosses were brilliantly illuminated, along with all other ship lights, to indicate to every other vessel that this was a hospital ship.

The sinking of the HMHS *Llandoverly Castle* generated a great deal of hatred towards Germany and was used extensively by the British and Canadians in recruitment and propaganda posters for the rest of the war. According to the Hague Convention, an enemy vessel had the right to stop and search a hospital ship, but not to sink it.

U-86 had made no attempt to search the HMHS *Llandoverly Castle* but torpedoed it without warning. The episode shocked and energized Canadians in the final phase of the war. As a result, Brigadier George Tuxford, commander of the 3rd Canadian Infantry Brigade, made the following forceful comment, just prior to the opening of the Battle of Amiens, which inaugurated the "Hundred Days Offensive" that forced Germany to the treaty table: "I gave instructions that the



How the Huns Massacred nearly 200 of our British Seamen Comrades, Red Cross Nurses, and Staff.



WILLIAM JAMES ENRIGHT
MEDICINE, 1893-94

Born at Port Daniel, Que., February 19th, 1873. Appointed Captain in No. 4 Canadian Stationary Hospital, June 29th, 1915. Transferred as M.O. to the 22nd Battalion. Wounded September 29th, 1915. Drowned when the "Llandoverly Castle" was torpedoed, June 27th, 1918. Body recovered and buried at Sangatte, France. Twice mentioned in despatches.

Left: G. W. Wilkinson, "Llandoverly castle," print, 27 June 1918.

Right: William James Enright, Honour Roll, 1914-1918, McGill University, Montreal, 1926.

battle cry on the 8th of August [1918] should be ‘Llandoverly Castle,’ and that that cry should be the last to ring in the ears of the Hun as the bayonet was driven home.”

The Great War ended a few months later, and the world had to immediately endure three years of the Spanish Flu pandemic as attempts at a return to “normalcy” progressed. As time passed, the sinking of the HMHS *Llandoverly Castle* faded from public memory to simply be another atrocity committed in the heat of battle.

The Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to hold the first war crimes trials initiated by international opinion. This was deeply unpopular in Germany, partly because it took place years after the war. Initially, the Allies submitted a list of more than 900 Germans they wanted extradited for Allied military trials, but diplomacy reduced the number of cases to 12, including the *Llandoverly Castle*, to be held at the German Supreme Court at Leipzig in July 1921.

The German court found that Captain Patzig, who had absconded to the free city of Danzig by the time of the trial, illegally ordered the sinking of HMHS

Llandoverly Castle. The judges attributed his subsequent actions to a desire to cover up the crime and to co-opt fellow officers. Lieutenants Dithmar and Boldt were initially uncooperative. Dithmar claimed to have manned the forward gun, which was not fired, in an effort to blame Boldt. Then he claimed that he acted under Patzig’s orders. The court rejected the claim of acting on orders, because Dithmar should have known that “the killing of shipwrecked people, who have taken refuge in lifeboats, is forbidden” by convention and by international law. Patzig was found guilty in absentia of homicide. Dithmar and Boldt were convicted of assisting him.

Despite loss in popular memory of the *Llandoverly Castle* massacre, the event did establish a significant legacy. The Leipzig trials were considered deeply offensive by German nationalists and a total failure by the Allies, owing to the few convictions and short sentences given. However, the failure in a German court of Lieutenant Dithmar’s defence to accept that he was only following orders was used as precedent to reject similar claims made at the Nuremberg Trials after the Second World War. Canada is

proud of its pivotal role in the establishment of the International Criminal Court, which grew out of our experience at the Leipzig and Nuremberg Trials. War crimes, for which there is no statute of time limitation, remain relevant today.

Unfortunately, it was not until 1967 that a permanent monument was erected, overlooking Halifax Harbour. On this memorial are inscribed the names of the 234 nurses, medical personnel, and sailors who were killed on that June day so long ago. Listed with their peers are Quebecers Dr. Enright and Nurse Dussault as silent reminders of the past costs for present liberties.

Sam Allison recently retired after 35 years teaching in the secondary classroom. His most recent book, *Driv’n by Fortune: The Scots’ March to Modernity in North America, 1745-1812*, was published in 2015 by Dundurn Press.

Jon G. Bradley, former professor with the Faculty of Education at McGill University, is a co-author of the second edition of *Making Sense in Education: A Student’s Guide to Research and Writing*, published in 2017 by Oxford University Press.



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ADDING A PIECE TO THE PUZZLE

David Thompson's Late Years in Quebec
by Mark W. Gallop

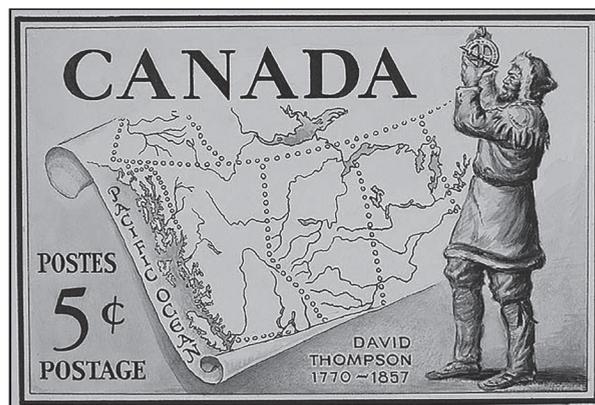
David Thompson, surveyor, cartographer, explorer, and writer, helped define the country that was to become Canada. He covered vast areas with his mapping abilities on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, which engaged him as a clerk out of his London school in 1784. He later worked for its rival, the North West Company, and as surveyor to the British commission of the Treaty of Ghent, delineating the boundary between British North America and the United States in the aftermath of the War of 1812. Despite these contributions, Thompson lived his last decades in penury in and around Montreal, largely unrecognized until the posthumous publication of his writings by the Champlain Society in 1916.

