Loose Sheet bearing a short title of less than 56 letters, in accordance with Regulations concerning Thesis, part 4. (e).

Fulford, Quebec: The Changing Geography of a Canadian Village

by

Raymond James O'Brien

THESIS ABSTRACT

Raymond J. O'Brien

Fulford, Quebec: The Changing Geography of a Canadian Village

Dept. of Geography

Master of Arts Degree

Summary

Fulford is a small hamlet or village in the Eastern Townships of Quebec whose changing geography reflects a pattern of regional development similar to most small settlements in the area. The villagescape and its changing functional relationships are considered through a series of cross-sections in time from the 1850's to the present. A theoretical analysis deals with the several facets of the total geography that when studied with the purpose of observing change within these sectors (demography, agriculture, spatial dynamics, etc.) gives the cement which links the cross-sections together and analyzes the basic historical geographic processes at work.

FULFORD, QUEBEC:

THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF A CANADIAN VILLAGE

A thesis submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

at McGill University

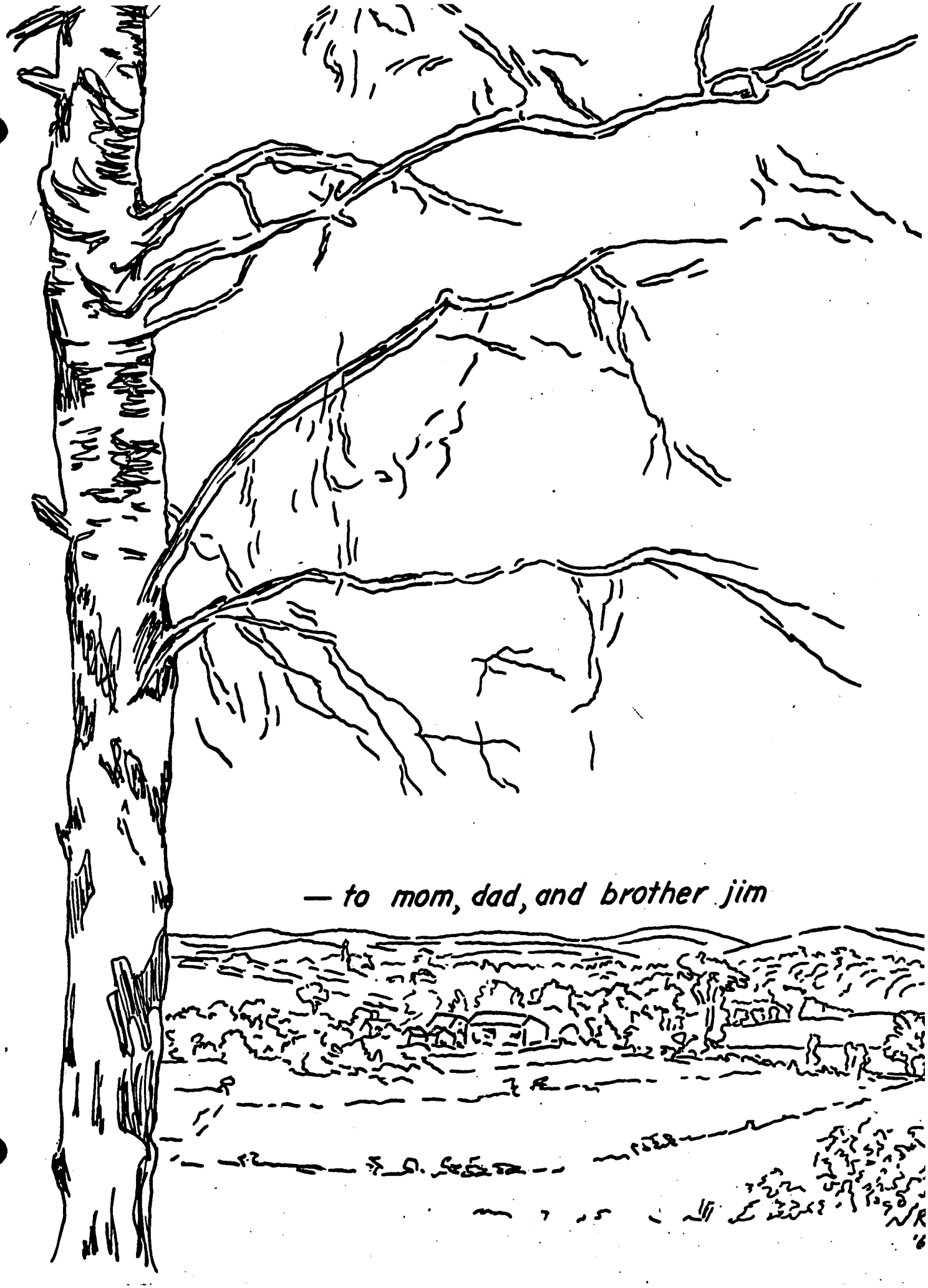
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

by

Raymond James O'Brien

June 1968


— to mom, dad, and brother jim

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The fieldwork, library research, data collection and typing of this thesis have entailed slightly more than twelve months of constant activity (May '67 thru June '68), and would have been impossible without the varied forms of cooperation and assistance of the following people.

I am especially indebted to the Lambourne family of Fulford for their hospitality and friendship in the first rugged months of fieldwork. Many thanks also to Steve Lambourne for his ideas and long hours of discussion in the preliminary stages of this work.

Source materials were made most accessible by many people in the study area; among others: Mr. Harry Buyers, Superintendant of Roads for Brome; Rev. Haley of the United Church in Waterloo; Mr. Harry Shufelt, author of several publications on the Townships. A very special degree of assistance was provided by Marion Phelps of the Brome County Historical Society's Archives Building and Museum.

Many thanks to all the people of Fulford who cooperated in answering the author's questionnaire, dug old photographs out of family albums, and contributed much personal information. In this matter, special mention should be made of Mr. Doug Bockus, Mr. Cecil Seymour, Mrs Oscar Davis, and Mr. Norman Banks. And to those elder citizens who availed themselves to lengthy interviews and tape recordings -- Mr. Walter Taylor, Esther England, Mr. Sim Graves -- much appreciation indeed.

At McGill, Mr. Derek Booth was especially helpful for his comments on the background of the area and for making an assortment of base maps available. The opportunity for investigation was facilitated through a grant from the Centre d'Etudes Canadiennes-Françaises and Prof. Innes was a constant source of advice.

My gratitude to all those anonymous librarians at the New York Public Library, the Montreal Public Library, the Waterloo Library, the National Archives in Ottawa, and the McGill University Library.

The fact that this work is dedicated to my family in itself speaks of their part in giving me everything a wonderful family could. And to my brother, thanks again for the help with all the photographic development. Finally, to Jackie, who went along every step of the way from fieldwork to typing the final manuscript, it must be said that she provided much of the encouragement that brought the thesis to a successful completion.

RO'B

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART III

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

Tables

Figures page

Figures page

"... let me hope the whole of that landscape we shall essay to travel in is visible and ... when we descend among its windings and blockades, into examination of slender particulars, that its wholeness and simultaneous living map may not be neglected, however lost the breadth of the country may be in the winding walk of each sentence."

-- James Agee,
Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.

PREFACE

By Way of Introduction and Explanation

During the past year of research and field work, of writing and typing, the title of this work has been altered at least a half dozen times. The basic uncertainty arose from whether the more correct form of the title should be "The Changing Geography of a Canadian Village" or "The Changing Geography of a Canadian Hamlet".

Since it was to be a micro-geographic study of every detail and function of the past and present landscape of this little community, the matter of choosing the most precise geographic label was of no trifling importance. But what label does one give to a hamlet turned postal village that grew into a bustling industrial-service village before reverting to a sleepy country hamlet?

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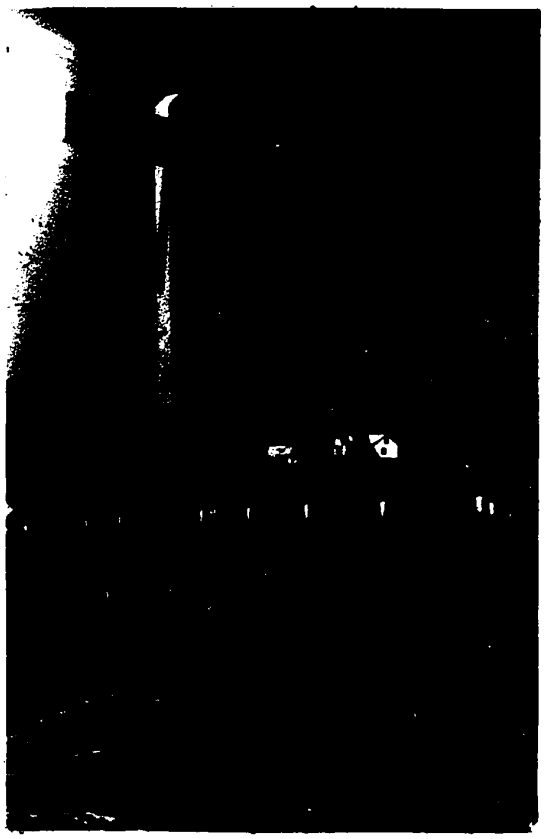

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Several technical classifications of small communities at the lower

end of the settlement hierarchy can be consulted. The three measures upon which these categories are usually based are spacing, size and function.

The concept of spacing was probably most adeptly tackled by Trewartha in his study of Wisconsin hamlets.[1] He believed that the small settlement should present a

> "hint of thickening in the settlement plasm. It is neither purely rural nor purely urban, but neuter in gender, a sexless creation midway between the more definite town and country... Spacing of buildings in a hamlet must be such as to give an appearance of compactness exceeding that of ordinary farmstead spacing. In a hamlet composed of the minimum number of buildings, the maximum linear distance between the outermost buildings should not exceed one-quarter mile."[2]

This is in effect the minimum spatial requirement needed before the term 'hamlet' can be applied; but Trewartha made no attempt -- in terms of spatial prerequisites -- to delineate the upper limit or cut-off point that differentiates a hamlet from a village. The problem becomes extremely complicated when one wishes to designate such areas as the settlement core, the settlement proper, and the community's hinterland. In fact, when considered from the point of view of spacing alone, it is obvious that no definite conclusion can be reached in so far as specific categories and physical limits are involved.

The measure of a settlement's size is perhaps more meaningful although the historian, William Wood, felt that "size indicates but little as regards the character of a settlement."[3] Again, Trewartha proposed several quantitative guidelines; a hamlet should have:

a) a minimum population of 16 or 20 persons with four active residential units and six active functional units
b) a maximum of about 150 people in the immediate area of the settlement cluster.

This of course suggests a line of demarcation -- admitedly vague and fluid -- that provides at least a rough parameter of settlement type.

The use of a functional framework has also been attempted. Kolb and Brunner[4] suggested a 'county crossroads or hamlet type' having the elementary services such as general store and garage as distinct from the 'county village', a more functionally active unit, which may have some industrial enterprise and a religious and educational as well as service function. But even a functional definition becomes muddied when considered with such spatial factors as postal zonation, municipal boundaries, trade hinterlands, and the indeterminate and irregularly shaped zone of village services.

None of these measures alone can indicate satisfactorily the difference between a hamlet and a village, and a complicated mathematical or verbal presentation will surely serve to produce a rigid and tedious classification which is really undesirable.

Coming back to the basic question then, what is Fulford, the study village or the study hamlet? The dictionary definition probably gives the best and simplest explanation: a hamlet is a small village! Working upon this definition, which is semantically if not quantitatively valid, the terms have been used interchangeably throughout this work. However, a marked inclination toward the use of 'village' rather than 'hamlet' will be noticed. Although the present population of the study site is about 75 people they themselves consistently and unanimously refer to the community as a village. The only period in the community's history when the term 'hamlet' would have been completely adequate was in the formative years following the initial settlement in the 1850's. This line of reasoning seems further justifiable in light of the Bishop's University study[5] of Barnston (pop. 101), Hatley, (pop. 108), and Massawippi (pop. 78) in which these places are referred to as 'villages'.

Why such a study? Why Fulford?

It was hoped that a comprehensive and minutely detailed account of the spatial and temporal changes of one particular settlement could be presented, and for this purpose the smallest possible unit of settlement was chosen. Such

a micro-geographic study of change facilitates the handling of a not unwieldy body of research data and allows the pursual of more intensive and localized field work.

In the process of compiling a working bibliography from which a compendium of ideas and techniques from other such studies could be developed, it was found that no similar micro studies on the individual village or hamlet scale -- whether geographic, historical, sociological, or economic -- were available. The most helpful references were other university theses on related topics. A 1964 McGill study of Orange County, Vermont by Martha Andrews was useful in establishing the economic and demographic patterns of New England which were found reflected in the historical geography of this small county in eastern Vermont. Smith's Ottawa thesis (1967) on the town of Buckingham, Québec and Pochopien (1951) and Booth's (1966) McGill theses on the area of Brome were also helpful. Most of the other available research material is likewise on a town or county scale: Bogart's study of Peacham, Vermont; Torbert's work on Lebanon Township, New Hampshire; Bott's article on depopulation and abandonment at Northbridge, Massachusetts; and Christopher Rand's study of landscape changes in Salisbury Township, Connecticut. (The precise references are contained in the bibliography).

In reviewing all these works however, it becomes apparent that each author in some way feels that his particular study is representative of a far broader region with which it shares a common bond of historical and geographical context. Brome for example experienced two centuries of economic and social developments that were not unlike the train of events that helped shape the whole of Québec's townships area west of Memphremagog. E.L. Bogart, who did a detailed study of Peacham, Vermont, felt that the attitudes and activities embedded in the story of this hill town were very much a part of a regional pattern:

> "The history of Peacham epitomizes that of many another New England town...It's history is a record in microcosm, of the forces that have created American Democracy."[6]

It is obvious that any micro-geographic study -- even one concentrating upon such trivial elements in the landscape as barn-boards, fence types and ruined schoolhouses -- embraces implications of a far-reaching nature. Fulford, the study village, has inherent in its own very local history, its family genealogies, and its archaeological ruins, a set of themes that are both the product of and producer of the total Canadian - Québec - Township geographical context. Among those ever-present but unstated themes which recur again and again throughout the course of this work are: how the village serves to document the various forces of pioneer movement and cultural traits that are implied in the concepts of Turner's frontier hypothesis, the technological and developmental 'time lag' between Canadian and American settlements, the relationships between the biological, physical, and human subsystems and the dominance of one over the other, and the characteristics of a cultural triangle or meeting ground formed by the fusion of British, French, and American cultures. Fulford, as much as any other small settlement in the Townships, possesses its own distinct character and personality -- a uniqueness if you will-- which is in turn shaped and influenced by the overall chronicle of regional development. The village is then a study in microcosm of forces and events ranging immeasurably outward beyond the village hinterland.

The village, located only one hour by auto from Montréal, was very accessible throughout the year from the point of view of availability of source materials and when another photograph or sketch had to be made on location to illustrate an idea. Apart from accessibility, an insider's view of the village was obtained through the establishment of acquaintances at Fulford before research began. A degree of personal involvement in the village life -- past and present -- was an intellectually rewarding asset in the preparation of such material as the chapter on 'Fulford Today' and in the cooperation

achieved in the answering of an historical-geographical questionnaire that was put to the villagers.

Also, the Townships -- and particularly Brome County -- have been well researched by others in the grography department at McGill and thus a wealth of background material is available. Furthermore, the County has a niagara of unpublished and unresearched source material (school records, voters lists, valuation rolls) which are open to researchers at the Brome County Historical Society's Museum and Archives Building. Although the church records at Sweetsburg and Waterloo, the Minute Books at Brome, and the now defunct area newspapers were all readily available, the documents that proved the hardest to gain access to were the land deeds at Knowlton. After considerable agitation on the part of the author and others the county registrar agreed to make deeds of transferal before 1880 (only deeds before this date are considered of 'historic value') available for research purposes.

The Format

The body of the thesis is sub-divided into three main parts comprising a total of eleven chapters. Part I provides some brief explanation of the approach to the thesis and a concise summary of the physical and historical background of the study area. Part II presents four cross-sectional views of the village and its immediate vicinity from the 1850's to the present. Part III applies theoretical considerations to the landscape changes developed in Part II and deals with the several facets of the total geography that when studied with the purpose of observing change within those sectors gives the cement which links the cross-sections together and analyzes the basic historical geographic processes at work.

The thesis is very heavily and profusely illustrated. Over seventy illustrations[7] and seventeen maps were all photographed and drawn by the author in the belief that they may not only add to an attractive visual format but to a greater familiarization on the part of the reader with the actual geographic appearances of the study site.

PREFACE - NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: One Element of the American Settlement Fabric", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 33, pp. 32-81

[2] Ibid., pp. 32...37

[3] William Wood (ed.), The Storied Province of Quebec, Vol. II, Ch. 5, p. 943.

[4] Kolb & Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, 1929.

[5] W. Gilles Ross (ed.), A Century of Change in Selected Eastern Township Villages: Barnston, Hatley, Huntingville, Massawippi, Bishop's University.

[6] E.L. Bogart, Peacham -- The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, introduction to...

[7] Throughout the course of reading the thesis it will be found that the best overall reference map of the village is the panoramic view presented at the end of Chapter 6, Fulford Today. The map not only shows the present distribution of buildings etc., but also gives an indication as to where the ruins of former times are located.

PART I

PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

"Environments are not passive wrappings, but are, rather, active processes which are invisible. The groundrules, pervasive structure, and over-all patterns of environments elude easy perception...The interplay between the old and the new environments creates many problems and confusions."

-- Marshall McLuhan,
The Medium is the Massage

CHAPTER 1

The Physical and Biological Setting

> "The soil... was fertile, as could be plainly seen from the majestic trees and luxurient shrubbery with which it was covered. The woods were filled with game, and excellent fish abounded in the streams and lakes..."
>
> -- Mrs. Day, History of the Eastern Townships, 1869.[1]

The greater region to which the study area belongs is Québec's Eastern Townships. Most authors disagree vehemently as to what counties are actually included in the Townships and have attempted to delimit the area on the basis of population, history, topography, type of survey, and various regional 'patterns'. The argument, whether one of semantics, geographical perception, or personal preference, is quite unrelated to the present study and use of the term Townships merely refers to the generally accepted group of counties bounded by the Richelieu and Chaudière Rivers, the U.S. border, and the seigneurial counties along the St.Lawrence lowland. (viz. Arthabaska, Brome, Compton, Drummond, Frontenac, Mégantic, Missisquoi, Richmond, Shefford, Sherbrooke, Stanstead, and Wolfe).

The study area lies within the county and township of Brome. The county is located on the southern tier of the province with Lake Memphremagog on the east and Missisquoi county on the west; Shefford county is situated to the north and the state of Vermont forms the U.S. - Canadian border to the south. Brome township lies in the north central part of the county bounded to the east and west by Bolton and Farnham townships respectively.

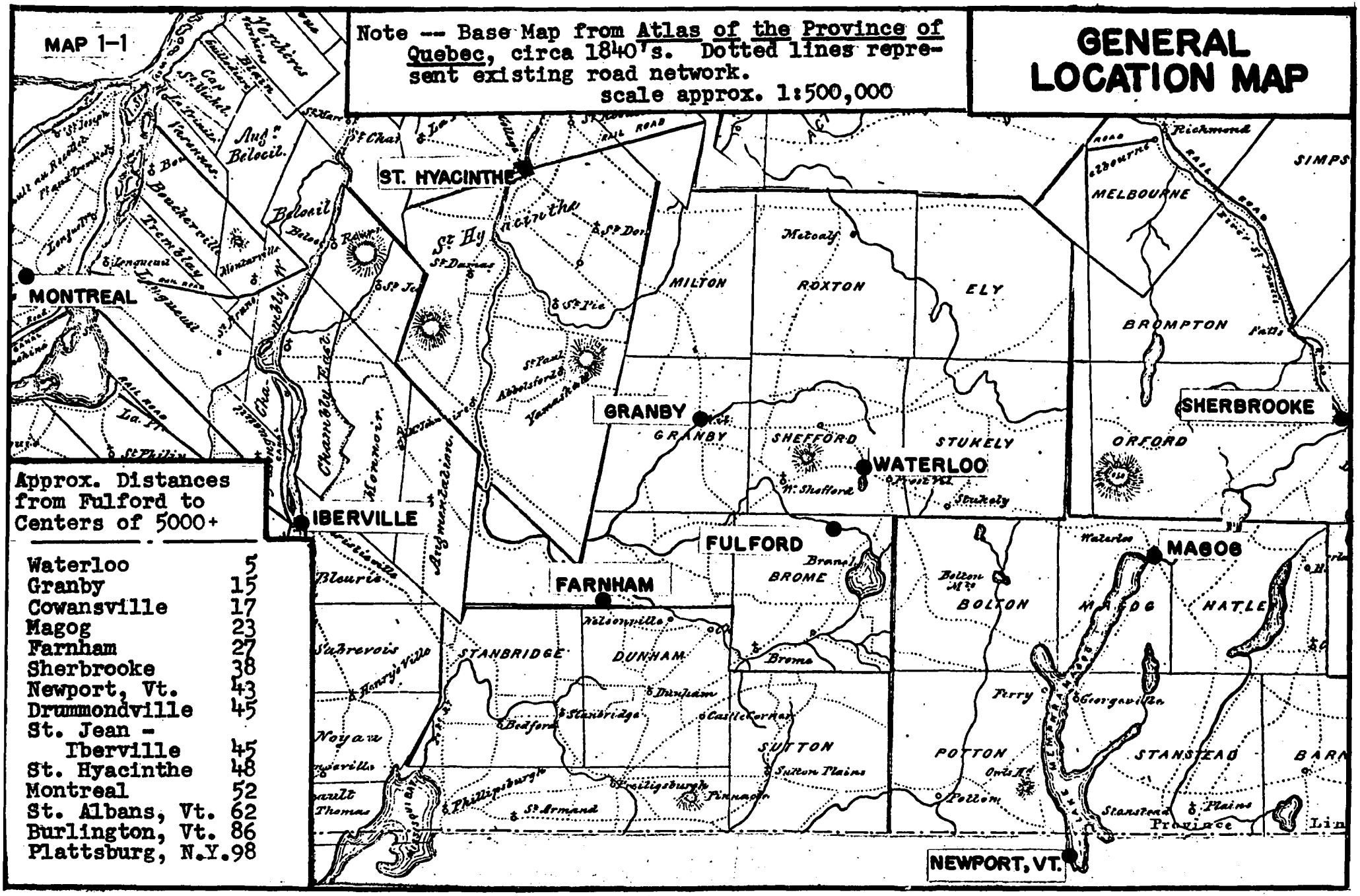
The location map on the following page (map 1-1) shows the study site in relation to the surrounding region and nearby population centers.

The environment or physical subsystem, both regional and local, must be considered from the standpoint of topography, climate, and soils.

MAP 1-1

Note -- Base Map from Atlas of the Province of Quebec, circa 1840's. Dotted lines represent existing road network.
scale approx. 1:500,000

GENERAL LOCATION MAP



Approx. Distances from Fulford to Centers of 5000+

Waterloo	5
Granby	15
Cowansville	17
Magog	23
Farnham	27
Sherbrooke	38
Newport, Vt.	43
Drummondville	45
St. Jean - Iberville	45
St. Hyacinthe	48
Montreal	52
St. Albans, Vt.	62
Burlington, Vt.	86
Plattsburg, N.Y.	98

The topography of the Townships is characterized by hills and valleys, lakes and ponds, rivers and streams. A physiographic extension of Vermont's Green Mountains appears as a broad metamorphic belt of continuous mountains rising in places to over 3000 feet in this part of Québec. This northern section of the Appalachians lies west of Lake Memphremagog and is known locally as the Sutton Mountains. West of this range is found a fairly homogenous plateau which is a continuation of the gently rolling upland that flanks the Appalachians. This hilly plateau slopes toward the St. Lawrence plain at about twenty feet per mile and is dotted with resistant intrusive mountains (e.g. Brome, Shefford & Yamaska Mts).

Locally, the relief is exceedingly rolling and broken with level land at a premium. The block diagram of the area (map 1-2) clearly shows the dominant features of the landscape: the Sutton range (Foster Mt.), Shefford Mt., and the series of peaks around Brome Mt. which rise to between 1200 and 1800 feet. The village of Fulford is situated within "a dark valley walled on the north by Shefford Mountain, and by the Brome Mountains on the south."[2]

In the view on page 4 (fig. 1-1) the individual peaks of the Sutton Mountains appear on the horizon. The terrain slopes down toward the Yamaska Valley whose river traverses the forested area in the center left of the photo. The trees in the foreground cover the steep eastern slope of Brome Mt.

The rivers of the Townships drain north to the St. Lawrence; from west to east, the major river systems of the area are the Richelieu, Yamaska, St. Francis, and Chaudière. Most of the townships in Brome, Shefford and Missisquoi counties are drained by the Yamaska River [3] which flows north through Bagot, St.Hyacinthe, and Richelieu counties to join the St. Lawrence at Lake St. Peter.

The Yamaska, which is 82 miles in length, has a complex dendritic pattern of drainage composed of three main branches that enclose a drainage basin of 1914 square miles. The North Yamaska originates near Waterloo Lake

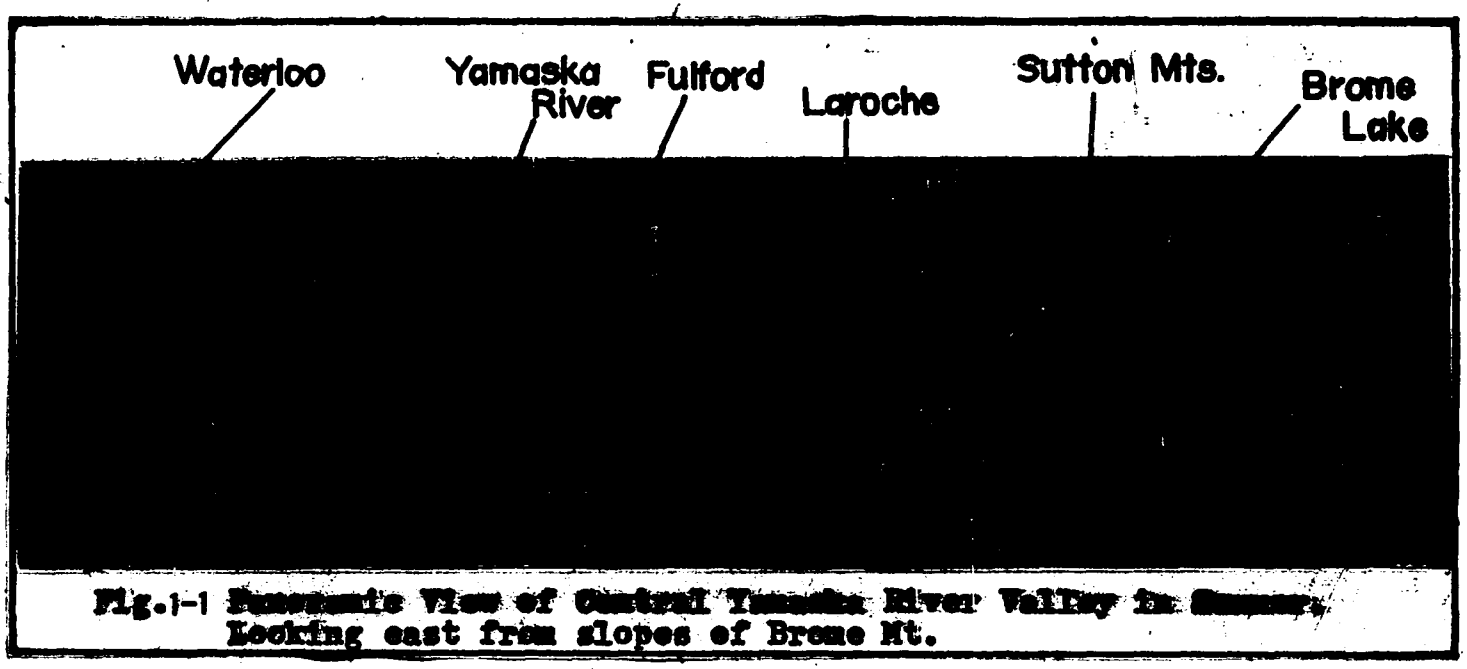


Fig.1-1 Panoramic View of Central Yamaska River Valley in Summer, Looking east from slopes of Brome Mt.