With the North West Company's headquarters in Montreal, Thompson would have been well acquainted with the city. When his fur trading career ended in 1812 he and his family settled for several years in Terrebonne, where he prepared his greatest work, an enormous "Map of the North-West Territory of the Provinces of Canada," which covered an area stretching from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. In 1815, he moved to Williamstown in Upper Canada, where he purchased property and lived for more than two decades.

His return to Montreal came around 1836, a time of political turmoil, with the sale of his Williamstown property and possessions in a court ordered seizure. His finances were laid low by the failure of several business interests and the default of a number of loans he had made to friends, neighbours, and former colleagues.

According to his *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry, Thompson

and his family lived in rented premises in Montreal, moving into progressively meaner quarters. He is listed in the earliest of the Lovell's Montreal Directories (1842-43) on St. Louis Street, near Sanguinet. The houses on St. Louis were typically small wooden workers' homes, of the type the city fathers tried to ban as a fire hazard. (A restored example still



stands at 433-5 St. Louis Street.) Eventually he turned to his family for assistance, living most frequently with his daughter and son-in-law, Charlotte and William Scott, from the mid-1840s. In 1850, Scott accepted the position of railway station manager, moving with his family and in-laws to Longueuil, on Montreal's South Shore. This was the line terminus until the Victoria Bridge extended the southern rail links onto the island of Montreal in 1859.

Financial hardship forced Thompson to seek employment as a surveyor and he did find some work, including street and lot surveys in Montreal from 1840 to 1842. However, his advancing age made this increasingly difficult (he turned 70 in 1840). In 1845, in the hope of financial reward, he started to edit his journals and write the stories of his travels. This labour became progressively more difficult as his eyesight deteriorated. Near total blindness was temporarily

remedied by an eye surgeon in 1848, but darkness closed back in and Thompson wrote his last diary entry in early 1851.

Thomson died in Longueuil at the age of 86 in 1857. He was buried in an unmarked grave at Mount Royal Cemetery in the plot of another son-in-law, Dalhousie Landel, also a railway man, with whom Thompson was living at the time of his death. In 1927, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of his death, the Canadian Historical Association unveiled a handsome memorial at his grave, crowned by a brass sextant, although the sextant has since been removed to prevent its theft and is in the safekeeping of the cemetery.

My own small contribution to the recorded history of David Thompson was sparked by attending a lecture at the Atwater Library by D'Arcy Jenish, the author of *Epic Wander: David Thompson and the Mapping of the Canadian West*. His talk brought Thompson to life for me, especially with the contrast between his enormous contribution and his subsistence ending in Longueuil. Several months later, I was occupied as a volunteer with the indexing project of the 1852 census of Canada East and West on the Automated Genealogy website. (The census was planned for 1851 but was delayed and most of the enumeration occurred only in 1852.) I was focused on an area of family interest, Melbourne Township in Sherbrooke County (later Richmond County). On page 19 of the digitized census I transcribed the name of an 83-year old man, David Thomson (sic), with the singular occupation of "Surveyor + Astronomer." I reached for my copy of *Epic Wanderer* and found that many of the facts matched, except for the Melbourne location. Jenish and every other source I consulted had no information on Thompson between his

last diary entry in early 1851, when he was living in Longueuil, and his death in the same town in 1857. Given his advanced age and blindness, the logical conclusion was that he had quietly lived out his last years there.

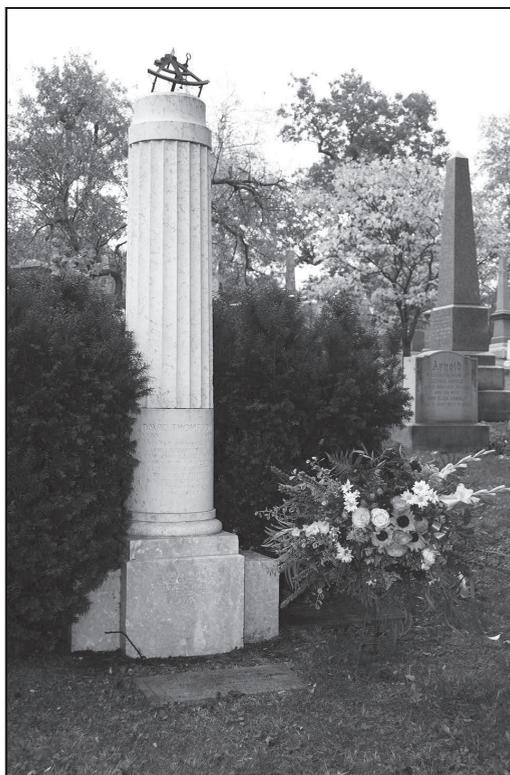
Thompson was enumerated in 1852 in the household of W. B. Scott, Railway Agent, his son-in-law, with whom Thompson had been living in Longueuil. Also in the household was Charlotte, Scott's wife, their children, and Fanny McLeod, another of Thompson's daughters. According to *The Annals of Richmond County*, Scott's employer, the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway Company, built a line from Longueuil to Island Pond, Vermont, to connect with a line running to Portland, Maine. Construction started in Longueuil in 1848 and the section to Richmond opened in October 1851. At the time of the census (the enumerator's oath for this section is dated 12 March 1852), track was being laid on the Richmond to Sherbrooke section, making the family's sojourn in Melbourne Township logical.

I was intrigued enough by this find to email Jenish, who in turn forwarded it to the editor of the Champlain Society's intended three-volume reissue of Thompson's major writings. The editor very generously wrote back calling my information of "huge significance" and offering to credit me with uncovering it in the notes to the publication.

My discovery of Thompson's time in Melbourne Township received another airing as an epilogue in *Even the Owl Is Not Heard*, a lovingly researched and illustrated annotated edition of his journals covering a period when he helped map the Eastern Townships. As with my own Thompson odyssey, the editors were inspired by Jenish's *Epic Wanderer*. They write that they were "startled" to read in it that Thompson "spend most of 1834 surveying the Eastern Township of Lower Canada on behalf of the British-American Land Co."

The story of David Thompson is incomplete without that of his wife of 57 years, Charlotte Small, and she is listed immediately below him in the 1852 census, aged 65. She was

the daughter of a Scottish fur trader and his Cree wife and lived an extraordinary life. Thompson met her in 1798 at a



North West Company trading post on the Churchill River and married her the following year when she was just 13. Unlike her mother, who was left behind as a "country wife" after her father had made his fortune, Charlotte remained with Thompson through much of his travels, including his moves to Montreal (where they married more formally at the St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church in 1812), Terrebonne,



Williamstown, and back to Lower Canada through his declining economic fortunes. They had thirteen children together. Two were born in Terrebonne and six in Williamstown, but the eldest five were born in western Canada, each in a different location. Charlotte died just three months after her husband, and they are buried together in Mount Royal Cemetery. The epitaph on her grave marker reads, "Woman of the Paddle Song."

This article was originally published in slightly different form in the Autumn 2008 issue of Connections, the journal of the Quebec Family History Society.

Mark Gallop spent three decades in the investment and financial services sector, and now devotes his time to historical research and writing. He is a Trustee of the Mount Royal Cemetery and a past President of the Atwater Library.

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Top: David Thompson monument, Mount Royal Cemetery. Photo: Myriam Cloutier.

Bottom: House on St. Louis Street, Montreal, 2011. Photo: Andrea Merlano.

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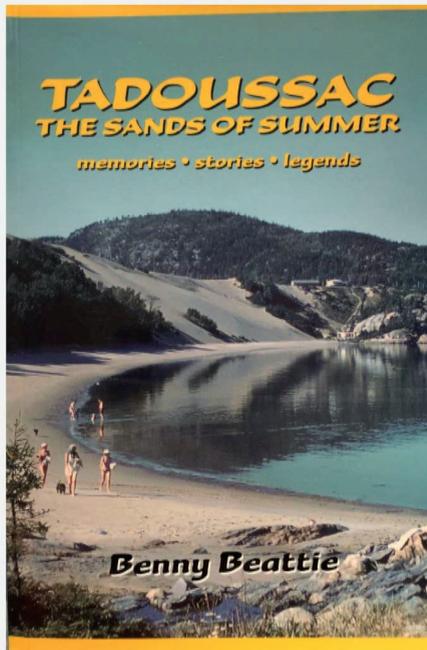
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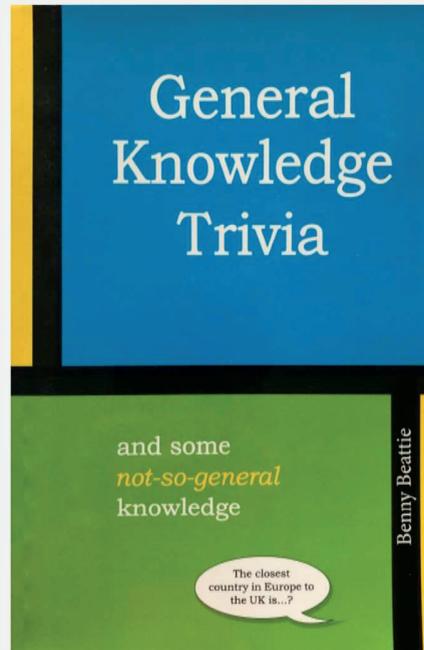
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EMPAIN, OKA, AND SAINTE-MARGUERITE-DU-LAC-MASSON

by Joseph Graham

Sainte-Marguerite-du-Lac-Masson owes its founding to a benefactor who was son and heir to Joseph Masson, one of Canada's greatest entrepreneurs. The name Masson might evoke the father to some, but locally it is the son Edouard who is remembered. The respected nineteenth-century historian and politician Louis-Olivier David described Edouard Masson as "one of the most spiritual, likeable, and generous men of his day." What was the likelihood that a second benefactor, the son of one of the most successful entrepreneurs in the world, would follow in Edouard's footsteps?

Born in Beloil, Belgium, in 1852, Edouard-Louis-Joseph Empain worked his way through university. By the time he was 29 years old, he had founded the Empain Bank and he began to indulge his obsession with public transport. Empain built train tracks across France, Belgium and Holland. He also experimented with electric trams, supplying a long list of cities with their first public transit systems. He built the Paris metro, the Cairo transit system and a railway through China. He built a railway in the Belgian Congo and was involved in hydroelectric projects and many other initiatives. His great accomplishments, particularly in the Congo, led King Leopold II of Belgium to award him the title of Baron in 1907. When he died in 1929, he left an estate estimated to be worth six billion French francs to his two sons, Jean-Louis Empain and Louis-Jean Empain, and requested, on his deathbed, that the younger, Louis, stay with the company to guide his elder brother.