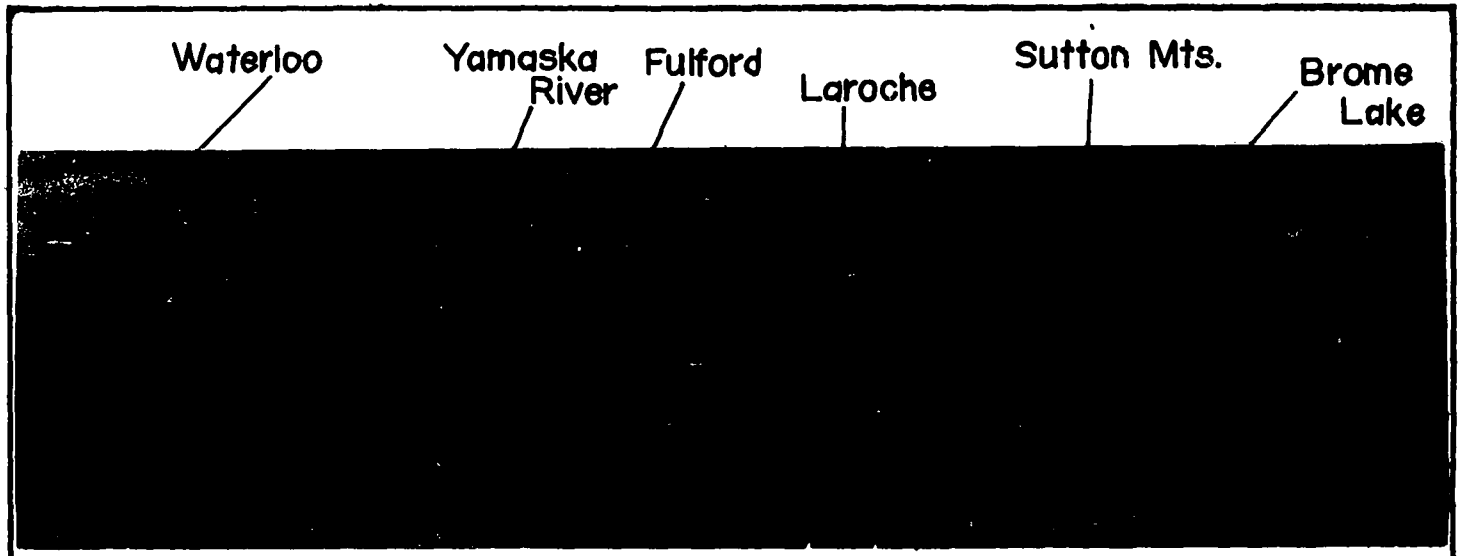


Fig.1-1 Panoramic View of Central Yamaska River Valley in Summer.
Looking east from slopes of Brome Mt.

and flows west through Granby; the Central Yamaska rises in Brome Lake and curves northwest through a series of hamlets and villages (Fulford, W. Shefford, and Adamsville) meeting the North Yamaska east of Farnham; the south branch comes from headwater streams north of Sutton and passes northwest through West Brome, Sweetsburg, and Cowansville before coming to a confluence with the other branches near Farnham. At Farnham the united Yamaska flows northward toward the St. Lawrence.

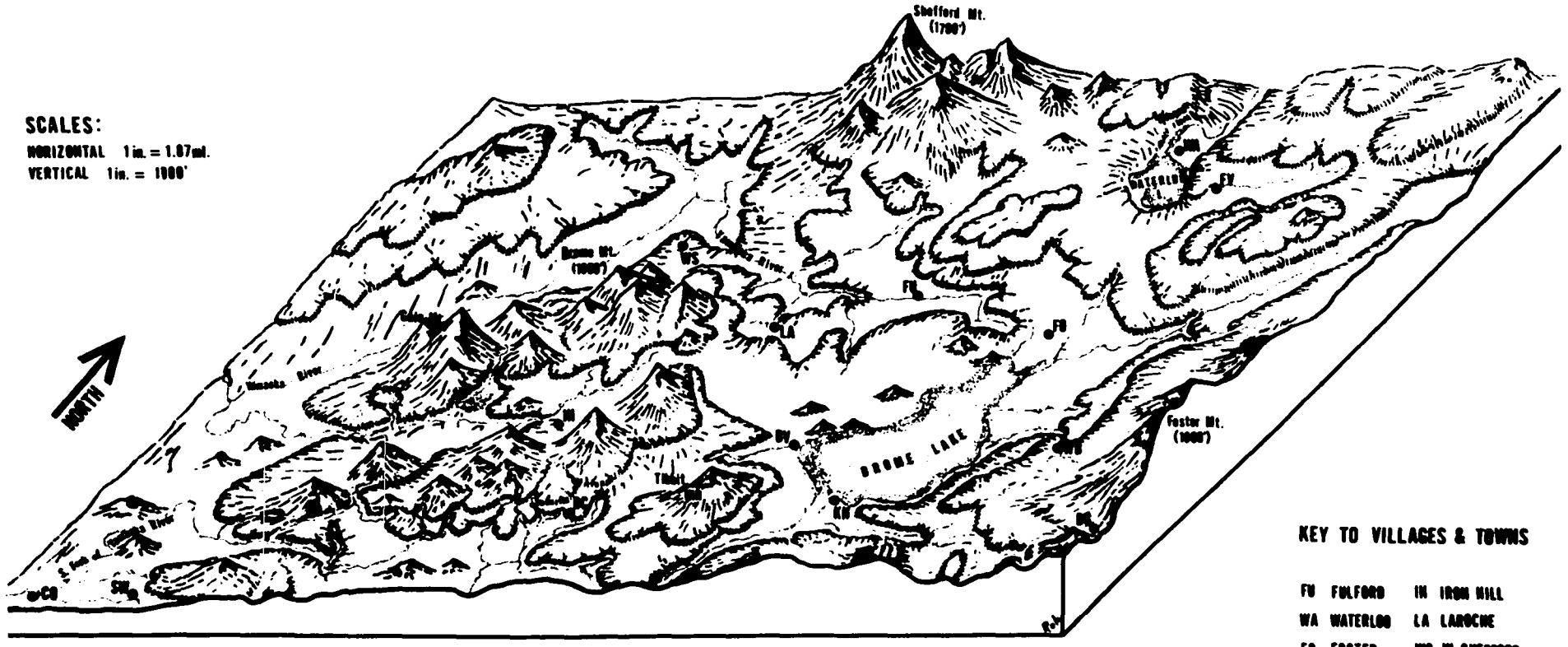
The river -- which is today little more than a stream east of Farnham -- presents a variety of geohistorical vistas throughout its length. Although the precise Davisian stages for this stream have not been worked out, a gamut of waterfalls, rapids, meanders, and swamps is seen in the sometimes broad but often narrow seven miles of stream valley from Brome Lake to West Shefford. In the course of these seven miles the stream gradient averages about forty feet per mile with a total fall of 280 feet. A series of cataracts occurs upon this stretch of the stream of which Fessenden Falls is the most outstanding. (see fig. 1-2)

Typical of most rivers and streams in the Townships, the Yamaska has been greatly altered through a century of human tampering. Consequently, the stream's course is cluttered with a barrage of ruined mill dams, old power houses, and more recently built control dams.

Climatically, the entire region of southern Québec may be classified as having a humid continental climate with cool summers. According to the Köppen scheme, the designation given is that of the Dfb type.

In the Townships the seasons of spring and autumn are particularly short and the winters are long and bitter. The summer is usually characterized by a few extremely warm days in July (90° to 100° F) but by mid-August the omens of winter make their appearance. Around the second or third week in August the leaves begin to turn and the night temperatures dip below the 50° F mark. Winters, typically Canadian, are legend and while recorded minimums of -50° [illegible] are exceptional, the mean January temperature is only 15° F.

BLOCK DIAGRAM OF FULFORD & VICINITY



(AREA EQUAL TO APPROXIMATELY 460 SQ. MLS.)

MAP 1-2

KEY TO VILLAGES & TOWNS

FU	FULFORD	IH	IRON HILL
WA	WATERLOO	LA	LAROCHE
FO	FOSTER	WS	W. SHEFFORD
KN	KNOWLTON	BC	BROME CTR.
WB	W. BOLTON	FV	FROST VIL.
BG	BOLTON GLEN	SW	SWEETSBURG
BV	BROMVILLE	CO	COWANSVILLE

Spring comes late to the Townships and the soil remains snow covered for fifteen or sixteen weeks; patches of snow may be on the ground in April and the last frost can come as late as May.

Historically speaking, weather station records and meteorological data for the study area are meager. Probably the most complete set of climatic records in the Townships are for the city of Sherbrooke, which is unfortunately almost forty miles from the study village of Fulford. The best local data comes from the station at Brome which is located on the south branch of the Yamaska and only seven miles from Fulford. The micro-geographic variations in relief between the two villages are small and the Brome data is suitable for general application to Fulford.[4]

Brome's climatic figures for the period from 1895 to 1937 were derived from two sources[5] and the following table composed:

TABLE 1-1

Month	Mean monthly temperature	Mean daily temperature	Extreme Daily max.	Extreme Daily min.	Precipitation (inches)
Jan.	13	15.5	57	-35	4.21
Feb.	12	14	51	-37	2.77
Mar.	24	25	67	-36	3.43
Apr.	39	38.1	80	0	3.76
May	52	51.4	88	22	3.79
Jun.	60	61	92	31	4.32
Jul.	65	65.4	92	36	4.72
Aug.	62	62.5	92	33	3.31
Sept.	56	56.7	88	21	4.71
Oct.	44	44.7	78	11	3.99
Nov.	31	33.2	68	-13	4.00
Dec.	18	17.5	65	-38	3.11
Year	39.7	39.7			46.12

One further climatic consideration especially pertinent in farm areas is the length of the frost free growing season. The Soil Survey of Shefford, Brome and Missisquoi Counties states that the fifteen year average for Brome County is 111 days per year. The longest such season recorded was 140 days and the shortest was 90 days.[6]

The nature of the soils is of special significance since the region has historically been one of agricultural land utilization.

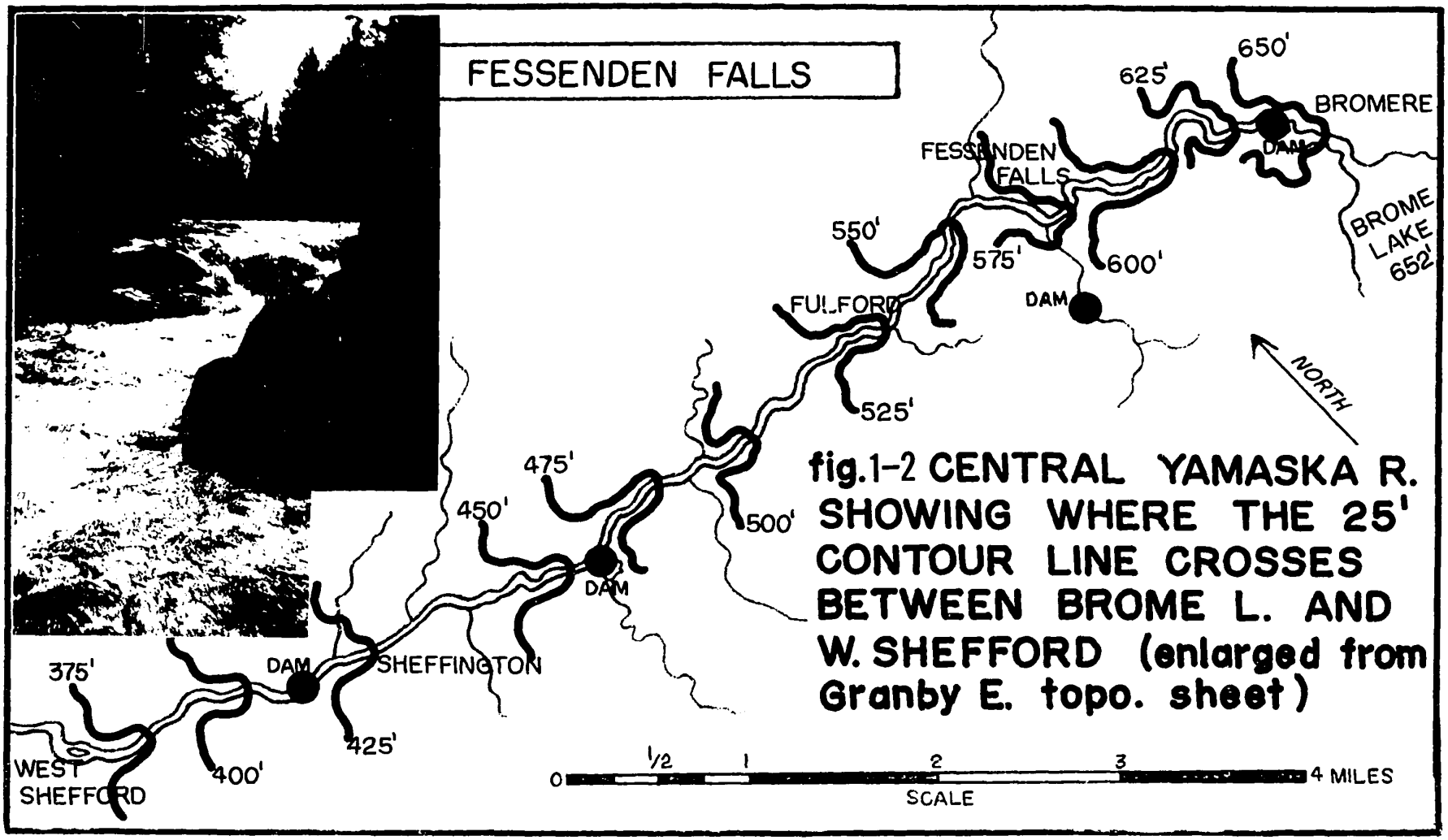


fig.1-2 CENTRAL YAMASKA R. SHOWING WHERE THE 25' CONTOUR LINE CROSSES BETWEEN BROME L. AND W. SHEFFORD (enlarged from Granby E. topo. sheet)

In the Brome county area glacial till is ubiquitous and contains fragments of sub-surface slate and schistose material of Cambrian age. The area was subjected to Pleistocene glaciation and submergence beneath the Champlain Sea. Generally the soil is podzolic or brown podzolic and related with a cool climate, short growing season, ample rainfall, and a mixed forest.

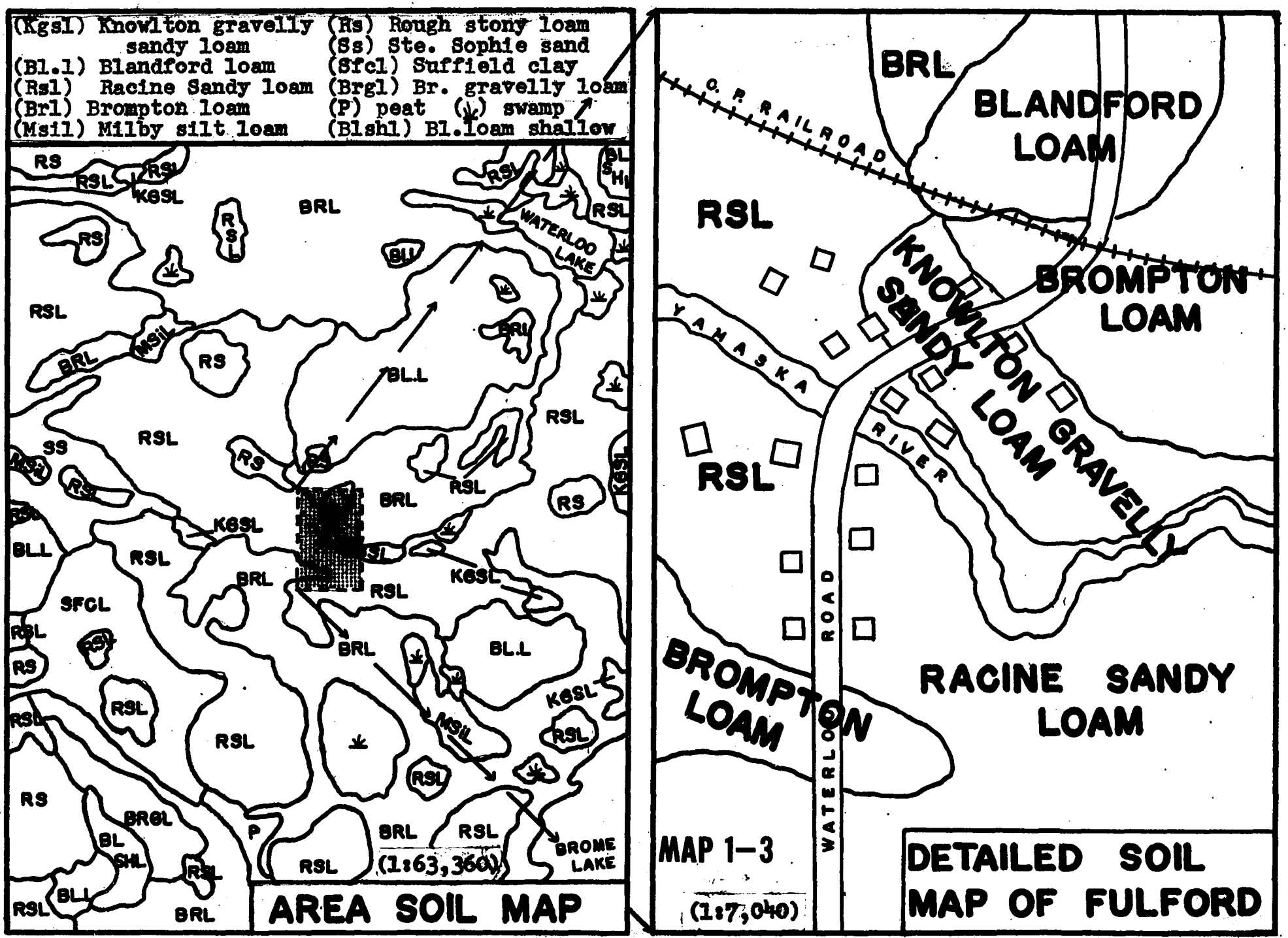
In the immediate vicinity of Fulford the relationship of these soil types to vegetative cover is evident in the utilization of the podzols and brown podzols at the village site. (see map 1-3) The brown podzols -- the Knowlton gravelly loam and the Blandford loam -- developed beneath a hardwood forest on the higher ground while the podzolic Racine sandy loam is found beneath the mixed (tending toward coniferous) forest zone along the river lowlands. The village proper rests upon the Knowlton loam and the village's two active gravel pits are worked on the flanks of this deposit.

A brief survey of the physical properties and crop suitabilities of the four soil types in the Fulford area more clearly illustrates the interrelationship between the farmer's agricultural preferences and the innate assets and liabilities of the soils:

The Knowlton gravelly sandy loam (Kgsl) -- a loam derived from poorly sorted gravelly outwash. The topography is rolling to kamey with rapid to excellent drainage due to a porous structure. The soil is not cultivated at Fulford because of its kamey topography and excessive drainage.

The Blandford loam (Bl.1) -- this soil is derived from schists and sandstone. The relief is high and rolling with moderate to rapid drainage. At Fulford a hardwood forest and some marginal pasture land cover this soil. zone.

The Brompton loam (Brl) -- is developed from till and presents a gently undulating surface. The drainage is generally bad. The loam at Fulford is in pasture whose stoney soil has been cleared of a great number of boulders and rocks.


(Kgsl) Knowlton gravelly sandy loam
(Bl.l) Blandford loam
(Rsl) Racine Sandy loam
(Brl) Brompton loam
(Msil) Milby silt loam
(Rs) Rough stony loam
(Ss) Ste. Sophie sand
(Sfcl) Suffield clay
(Brgl) Br. gravelly loam
(P) peat
(*) swamp
(Blshl) Bl.loam shallow
RS
RSL
KGSL
BRL
WATERLOO LAKE
BL.L
MSIL
SS
SFCL
BRGL
BL SHL
P
BROME LAKE
(1:63,360)
AREA SOIL MAP
C.P. RAILROAD
BLANDFORD LOAM
BROMPTON LOAM
KNOWLTON SANDY LOAM GRAVELLY
YAMASKA RIVER
WATERLOO ROAD
RACINE SANDY LOAM
MAP 1-3
(1:7,040)
DETAILED SOIL MAP OF FULFORD

The Racine sandy loam (Rs1) -- this is the most extensive soil type in the area and occurs in association with the Brompton loam. There is wide variation as to its derivation and its topography grades from undulating to rolling. The drainage is moderate but the soil base extremely acidic. Cobbles and gravel are present and the acreage usually in pasture.[7]

The above information can be supplemented with a listing of the crop suitabilities of the soils as obtained from The Soil Survey of Shefford, Brome and Missisquoi Counties. (see Table 1-2). It will be noticed that while the Knowlton loam is a poor agricultural soil, the Brompton and Racine loams are fairly good. The Blandford is probably the best suited for farm utilization.

TABLE 1-2

Soil type	Hay	Oats	Corn	Roots	Potatoes	Orchards	Pasture
Blandford loam	fair-good	fair-good	good	fair	good	fair	fair-good
Racine loam	poor	fair	fair-good	X	good	fair	fair-poor
Brompton loam	fair	fair-good	fair-poor	fair	fair	X	fair-poor
Knowlton loam	poor	poor	fair	poor	fair-good	X	fair-poor

(Source: The Soil Survey of Shefford, Brome etc. p.67)

In conclusion, it can be said that the areal distribution and human utilization of the soil resource at the study site are fairly typical of the pattern established throughout the entire region of Québec's Eastern Townships, an area of a similar cultural landscape superimposed upon a physical subsystem consisting of a rolling or hilly topography, a cool continental climatic zone, and a podzolic sandy loam.

In the biological subsystem, this region of southern Québec is characteristic of the mid-latitude mixed woodland usually referred to as the Great Lakes - St.Lawrence subdivision of the eastern woodlands. "This is a forest region of a very mixed nature consisting of white and red pine, eastern hemlock and yellow birch, along with many of the species common to the boreal forest: white and black sprice, balsam fir, jack pine, the poplars and white birch."[8] The area is in effect a zone of transition between the deciduous forest to the south and the conifer dominated forest to the north. This forest, as well as its eastern woodland faunal associations, has undergone drastic ecological changes since the arrival of European man in the Townships.

The original vegetative cover was largely deciduous with maples, beech, birch, and elm predominating upon the hillsides. On the better drained upland soils there was some pine and hemlock; the Blandford and Knowlton soils are linked with this mixed (but mostly hardwood) association. On the moist lowlands along the riverbanks the conifers -- spruce, fir and tamarack -- were abundant.

In 1794 the area around Fulford was surveyed and the first description of the 'natural' woodland is found on the pages of the surveyor's diary: "good land... land broken rocky growth... hemlock some hardwood... green timber with some hardwood." The Yamaska was lined with "swampy spruce and cedar."[9] Apart from this rather brief account, no detailed record of the plant growth in the early days of settlement remains; however, as the Rev. Taylor noted in 1908, "enough of the old forest condition is left to show what the land produced one hundred years ago... maple, beech, birch, pine, tamarack, spruce, cedar, hemlock, and ash were the trees mentioned most frequently."[10] It seems that the area immediately south of Fulford was at one time quite swampy in places (as attested to by the early maps) due to the dense forest growth that retained much of the water that is lost as runoff today.

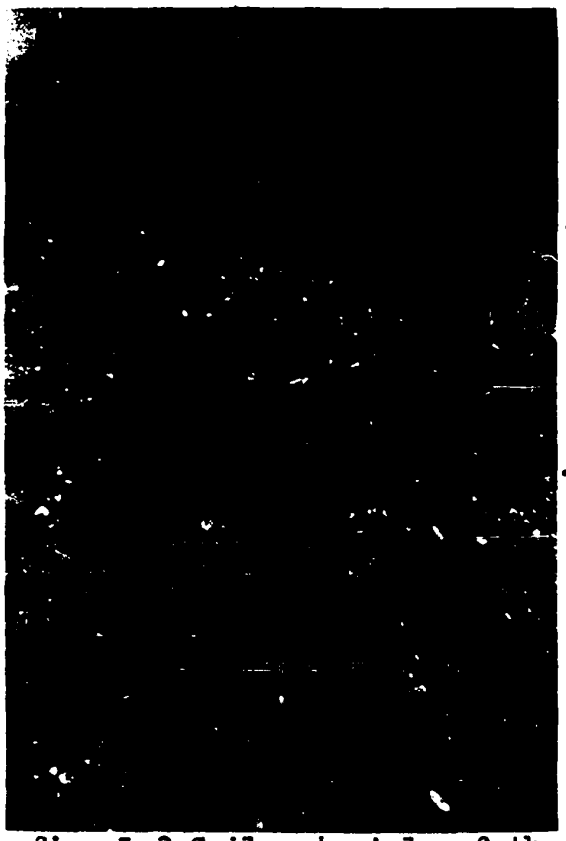


fig. 1-3 Soil materials of the Knowlton gravelly sandy loam (Kgsl) exposed in a vertical cut near the Fulford Cemetery. Note the podzolised A_2 zone and the stoney content.

Fig.1-4 Regrowth of forest cover at Fulford. At left, recently abandoned field shows stubble and at right young conifers grow in a field abandoned perhaps thirty years ago.

At present the maples (sugar, red and silver) are the most common species in the study area. Few are over fifty years old and most have been planted along the roadsides and driveways for aesthetic appeal. Several species of elm are still extant but most are of great age and occur as individuals rather than in stands. Scrub oak and birches are quite profuse and represent secondary forest growth. Conifers -- mostly firs -- are making a very noticeable comeback in recently abandoned pasture and along the riverbanks. The pastures exhibit a variety of species in their scrub, grass, and weed associations. Most common are the hardhack and birch scrub, red top and Canadian blue grass, sedge, thistle, and ox-eye daisy weeds.[11]

The original faunal system of the region displayed an impressive array of species: moose, bear, deer, racoon, beaver, wolf, skunk, fox, bobcat, groundhog, muskrat, porcupine et. al. Some of these animal inhabitants have been completely eliminated from the area, most have greatly declined in numbers, and a few have actually prospered in the man-dominated environment.