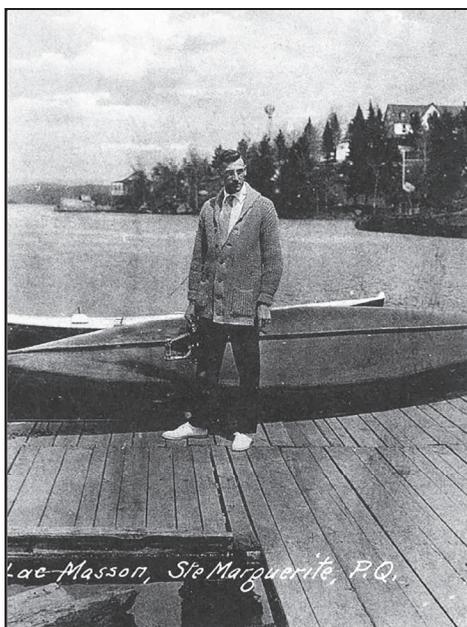
Whereas their father was the first Baron Empain, by Belgian rules his sons both inherited the title. Both sons together took over the management of their father's holdings, but Louis' progressive values were aggressively resisted by the senior directors that their father had named. Louis was an idealist and was mocked by the other directors as "Empain le Sage." Among the obligations that Louis wanted the company to accept were paid holidays and social insurance for workers and corporate integrity in paying taxes. Opposition to his principles led to a split, and he left the company.

Baron Louis, with his inheritance, created La Banque Belge pour l'Industrie and looked for projects. This brought him to Canada. Both brothers also inherited good business practices from their father, and so, when Baron Louis came to Canada for

the first time in 1934, he was already well prepared and acquainted with the business and power elite. Only 26 years old, he had at his disposal the means to hire the best advisors and to meet the most influential people. He retained the services of a lawyer named Leon-Mercier Guin, son of the ex-premier Lomer Guin, and grandson of Honoré Mercier, a legendary Quebec nationalist who had also been premier. L-M Guin, who was later named to the Senate, was also closely linked to the newly formed Union Nationale party. The Baron immediately set upon the task he had in mind, creating investment companies and establishing a Belgian-Canadian spirit of cooperation through the creation of l'Association Belgique-Canada. Empain seems to have been guided by a vision of idealism and was called by some the capitalist of the left. In 1935, he created La Belgo-Canadienne de Crédit Ltée, acquiring forestry and mining concerns, and backing philanthropies.

When the Sulpician Order of Oka, having seriously overextended themselves building the Université de Montréal, appealed to the provincial government to save them from their creditors, Athanase David, at the time the provincial secretary for education, encouraged the government to pass a bill through which the university property was merged with the large Sulpician holdings in Oka. After that, the merged enterprise sold 3,700 acres of cultivated land and 1,600 acres of forestland in Oka to Baron Louis Empain. The university was saved and what was once the Sulpician seigneurie became the property of the visionary Belgian. One of the senior members of the Sulpician Order remarked that the Baron would have some unfinished business to settle with the Mohawks. They were the owners of the property on two counts, one by Indigenous title and another by agreement with the French. Soon the Sulpician / Mohawk land was being marketed to Belgian immigrants who wished to establish farms in Oka, and the Baron created support systems to help them.

He also acquired some 5,000 acres of land in Sainte-Marguerite-du-Lac-Masson, not from Edouard Masson, who died in the 1880s, but from a series of owners whose lives had brought them to Masson's municipality. Baron Louis Empain began building an ambitious art-deco resort complex there which continues to stand as one of the region's most distinct architectural landmarks. Empain engaged the best people he could find to plan and build it, including



Lac Masson, St. Marguerite, c.1903-1920. Photo: BANQ CP026298CON.

the celebrated Belgian architect Antoine Courtens. To complement his hotel, cinema and shopping centre and give it a fresh identity, he established a post office in 1939, calling it L'Estérel after the Estérel massif in the south of France. It was the sports and vacation aspect of his grand vision for his Canadian venture.

Unlike Masson, Baron Empain was not destined to spend the remainder of his life in the Laurentian village. While busy here, he remained deeply involved in Belgium where, in 1936, he and his wife, Geneviève Hone of Montreal, created Pro Juvenate, to feed and care for needy children, and to assure that they would have fair educational and life opportunities, regardless of their background, religion or race.

The remarkable growth and rate of acquisition of La Compagnie Immobilière Belgo-Canadienne hit a wall with the beginning of the war. The Baron and his wife were in Belgium when the German army, launching its decisive surprise invasion of France, opened the western war front. Rumours swirled around the couple in Canada. The Baron was accused of being a German spy, was said to have been detained and held prisoner by the Canadian authorities, and was generally pilloried in the press. The truth was that, faced with the risk of imminent invasion, the Belgian government called up all available men, creating an army of 700,000, and the Baron reported for duty. He participated in the heroic "Campaign of 18 Days," a series of battles that slowed the German advance and gave surprised Allied troops precious extra time to evacuate Dunkirk. He was captured and became a German prisoner, but was soon released, probably because the Germans needed to cultivate good relations with the powerful industrial family.

In a hurtful move, the Canadian government sequestered all the Baron's Canadian holdings, justifying its actions by claiming that the Baron, as principal shareholder, resided in a country under enemy occupation. The deed sequestering his project in Sainte-Marguerite-du-Lac-Masson, filed in 1944, four years after the German occupation of Belgium, was based on a regulation against trading with the enemy. There was some truth to this, in that, in 1943, Louis' older brother Jean had died of cancer and, in spite of their differences, had asked that Louis take over their father's company to protect it for the family's future. Louis accepted, hoping to train Jean's son Edouard Empain to take his place, but soon saw the same difficulties as he had identified in the past and turned the responsibility over to a cousin.

The Baron and his wife maintained Pro Juvenate, caring for and feeding a hugely increased number of displaced, orphaned and otherwise disadvantaged children, never losing sight of their egalitarian principles even in the face of Nazi racism. It is hard to see how such a vocation could have been overlooked by the Canadian authorities. When the war ended, the Baron could not bring himself to forgive the Canadian government for the hardships and the insult of having treated him so badly. Married to a Canadian, volunteering for duty against the enemy, enduring prison and assisting the needy before and during the war period, he had expected that the Canadian



government would have acted as his ally. He instructed his managers to sell his Canadian holdings and he and Geneviève concentrated on their philanthropy for the balance of his life. His Canadian dreams were left to be fulfilled by others, and Sainte-Marguerite-du-Lac-Masson would await another visionary benefactor to take his place.

Joseph Graham, author of Naming the Laurentians, is writing a book that re-examines much of our early history, the elements that drove European society, and the extraordinary damage these ideas inflicted on North America.

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SLAVERY AT RAWDON

by Daniel Parkinson

Men who have never seen or felt slavery cannot realize it for the thing it is. If those who say that fugitives had better go back, were to go to the South and see slavery, they would never wish any slave to go back.

-James Adams, 1856 (Adams of Virginia arrived in Canada on September 13, 1824, and settled at St. Catharines.)

As individuals, it is better for our peace of mind to keep experiences of evil from the foreground of memory, but as a society we must not forget the bad things that have caused pain to our fellow human beings and shame for our culture. We are urged to remember that “Black lives matter” and to examine and confront the times and circumstances when all were not on the same footing, when slavery was a reality for Black and Indigenous people in our country.

In July, I listened to “Slavery’s Long Shadow,” a rebroadcast from 2018 on CBC’s *Ideas*. McGill professor Charmaine Nelson commented that most Canadians do not know, or fail to acknowledge, that Black and Indigenous people were enslaved in this country; she believed that if she stopped ten people on Sherbrooke Street, nine would say it never existed here.

About the same time, a friend began to speak to me about Benjamin Drew, a former slave, who recorded interviews with the coloured population of Upper Canada from fifteen communities, in his 1856 book, *A North-side View of Slavery*. Thousands of Black men, women and children settled there after escaping from American slave states. Their testimonies underscore the heritage of Black America today and allow us some understanding of their fear of police and distrust of authority.

Benjamin Drew’s collection of personal histories expanded my knowledge of slavery and “runners.” In 2019, I had read *I’ve Got a Home in Glory Land*, the story of Thornton and Lucie Blackburn of Kentucky who set up a business in Victorian Toronto, a half block from my residence. They assisted others who fled to Canada and were honoured and respected members of the community. Although permitted to settle in Canada, the Black communities were only marginally accepted and experienced great discrimination. It is disheartening that many of these refugees returned to the United States after the

Civil War.

Slavery was an alien and frightening culture for those with a recollection or knowledge of their African origins. The democratic nature of tribal custom, when gathered before a chief, was that all men were permitted to speak and voice disagreement until consensus was reached. As slaves, expressing opinion was forbidden and, if dared, it was usually met with violence. Nelson Mandela wrote beautifully in his *Long Walk to Freedom* of the tribal councils of the Thembu nation, whose governance was typical of African practices pre-colonialism.

Marcel Trudel, author of *Canada’s Forgotten Slaves: Two Centuries of Bondage*, “met a frosty reception from his peers and has been largely overlooked ever since. George Tombs’s translated edition, which was shortlisted for a Governor General’s award [in 2013], hopes to restore both Trudel’s and slavery’s rightful places in Canadian history” (Brushett). A few years ago, I read Tombs’ translation of

Trudel’s book, which describes Black and Indigenous slavery in Lower Canada before 1833, when it was abolished throughout the British Empire. I was surprised to recognize the names of men I had written about in *Up To Rawdon* in 2013, and added this information to my website (uptorawdon.com).

The first two familiar names were James Sawers and his wife Margaret Tucker. She was the widow of John Tucker, said to be of the 53rd Regiment; along with Ephraim Sandford they were purported to be Loyalists. They were rewarded in 1792 with grants at Rawdon for their service to the Crown and these were confirmed by Letters Patent in 1799. Sawers and Margaret Tucker had locations at Rawdon First Range, Lots 21, 22, 24, and 25. The issuing of these grants made it known that this new township was open to those seeking property in the

so-called wastelands of the Crown.

There is no evidence that the Sawers settled at or even visited Rawdon; they were residents of Sorel. The burial of James Sawers, “late one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for this District,” was recorded on November 19, 1813, at Christ Church, Sorel. His holdings would have been part of his estate and in the hands of Margaret Tucker. I found that in 1798, Madame Sawyer [sic] of Sorel had lost her Black slave, Phillis (Tombs, 140). Perhaps, they brought her with them. I believe Sawers and Tucker married in Canada in 1784. Ephraim Sandford is clearly identified as a Loyalist from New York in 1783, with a wife and five children. It is possible that James Sawers

The historian Marcel Trudel has counted 4,092 slaves throughout Canadian history, of which 2,692 were Indians (the favorites of French settlers) and 1,400 Blacks (the favorites of English settlers) owned by approximately 1,400 masters.