Because of their pelt value the beaver and muskrat were pushed toward an early extirpation as a direct result of overkill. The moose, possessing no great pelt value, has disappeared in the name of sportsmanship.

The ebb and flow of animal populations has also seen a decline in the bear, bobcat, and porcupine. The first two, apart from depletions wrought by man, were no doubt forced to migrate when elements of their food chain within the delicate ecosystem were either removed or altered. The porcupine, now extremely rare and strictly protected by law, was never of much economic value but seems to have been depleted because of its slow gait and curious nature.

Probably the deer, racoon, and fox have been the most successful in their adaptation to the deforested landscape. Living on the forest edge -- where the increase of scrub vegetation, fallen logs, and meadows has been furthered by the work of man -- they have become more numerous than in the past and have in fact benefited by human encroachment.

The crossweavings of the physical and biological elements into the total geographic fabric, and the restraints and influences imposed by these subsystems upon the process of human development, must necessarily be an integrated study of both the temporal and spatial dimensions.

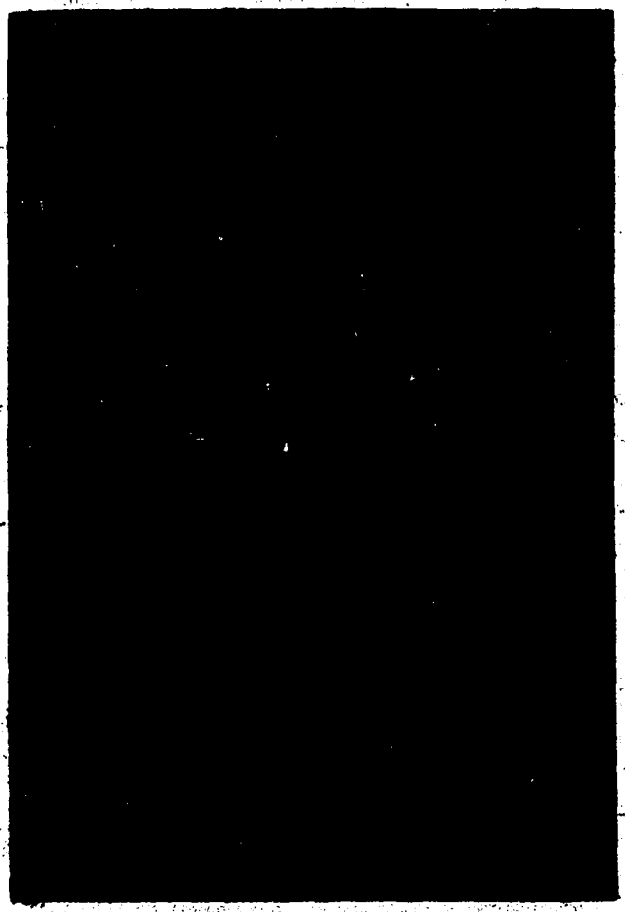


fig.1-5 The oncedeep river, secondary forest, and truss bridge. A confluence of the physical, biological and cultural subsystems at Fulford.

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fig.1-5 The oncedeep river, secondary forest, and truss bridge. A confluence of the physical, biological and cultural subsystems at Fulford.

CHAPTER 1 - NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] Mrs. C.M. Day, History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, etc. p. 162.

[2] Picturesque Canada 1882, vol. II, p. 692.

[3] Yamaska is an Abenaki Indian term generally thought to mean 'water in the midst of reed'.

[4] There is however a difference in altitude between the two villages: Brome's altitude is 678 feet compared with Fulford's 584 feet (by Geological Survey).

[5] (a) records from 1895 to 1909 in Quebec Statistical Yearbook, 1914.

(b) records from 1923 to 1937 in Cann, Lajoie & Stobbe, The Soil Survey of Brome, Shefford and Missisquoi Counties, 1947, p. 16.

[6] D.B. Cann, P. Lajoie and P.C. Stobbe, The Soil Survey of Brome, Shefford and Missisquoi Counties, p. 17.

[7] the foregoing information on soil types and their qualities from D.B. Cann, P. Lajoie and P.C. Stobbe, op. cit., pp. 33-49.

[8] John Warkentin (ed.), Canada, A Geographical Interpretation, p. 90.

[9] Stephan Neal, Field Book of the Survey of Brome, (no page number).

[10] Rev. Taylor, History of Brome County, vol. I, p. 62.

[11] D.B. Cann, P. Lajoie and P.C. Stobbe, op. cit., p. 15.

CHAPTER 2

Historical Background of the Study Area

> "The Old World had been rent by wars, dynasties had risen, floundered, and disappeared and yet that bewitching expanse of forest, lake and mountain... continued undisturbed... the sun bathed this region of romantic beauty summer after summer, autumn dyed its mantle of forest in hues of gold and scarlet and winter mantled it in ice and snow, but all this loveliness for uncounted centuries was unseen by man, save some lone Indian in search of game..."
>
> -- R. Sellar, in The Storied Province of Québec[1]

The Eastern Townships Before 1855.

This Byronesque description of the Eastern Townships, with all the beauty of their natural landscape (or fundament) still intact, was sketched by Robert Sellar, a journalist from Huntingdon, Québec. In this passage Sellar raised the question as to why this region had lain unowned and unoccupied for such a long while. Indeed, why had this vast area remained dormant long after generations of New World settlers had farmed, trapped, and lumbered out the neighboring regions?

It seems traditional in such a study to give brief but due credit to the 'aborigines' for leaving behind their campfire ashes, an assortment of projectile points, and their own remains. As regards Indian antiquities, the key feature of their activities was one of migration rather than occupation. The Townships (and northern Vermont) were never the home territory of any particular tribal group; apart from being a hunting ground, the region probably served at least two complementary purposes: first, a thoroughfare of war with the avenues of invasion (and retreat) along the Richelieu, St. Francis, and Chaudière River valleys; and secondly, a buffer zone between the usually antagonistic New York Iroquois and the Canadian Hurons and Abenakis. A lasting pre-European cultural impact upon the landscape can thus be dismissed as inconsequential in the development of this area.

However, the buffer zone concept was carried over from Indian days and was perpetuated by the European powers as a geo-political ploy in the decades of inter-colonial warfare and diplomacy.

An additional geographical factor that contributed to the late development of the Townships was the apparent lack of population pressure on the seigneurial lands along the St. Lawrence during the 17th and 18th centuries.[2] Consequently the area remained -- in the eyes of the French -- a hinterland of woody and unsettled backcountry.

Although the region did merit an official survey in 1752, the long decades of seigneurial rule, the passing of the fur trade, and the shockwaves of frontier warfare little affected the history of the yet demographically and economically embryonic Townships. In a stronger and more partial vein, the historian William Wood seems to imply that the area was purposefully ignored: "This remarkable region was utterly neglected during more than half of the history of Quebec -- the period when the French held Canada..."[3]

Inroads of settlement were observable along the river valleys when peace was declared in 1763. Yet at the time of the American Revolution the area was still a virtually unsettled and impenetrable region as attested to by diarists who recorded the tedious wilderness marches of the invading Colonial armies in 1775 and '76. By 1784 the United Empire Loyalists had settled at Missisquoi Bay and by 1790 other settlers had cleared the land at Pigeon Hill and Frelighsburg. However, the miles of forests on the inter-fluvial lands required another half century before thorough utilization of their wood, bark, and resins was achieved.

As late as 1851 the Québec Legislature had appointed a 'Special Committee' to inquire into the causes which retarded the settlement of the Eastern Townships; the Committee's repeated reference to "the wastelands"[4] of the Townships left little question as to how it perceived the area even in the mid-nineteen century.

In 1792 his Majesty's Governor, Alured Clarke, issued warrants for a detailed survey of this part of Québec with the purpose of laying out townships in mind. Before the flood of speculators, squatters and settlers advanced upon the land, the area was first subdivided on paper, mathematically blocked out, and platted with grid lines.

The basic land-holding unit with which the British administrators could implement the projected settlement was the township. Of this, William Wood says, "The township was the contribution of the English to the system of land tenure in Québec. The British Government in promising to maintain French laws did not agree to adopt the French system of settlement." The township pattern was "a splendid system of land division and tenure but having faults and open to abuses. Before 1795 there were no legally granted townships; by 1814 there were 150, and a few years later they covered half as much territory as the ancient seigneuries."[5]

A township is defined as a parallelogram

> "divided horizontally and vertically by thick lines which are roads. All continuous lines divide it into 200 acre lots. Each block of four is a section, four horizontal sections are called a concession (sometimes), and four vertical sections a range. Each section is surrounded by roads, therefore a fortiori each concession or range is surrounded by roads."[6]

In Québec the township usually consists of eleven ranges of twenty-eight 200 acre lots amounting to about 100 square miles.

Once this pattern of squares and rectangles had been established, a 'chequered plan' was grided upon the township whereby 5/7 of the lots were free to be granted to petitioners, 1/7 were held for the future disposition of the crown, and 1/7 were reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy. Sometimes, when physical factors interfered with the planned arrangement, blocks of lots were reserved in the 'rear' of the township. A further alteration of the grid might occur if certain well timbered lots were reserved as 'masting' for the Royal Navy. Two variations of this chequered plan -- one from

Ontario and the other from Québec -- are presented in map 2-1.

Once erected on paper a township remained to be petitioned for by a number of individuals (around 40) who had organized themselves onto a company of associates and chosen one individual to act as their agent in the real estate transactions with the government. The associates would agree to bear the cost of survey, to open the first roads to and through the township, and to build mills therein. Furthermore, certain conditions with regard to settlement had to be fulfilled or else the grant would become void and the premises revert to the crown. The land had to be:

1) settled at a density of one family per 120 acres in one year,
2) cultivated two acres per every 100 capable of cultivation in three years,
3) planted and cultivated seven acres per every 100 capable of cultivation in seven years.[7]

Finally, the associates had to obtain the signatures of individuals who promised to become the actual settlers. The settler in turn made a 'tour of observation and inspection' to his prospective lot.

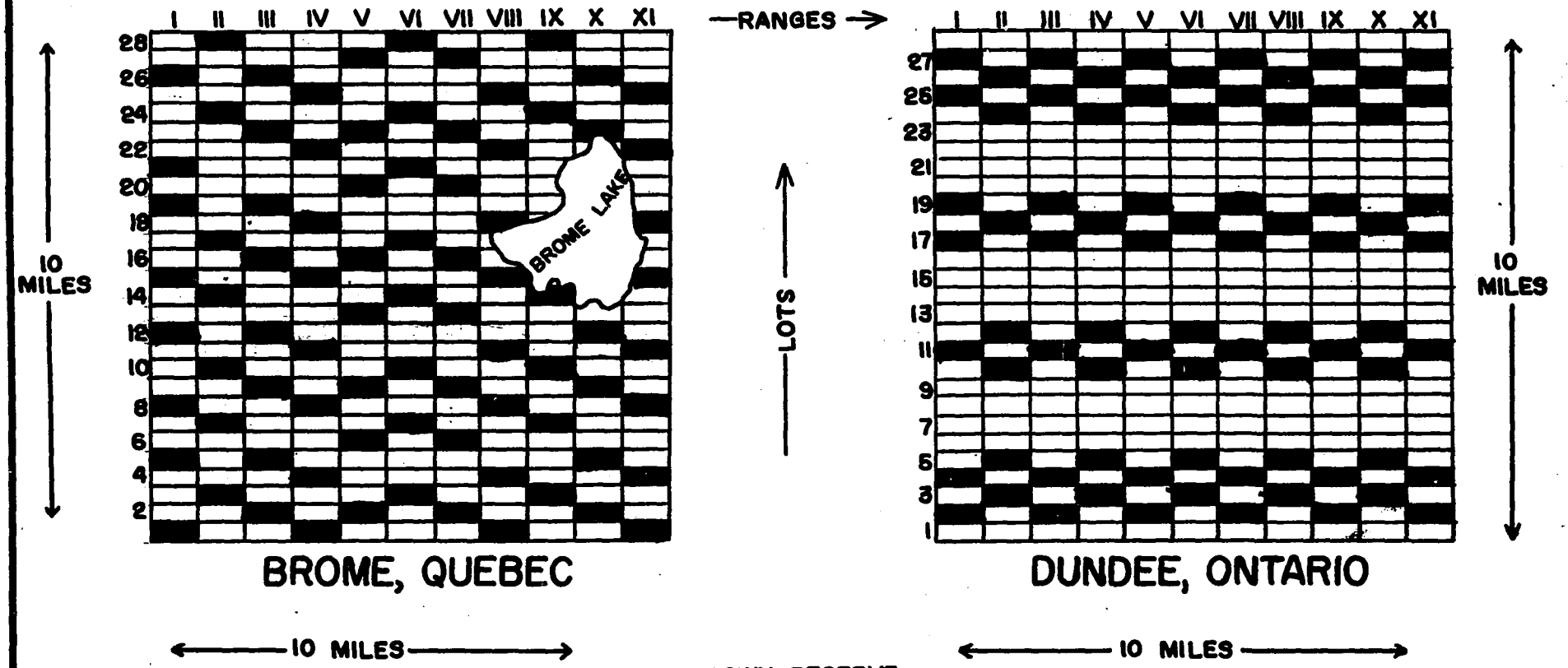
> "Sometimes alone, but more frequently in company with one or two who like themselves, were looking out the land... the travellers were guided to the tract they sought, by marked trees, or as they were otherwise called spotted lines: which method of pointing out the way to any particular locality had been adopted generally by surveyors and those using the compass and whose business called them through the woods."[8]

Ideally, this is how the system of township settlement was to work, but the application of this theoretical system to the more than seventy townships that were granted in Québec between 1796 and 1809 brought to light all the unthought-of complications and inherent weaknesses that were a part of the system.

The brunt of criticism focused upon the reservation of lots for the crown and clergy. W.A.D. Jackson discusses the retarding and regressive effects of the reserve policy in his study of 18th century land settlement in Dundee and Stormont Counties in Ontario; he contends that the settlers became galled by the

TWO VARIATIONS OF THE CHEQUERED PLAN FOR CROWN & CLERGY RESERVES

(MAP 2-1)



SOURCE: ORIGINAL LOT ALLOCATIONS OF 1797 AS LISTED BY REV. TAYLOR IN HISTORY OF BROME CO. VOL.2

SOURCE: FROM W.A.D. JACKSON IN ANNALS OF AAG, VOL.45, "THE REGRESSIVE EFFECTS (ETC.)" PP. 258-66.

idea of lot alienation and leaseholding.[9] Often, crown lots were leased to settlers on adjacent lots for short periods of time, but were not able to be granted or sold to them. Robert Sellar in 1910 elaborated upon the negative traits of this practice which had the effect of impending the inflow of more Protestant farmers into what he cynically dubbed "the citadel of popery"[10] in the New World.

The attractiveness of the township system was in the fact that all the subdivisions dovetailed into each other "and complete continuity was secured in the matter of clearance and roads, not merely along one front as in the seigneuries, but along every front and between all holdings."[11] This, in the opinion of historian Wood, was the basic asset of the system, but again -- in actual practice -- the associates (or most of them) never set foot in the township and the promise to clear roads and build mills etc. was in many cases never realized. A further imperfection also became obvious when the practice of speculation developed wherein one man or a small group of men, with relative ease, mamaged to gain control of an immense acreage.

The metamorphosis of this geographic 'wasteland' was thus effectuated through a hereditary system of English land subdivision whose characteristic features were the petition to the crown, the survey, and the royal grant. The system had universal application in the New England colonies in the previous century (the 1600's) and its weaknesses and assets were in no way peculiar to Québec.

The first of Québec's Townships were granted in 1797 and by 1855 a revision in the county lines encompassing the individual townships cartographically stabilized the political boundaries of the unit areas. In the intervening fifty-eight years at least four distinct eras or phases of settlement occured within the Eastern Townships:

I) 1797-1812 -- scattered American settlements
II) 1814-1830 -- influx from the British Isles with continued New England settlement
III) 1830-1850 -- Scotch-Irish influx and period of speculation and organized emigration
IV) 1850 onward- marked arrival of the French Canadian element and first outmovement of the English settlers.

Through six decades of pioneering, settlers of Yankee, British and French Canadian stock dragged their cultural baggage onto nearly five million acres of new land. A short analysis of the conditions and events that led to the physical and social transformation of the region during this period provides not only a necessary background against which to judge future developments, but also insight into the origins of the settlement processes that would influence the emergence of the villages and hamlets under study.

In the period from 1797 to 1812 many new settlements in the Townships helped to mitigate the economic and social isolation that gripped such small communities as Sweetsburg, Sutton, Dunham, Stukely, and Abercorn. In 1798 the first dwellings were constructed at Cowansville, Rock Island and Beebe Plain; the following year Brome Corners and Glen Sutton were founded.

Restless pioneers from Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and New York quickly joined the Loyalists who had settled in this region years before. Vermont woodsmen and teamsters had for a long time been engaged in the extraction of wood products from the Canadian forest.[12] Many of these individuals were no doubt expert mill workers and builders who had derived their experience from the mill streams of New England. "The population (of the Townships) was almost entirely American in origin, the scattered communities being as almost intensely New England in custom and opinion as those in Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts from which they had been detached..."[13] Although Vermont's northern county line was created in 1792 the pen and ink border seems to have been no determent to footloose pioneers who drifted back and forth across the international line and consequently pulled the Townships toward an economic and cultural life more oriented toward the American hinterland rather

than the St. Lawrence lowland.

Inaccessibility hampered the early progress of the pioneers but did not halt it:

> "Settlement had first been commenced in localities chosen for good land and valuable timber, rather than in reference to any facilities for communicating with other parts."[14]

They resorted to transportation and communication along the lakes and navigable waterways until:

> "the more enterprising among the settlers met and agreed upon concerted action for the good of the whole... the roads leading to the several settlements were merely bushed out, and the next step in advance was the opening of crossroads from one section to another..."[15]

The creation of roads and highways was under the jurisdiction of the crown at this time and, in conjunction with the associates and their land agents, the responsibility for carving out a road system and linking the settlements was often a neglected responsibility. Frere Catelliero comments upon this in his observations of pioneer road building in the Townships:

> "Peu à peu, par nécessité, les colons créent le réseau routier sans l'aide du gouvernement. Seules les grandes routes, qui empruntent souvent le tracé fait par les colons sont en partie l'oeuvre du gouvernement."[16]

The War of 1812 for a while checked the proliferation of frontier settlements and the date provides a convenient chronological punctuation point between two distinguishable periods of activity.

The rapid growth of South Bolton and Farnham soon after 1814 serves as evidence that the channel of immigration from New England -- restricted for a time by the War -- had been reopened. Also, the Townships in the period from 1814 to 1830 -- still dominated by an American majority -- witnessed the first waves of settlement from the British Isles.

'Free and Common Socage' is both a term and concept of ancient Anglo-Saxon origin that designates a system of land tenure in which the tenant is free of services of a spiritual, military, or subservient nature. The land grants of Lord Baltimore and William Penn (among others) were distributed through the system of 'Free and Common Socage', the same tenurial arrangement available to those who came to Québec's Townships. To the emigrants who left the British Isles at the close of the Napoleonic Wars the perpetuation of the British system of land tenure in Québec must have seemed highly attractive. However, penetration and establishment of roots within the region by this group was in its initial stages and the flavor of the Townships, especially in the southern tier from Stanbridge to Stanstead, was -- for the time being -- decidedly American.

In neighboring Vermont the era of farm self-sufficiency and natural population increase reached a maximum and the farmers of northern Vermont looked elsewhere for greener pastures. M. Andrews' work on "The Evolution of Settlement in Orange County, Vermont"[17] traces the outmigrations from the state to the industrial towns of New Hampshire and Massachusetts and to the better farmlands in the western states; however, recognition of the Québec Townships as the destination and recipient of a considerable stream of settlers is neglected. Relaxation of border tensions after 1814 provided a catalyst for further settlement but "still more widespread in its effect upon the area was the distress caused by an almost total crop failure in 1816."[18] Apart from this impetus within the Vermont agricultural sector, A.R. Lower propounds the idea that the state was being "lumbered out" around 1820 and approached a condition of forest exhaustion by 1827.[19] Vermont then (with New Hampshire and New York to a lesser degree) experienced a net decrease in population at this time as farmers, millwrights, and small entrepreneurs crossed the Canadian border to find land that would perhaps yield greater economic and agricultural rewards.

As more and more of these farmers and millers diligently labored to clear away the forest, the preliminary stages within the evolution of a cultural landscape became marked. The resettled farmer from the Green Mountains

planted his farmstead -- not in the fertile valley bottoms (as the trans-Appalachian farmers were concurrently doing in Kentucky) -- but on the higher elevations where lighter forests and drier soils were likely to be more easily cleared, and where upland hardwood forests provided good building material. The valleys on the other hand were poorly drained and suitable only for pasture and meadows and not for crops of rye, wheat, and barley. But soon the fine dry soil on the hillsides was erosively removed and transported to the valley bottoms where readjustments to a new set of geographic conditions were called for. As described in Alfred Botts's study of Northbridge, Massachusetts, the focal point of agricultural and village activity simply came "down from the sterile hill tops to congregate at the falls in the streams where a less precarious livelihood awaited..."[20] This, however, is not to say that the stream and river valleys were completely ignored in the initial settlement stage. The period from 1814 to 1830 is one of great activity for the millwrights who sprinkled the landscape with small unpainted wood-frame mills that ground the farmer's grain and provided him with sawn lumber.

Local producers were soon demanding a ready market for such high priced commodities as pot and pearl ash, and it was perhaps this need for a market (at which items could be bought as well as sold) that slowly began to shift the geographic orientation of the region toward Montréal and Three Rivers rather than across the border. New roads were cut through the seigneuries to the St. Lawrence and winter roads were made more traversable; the sleds and ox-carts found their way to the more accessible Canadian markets. Despite this economic shift, by 1830 the American daughter settlements north of the border retained strong traditional social and cultural ties with the mother towns of New England.

In the decades from 1830 to 1850 external conditions were favorable to an increased volume of immigration to the Eastern Townships of Québec. By 1840 Vermont's population was sliding down-hill (literally and figuratively)

very noticeably as more relations and friends continued to join the well entrenched first and second generation Vermonters north of the 45th parallel.

However, by 1830 events on the other side of the Atlantic were of perhaps greater importance: "The potato blight in 1834, brought famine and disease to Ireland, and a wholesale emigration took place. In 1847 famine laid hold upon both Ireland and Scotland, and nearly 100,000 immigrants sailed for Canada..."[21] In response to the need for readily available land in Canada the British American Land Company (the BAL Co.) was incorporated in London in 1833.

The said purpose of the BAL Co. was to encourage settlement in the townships by building bridges, roads, and schools and making farm lots available to the newly arrived settlers on reasonable terms. After the Company had purchased over 1,000 square miles of crown reserves, it regretably launched a career of widespread speculation that did little to encourage any real settlement.[22] Many settlers were brought in during the 1830's to certain areas (mainly Compton, Sherbrooke, Wolfe, and Megantic Counties) but the Company's holdings in the District of Bedford (Shefford, Brome and Missisquoi Counties) seem to have been left out of the mainstream of the Company's settlement scheme at this time. By 1840 in Brome township alone (fig. 2-1) the company still retained over a dozen lots that had been purchased from the crown six years earlier (map 2-1)

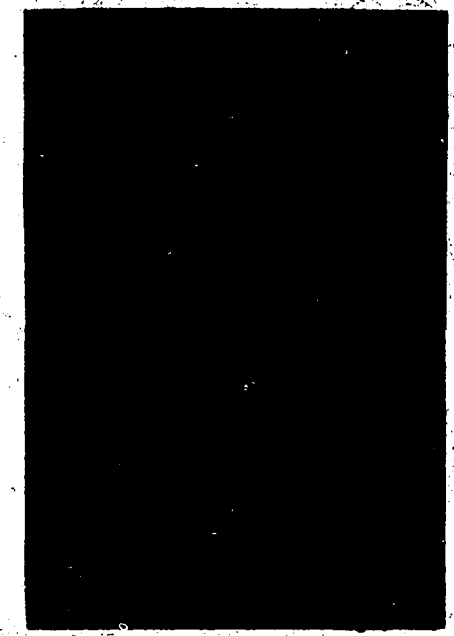


fig. 2-1 1839 -- lots retained by the BAL Co. in Brome township. (from map by J. Arrowsmith, London, May 1839)

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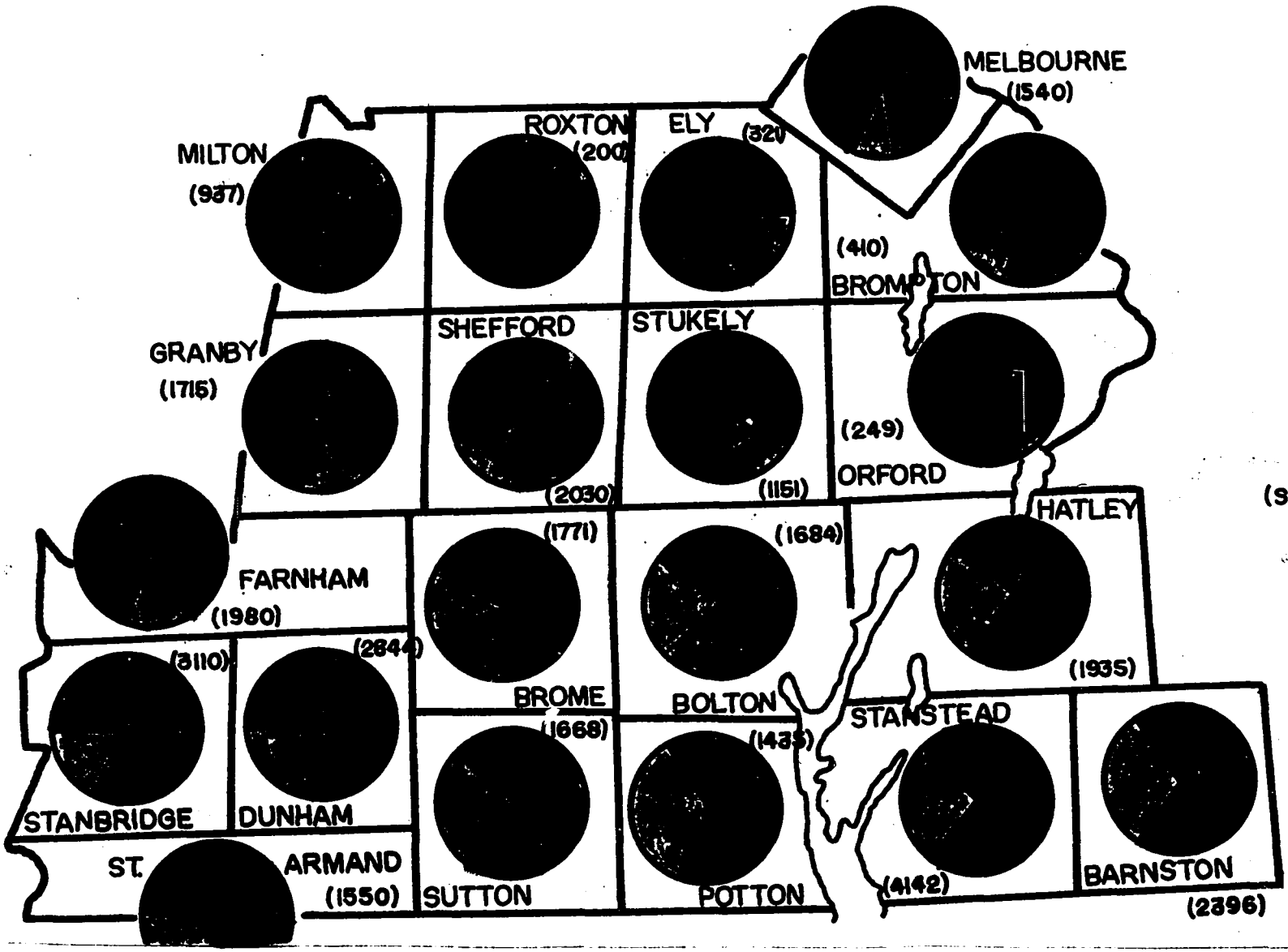
fig. 2-1 1839 -- lots retained by the BAL Co. in Brome township. (from map by J. Arrowsmith, London, May 1839)

Thus the shortcomings of the BAL enterprise, the speculative practice of individuals, the deterring effects of the manner in which the crown reserves were disposed of, and finally the fact that very few of the clergy reserves were sold until the late 1840's, all retarded the massive Scotch-Irish influx which was instead deflected westward into Ontario. As the staunchly critical Robert Sellar lamented: "the last opportunity of making Quebec essentially British was lost."[23]

And what of the French Canadians! Blanchard had stated in 1831 that there was no French settlement of any kind in the Townships;[24] perhaps this observation was too categorical (a French settlement in Brome township was mentioned in the Surveyor's Report in 1792) but still the French were very much in the minority. The composition of the population in 1844 (map 2-2) reveals a considerable wedge of French Canadians in the townships of Milton and Roxton which were receiving the brunt of the advance from Bagot and the seigneuries of St.Hyacinthe and Rouville. In general, Shefford and Missisqoui counties both had sizable sectors of a French Canadian element while in the townships of Brome and Stanstead it was the American segment that was outstanding rather than the French.

Several interesting features of the area's development in the 1840's become apparent if the data presented on the map of industry and land occupation (map 2-3) is compared with map 2-2. The areas of a Scotch-Irish concentration are quite well developed perhaps because this group, more than anyone else, "took root quickly in the new land."[25] Most of the townships had at least 30% of their land cleared and occupied by this time but the demographic spread was not homogenous; the northern tier of Shefford County (Milton, Roxton and Ely townships) was in effect bypassed and stood as a zone of low population density between the seigneurial lands and the more heavily settled southern half of the county. Is is also obvious from the maps that the early settlement of the Loyalists in Missisquoi gave this county a head start in the construction of mills and in the clearance of land.

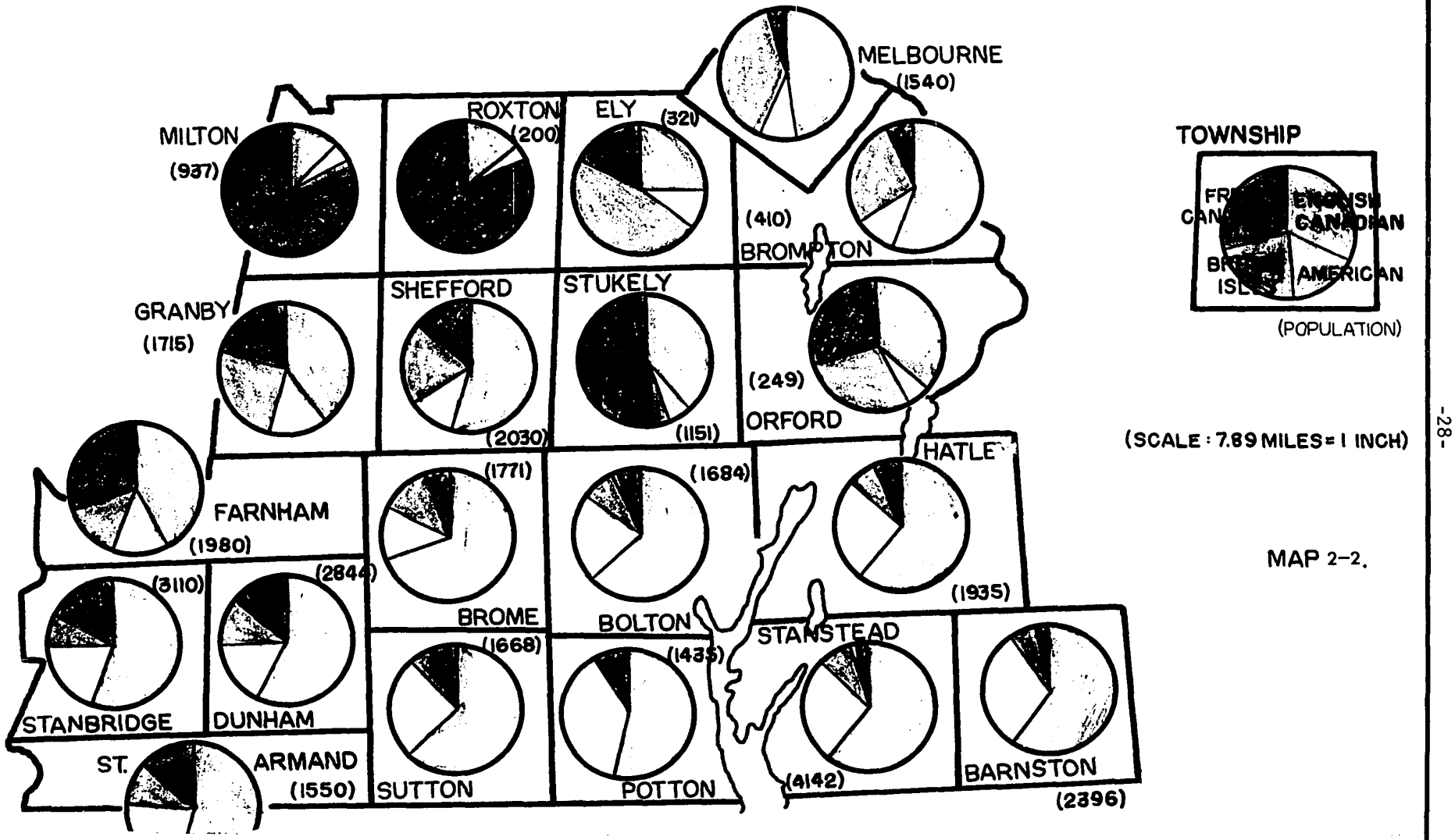


(SCALE : 7.89 MILES = 1 INCH)

MAP 2-2.

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION (1844)

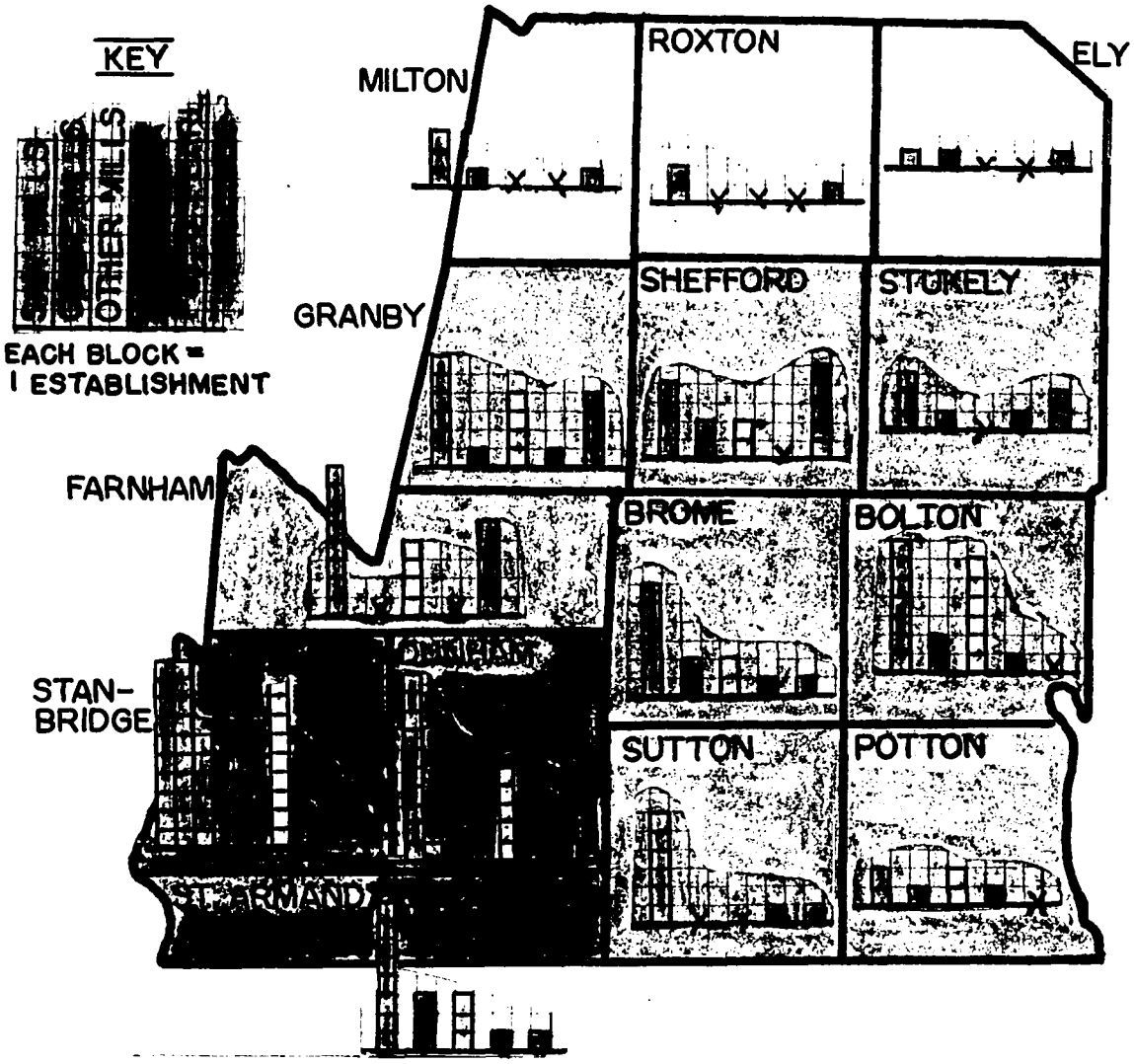
SOURCE: UNOFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1846



COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION (1844)

SOURCE: UNOFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1846

INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND % OF OCCUPIED LAND IN BROME & NEIGHBORING TOWNSHIPS (1844)



PERCENT OF LAND OCCUPIED WITHIN THE TOWNSHIP

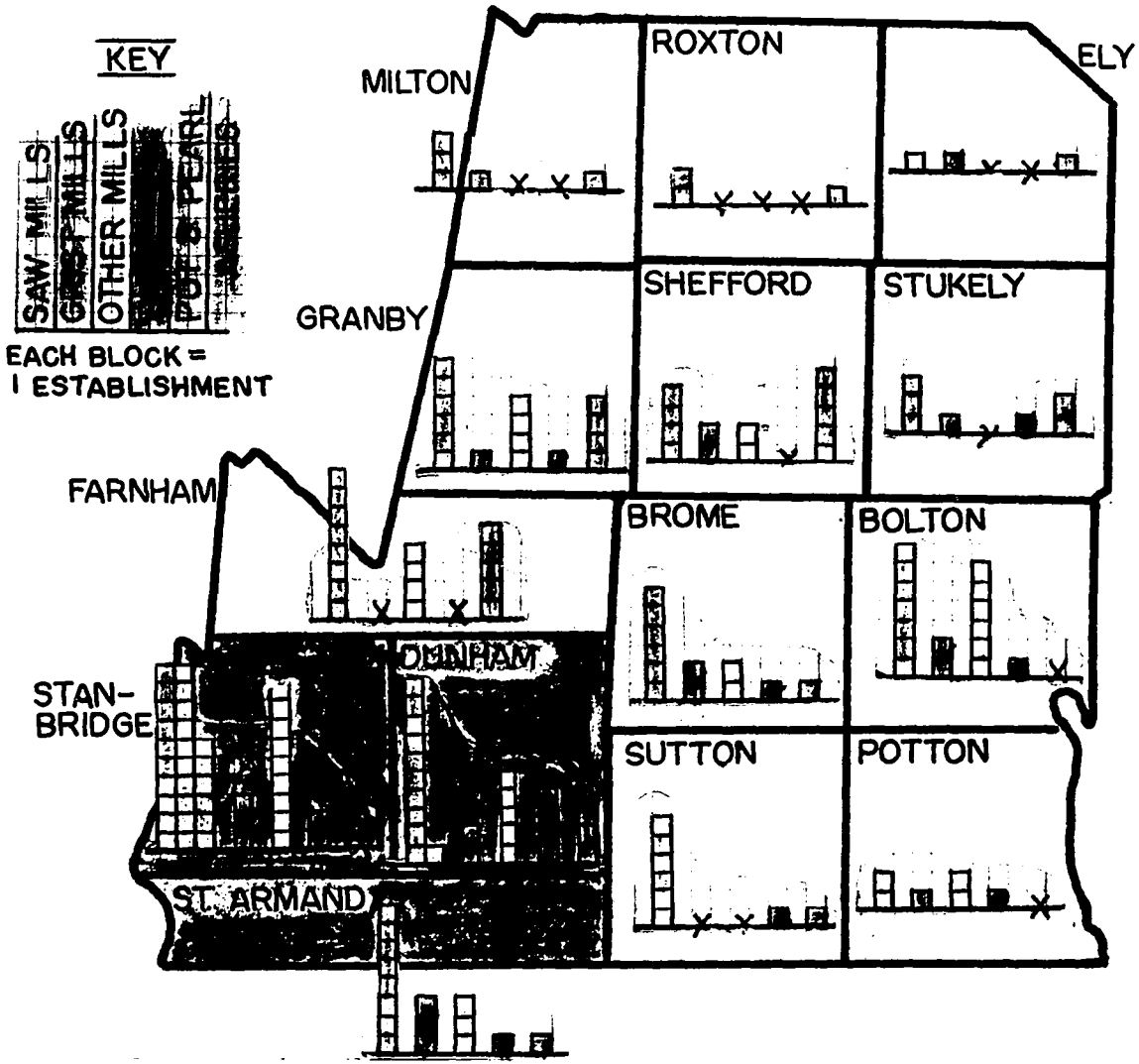
0-30%

(SCALE: 7.89 MILES = 1 INCH)

MAP 2-3.

SOURCE: UNOFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1846

INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND % OF OCCUPIED LAND IN BROME & NEIGHBORING TOWNSHIPS (1844)



PERCENT OF LAND OCCUPIED WITHIN THE TOWNSHIP

0-30%

30-60%

(SCALE: 7.89 MILES = 1 INCH)

MAP 2-3.

SOURCE: UNOFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1846

By 1850 the Townships had organized their own Municipal Councils which assumed the responsibility for the opening and maintenance of roads(a job previously in the crown's domain), But in other ways progress was slow and 'pioneer days' as typified by oxen, pot and pearl asheries, and the log-walled-bark roof, single room cabin lingered on. The settlements at Knowlton, Waterloo, and Mansonville -- with 200 people apiece -- were little more than large hamlets. And yet the fourteen townships in map 2-2 had a total population of almost 26,000. Change was inevitable, but at the halfway mark of the nineteenth century the population emphasis was almost entirely rural -- i.e. on the farms and in the hamlets.

After around 1850 a new set of geographical factors entered the picture. In this historico-demographic era the Townships were affected "but little by foreign conditions, government interference or influence, or special efforts made to induce settlement. Economic factors control."[26]

The French Canadian had arrived en masse in the Townships. In 1849 the Catholic Church was permitted, through a legal decree, to establish parishes outside the original seigneuries. Furthermore, land pressure had mounted along the St. Lawrence and an outlet for a surplus rural population was sought. The remaining crown and clergy reserves -- threatened with a heavy tax imposition by the Legislative Assembly of Québec -- were auctioned off in 1854 and bought by French Canadians. Simultaneously, the coming of industry to the Townships (water powered textile mills, furniture factories and machine shops) was an added inducement to the French in-migration. The infiltration of the established English communities progressed and the abandoned English farmhouse, being quickly reoccupied by a French family, remained vacant for only a short while.

In the milieu of frontier life the restraints of law and civility weighed lightly upon the population. The Townships had by mid-century ceased to be a physical frontier, but in the several decades prior to this date there existed all the unpolished trappings of pioneer life as found on the Ohio River Valley frontier in the early 1800's.

And so, an appraisal of the newly formed cultural landscape of southern Québec is not complete without passing mention of the more colorful aspects of local society: the historians relate that the Townships were peopled by "settlers with no moral or religious scrupples, they weren't church-goers but rather indifferent to any form of organized religion."[27] The region was replete with counterfeiters, horsetheives, an assortment of border renegades and convicts, hoardes of illicit squatters and other typical frontier types. Consumptive drinking habits encouraged bootlegging even at the family level. The number of early by-laws concerned with the restriction of the manufacture, sale, and transportation of 'spiritous liquors' is astounding. In short -- a period of hard drinking and little religion! In the conservative appraisal of many a circuit rider, the area -- once considered a geographic wasteland -- had become a 'moral waste'.

The founding of hamlets and villages is contemporaneous with the overall settlement of a region; thus if the processes and influences which work upon the pioneer settlement pattern are studied in apposition to those developmental forces which come to bear upon the creation of population nuclei within a region, the geographic aspects of demographic and physical change can be viewed in the total environmental context of that region. The foregoing outline of the Historical Geography of the Eastern Townships provides the nineteenth century regional context upon which microgeographic cross-sections can be based.

The Evolution of Settlement in Brome Township.

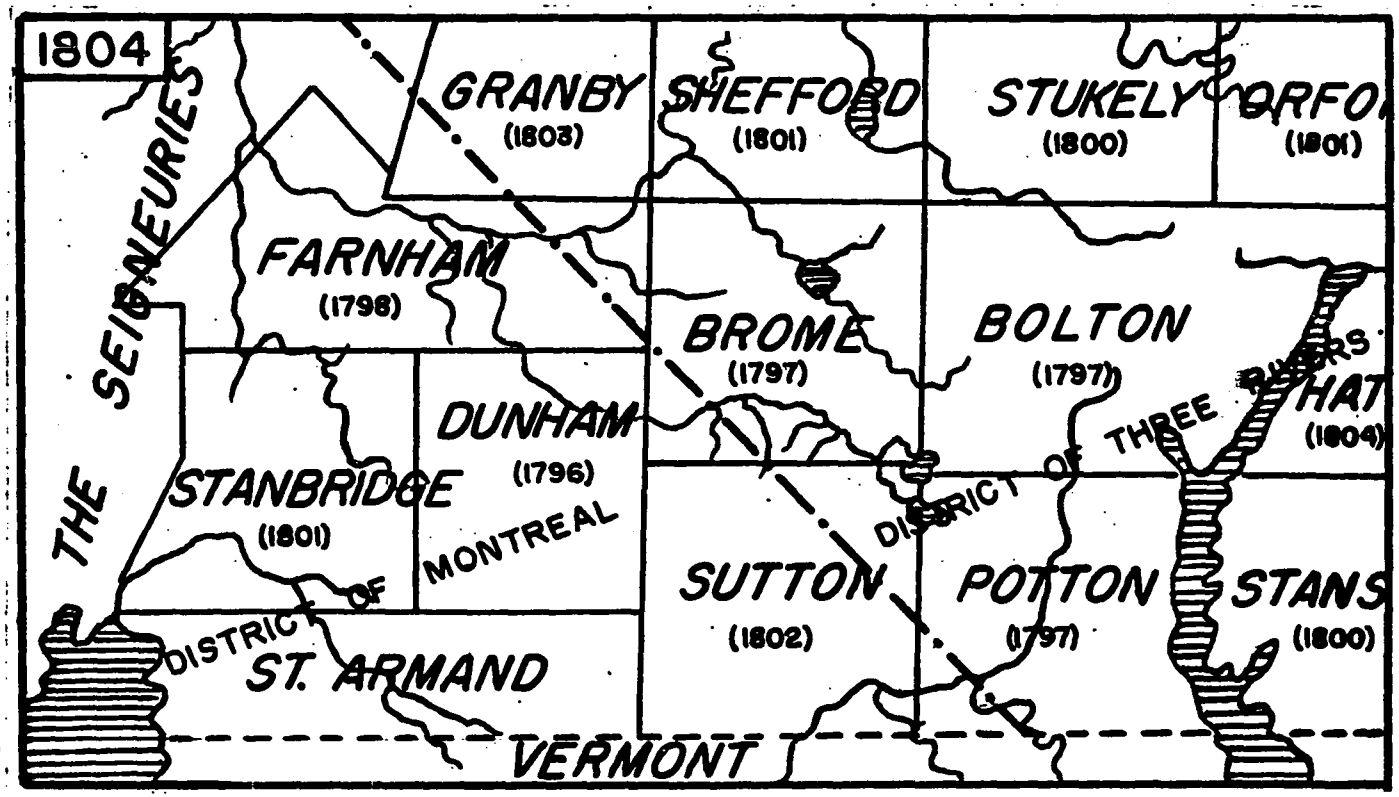
With this comprehensive historical review of the Eastern Townships established, attention is now focused upon the Township of Brome and a consideration of the nature and background of the more immediate study area.

After the Township of Brome was granted in 1797 it passed through fifty-eight years of transfer, realignment, and inclusion within several administrative subdivisions, counties, and districts before coming to rest in the newly created County of Brome in 1855. The history of these political geographical changes in administrative boundaries is presented in the four map sequences that follow (maps, 2-4, 2-5, 2-6 and 2-7).

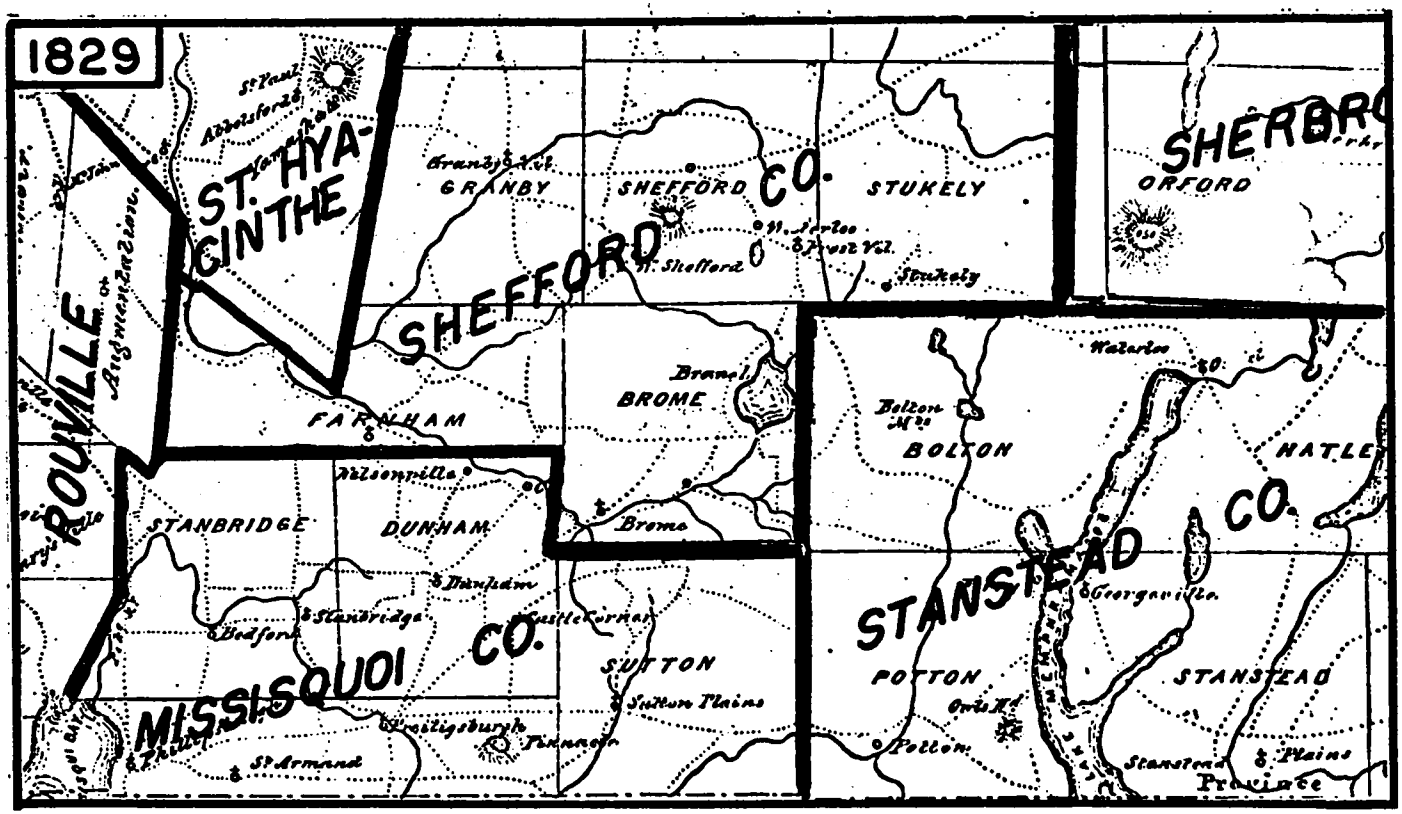
Brome Township was granted to Asa Porter on August 18 of 1797. This (along with Bolton Township's grant to Nicolas Austin) was one of the first of the Townships to be officially granted. Despite this fact, events precluded an early rush of settlement to the Township which remained one of the last to be thoroughly settled. The negating factors were inaccessibility and distance from existing lines of water transport, and lack of proximity to the areas of French expansion. But the slow and fumbling nature of the early real estate transactions was also an important deterrent.

In the original grant of 46,200 acres the crown and clergy received 42 lots apiece (see map 2-1) and the remaining 224 lots (eleven of which fell entirely within Brome Lake) were divided equally among the thirty-three associates. Asa Porter eventually came into possession of most of the acreage but soon ran into financial straits and was forced to mortgage the whole township in his name. Brome was then purchased by new owners from New Hampshire, Messers.Bell and Olcott.