The Montreal region dominated with 2,077 slaves compared to 1,059 for Quebec and 114 for Trois-Rivières.

Many were owned by religious orders. Several marriages took place between French colonists and slaves (31 unions with Indian slaves and 8 with Black slaves) which means that a number of Québécois today have slaves somewhere in their family trees.

- Jean Bellefeuille, “A Short History of Slavery in Canada.” <https://www.crc-canada.org>.

was connected to the prominent Sawers family of Virginia.

Another familiar name was John Turner Sr., a merchant at Montreal who died in that city in 1798, aged 79. That he owned slaves suggests that he was a Loyalist, although I have not determined his place of birth and place of origin. Tombs mentions Turner's Black slave, Josiah Cutain, who he traded for a grey horse and thirty-one pounds ten shillings (Tombs, 86). There are detailed descriptions from 1779-1788 of Turner's slave Ismael, a Black, New England native who read English well, and made repeated attempts to escape (Tombs, 95, 125, 130).

John Turner's son John Charles Turner and his grandson Henry Leonard Turner lived on the first range, according to the 1831 Rawdon Township Census, and occupied 1,500 acres centred around Lot 20. There were three servants in the J. C. Turner household, but none are known to have been slaves. The Turners were Montreal butchers and had strong Rawdon connections. Mary Ann Turner, J. C.'s daughter, had married Thomas Day, a master butcher, with stall One at the Montreal New Market; he had land adjoining Henry Turner, at Rawdon, and was a nephew of another large land owner, John Jefferies.

It appears that neither slaves nor Black settlers were known at Rawdon. The final outcome of the attempts made by Phyllis, Josiah and Ismael for personal liberty is not recorded. They were unfortunate collateral of their owners bid for the freedom to choose the British Crown over the American republic.

Daniel Parkinson is the author of Up To Rawdon, the story of the early settlers of Rawdon Township, with an emphasis on family history.

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LET'S TALK OF GRAVES

We all must lie, in Death's cold arms...
by Heather Darch

This is the second in a series of articles on interesting people buried in Eastern Townships cemeteries.

*Let's talk of graves, of worms, of epitaphs;
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.*

- Shakespeare, Richard II

The Hawley Cemetery is located along the quiet South Beech Road in Clarenceville, Quebec. It sits right beside the road and on the edge of an expansive field in what once was the Seigneurie de Foucault, or Caldwell's Manor. Within the site that holds the stones of early Loyalists, lie the remains of the Edy family who were murdered on a summer evening in 1893. The murders "foul and black" were never solved and no motive for the crime was ever determined. Word of the murders spread across North America and were sensationalized in newspapers on both sides of the border.

Omri Edy farmed lots 7 and 8 on South Beech Road. He was born on December 19, 1821, to Newbury Edy and Hannah Hawley and grew up in a house situated on the land that had been granted to his Loyalist grandparents. Omri was a member of the Clarenceville Methodist Church. He had been a town councillor and had been a farmer all of his life – certainly a citizen in good standing.

At the age of 29, Omri married the "kind and charitable" 18-year-old Matilda Jane Bush, daughter of Captain Gilbert Bush and Lovicy Smith. They raised their three children – Anna Pamela (b.1852), Herbert Omri (b.1855) and Emma Lucretia (b. 1865) – and went about their lives, keeping busy on their farm and involved in their community. The two older children moved away from the farm,

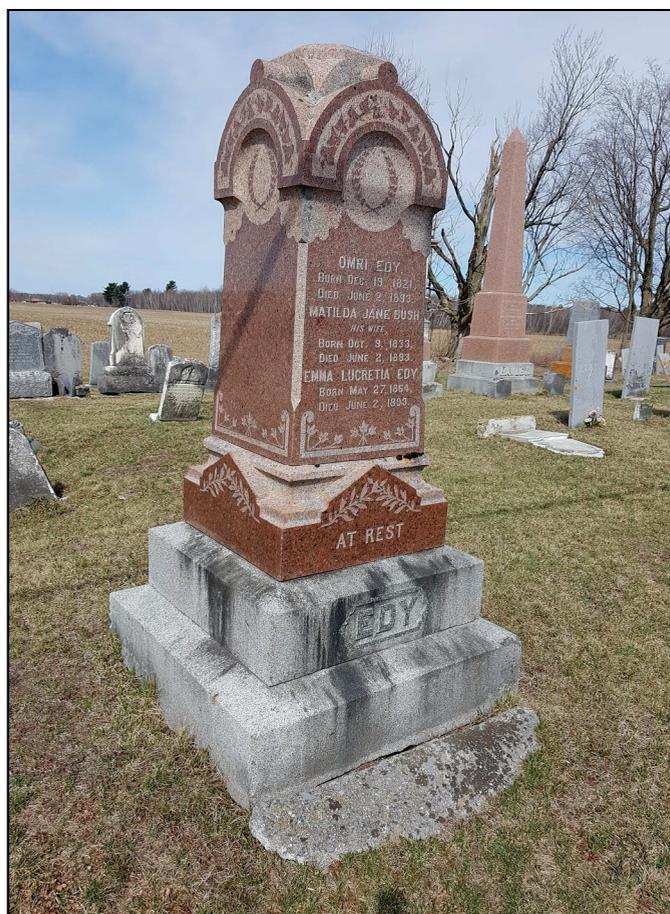
but the youngest daughter, Emma, lived at home with her parents and helped them as they entered into their senior years. Life as they knew it ended on June 2, 1893, when the family was "assassinated in their own home."

Farmhand John Gilbert was going about his early morning chores when flames and smoke billowing from the Edy home caught his eye. He broke the ground floor bedroom window of Mr. and Mrs. Edy, assuming they were still asleep, and realized their bed had not been used. When he entered the front door, he discovered the "fully dressed and obviously murdered" bodies of the two women lying on the floor and the body of Omri Edy sitting in his rocking chair. While Mr. Gilbert was able to pull the bodies out of the house and some effort was made to put out the flames, the fire had already consumed most of the home and any evidence along with it.

Toronto's *Globe* reporter provided a gruesome account of the murder scene, including the location of bullet and horrific knife wounds on the bodies. The dreadful details of Emma's injuries indicate that she had put up a terrible fight.

As one might imagine, the community was wild with worry and speculation. Fingers were first pointed in the direction of a disgruntled tenant of Mr. Edy known as Mr. Deforge, a.k.a. Sewell Forge, a.k.a. Pickard. He apparently said he would "like to burn down the Edy buildings with the Edy family in them." Not surprisingly, no one knew where he was or could accurately describe him. Perhaps because of the false reports and the numerous sightings of the cagey Mr. Forge, the police started to jail "witnesses" and hold them until their stories could be verified.

In 1896, a new inquiry was initiated as a result of community pressure to have a magistrate of "recognized ability and experience in the matter of conducting criminal inquiries" to close the case. On the side of justice was Sheriff Cotton of



*Edy family tomb, Hawley Cemetery, Clarenceville, Quebec.
Photo: Heather Darch.*

Sweetsburg, Detectives Patty and Campbell, Bedford citizens Mr. Turner and Simon Fadden, High Constable George Nelson Gale and Judge Chauveau.

The dubious witnesses included Arthur McFee and “Young” Newman, even though they were “making merry” in Burlington while the murders were being committed; a brother of Young Newman; James Hawley, agent of the Edy estate and nearest neighbour; J. D. Manning of Wolf’s Ridge, who saw nothing but the fire; John Gilbert, the already exonerated heroic hired hand; “Young” Berry, from Bedford being held on a warrant from Shefford; and an un-named dark-haired French-speaking woman from the Rouse’s Point Hotel.

Newman’s story “still did not seem any too clear.” The woman only re-told her story of overhearing a “Mr. Ford.” James Hawley, the estate agent and early arrival on the scene, was imprisoned because Mr. Turner and Simon Fadden said that he was lying about the value of the Edy estate.

Berry from Bedford claimed that he met three “rather tough” men from New York who, while “in their cups,” boasted of having committed the murders. The “Yankee crooks” had watched several nights for a favourable opportunity to enter the house and on the day of the murders, they entered the home and hid in the basement. When they attempted to leave in the evening, they encountered Mrs. Edy, whom they shot, Emma Edy, who “made a fight and an outcry,” and then Mr. Edy. Then they set fire to the house and made their escape in a row boat.

Berry was imprisoned until the authorities could verify his nonsensical tale. One can assume he was eventually released, as the case was never solved. As so many dreadful details of the murders were printed in the press along with foolish speculations and scenarios, it was impossible for the detectives to sepa-

rate fact from fiction.

Three horse-drawn hearses went to the Hawley graveyard on June 5, 1893, along with hundreds of mourners. The *Globe’s* reporter believed that the “thrill of horror” would stay in the region and it would be years before the recollection of the crime would be blotted out from the minds of the people of Missisquoi. Still to this today, people know the story of the Edy family.

Heather Darch is the curator of the Missisquoi Museum and a heritage consultant. She has co-managed various projects for QAHN: Security for Heritage Initiative, Fostering Organizational Renewal through Enriching Volunteer Experience and Recognition (FOREVER), Diversifying Resources to Ensure the Advancement of Mission project (DREAM), and Diversity and Achievement in Anglophone Quebec.

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REVIEW

NATURAL HERITAGE OF MONTREAL ISLAND: TWO VIEWS

Montreal, City of Water: An Environmental History,
by Michèle Dagenais. Translated from
French by Peter Feldstein.
University of British Columbia Press, 2018

Island of Trees: Fifty Trees, Fifty Tales of Montreal,
by Bronwen Chester. Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2017

History is not, and never has been, totally controlled by human actions and ideas, although when we look at the enormous number of written materials, artefacts and structures that our planet has amassed and maintained, and continues to add, it does look like we (humans) are *in charge*. However, we are not and never have been – luckily for Earth. Natural forces and geographical locations have always influenced human activity and determined the course of our limitations and progress in any environment.

Montreal Island and our lives upon it have always been defined by water, climate and vegetation. Two recent publications examine the effects of our natural world in depth, but with quite

different approaches, yet are similar in their emphasis on the great importance of natural heritage.

Montreal, City of Water: An Environmental History, by Michèle Dagenais, presents the important economic and social impact upon Montreal’s history of being located in a multi-island archipelago at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers. Dagenais also discusses the island’s very watery interior, now mostly underground, and shows how academic historians have viewed our water factor and how these views have changed over time.