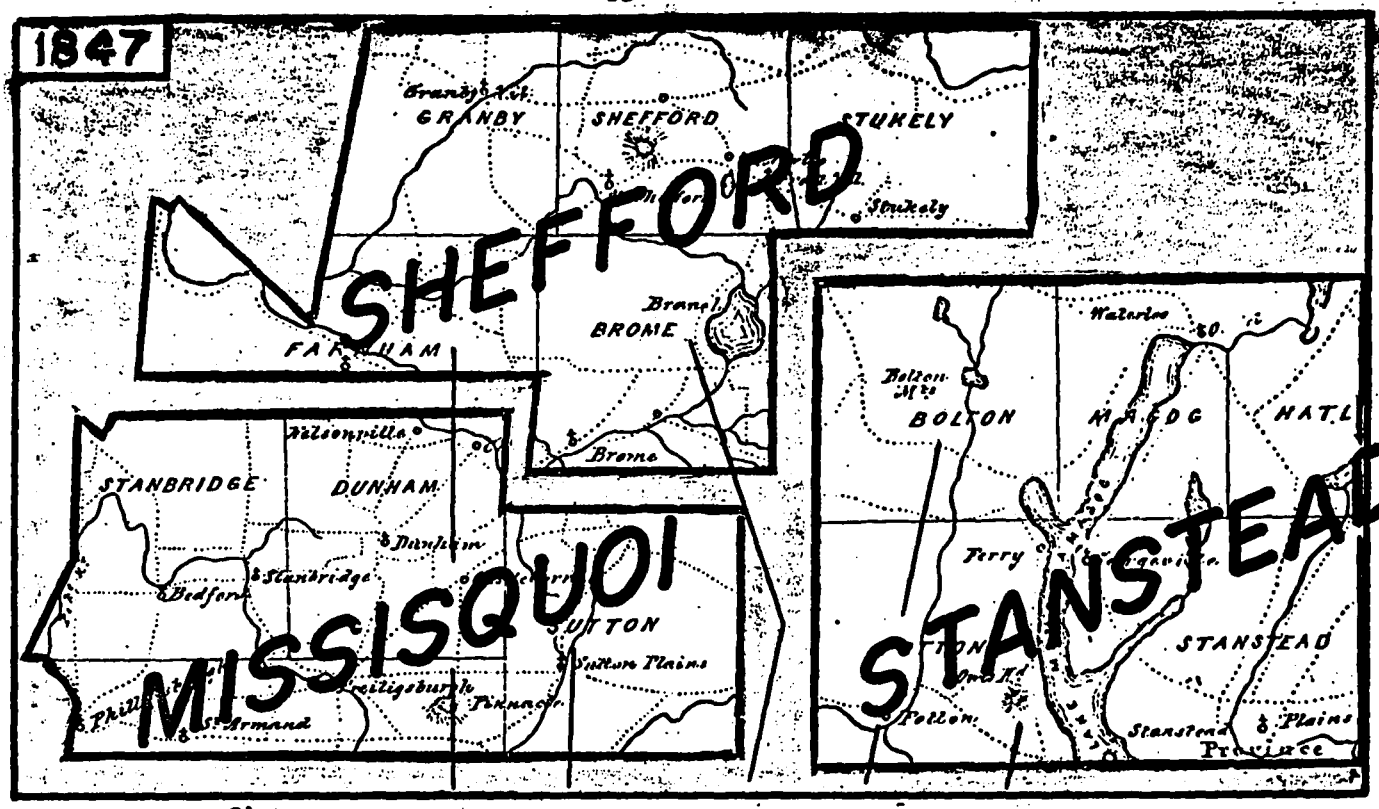
While these distant transactions were carried out in the court houses of New England actual occupation of the lots by ligitimate settlers stagnated.



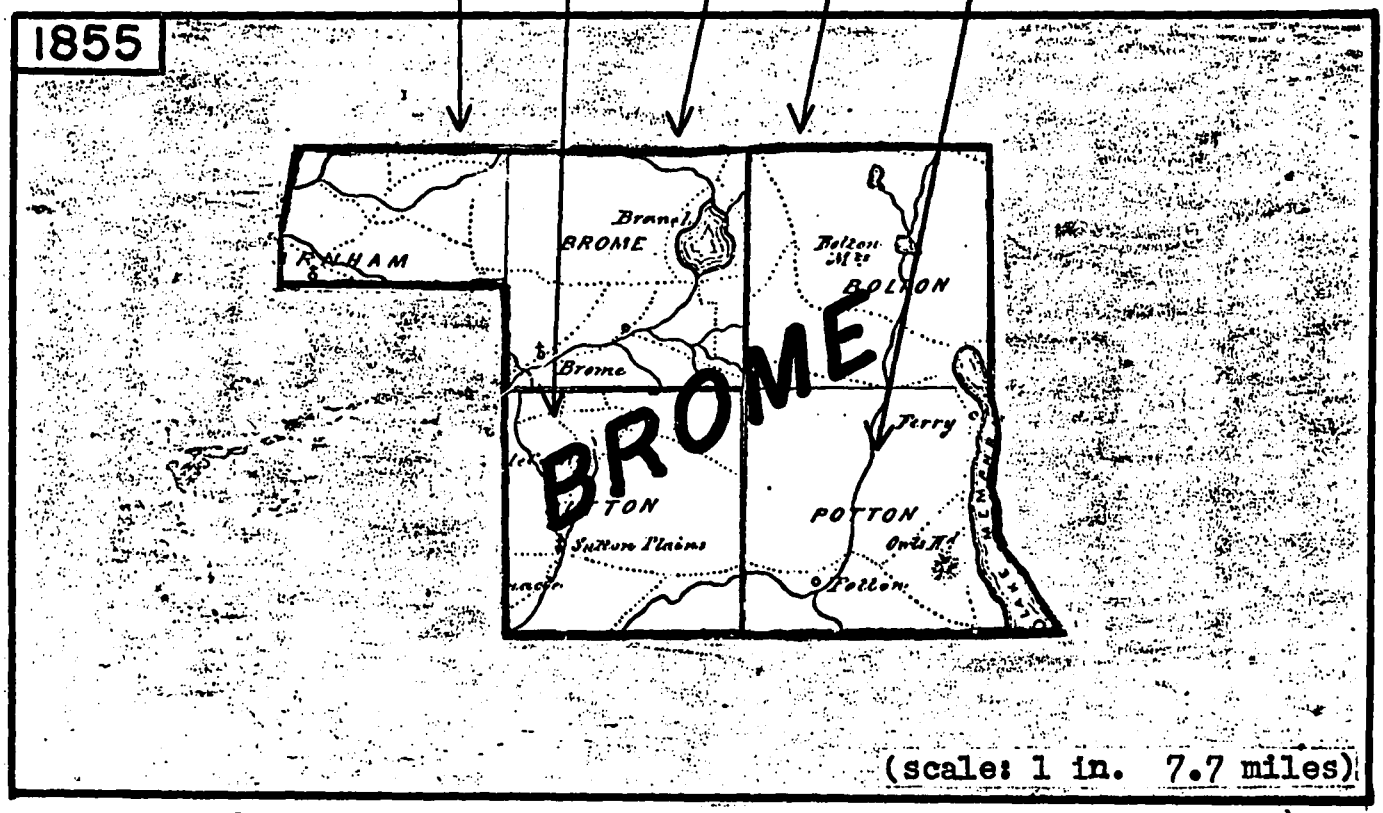
Map 2-4. King George III's Proclamation of 1790 divided Lower Canada into the Districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, Quebec and Gaspe. The counties of Bedford and Richelieu were created in 1792 within these districts. Between 1792 and 1804 the individual townships were petitioned for and established. Vermont's northern border was firmly drawn with the admission of the state to the U.S. in 1791. (scale: 1 in. 7 miles)
(Base Map -- was modified from "The New Corrected Map of the Seat of War etc." Amos Lay, Land Surveyor, Philadelphia, 1812)



Map 2-5. In 1828 - 29 the counties of Bedford and Richelieu were divided into a new arrangement of smaller counties: Rouville, Missisquoi, St. Hyacinthe, Shefford and Stanstead. Orford township at this time was included in old Sherbrooke Co. which consisted of the present counties of Richmond, Wolfe, Compton, and Sherbrooke. (scale: 1 in. 7.7 miles)



Map 2-6. In 1847 Farnham and Brome townships were a part of Shefford Co. while Sutton was in Missisquoi and Bolton and Potton in Stanstead. Magog township was created out of the west part of Hatley and the east part of Bolton.



Map 2-7. In 1855 Brome County was created from parts of Shefford, Missisquoi, and Stanstead. Farnham township was split into Farnham East (Brome Co.) and Farnham West (Missisquoi Co.). The development of the various boundaries and political units in the area is complete.

Base map used in maps 2-5, 2-6, 2-7 are the same as base map used in map 1-1.

Instead, squatters trickled onto the vacant lots and staked out private claims. In 1827 Colonel Knowlton was appointed land agent for the New Hampshire owners and he sagaciously verified and recorded the squatters' claims rather than evict them. Under Knowlton's management many of the non-reserved lots were sold and much progress made. By 1831 Brome Township had the following tally:

population - 1314	churches - 1
saw mills - 7	schools - 5
grist mills- 2	taverns - 3
villages - 1	cows - 1016
pot asheries - 3	sheep - 2560 (28)

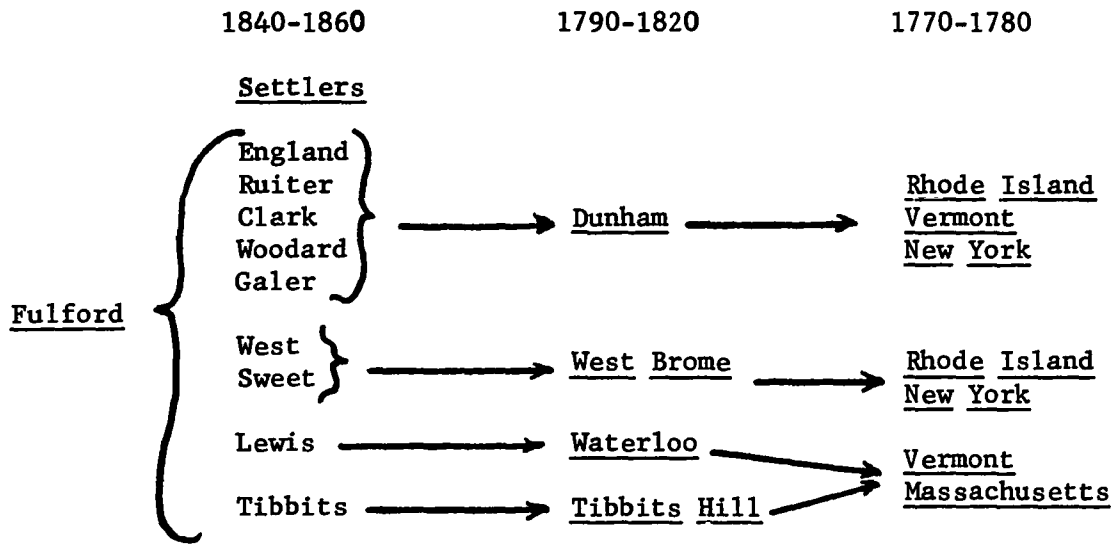
In 1845 the Township was 45% occupied and by 1850 the occupied acreage amounted to 50%. Already, there were at least a half dozen abandoned farm houses and the population (1846) had risen to almost 1,800.[29]

The entire Township passed into the hands of Hiram Foster in 1855 and under his supervision the remaining lots were sold. The year 1855 is thus of significance for several reasons: the last crown and clergy reserves were disposed of; Brome County was created; and Brome Township came under the proprietorship of one man. This date furthermore witnessed the very first glimmer of activity at the place where the village of Fulford would soon be located.

Beginnings and Progress in the Vicinity of Fulford.

"Where Fulford now stands was a dense forest as late as 1856." [30] This quotation from the Rev. Taylor confirms what is no doubt the single most important circumstance with regard to the origins of the study village. Fulford was a latecomer! It never partook of the pioneer settlement phase characteristic of Dunham, West Shefford, Frost Village, Cowansville and the other New England daughter settlements that arose during the first half of the century. A second generation of settlers had left these established communities and founded such 'grand-daughter' villages and hamlets as Sheffington, Iron Hill, Bromere, and Fulford at a somewhat later date. If the places of origin of Fulford's first settlers are traced backwards, a familial relationship between several Canadian

villages and American states is created:



Further genealogical research could pinpoint exactly which New England villages were the actual mother settlements; one such source village, often referred to in the local genealogies, is the Vermont community of Newfane.

The fact that many of Fulford's first families came from Dunham (a quick look at the early street map of Dunham in appendix A shows the names of West, Galer, England, and Woodard -- Fulford's first settlers) is perhaps attributable to the fact that men from Dunham comprised the survey party that first traversed the Fulford area in 1794. Apart from the obvious industrial attraction of a series of waterfalls and cataracts near the village site, the men most likely noticed that "extensive forests of hemlock, mixed with spruce, hard woodland and occasional pine, exist(ed) in this vicinity, affording an almost inexhaustible supply of lumber."[31]

In the vicinity around Fulford there were sporadic clearings and farmsteads but as yet there was no through road between Brome Lake and West Shefford; such a road would be built in the late 1840's. Frost Village was the principal centre in the district at this time and Waterloo, although recognized as a potential site for settlement, was little more than a hamlet. West Shefford had an influx of Irish Loyalists in the 1830's and a post office was opened there in 1840. Iron Hill was an isolated pocket of mountain settlement ideal for counterfeiting rings: "the people remained here a long time holding no communication with the rest of Brome -- a community by themselves."[32]

Bromere, having been stifled in its rise by an eccentric proprietor who refused to lease or sell any of the surrounding property until after his death, was just emerging from the woods. Such was the cultural landscape in the vicinity of Fulford on the eve of the village's founding.

Cyrus Thomas recorded the very first settlement in the neighborhood of Fulford: "Jacob Traver, Enoch Sargent, and Jacob Whiting. They all came from Dunham and settled here in 1830."[33] Another twenty-five years would elapse before the millers and merchants would appear, but now the stage was set!

CHAPTER 2 - NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 William Wood (ed.), The Storied Province of Quebec. Vol. II, ch. 5, p. 922.

2 Jean Hunter, "The French Invasion of the Eastern Townships," McGill University Thesis, p. 27.

3 Wood, op. cit., p. 922

4 "First and Second Reports of the Special Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Causes which Retard the Settlement of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada," Legislative Assembly of Quebec. p. 1 ff.

5 Wood, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 923

6 Ibid, p. 923

7 Mrs. C.M. Day, History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, etc. p. 158-9.

8 Ibid. p. 164

9 W.A. Douglas Jackson, "The Regressive Effects of Late 18th Century British Colonial Policy in Land Development Along the Upper St.Lawrence River," Annals of the Association of American Geographers. Vol. 45, p. 258

10 Robert Sellar, The Tragedy of Quebec: The Explusion of the Protestant Farmers, p. 3 .

11 Wood, op. cit, p. 923.

12 A.R.M. Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest, p. 89.

13 R. Sellar, op. cit., p. 3.

14 Mrs.C.M. Day, op. cit., p. 186.

15 Ibid. pp. 186...181.

(cont'd)

[16] Frere Catelliero, "Le Problème Géographique de l'Hiver dans les Cantons de l'Est," Thèse de l'Université Laval, p. 147.

[17] M. Andrews, "Evolution of Settlement in Orange County, Vermont," McGill University Thesis, p.122 .

[18] Harold Wilson, "Population Trends in Northwestern New England 1790-1930," Geographical Review, Vol. 24, p. 272

[19] A.R.M. Lower, op. cit., p. 98

[20] A.K. Botts, "Northbridge, Massachusetts, A Town that Moved Down Hill," Journal of Geography, Vol. 33, no. 7, p. 260.

[21] Wood, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 927.

[22] Jean Hunter, op. cit., p. 34.

[23] R. Sellar, op. cit., p. 4.

[24] Jean Hunter, op. cit., p.35.

[25] Wood, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 927.

[26] Ibid. p. 928.

[27] Mrs. C.M. Day, op. cit., p. 209

[28] Joseph Bouchette, British Dominions of North America, Vol. II.

[29] "Recapitulation by Districts and Counties of the Returns of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada and of the other Statistical Information obtained in the Year 1844," Unofficial Census of Quebec, Montréal: 1846

[30] Rev. Taylor, History of Brome County, Vol. II, p. 32.

[31] Cyrus Thomas, Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships, p. 281

[32] Ibid, p. 286.

[33] Ibid, p. 280.

PART II

CROSS-SECTIONS IN TIME

"For backward... as I cast my eyes,
I see what was, and is, and will abide;
Still glides the stream, and shall
forever glide;
The Form remains, the Function never dies."

-- Wm. Wordsworth, "The River Duddon"

CHAPTER 3

1855-1870
The Early Years, Hamlet to Postal Village

> "...a large part of the tract is still in a wild state. Numerous roads extending in different directions and connecting various points where settlement (sic) are commenced, have been constructed or are projected by government, with the view of opening up the country and still further facilitating its settlement."
>
> -- Mrs. Day, History of the Eastern Townships, 1869[1]

The Surrounding Countryside

Brome, Shefford, and the adjacent townships were considerably "wild", in both the cultural and natural sense, and quite unsettled in 1860; indeed, with the exception of Sherbrooke there was little development or concentration of settlement in the whole of the district.

The north-central area of Brome was largely uncleared forest land dotted with squatters clearings and occasional mill sitesalong the Yamaska. Much confusion prevailed as to who owned which part of which lot and who should clear a road from one settlement to the next. Iron Hill and Bromere were becoming fairly prosperous hamlets but more and more the trade and commerce of the area began to gravitate toward one nucleus -- Waterloo. Located near the southern border of Shefford County, Waterloo had come to service the whole frontier community in the northern part of Brome County as well. In 1943 it replaced Frost Village as the county seat even though it had less than 200 residents. In 1860 the railroad reached Waterloo and as a direct result the population soared to 1,500 by 1867.

Researchers have delineated rather distinct demographic zones within the Township area at this time.[2] Brome Township was entirely within what has been called 'the English area', still being 93% English speaking in population makeup. Waterloo -- with only one Catholic family in 1859 -- was in a 'transition area' and on the verge of a French Canadian wave. In 1863 the first mass was celebrated there and by 1867 the French community was quite substantial. Thus a somewhat vague and constantly shifting zone or boundary of population

realignment could be placed somewhere between Waterloo and the Brome Township settlements in the 1860's. This is not to say that an observable demographic isoline could be mapped because, as with the other rapidly changing human phenomenology on the frontier, development was sporadic and unpredictable from year to year.[3]

A Moment in Time

Fulford was very much representative of the dozen or more small frontier communities in the Shefford - Brome area. Perhaps insight as to the pioneer character and parochial outlook of the study village in the 1860's can best be gained if for a brief paragraph or two the literary tense is switched to the present (cf. Ralph Brown, Mirror for Americans) instead of projecting the study backwards through the use of the historical past:

> Time, 7 o'clock Monday morning, April 18, 1864.
>
> ...It's cold in the valley this morning and there's still patches of the snow that fell on Friday night. The almanac says it's early spring but the river is still icy.
>
> Some of the folks are sluggish this morning; John Lang had a party for his new son last night and some of the people didn't get home till after nine. But things are starting to stir as the sun filters down through the tops of the pines and warms the shingle roofs and frosted glass windows of the dozen or so houses in the village.
>
> The saws and millwheels have been buzzing and grinding away down near the river since sunrise; it's a busy time of year for Mr. George and his millworkers. They've got the mill pond backed up with timbers from the winter cuttings and the mill workers will be here till late in the evening. Across the river, Fred and George England are heating up the tan vats alongside the tannery while several farmers from Shefford line unload hemlock bark from their ox-carts.
>
> The Davis, Armstrong, and Lewis children are plodding their way to school along the muddy and badly rutted road -- it's a good thing the road has been corduroyed part of the way. The schoolhouse is half a mile past the crossroad but some of the boys take a shortcut across Jim Booth's field.

> Mr. Sargent and Nelson Hurlburt are out early this morning; there's lots of carpentry work to be done on the new church. Rev. Lindsay and the Chruch of England people just finished the brickwork on their church last year, but the Wesleyans have decided that a fine wooden building would serve just as well.
>
> Mr. Hurlburt will also be doing some work on the bridge this afternoon; the Municipal Council is paying him $30 to reinforce the pilings and replace some of the planks so the spring threshets don't wash it away like that bridge at West Shefford last year.
>
> And up across the road from Oscar George's store, Simon Orcutt is hammering a sign onto his porchpost; all the villagers are proud of it too! It's a sign for the new post office and reads: 'Fulford, Quebec' in honor of old Bishop Fulford up in Montréal...

The Functional Activities of the Young Community.

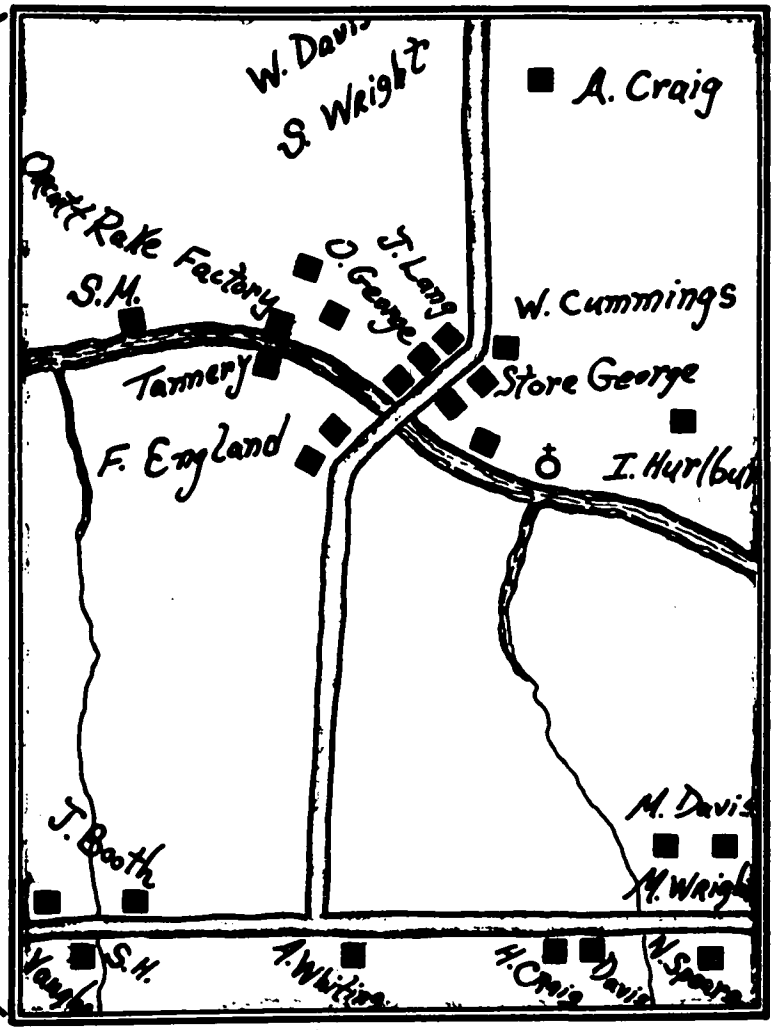
This romanticized recreation entails a good deal of supposition and imagination and if this you-are-there approach is necessarily composite it is certainly not inaccurate. The village contained no more than ten or twelve dwellings exclusive of the mills and tannery. (see fig. 3-1) The population of the village proper was probably fifty at most; The Eastern Townships Business Directory for 1867 presents a precise account of Fulford to date:

> "A small post office in northern part of Brome Township, Brome County, about 8 miles from Waterloo. It is a New Village, quietly coming into public notice. There are two Churches in the place, Episcopal and Methodist; also saw, shingle and lath mill, rake factory, and tannery, all doing a paying business."[4]

The sequence of arrival for the various village enterprises is recorded in the local histories: in 1857 Oscar George located his saw mill here; in 1858 the England Brothers built a tannery; in 1861 Mr. Orcutt constructed a furniture shop and rake factory; in 1863 Mr. George added a grist mill alongside his saw mill; by 1864 there was a mechanics shop and a small collection of multi-purpose houses and one or two stores. Several of these early buildings have been sketched by the author in fig. 3-2.

FIG. 3-1

A. PART OF WALLING'S MAP (1864) (1 mile = 3/4 inch)



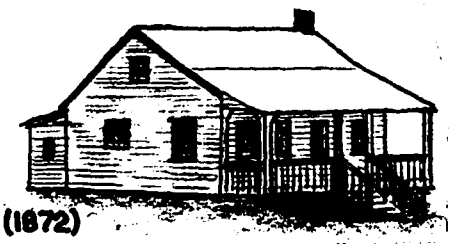
B. DETAIL OF THE VILLAGE AREA ENLARGED — WALLING'S MAP (1 mile = 4 inches)

A typical sequence of arrival for village crafts was advanced by Alfred Meyer in his study of settlement on the Indiana frontier between 1830 and 1850.[5] This sequence conforms to the order of development in Fulford as well. After a short while the pot and pearl asheries were replaced by the more permanent village enterprises. The saw mill was the first into the area, soon followed by the grist mills and carding mills. Next came the village shop-keepers: wagonmakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet-makers, saddlers, and harness-makers. Finally a tannery was opened. At Fulford this pattern holds true with the exception of the grist and carding mills. Evidently the grain mills at Iron Hill and Bromere (fig. 3-1) were sufficient to accommodate the needs of the local farmers -- for a while at least! The only carding mills in the vicinity were those constructed at Bromere and Sheffington (villages about four miles on either side of Fulford).

Everyone's job in the village was in some way related to these basic crafts; apart from farming, employment could be had as either a mill hand or tannery worker. As a result of theeconomic and social requirements of the young community certain of these establishements can be singled out and considered as institutions essential to both the creation and early rise of the village. In order of descending inportance the historical village trinity is: the mills, the churches, and the post office.

Saw mills and grist mills were the most vital service facilities provided on the frontier of settlement. They were "the first factor of economic importance next to the establishment of the framstead itself."[6]

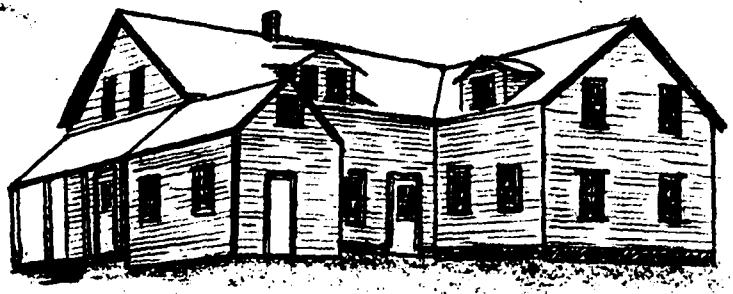
Conditions in Lower Canada in 1850 were extremely hortative to the construction of mills -- especially saw mills. The report of the Legislative Assembly in 1851 made note of the remarkable quantity of desirable timber and unharnessed water power in the Townships. Moreover, no great capital outlay was necessary to erect a mill; in his study of Peacham, Vermont, E.L. Bogart says that "the capital required was not large and the machinery was not expensive



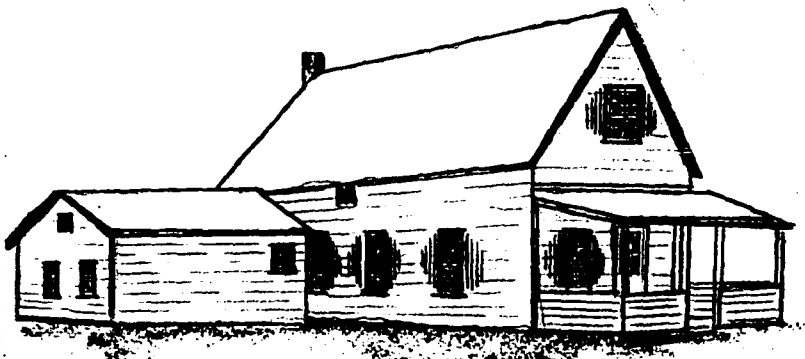
WRIGHT HOUSE (1872)

DAVIS HOUSE (1862)

OSCAR GEORGE'S GENERAL STORE (1862)



ENGLAND FAMILY HOUSE & STORE (1863)



ADVENTIST CHURCH (1867)

LANG HOUSE (1864)

FIG. 3-2

FULFORD'S EARLY BUILDINGS

and lasted for a long time. Since the market was mostly local there was no place for a large enterprise, while even the small local demand was divided among a number of mills, each of which seems to have served its neighborhood."[7]

In the context of its regional economy, Québec was also in a favored position in the 1860's. Vermont's lumber supply was exhausted and "the American market began to replace the British market by 1851, as indicated by the heavy lumber shipments being conveyed by Lake Champlain that year." In the budding saw mill villages such as Buckingham, Québec, "the impact of this new market was immediately felt."[8] Export restrictions on sawn lumber sent to the states were lifted in 1854 and many small settlements throughout the province no doubt benefited as a result. It is questionable as to whether Fulford's sawn lumber ever passed beyond a local market, but even if such was not the case the enormous demands of the burgeoning towns and cities in the immediate area were more than enough to keep the construction boom going. By 1864 there were one dozen operating saw mills in Brome Township alone (fig.3-3).

In 1856 Oscar George sold his mills and property holdings in Shefford and with this capital he commenced building a mill on the Yamaska. "He was attracted to this place on account of the excellent mill site and the abundance of timber to be had."[9] The construction was completed in 1857 and the site was simply referred to as 'Oscar George's Place'.

The structure was of wood with a stone foundation and measured 30 by 100 feet. It was located on the north bank of the Yamaska just west of the road to Waterloo. The machinery consisted of one large and two small circular saws powered by an upright or vertical wheel with horizontal axis and millstone. Water for the mill pond was impounded behind an 11'8'' dam which allowed for an overshot water wheel rotated by gravity. (see fig. 3-3) The wheel apparatus was enclosed in a box-like casing for protection against the weather. The mill pond served as a temporary storage area from which the logs were guided through a narrow sluceway, onto a wooden trolley, and into the saw blade. Once cut, the timber was stacked on the higher ground to the rear of the mill. Oscar George's

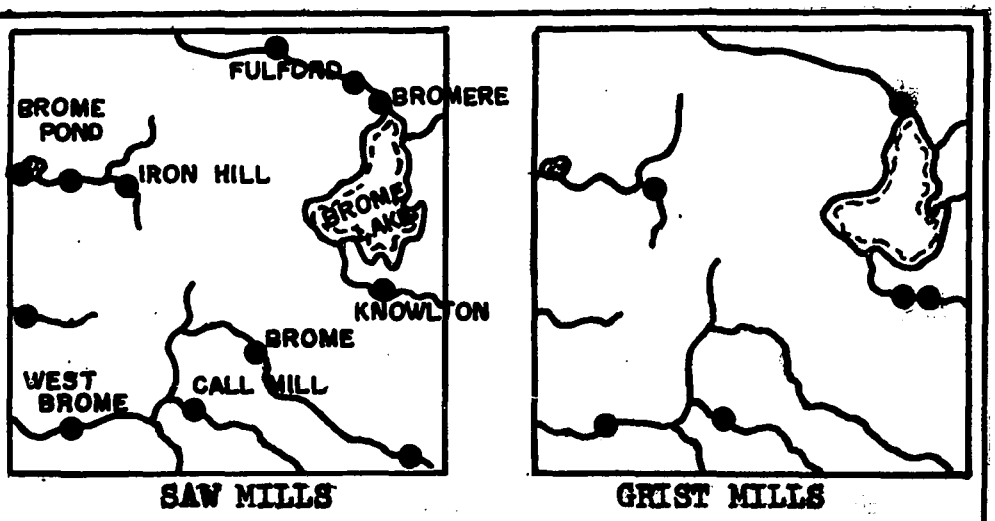


Fig.3-3a. Brome Township, 1864. (from Derek Booth)

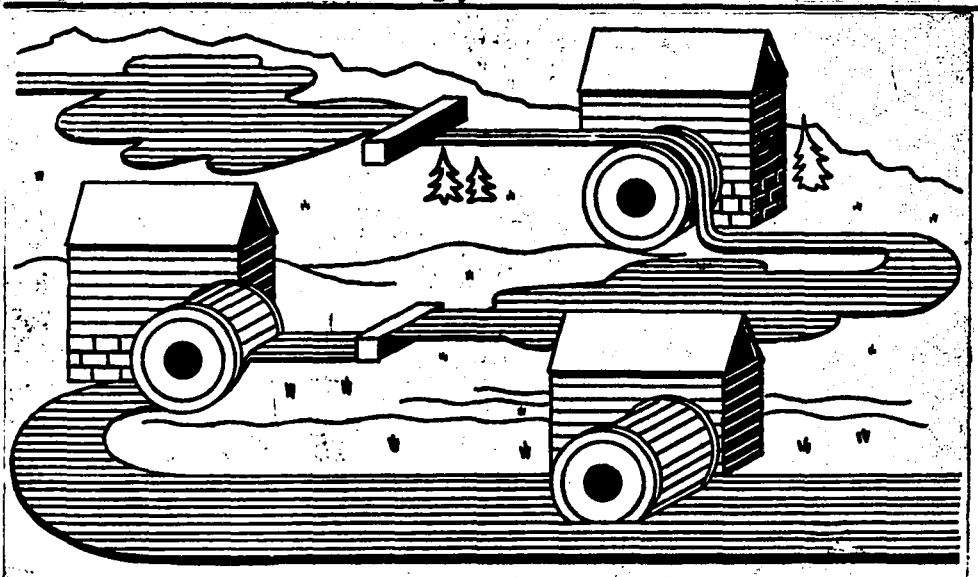


Figure 55. Varieties of water wheel, and typical locations for each. Above, overshot wheel, rotated almost entirely by gravity; typical position in upper reaches of a stream, below a dam. At the left, breast wheel, rotated by a combination of gravity and impact of the water; typical position in middle reaches of a stream, below a dam. Below, undershot wheel, rotated by impact; typical position in lower, wider reaches of a stream, no dam required; if the stream is narrowed to receive the wheel, energy is lost, since the wheel will not rotate at the speed of the stream.

Fig.3-3b. Mill types from Storck & Teague, A History of Milling, p. 107.

mill, like many mills of this period, included additional machinery for shingle making. Shingle manufacture (usually from bark) seems to have been a major activity at the mill. Another function of the mill, which indirectly helped improve the local transportation pattern, was the production of planking for bridges and roads.

In 1863 George erected a grist mill alongside the saw mill. Many mill owners combined both milling functions under one roof due to the fact that the power machinery was identical; the construction of an individual building for the grist mill is perhaps an indication of the mill owner's prosperity. The new grist mill, built of wood and stone, was similar in appearance to the saw mill but about one-third the size. Here, fine-hulled white oats and other grains were kiln-dried and ground between a stationary and rotating stone. The placement of the grist mill-- adjacent to, but upriver from the saw mill -- is probably an indication of the owner's awareness of an early form of water pollution. The polluting agent was sawdust refuse! The accumulations of sawdust that were dumped into the river eventually constituted a problem in that after several years they tended to foul the mechanisms of downstream mills and contaminated the water used for the kiln-drying process at the grist mills. Fulford was a village that found other uses for the sawdust: to store ice cut from the river in winter and to provide a floor covering for the bedding down of cattle.

Alfred Meyer makes the point that mills were highly ephemeral operations prone to abandonment, destruction, conversion, and relocation. The Fulford mills were quite lucky in this regard, for Oscar George's mills persisted for many decades on the same site, using the same structures. The ephemeral factor seems to have been the human element; the mills changed hands many times over a period of fifty years until the river itself was so diminished that operation finally had to cease. George himself ran into financial difficulties in 1866 and was forced to mortgage his mills and property to the Upper Canada Loan Company for $2000. (fig 3-4) Although his mills were -- from all available indications -- doing well, his situation didn't improve and he sold

FIG.3-4 OSCAR GEORGE'S LOAN APPLICATION OF 1866 & DESCRIPTION OF MILLS AND HOUSES AT FULFORD

APPLICATION FOR LOAN.

I Oscar George

of the Township of Brome in the County of Brome

in Canada East, request that a Loan of a sum of Two thousand dollars

~~Dollars~~ Currency,

be advanced to me from the Funds of the Trust and Loan Company of Upper Canada, upon the usual terms, and conditions on which the Company advance Loans, and I offer to Mortgage the property described in the Schedule on the next page for securing the re-payment thereof.

Dated Brome the 17th of May 1866

Applicant's Signature Oscar George

Do. Occupation Lawyer

Post Office Knowlton, Brome Co.

13 Boundaries and Description of the Property.	BUILDINGS. Description.	Materials.	Dimensions. Frontage.	Depth.
1st — Saw Mill, with one Large and two Small Circular Saws and one Shingle Machine	Stone foundation	Wood	100 ft.	30 ft.
2nd — Grist Mill, one run Stone & Smutt Mill	Frame with Stone foundation	Wood	35	30
3rd — Dwelling House occupied by Applicant	Stone foundation	Wood	30	24
4th — Dwelling House occupied by Tenant	do	do	20	24

out completely in 1868 to Francis England, the village tanner. The sale involved two parcels of land:

> one "lying and situate (sic) on the East Side of the road leading to Shefford across said lot bounded... on the west by the east side of the said road, on the north by the south line of one Aaron Spear's farm... bounded southerly by the bank or center of the River Yamaska, be its condition what it may, together with a blacksmith's shop thereon erected."
>
> and secondly "seventy-two acres of land with the mills and all houses and other buildings thereon erected... on the north side of said River Yamaska on the west side of the road leading to Shefford across the said lot..."[10]

Oscar George still managed to retain property holdings within the village, but he himself returned to Waterloo. Francis England -- now tanner and miller -- had purchased the entire saw and grist mill set-up for $2000.

Fig.3-5 Ruined foundation timbers of the Fulford mills on the north bank of the Yamaska today.

By 1863 the settlers at 'Oscar George's Place' had amassed enough fiscal self-confidence in their little community to feel that they could bear the expense of organizing a congregation and erecting a house of worship. And not just one congregation but two!

Thomas has compiled a listing of the various religious sects in Brome Township around this time; the breakdown is as follows:

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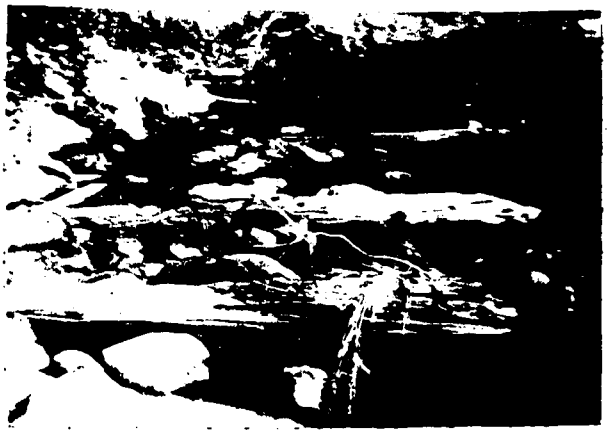

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Thomas has compiled a listing of the various religious sects in Brome Township around this time; the breakdown is as follows:

Episcopalians -- 101
Wesleyan Methodists -- 75
New Connection Methodists -- 30
Congregationalists -- 20
Freewill Baptists -- 15 (11)

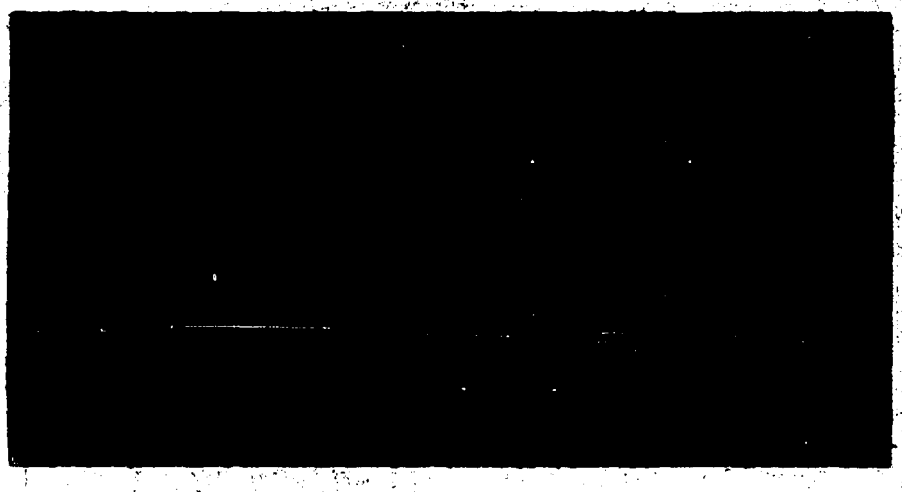
The two dominant groupings were the Episcopalians and Wesleyans and it was these two sects that petitioned for congregations at Fulford. The fact that the settlers at Fulford regarded themselves as Episcopalians -- rather than Anglicans -- gives further confirmation as to their Yankee origins.

In the early days the village was administered to by the Anglican circuit rider from Frost Village, the Rev. Lindsay. He had in his charge several small settlements which constituted 'The Brome Woods Mission' in the northern part of the Township (Fulford, Iron Hill, etc.) and apparently meet with great success in the propagation of the society at Fulford.[12] St.Stephen's Chruch of England was constructed here in 1863 (fig.3-7).

From 1843 onward the vicinity was frequented by the Rev. Armstrong, Methodist circuit rider from Waterloo in charge of the Shefford Circuit. A house of worship (fig.3-6) was built at Fulford in 1864 and served the Methodist community till 1925 when they merged with other sects to form the United Church of Canada.

The Revs. Lindsay and Armstrong were thus non-resident ministers who visited weekly or bi-weekly; the denominations in the village were considered as charges or appointments of ministers in adjacent settlements.

In his Northbridge, Massachusetts study A.K. Botts discussed the problem of church location in a new settlement and emphasized how the centralising force of the institution was best put to use by the settlers: "When the town fathers of Northbridge were faced in 1772 with the task of organizing a congregation, one of the principal problems involved a determination of the most logical location for the church. There they met a distinct geographical problem."[13] At Northbridge and elsewhere it seemed preferable to place the church on high ground as near to the center of the community as possible. At Fulford the hillside overlooking the north bank of the Yamaska was already occupied by



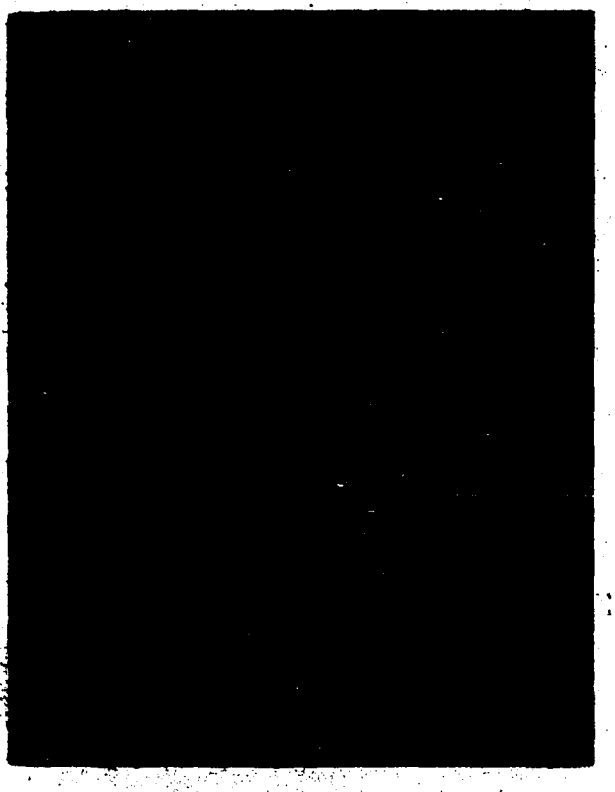
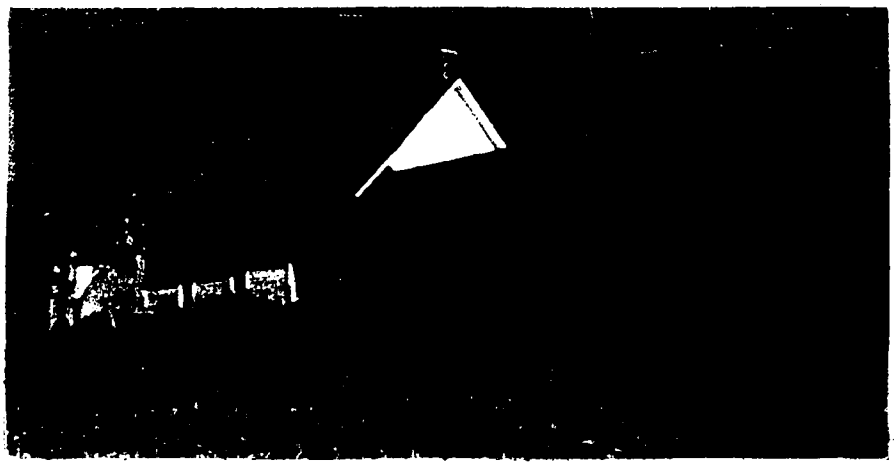


fig.3-6. The United Chruch of Canada at Fulford. Building served as the Methodist house of worship when built in 1864. Carriage shed is seen at top rear and facade at the bottom.



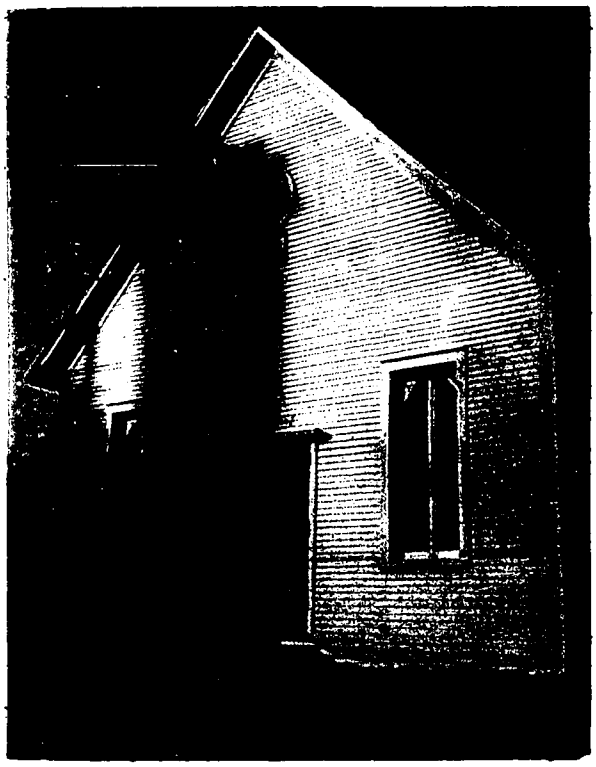
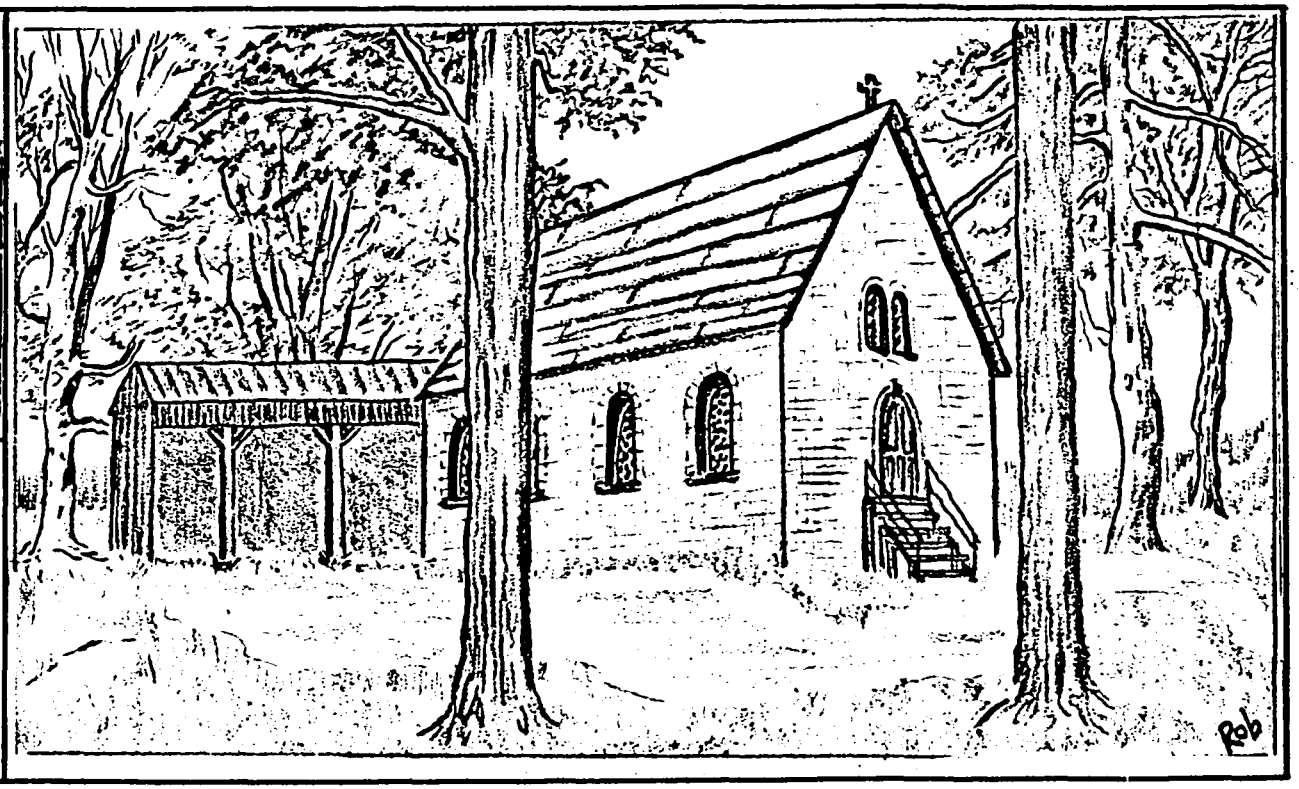


fig.3-6. The United Chruch of Canada at Fulford. Building served as the Methodist house of worship when built in 1864. Carriage shed is seen at top rear and facade at the bottom.

Sketch at right was drawn from verbal and written accounts of the period.

Carriage shed has been demolished, bell tower added in 1900, and wooden door steps replaced by cement stoop.



FULFORD'S ANGLICAN CHURCH IN 1863 AND 1967

FIG. 3–7

several houses and stores and the only alternative was the still vacant roadside lots on the south side of the river past the tannery. Although not at the village core, the area did present somewhat of a rolling hillside astride the road. Consequently, both congregations chose this spot and today the two church buildings stand face to face on opposite sides of the road.

Finally, the village post office may well be considered as the institution which was instrumental in at least the technical transition from hamlet to village. Trewartha draws an organic analogy wherein the small post office serves as a "common centre of accretion, having sufficient centripetal power to induce minor coagulation within the open - country settlement plasm."[14]

The rural post offices were of course not offices at all but simply places where the postal rider deposited his letterbag, whether it be a blacksmith shop, general store, or someone's parlor. At Fulford the post office found a home in Simon Orcutt's house in 1864 and he naturally became the village's first postmaster.

Postal records are apparently meager to non-existent for settlements of this caliber and one could surely spend a lifetime researching the corridors of dusty archives in Ottawa before stumbling upon anything even of tangential value. Thus, little more can be said of the actual operations and appearance of the village post office. Is is known that the office migrated from house to store to house and finally back to the general store as the postmaster's job changed hands over the decades, but beyond this the subject seems to defy research!

By the end of the 1860's the future seemed bright for Fulford and perhaps it is good to round out the chapter by calling upon a contemporary, Cyrus Thomas, to voice his opinion. Would Fulford be another Waterloo? Another Sherbrooke? The village had everything going for it:

> "The great water - power advantage afforded by this stream, the large quantity of timber in this section and its proximity to the railway must sooner or later cause this part of Brome to be regarded with interest by the capitalist."[15]

fig. 3-8 The Brantonbarns. Oldest farm structures in the village of Fulford (ca. 1860)

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fig. 3-8 The **Bruntonbarns.** Oldest farm structures in the village of Fulford (ca. 1860)

CHAPTER 3 - NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Mrs. C.M. Day, History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, etc., p. 237

[2] Jean Hunter, "The French Invasion of the Eastern Townships," McGill University Thesis, p. 44 ff.

[3] The 1864 street maps of the more important villages in the immediate area appear in Appendix A (viz. Sweetsburg, West Shefford, Dunham, Frost Village, Knowlton, and Waterloo.)

[4] The Eastern Townships Business Directory, 1867, Lovell Co., p. 80. Note mistake: Fulford is -- and was -- 4.5 miles, not 8, from Waterloo even if road improvements are considered.

[5] Alfred Meyer, "Circulation and Settlement Pattern of the Calumet Region of Northwest Indiana and Northeast Illinois (the Second Stage of Occupance -- Pioneer Settlement and Subsistence Economy 1830-1850), "Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.46, p. 342.

[6] Ibid.

[7] E.L. Bogart, Peacham -- The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, p. 250.

[8] W.V. Smith, "The Evolution of Fall Line Settlement, Buckingham, Quebec," University of Ottawa Thesis, p. 23.

[9] Rev. Taylor, History of Brome County, Vo. II, p. 33.

[10] Index to Estate, Vol. 10, Registry Office, Knowlton Court House. Entry for March 3, 1888, pp. 700- 702.

[11] Cyrus Thomas, Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships, p. 298.

[12] Note: Francis Fulford was the Anglican Bishop of Montréal who became Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada in 1860.

[13] A.K. Botts, "Northbridge, Massachusetts, A Town That Moved Down Hill," Journal of Geography, Vo. 33, no. 7, p. 250.

[14] Glenn Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet; One Element of the American Settlement Fabric," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 33, p.39 .

[15] C. Thomas, op. cit. p. 298-99.

CHAPTER 4

The 1870's & 1880's: A Thriving, Busy Place

In 1870 Louis Riel had set himself up as head of a 'new nation' in the West, but the news item of greatest moment in Québec's Townships was -- once again -- the expulsion of a rag-tag army of Fenians who had come across the border from Franklin, Vermont. However, it was the slow, but steady progress of the small hamlets and towns in the inconsequential affairs of rural life that were the most significant events of the day. The barn raisings and farm lot sales, the closing of a mill and opening of a tub factory, the achievements and changes emanating from the thousands of postal hamlets and tannery villages never made the headlines.

Brome County had about 14,000 people by this time (1870) and Brome Township (still 3/4 English speaking) had 3,500. Across the county line in Shefford 2/3 of the 19,000 people were French speaking; Waterloo, still the hub of most of the region's activity, was finding it harder and harder to keep pace with Granby. The two towns had become the prongs of a powerful industrial magnet which drew into Shefford an ever increasing French population. In Granby the transition was especially evident -- a tannery and mill town in 1870 and by 1890 the industrial giant of the county.