The other publication is the late Bronwen Chester’s *Island of Trees: Fifty Trees, Fifty Tales of Montreal*, a collection of



Quercus macrocarpa.

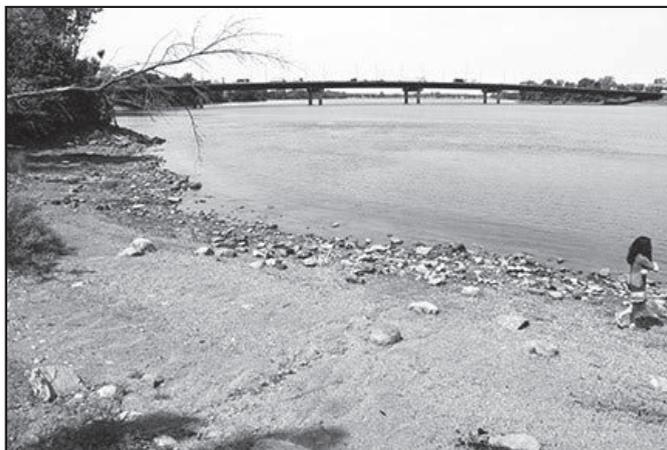
Photo: United State Department of Agriculture.

short articles that first appeared in the *Montreal Gazette* about individual trees growing in Montreal. We learn about various species of both native and imported trees and where they can be found. Chester has an intimate style of writing and certainly knows her Montreal neighbourhoods well, yet her botanical information is vast and clearly expressed. After reading *Island of Trees*, we feel impelled to go and visit at least some of these remarkable plants. We also can see that Montreal is not just concrete and buildings but a city that has managed to maintain, and even augment, its natural vegetation.

In the nineteenth century, and most of the twentieth, the rivers surrounding Montreal Island were viewed as obstacles to be overcome, impediments to industry and development with no cultural or social value. For example, the Rivière des Prairies, called the Back River among English-speaking Montrealers, was seen as too shallow and treacherous for serious navigation with its shoals, rapids and islets, and suggestions were made to canalize it and make it “useful.” Dagenais writes (page 94):

Interest had been building in developing the Rivière des Prairies since the late nineteenth century. Some proposals called for it to be turned into a shipping canal; others, a source of water supply for the suburban municipalities. In its central portion, from Cartierville to Montréal-Nord, the river was on its way to becoming the ‘natural’ outlet for the north shore of the island. As of the 1920s it was receiving wastewater from seven sewer mains on the Montreal side and at least three on the Ile Jésus side. The bucolic image of the river prevailing during this era contrasted with its actual integration into the urban fabric and the increasing demand for its services.

Conditions for our surrounding rivers did not improve with time. After the Second World War, as the city experienced another of its periodic economic, industrial and development booms, the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway and the expansion of Montreal’s harbour eastwards meant that the Mohawk Territories, the east end of Montreal Island and much of the South Shore lost their access to the river. Some dissenting voices were raised – at first from outdoors enthusiasts such as hunters and fishers, but this grew to include many individuals and organizations concerned with the survival of wildlife, the increase of pollution and the loss of recreational opportunities for the public. Dagenais goes on to explain (page 123) what is now so obvious



about the Seaway: “The port of Montreal’s share of Canadian maritime traffic dwindled from 40% in 1961 to only 15% in 1973.” As the Seaway allowed shipping to avoid the Lachine Rapids and St. Mary’s Current, it also allowed vessels to avoid stopping in Montreal. This major economic factor, along with the growth of environmental concerns over the past fifty years, have actually benefitted the population of Montreal as now there is more political will from all levels of government

to return the river to the people. Profitable tourist and cultural businesses have developed in both Old Montreal and the Old Port area. We see the survival of numerous heritage buildings that once likely would have been demolished: Silo 5 comes to mind. Even public beach facilities for at least basking if not swimming (yet) are available.

The relationship between Montreal Island’s vegetation – in this case trees – and human heritage is illustrated in several of Chester’s examples in *Island of Trees*. In a quiet residential section of Cote St. Luc, we find (page 95) a native bur oak estimated to be at least 300 years old:

When it germinated at what today is the corner of Melling and Wavell streets, the tree was likely one of many bur oaks (Quercus macrocarpa), chêne à gros fruits in French, growing in the savannah, or grassland, that characterized the area along with the wetlands and floodplains of the Petit Rivière Saint-Pierre. With its remarkable spread and copious production of sweet acorns, the bur oak was important to First Nations people both as a landmark and provider of portable protein.

This one native oak tree managed to survive farming and later housing development, and is among the oldest surviving trees on Montreal Island. It is a good example of natural heritage – providing food and shelter for various fauna, from wild bees to squirrels, and shade and climate protection (trees eat carbon and void oxygen) to all. This, multiplied by species and size, shows the enormous importance of trees to our whole ecosystem.

With greater awareness and concern growing about climate change and the threats to animal and plant species, it is crucial that we acknowledge our natural heritage and work towards its preservation. In so many ways, natural heritage cannot be separated from our human history.

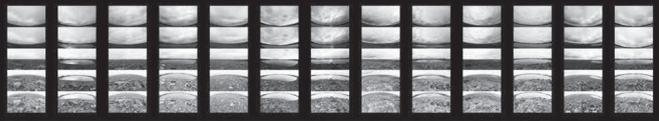
-Reviewed by Sandra Stock



Top: The Back River, 2011. Bottom: The Lachine Rapids, 2016. Photos: Rod MacLeod.

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