In Brome, the village of Knowlton -- with 600 people -- was the best the Township had to offer. Unlike Waterloo and Granby, the village stage based upon crafts and small trade shops was never succeeded by an industrial stage in Knowlton; the French influx to Brome was thus stalled by a lack of industrialization. On table 4-1 Knowlton's 45 occupational listings compare with over 100 for Waterloo. The table also presents the relative strengths of the village trade in Fulford, Iron Hill, and West Shefford. An overall view of the settlement and local industrial base in the immediate area can be had by reference to the map of Brome Township in 1881 contained in the back cover pocket. (map 4-1)

TABLE 4-1

LIST OF VILLAGE OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED AT SEVERAL CENTERS BETWEEN 1871 AND 1888*

VILLAGE	OCCUPATIONS		
Fulford	3 carpenters blacksmith merchant millwright pump manuf.	rope manuf. sawyer tanner tub manuf.	
Iron Hill	2 masons 2 millers blacksmith carpenter cheese maker	merchant	
Bromere	2 millers butcher sawyer tanner		
West Shefford	3 carpenters 3 merchants 3millers 2 blacksmiths 2 butchers	2 shoemakers carriage maker harness maker mason tailor	hotel keeper
Knowlton	8 carpenters 7 merchants 6 harness makers 3 blacksmiths 3 butchers	3 carriage mkrs. 3 shoemakers 2 hotel keepers 2 masons 2 millers	tanner tailor tinsmith cheese mkr. pump maker tub maker
Waterloo	29 carpenters 10 blacksmiths 10 shoemakers 8 tanners 6 hotel keepers	12 merchants 5 butchers 5 carriage mkrs. 4 millers 4 tailors	4 masons 2 harness mkrs. cheese maker 2 tinsmiths brewer pump manuf.

*Source: Lovell's Canadian Dominion Directory, 1871. Eastern Townships Gazetteer & Directory for 1875-76. Eastern Townships Business & Farmer's Directory, 1888-89.

In the 1870's and 1880's Fulford was a more lively and active place than at any other time in its history. The people were engaged in producing, processing, selling, repairing, buying, and educating; Fulford served as a social and economic nucleus for its countryside. The rate of development is illustrated by successive entries in Lovell's Directories:

> 1871, "There are extensive grist and saw mills here and a tannery containing one hundred vats and employing twenty hands...Population about 200". p. 103.
>
> 1881, "It contains Episcopal and Methodist Chruches, a tannery, saw mill and 1 store. Population 250." p. 243.
>
> 1895, "It contains Episcopal and Methodist Chruches, 1 saw and 1 grist mill, 1 store, 1 cheese, 1 tub and 1 butter factory, and 1 telephone office, unlimited water power. Population 300."[1] p. 343.

TABLE 4-2

OWNERS ON LOT 27 IN THE 7TH RANGE (FULFORD) - 1881

Owner	Acres	Value of Land and Houses
1. Nazaire Bessette	70	$2,500
2. Louis Bouchard	1/4	250
3. Samuel Davis	1	200
4. Fred England	5	650
5. F. & P. England	3/4	800
6. F. & P. England	7/8	300
7. James Hayes	25	350
8. Philip Bourgeois	1/2	450
9. Henry Lang	25	750
10. E. Phelps	1	450
11. Joshua Rowell	1	600
12. Aaron Spears	2 1/8	600
13. Sylvester Sweet	50	700
14. Isaiah Sweet	1	200
15. Schoolhouse # 17	1/8	200
	184 total acres*	$9000 total value

*Note: the remaining 16 acres in the 200 acre lot were either in public road or part of the river.

(Source: Voter's List for the Township of Brome in the County of Brome -- Voting Subdivision no. 4, 1881, Brome Co. Hist. Soc.)

In the late 1880's the Township witnessed a flurry of railroad construction from which Fulford and other villages emerged as the beneficiaries. The last of the great trunk lines -- from Montreal to St. John, New Brunswick -- was laid by the Canadian Pacific. Fulford, although never appearing on the timetables, received a siding and a station house.

Further change came from within the village system itself. Milling was being replaced by the tanning industry as the mainstay of community activity. A new school and another church were opened in Fulford. Local farmers-turned-merchants used the village as home base for their merchandise. sales. Before 1870, the village lot map had shown only two names: Oscar George and the England Brothers. By 1890 (see map 4-2) a host of land holders had come upon the scene and the original owners, although still present, retained a considerably reduced acreage. Moreover, a few of the French farmers now owned property within the village. The extent and value of lot holdings in and around Fulford (table 4-2) reflects both the demographic composition and economic well-being of the settlement.

The importance of farming is indicated by the fact that over half of the heads of households served by the Fulford post office listed their occupations as farmers. Mechanics, carpenters, and laborers comprised most of the other occupations, but such a listing can be misleading in that most of the villagers performed several jobs (much as the houseswere multi-functional). For example, a mechanic could also be a manufacturer and craftsman, or a farmer might be a blacksmith and local grain merchant. The following is the 1875-76 entry for Fulford as contained in Lovell's Eastern Townships Business Directory:

Robert Armstrong (farmer)
James Booth (farmer)
James G. Booth (farmer)
Richard Booth (farmer)
Louis Bouchard (general merchant)
E.N. Castonguay (clerk)
S.J. Cummings (farmer)
Wm. Cummings (farmer)
Aylmer Davis (laborer)
George Davis (laborer)
F.,P. & G. England (prop. tannery)
George England (tanner)
Philo England (postmaster)
Seymour England (tanner)
Alonzo Fesseden (carpenter)
Eben Fesseden (farmer)
Wm. Fesseden (carpenter)
Joseph Gendreau (laborer)
Teleste Gendreau (laborer)
John Gibbs (farmer)
Nelson Hurlburt (carpenter)
Henry Lang (farmer)
R.E. Phelps (mechanic)
G.W. Pickering (millwright)

Wm. Regan (farmer)
Andrew Ring (laborer)
John Rouse (farmer)
Thomas Ryan (laborer)
Cornelius Salisbury (farmer)
Aaron Spears (farmer)
Sylvester Sweet (farmer)
Augustus Thomas (farmer)
Warren Woodard (farmer)
Samuel Wright (farmer)

A Moment in Time

Saturday, 23rd of August, 1884.

...Jed Clark was buried today. He was one of the first settlers who came here in the 1850's from Dunham. Seems like all the old ones are passing away now...

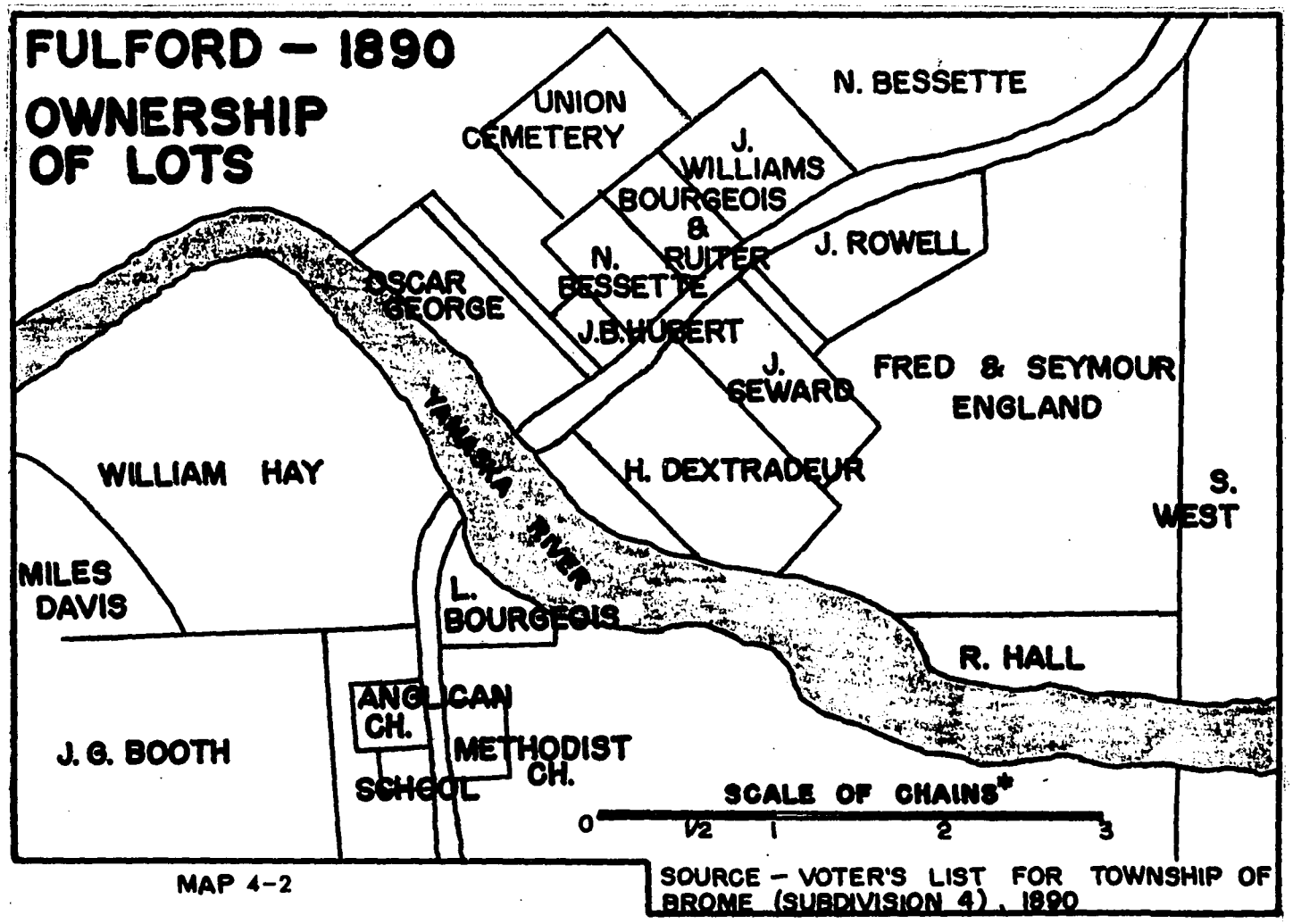
But still the place is getting bigger every year. So many youngsters now that some have to walk to Fessenden School a mile up the river because the village schoolhouse is overcrowded. Of course, there are some that don't bother to get a learning at all; they're the ones that aren't brought up, they just grow up!

Things change so much around here nowadays. New people coming in, new houses and barns all the time. Mr. Davis is putting white clap-board sidings over the old log and stone foundation on his house. Just doesn't seem proper! Why do you know that you don't even have to take your buggy to Waterloo to get provisions anymore; they've got fellows here -- merchants and that sort -- who'll get anything you want from porcelan chamber pots to galvanized barbed wire.

The Industrial and Commercial Activities

It would certainly be no overstatement to suggest that life in Fulford was at this time controlled by the fortunes and enterprises of one family. For twenty-two years (1858-1880) the tanning operation, the mills, general store, post office, much of the real estate, and local politics were the personal domain of the England family. Of all these undertakings probably none was more vital and essential to both the family and the community than the Fulford tannery.

Being as genealogically brief as possible, Fred and Elizabeth England came up from Westford, Vermont in the 1830's and settled at Dunham. They had six sons (Israel, Philo, George, Seymour, Frank and Wm. Penn) all of whom



Footnote: 1 chain equals 66 feet and each chain is composed of 100 links of 8 inches each.

became involved in the tanning business at Fulford and elsewhere. Israel England established himself as a tanner at Knowlton in 1842 and took on brother Philo as an apprentice. Philo soon left to complete his apprenticeship in the tanneries of R hode Island and then returned to Cowansville. He formed a partnership with brother Frank and canvased the area for the best of all possible locations to commence a tanning business. For reasons that were never divulged in writing they chose Fulford and purchased a tract of land from Hiram Foster in 1857. The following year, with the help of brothers George and Seymour, a large wooden structure was built across the Yamaska from Oscar George's saw mill. Fred England arrived at Fulford shortly afterwards and became the 'overseer' to his sons' business firm. The Directories for the 1870's contain the following entry under Fulford:

> "F.G. & P. England, proprietors tannery, curriers and dealers in all kinds of leather. All orders promptly attended to.
> Frederick England, overseer
> Frank England, tanner
> George England, tanner
> Philo England, postmaster, tanner
> Seymour England, tanner".

The tannery was constructed and its ground plan laid out in the same general fashion as most other American tanning establishments of the period. (see fig.4-1)[2] The main building was a massive two-story unpainted wooden structure perhaps 70 feet long and half as wide. The timbers used in its construction were sawn at the Fulford mill and the stone and metal finishings were bought from local suppliers. The upper floor was well ventilated because much of the time consuming and odorous work of drying out the processed hides was done here. Several wooden sheds were usually attached alongside where harness-making machinery and other mechanical contraptions were housed. The huge stacks of tanbark were piled in the tanyard along the river and here the hemlock vats (alternately oblong boxes) were sunk into the earth.[3] On the river bank itself was the bark mill where the material was crushed between wooden and stone wheels (at some tanneries a circular outdoor horse-drawn crushing device or runner stone was substituted). The last

necessary structure was the open-sided beam house where the hides were spread out and scraped clean on beaming boards.

The tanning operation rested upon a constantly renewed supply of biological resources. The basic raw materials were tanbark and hides, and the usual supplier was the local farmer.

Tanbark was simply bark that had been stripped from a tree and hauled down to the tannery. The procedure is described by one of the old-timers:

> "There were lots of timber around, all types. The farmers would work out there and cut these big trees down in winter, maybe a tree a hundred feet high and four feet thick; they cut them down and skin the bark off. They ring it for several feet. They cut the bark off with the axe...and it would lay there during most of the summer and dry off. The tree itself would just lay there, it had no use."[4]

In the Townships the two species of tree bark that were utilized most often were tamarack and hemlock (apparently when these species ran out all types of bark had to be used). Although oak tanbark was popular in the southern U.S., the evergreen veriety evidently rendered a highly desirable vitriol. The tamarack especially seems to have been favored at Fulford due to its occurrence in the swampy and boggy soils of the area. Today not a single tamarack can be found anywhere near the village and the only locale where the species is still abundant is around Sutton. Farmers from Foster, Bolton, West Shefford, Knowlton, and all the area in between came to Fulford with their bark. Henry Knowlton delivered a consignment to the village one winter:

> "26 January, the thermometer had been hovering at 0° for several days and stormy again today. Went to Fulford...got my money for the bark $165.30."[5]

The running price for hemlock bark in the Townships in the 1870's was about $5 of $6 per cord. Ironically, it was the area's boundless supply of wood that eventually contributed to the closure of the tannery. The industry (not only at Fulford) was plagued by what one writer calls a "technilogical conservatism" wherein "the seemingly unlimited amount of bark later impeded the rapid adoption of chemical salts as substitute tanning agents."[6] The

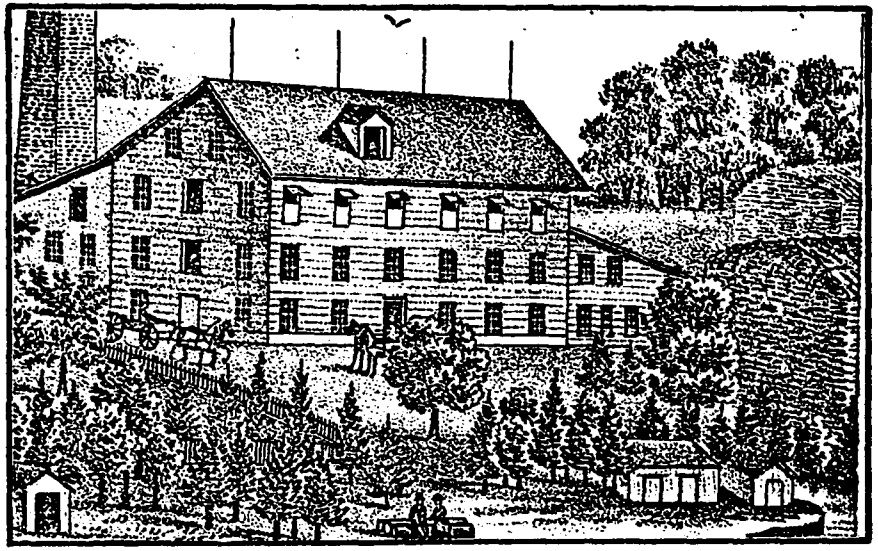


Fig.4-1a. Zinkan & Cress Tannery at Port Elgin, Ontario
(Belden's Atlas, 1881)

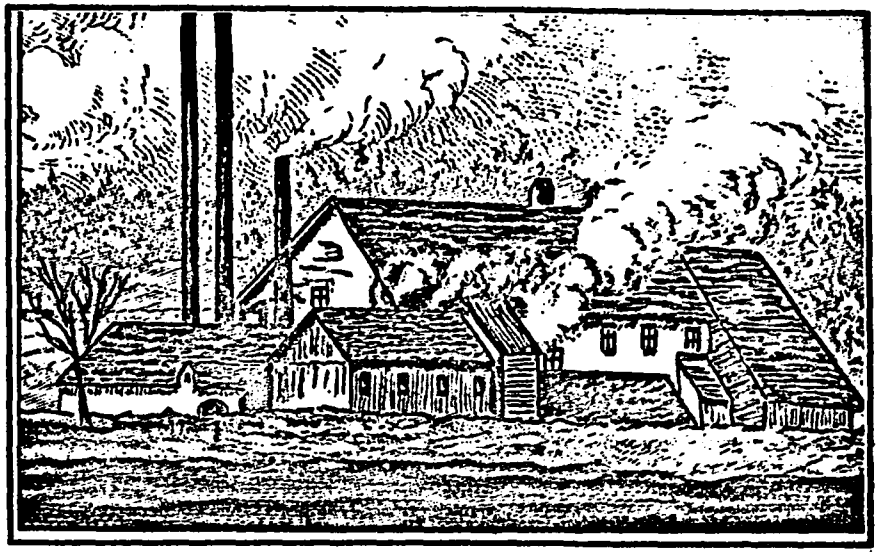


Fig.4-1b. Simpson Tannery at Drummondville, Quebec
(Pictorial Record of the Eastern Townships - Volpi)

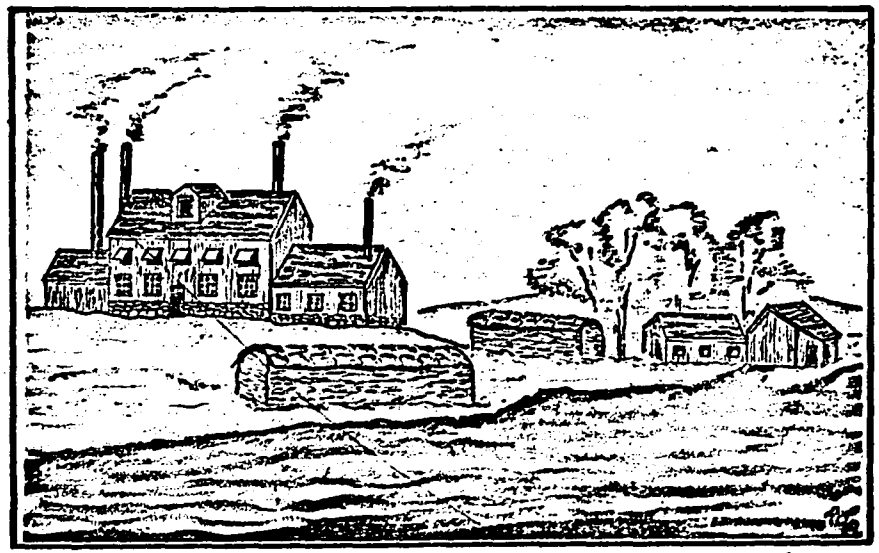


Fig.4-1c. England Bros. Tannery at Fulford
(from author's reconstruction)

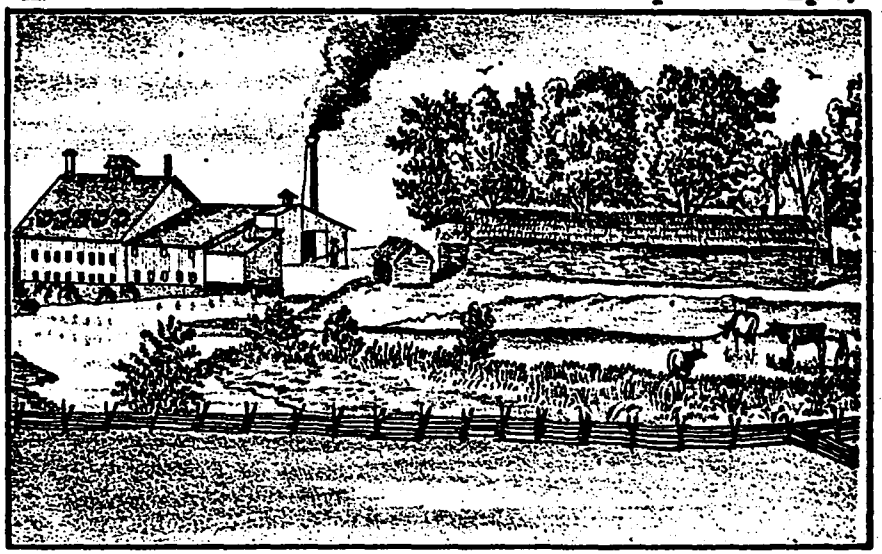


Fig.4-1d. Dunn Bros. Tannery at Stanbridge
(Belden's Atlas, 1881)

fig.4-1 TANNERIES OF THE 1870's-80's

tanneries of America were far behind their European counterparts in this respect.

The other biological raw material was animal hides. As with the tanbark, the hides were "obtained from animals slaughtered on near-by farms. When a farmer killed a 'beef critter' he took off the hide which he carried to (the local tanner) to be tanned..."[7] As with the wood supply, the available hides soon dwindled and the tanners had to tap a larger and wider hinterland. By 1880 the Englands were forced to import hides from Mexico and South America (as did Israel England at Knowlton) because of the scarcity of domectic hides. Esther England, granddaughter of Philo, remembered that her grandfather became quite irritable when he was accused of using poor quality local woodchuck hides at his tannery.[8]

The tanning process itself involved no sophisticated machinery and required only a nominal capital investment; however, substantive quantities of experience, skill, and patience were very necessary. To turn the raw hide into the finished product required almost two years of difficult, dirty, and smelly work. The Englands employed twenty laborers but handled the finer steps of the process themselves. There were six basic steps in the operation:

(1) removal of the tail, horns, etc. from the fresh hides.

(2) about 30 hours of washing to remove the impurities of flesh and blood. The hides were placed on tongs or hooks and suspended into the rushing waters of the river.

(3) immersion of the hides in vats of lye (lime, potash, or hen manure) to remove the hair. This step would last from several months to a year.

(4) beaming technique -- the scraping and fleshing of the cleaned hides on a beaming board to remove surplus fat and tissue.

(5) the actual 'tanning' process -- the hides are immersed in vats containing a solution of pulverized tanbark and water which mascerated and penetrated the skin by opening the pores.

(6) the cured and pliable skins were hung up to dry for several weeks in the ventilated lofts of the tannery.[9]

The finished product was then ready to be transformed into whip lashes, saddle bags, leather tongs, shoe laces, belts, harnesses, and a myriad of other leather articles. Much of the work was done in the adjoining saddlery and harness shops.

The England Brothers were good businessmen and hard workers who for almost a quarter of a century kept the tannery going on a profitable basis: "Frank, Philo, and George England were the proud possessors (of the tannery) and worked early and late in converting rawhide into sole leather."[10] In 1860 the tannery was valued at around $1000 -- one of the highest business evaluations in the Township.[11] By 1880 the value had increased six-fold! Despite the specious operation of the enterprise, inauspicious circumstances brought a swift end to the England family and the Fulford tannery. The autopsy reveals simultaneous malfunctions within the biological, physical and human systems.

fig. 4-2 Where the Fulford bark mill stood a century ago.

First, as already noted, the raw materials were not inexhaustible. By the late 1870's the area was badly stripped of most timbers and because of the economic crash of 1873, followed by a half decade of depression, the cost of buying foreign hides became prohibitive. In the Vermont hill towns as well the tanning industry came to an end by the 1880's when the local hide supply had shriveled up.

Secondly, the Englands and Fulford were forever tormented by the vageries of the sessons. In 1869 The Waterloo Advertiser commented upon the

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spring freshets in Brome: "...at Fulford a part of the dam is carried away and the tannery and mill much injured."[12] Repeatedly struck by floods, fires, a streak of Artic winters in the 1870's the tannery could hardly withstand the final blow that came on the afternoon of May 18th, 1877:

> "A tornado of whirlwind force swept over this part of the township last Friday afternoon... Buildings were blown down and unroofed in every direction... The damage is very great. A little child was nearly killed. The storm travelled in an easterly direction."[13]

A freak tornado had slammed directly into Fulford and Bromere before dissipating itself at West Bolton. The cemetery records show that there were no deaths, but property damage was heavy. The Episcopal Church was squarely hit and the mills suffered some alteration in appearance. The tannery itself was left standing but the bark shack and the tanbark piles were gone with the wind. Several years accumulation of valuable -- and irreplaceable -- tamarack bark was lost!

The added burden of family loss compounded the difficulties. The much respected patriarch of the clan who brought both his guidance and reputation to the firm was gone:

> "Frederick England of the Township of Brome, County of Brome, Province of Quebec, died in Fulford on the ninth day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy eight and was buried by me...in the presence of these witnesses.
> C.P. Laber S. Cookshanks
> W. Beach Methodist Minister"[14]

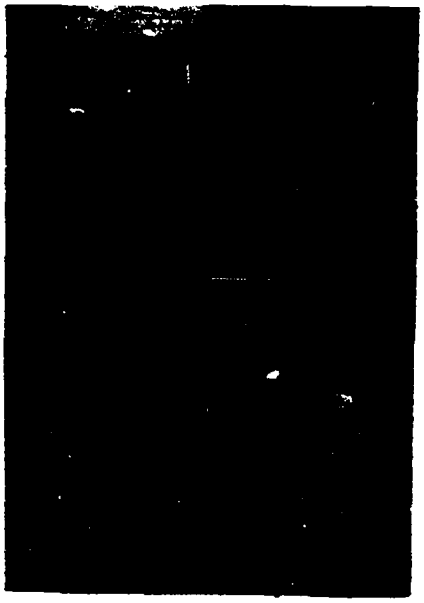

fig. 4-3 The England family stone in the Fulford Cemetery.

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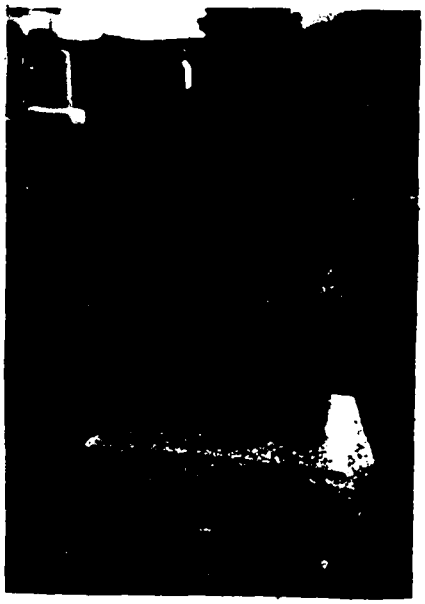


fig. 4-3 The England family stone in the Fulford Cemetery.

The following year Philo's son died and shortly thereafter Elizabeth England passed away.

In the end, the disposal of the tannery was left to Philo England; he made frequent business trips to Boston and Montréal and eventually found a Canadian buyer, Buckley Shaw, a Montréal leather merchant, who paid $6000 for the business in 1880. Philo and his brothers sold out most of the family's property holdings in the village to a farmer named Isaiah Sweet and returned to Dunham, engaging in farming and other business interests. Borther Seymour chose to remain at Fulford where he farmed a six acre lot until his death in 1909.

Although the 'golden age' of tanning at Fulford ends at this date, an anticlimax was provided by two subsequent resurrections of the operation. The history of the Fulford tannery becomes very obscure after 1880; little memory or mention of it seems to exist, and this is perhaps an indication of its fallen status within the village system. In any event, the sequel is as follows: operations were resumed in 1881 (by Mr. Buckley Shaw?) and continued -- apparently not doing too well -- until the building was damaged by fire in 1896. A new structure was placed upon the original foundations in 1898 by Rev. Joyal and a new system of tanning implemented. Chemical salts rather than tanbark were now used and the end product was mainly shoe laces. This last tannery was permanently closed in 1907.

In the 1870's and 80's the milling and tanning village of the earlier years was rapidly being replaced by the merchandising village. The extractive industries had put money into the farmers' pockets by purchasing raw materials from them, and now the traders began to extract the farmers' money by making things available to them which they needed or thought they needed.

The merchants of the Townships had become as numerous as the manufacturers. The profusion of their numbers after 1870 was no doubt related to improved transportational facilities and better upkeep of winter roads. Furthermore, a measure of local prosperity gave some surplus pocket money to the farmers who welcomed the chance to indulge in a few of life's luxuries.

However, the merchandising activity doesn't seem to have brought a central place function (i.e.. a service industry) to any community that was not an already well established nucleus of one or more of the manufacturing industries such as milling, tanning, woodworking, and agricultural processing. In short, those places that had historically been the recipients of entrepreneurial interest and investment capital -- the cities, towns, and larger villages of the 1870's -- became the population centers of the townships, and consequently the focal points of merchandising and service industries as well.

Waterloo assumed the position of trade center as it had with local industry at an earlier date; by the late 1880's the town (pop. 2,000) boasted almost thirty trading establishments and merchants as compared to only eight manufacturers. (see map 4-3). The travelling range of Waterloo's merchants stretched deep into Brome Township and this circumstance no doubt contributed to the relatively small number of merchants (only ten) based at Knowlton. Another factor was that the staying power of the several villages in Brome Township itself (Fulford, Iron Hill, Brome & West Brome) was enough to field a team of ten country-based merchants. This situation, confirming the importance of the small trading village, was most remarkable in Brome where

there was equal division between village and town-based merchants. Shefford Township on the other hand, with the only village of mention being West Shefford, was completely dominated by the town-based Waterloo merchants.

Many of the merchants were Franch Canadians (probably another reason why Knowlton, a completely English speaking village, lagged behind in this respect) who made the rounds to local farms and hamlets tapping an ever growing French population. Perhaps because of competition or convenience the merchant sometimes moved his home base out into the countryside nearer to his clientele. Three such dealers came into Fulford at this time: Louis Bouchard, Peter Bessette, and Henry Dextrause. The later two were members of very large local families whose descendants are numerous even to this day; they probably could have maintained a booming business serving just their own extended clans. Louis Bouchard however was a Waterloo merchant, a professional businessman, who was the leading dealer at Fulford for twenty years. He was the only village trader to ever advertise himself and apparently did quite well. (fig. 4-4)

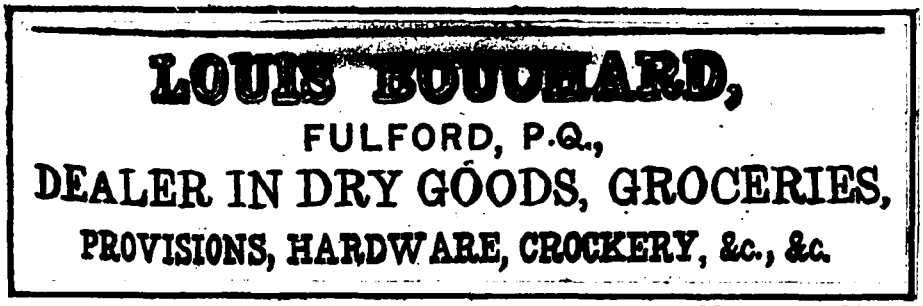
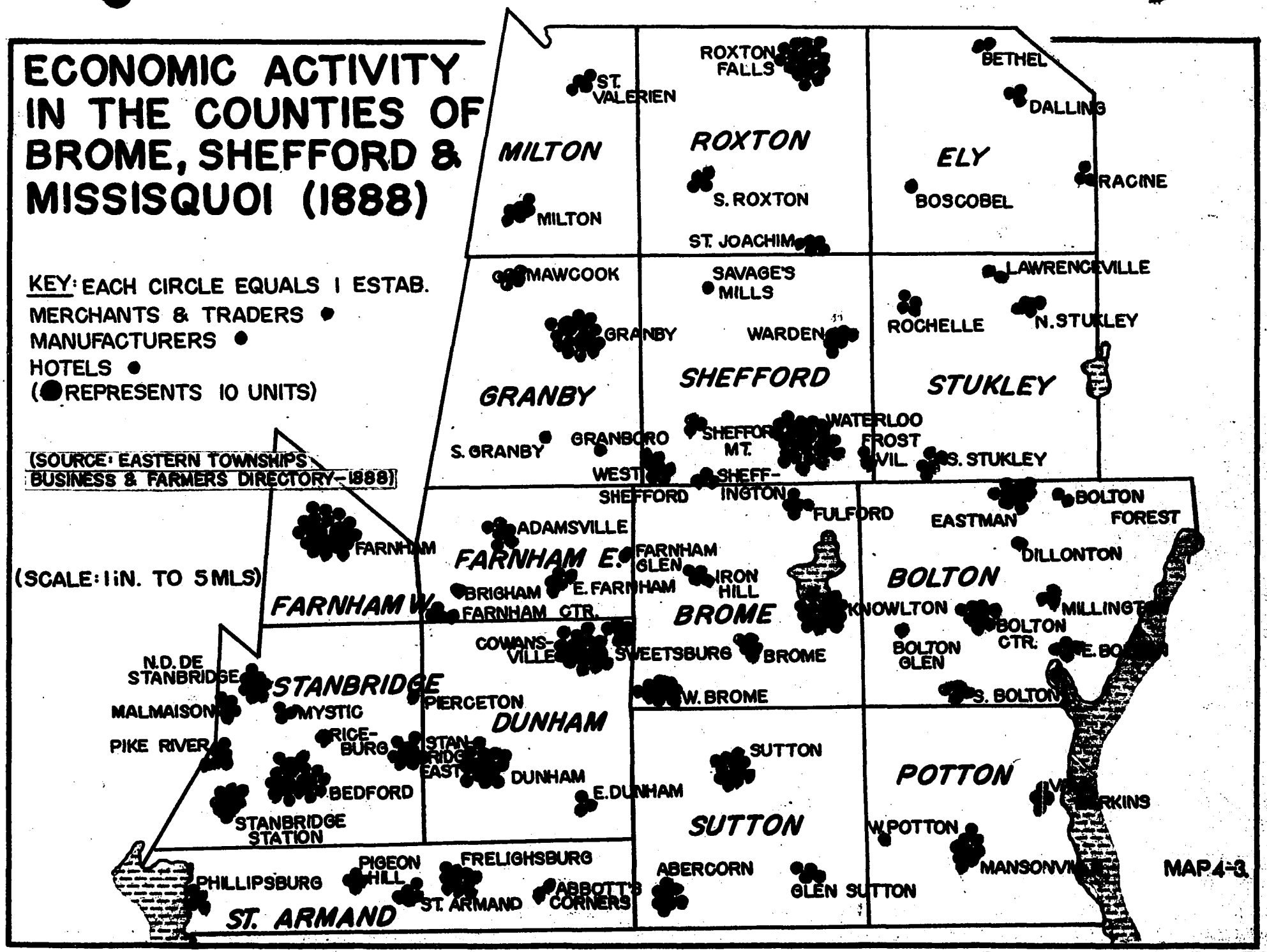


fig. 4-4 Eastern Townships Directory, 1875, p. 103.

Merchandising Fulford had four or five general stores that were of an ephemeral or occasional nature. Bouchard, Booth, England, Ruiter, and Oscar George all made an attempt at shopkeeping and from time to time dispensed general supplies from basements or converted parlors in their homes. Certain articles were in regular demand: pork at 12¢ a pound, a barrel of flour for $6.25, and a pound of tobacco for 64¢. Cheese, rope, kerosene, butter tubs and farm implements ad infinitum were also on stock.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN THE COUNTIES OF BROME, SHEFFORD & MISSISQUOI (1888)



MAP 4-3.

In his volume of Rural Life in Canada John MacDougall stated that serious competition was brought to the village merchant by the appearance of the mail order catalogue in the 1880's.[15] The John Wanamaker Co. started the trend in 1876 and soon the local dealers in hardware, apparel, etc. were in trouble. The economics were very simple: the small trader, not withstanding his 'in' status with the next-door farmer, could not offer as attractive a variety or range of items and prices as his city-based competitor. The net result was a social and economic loss for the small communities. At Fulford, Louis Bouchard packed up and moved to Waterloo in 1895; there he bought property and assumed operation of the Waterloo Wood Manufacturing Co.

The Church and School records for the village are today tucked away and carefully preserved in the Knowlton Archives Building, the Sweetsburg Courthouse, and the United Church rectory in Waterloo. The routine listings of pupils and teachers' names, dates of marriages and baptisms, and records of burial, are of little geographic value per se. However, gleanings of change and movement within the village social structure have geographic relevance when the temporal and spatial implications of constractions and expansions of the church circuit and the distribution and placement of the municipality's schoolhouses are considered.

The religious persuasion of the population at Fulford remained quite evenly split between the Episcopal and Methodist congregations, but other sects currently appeared upon the village scene. The Adventists opened a church or meeting hall in the house of Mr. Cummings (see fig.3-2) and the Rev. Hurlburt officiated. Of course the French influx meant the addition of a Roman Catholic element to the previously all Protestant community. The few French families in the village however were insufficient to warrant the building of a church and so they, together with the country-based French farm families, went elsewhere for their social and religious activities. The Fulford Union Cemetery -- non-consecrated burial ground -- was unacceptable for Catholic

burial and there were no Sunday morning services or circuit riding priests. The French were thus compelled to travel the four or five miles to either Waterloo or West Shefford for both masses and burials.

The leading families of the village were Methodists and this Church seems to have fared somewhat better than the Episcopal Church. The Methodist circuit, administered at Waterloo, had become too large and a new circuit based at West Shefford was inaugurated in 1878. This included:

Fulford	Shefford Mt.
Warden	W. Bolton
S. Stukely	Sheffington
S. Roxton	St. Prudentienne

Meanwhile the Episcopal clergyman was transferred from W. Shefford to Waterloo and given a circuit including:

W. Shefford	Knowlton	N. Shefford	Bolton
Fulford	Brome Corner	Iron Hill	Bolton S.
Frost Village	Granby	Potton	Boscobel
Stukely	Milton	Bolton Ctr.	Ely

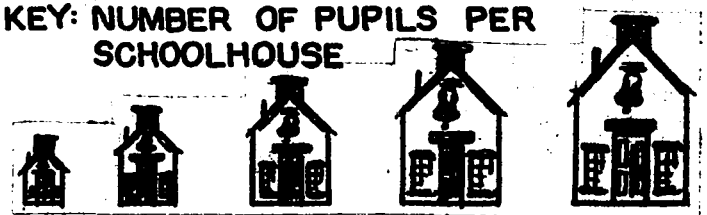
The fact that the Episcopal circuit was very much larger is probably an indication that the congregations involved in each village were considerably smaller than those on the Methodist circuit. However, the reorganization of the circuits and repair of the Fulford Church after the tornado of '77 attested to the continued strength of the overall religious element in the community.

An upswing in both population and social concern is further perceived in the matter of schooling. The fact that the Fulford pupils had a lengthy daily walk to the nearest schoolhouse was kept in mind when the municipal districts were divided in 1870 and new schools opened. The village was furnished with not one but two schoolrooms! The Lewis School (no. 17) was opened in the village on a lot adjacent to the Episcopal Church, and the Fessenden School(no. 25) was placed on the Yamaska less than two miles from the village. Throughout the 1880's Fulford School no. 17 had the highest rural Protestant school enrollment in the Township[16] (see map 4-4). The

STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE 27 SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF BROME TOWNSHIP — 1887

MAP 4-4.

KEY: NUMBER OF PUPILS PER SCHOOLHOUSE



10 OR LESS | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50

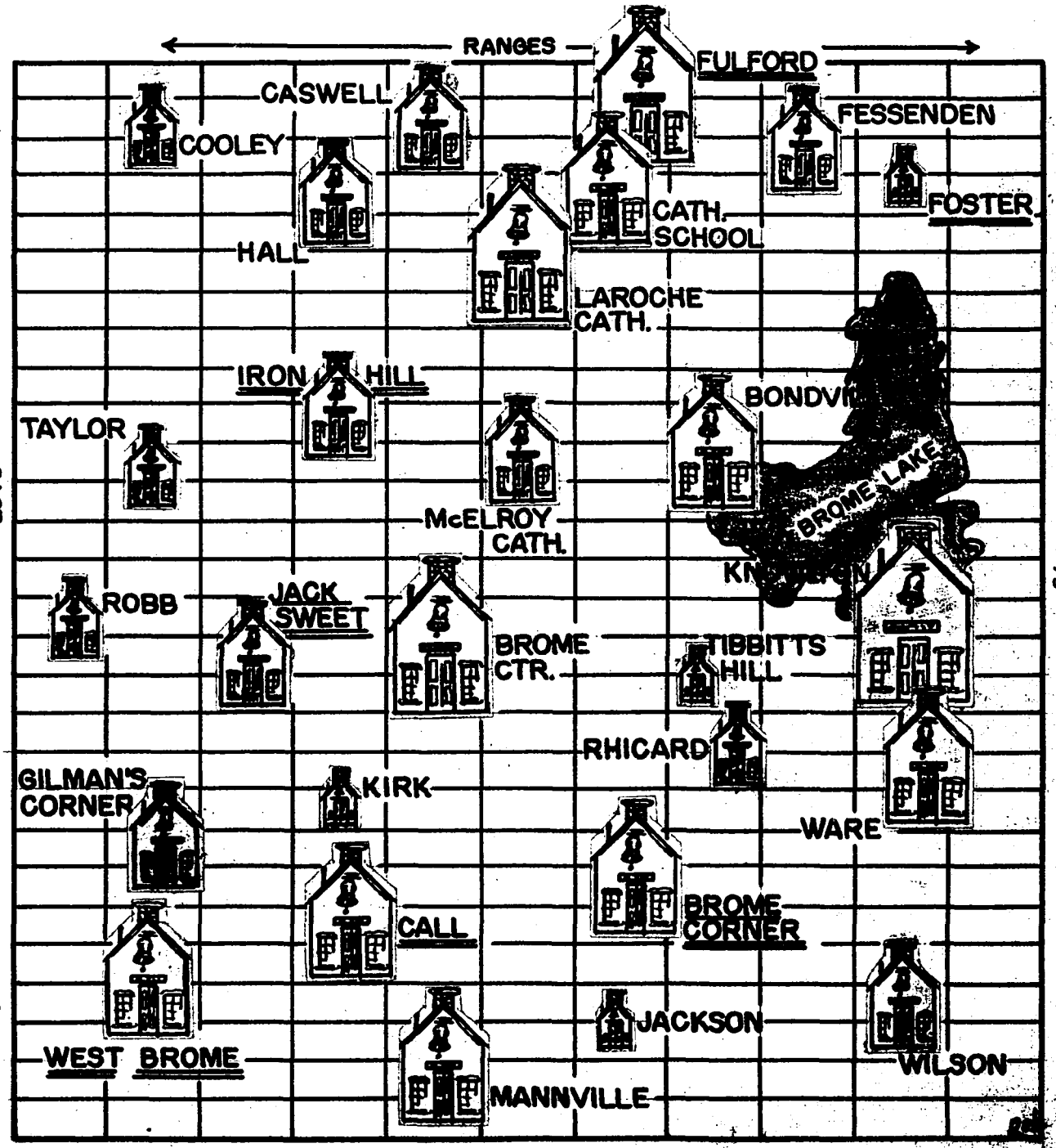
KNOWLTON SCHOOL → (60 ENGLISH AND 40 FRENCH PUPILS)

100

NOTE: SCHOOLHOUSES STILL OPERATING IN 1937 ARE UNDERLINED

(SCALE: ABOUT 1 IN. = 1.45 MLS)

SOURCE— 1887 RETURNS FOR BROME T.S., SCHOOL DISTRICTS (BCHS)



schoolhouse (on the road to Laroche) that was previously used by the villagers was given over to the French for use as a Catholic school.

CHAPTER 4 - NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] It is unclear as to what the "telephone office" refers but the item reappears in other source material as well.

[2] The Fulford tannery as depicted in fig. 4-1 is the author's reconstruction from (1) various written accounts of its possible appearance, (2) archaeological indications from the actual site as to the ground plan and dimensions etc., (3) interviews and personal recollections of the villagers, and (4) the appearance and construction of other tanneries of this period in Québec and Ontario.

[3] The Fulford tannery was accredited with 100 vats by the Directory for 1875-76 (p. 103) while Walter Taylor remembers that there were only 7 or 8 vats in the tanyard with perhaps a similar number inside.

[4] Walter Taylor, transcript of Tape Recorded Interview as contained in Appendix B.

[5] Henry Knowlton, Diary of 1881, (no page numbers).

[6] Peter Welsh, "The Craft that Resisted Change - American Tanning Practices", Technology and Culture, Vol. 4, p. 317.

[7] E.L. Bogart, Peacham -- The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, p. 260.

[8] Esther England, Personal Interview at Sutton, Quebec, Aug. 67.

[9] This flow diagram was compiled from the descriptions contained in (1) E.L. Bogart, op. cit. p. 260, and (2) Peter Welsh, op. cit., p. 303.

[10] "Teacher's Essays on Schools of Bolton and Brome", Fisher's Trust Fund Book, (no page numbers).

[11] "Valuation Roll of April 19, 1860", Minute Book no. 1, Municipality of Township of Brome.

[12] The Waterloo Advertiser, April 29, 1869, p. 3.

[13] Ibid. May 25, 1877, p. 3.

[14] Circuit Records of the Methodist Church of Canada at West Shefford in the District of Bedford for 1878, p. 4.

[15] John MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada - Its Trends and Tasks, 1913.

[16] A distinction shared with Brome Center.

CHAPTER 5

1900-20: Over the Top & On the Downward Slope.

A Moment in Time

Friday, P.M., Oct. 2nd, 1903.

...It's autumn in the valley and the farmers have a good harvest of wheat and barley this year. The drone of thrashing machines and reapers is heard throughout the village.

It's that time of year when there's much scurrying about: people starting to 'settle in' for the winter, selling farms and buying extra hay for the livestock, and patching up the barns. The Gaylor's have rented out Mrs. Hay's house and Joseph Dextradeur has moved his family into Joseph Bedard's house. Mr. Bora has rented a farm over in Laroche and will be moving there presently.

Messers. Whiting and Joyal -- the new owners of the mills and tannery -- are repairing the mill dam, but it doesn't seem worth the effort; they just don't have much business here anymore.

Speaking of the tannery, Seymour England's wife just passed away -- she was 83. Old Moses Wright and Truman Davis died last year -- they were both in their 80's too. Of course not all the people have to be carried out -- lots of folks say they're going to leave soon because of the 'school question'. You see, they gave the village school to the French a few years back and now the children have to walk nearly two miles up the river to the schoolhouse at Fessenden Falls.

Sometime in the decade before 1910 the village had reached and passed that historically pivotal point in its existence that was both a zenith of prestige and a demographic highwater mark. Never again would the Directories and Voter's Lists display such an array of family names, village shops, industries, and craftsmen.

Not only Fulford, but the Township and County as well, were sinking from the apogetic glow of the previous decades. By 1910 Brome Township had only 2,700 people as compared with over 4,000 in 1880. The County was down to 13,400 from a peak of almost 16,000. The several causes and factors responsible for the decline are discussed fully in Chapter 9, the Hamlet System, but for the present it is enough to be aware of the fact that the

TABLE 5-1

DATA FROM CENSUS OF CANADA 1901

DISTRICT	# HOUSES	# FAMILIES	TOTAL POP.	RELIGIONS				POP. BY ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE			
				CATH.	ANGLICAN	METH.	ADVENTISTS	ENGLISH	IRISH	SCOT.	FRENCH
COUNTY											
Brome	2786	2847	13,397	4724	3884	3202	725	6044	1290	853	4766
Missisquoi	3782	3912	18,482	10403	3828	3253	185	4909	1563	837	9988
Shefford	4551	4615	23,628	18581	2226	1596	189	2734	2029	624	18086
TOWNSHIP											
Brome	579	590	2,755	752	972	724	176	871	336	177	661
Bolton	475	489	2,279	810	515	831	90	977	220	123	118
Sutton	534	546	2,422	657	974	417	281	1290	198	155	732
Potton	404	416	1,978	479	509	647	98	1262	147	62	475
Farnham E.	351	356	1,788	1014	283	188	3	487	164	161	936
Shefford	307	313	1,424	733	388	183	38	390	326	56	637

area inderwent a general population slump at this time.

Apart from this decline, the composition of the area's population is also pertinent to an understanding of its metabolism. The Township was 72% English speaking in 1900 and, although the intervening years were a period of great transition in the Townships, Brome was still 68% English speaking by 1920. While the country-based population in the Fulford area was declining, the English rate of loss however was much greater than that of the French:

Farm Families With Fulford Post Office.

	1892	1910	% loss
English	39	19	- 51%
French	24	15	- 37%
Total	63	34	- 46%

Still the village itself continued to grow until around 1910, although the countryside was being abandoned before this. By 1920 the painful process of largescale town and country abandonment was in full swing.

With this changing context of the human statistics in mind, the related decline in village industry and crafts must be considered as the keynote shift within the village system during this period. There are no phenomena that more closely parallel the demographic change than the withdrawal of small industry, the departure of the craftsmen, and the looming crisis of the 'school question'.

> "The decrease in rural population is not due to the departure from the country of farmers alone... first the village crafts decayed, and now village commerce is waning. A village forty years ago (in the 1870's) was industrially a better place than now. Each hamlet had its corps of trained and skilled workmen with sturdily independent homes... the essential industries were everywhere represented. The village had a fairly self-sustaining economic life".
>
> -- John MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada,[1] (1913)

Summer 1920

Winter 1967

fig. 5-1 Main Street, Fulford.

In the half century from 1860 to 1910 seven dams served the numerous mills and shops along the central Yamaska from the Outlet to West Shefford. As the mills and factories closed the mill dams fell into a state of disrepair and decay; at Fulford the mill dam was a crumbling mass of stone and rotten wood by 1920. The flow of the river, long impeded by mill ponds at Fulford, Sheffington, and West Shefford, was freer and more seasonally constant with the installation of the Outlet Control Dam (fig.5-5). The dam, built around 1920, regulated the discharge from the lake and evened the river's flow.

Professors Kolb and Brunner in A Study of Rural Society contend that the death rate of village industry is high and the life cycle of such industries short. This is certainly the case of the Fulford rake factory, pump factory, and rope manufactory; the tannery and mills however had a hardier record of endurance. In 1912 the saw and grist mills that Oscar George once operated were finally abandoned. They had traded hands from the England Brothers to Obediah Eastman in the 1890's and to Albert Whiting in 1900. By this time the lumber industry in the Townships was being phased out and Whiting, apparently operating at a deficit, departed in 1912.

The tannery was bought by the Rev. Erwin Joyal in 1898. Joyal was a minister, a businessman, an inventor, and an eccentric entrepreneur who brought a measure of new life to the village much as Oscar George and the Englands had in an earlier time. The Joyals came to Fulford from Swanton, Vermont where the Reverend already had three oil companies and three tanneries to his credit. He made some improvements upon the forty year old tannery building and decided to use a chemical method for tanning instead of pursuing the old tanbark routine. But tanning at this late date was too much an anachronism to succeed; Joyal tore the building down and replaced it with a furniture or wood-working factory in 1907. In the factory, cabinet work was done on thousands of gramophone cabinets and the riverside bark mill was converted to a saw mill to provide him with fresh-cut wood. The factory was unfortunately not much of a boom and work was halted by 1917.

Not surrendering to failure, Joyal scurried across the river to the rear of the abandoned mills and constructed a large concrete catchment pool in which to store motor oil. He envisioned a pipeline to the C.P.R. tracks that would carry his oil by gravity to the pool where it would be stored and then canned in a small adjoining building. A consignment of oil was delivered and the idea put to the test. The oil seeped into the concrete and went pouring down the riverbank while the whole village rocked with laughter. In the recollections of the old-timers, it was the funniest and most memorable day of the century!

Undaunted, Joyal packed up his family and removed to New Brunswick where he once again -- and more successfully -- scattered his factories, schemes, and legend.

Probably just as significant as the disappearance of village industry was the decline of the village crafts. By 1900 the wheel-wrights, shoemakers, millwrights, and carriage-makers were long departed. There was left perhaps a handful of carpenters, mechanics, and part-time laborers, but of all the skilled artisans of the past only one remained: the blacksmith. The daily work of this village tradesman and his eventual exodus in 1907 serve to portray the changing social climate at a time when the small rural communities were tumbling downhill.

One of Fulford's first professional blacksmiths was George Booth who served the village throughout the 1870's; with the coming of the French in the 1880's the Bourgeois Brothers (Théophile, David, and Lucien) captured the local trade from the aging English smithy. When his brothers decided to pursue other interests, Lucien Bourgeois became 'le forgeron' and enjoyed a monopoly at Fulford for many years.

Walter Taylor was a young man of twenty-three when he came to Fulford in 1897; he had just completed a nine year blacksmith's apprenticeship in the carriage factories of Waterloo and was looking for a likely place to ply his trade. He remembers:

fig.5-2. The crumbling remains of village industry. Above, the ruins of the Rev. Joyal's gramophone factory, and below, his oil canning shed in back of which lies the oil storage pool.

fig.5-2. The crumbling remains of village industry. Above, the ruins of the Rev. Joyal's gramophone factory, and below, his oil canning shed in back of which lies the oil storage pool.

> "I came in there (Fulford) and bought an old barn, built a fire in it, and set to work. I didn't say anything to him (Bourgeois) or anybody else. And it wasn't long before I had it (the village trade) all to myself." [2]

Le forgeron was an old man by 1897 and was perhaps unable to meet the gruelling physical demands of his trade, or perhaps the villagers subconsciously returned their business to an English craftsman. At any rate, Bourgeois was soon out of business and Taylor's little barn (just across the street from the Frenchman's) became the sole blacksmith's shop in the area.

Taylor recalls the importance once attached to his profession:

> "The blacksmith was a very important man. You had to be a veterinary surgeon at that time, and I was. They depended on the blacksmith. If a cow was sick or anything they'd call on him. The blacksmith had to be a good workman in those days because there was plenty of competition. I could do anything any good carriage-maker could do. At certain seasons there were special jobs to be done: repaint jobs on carriages or building sleds."[3]

Indeed, apart from horseshoes, the smith could be expected to fashion a wide range of metalware products out of iron: axes, scythes, nails, hinges and lathes, iron pins and bolts, shutter holders, hooks, staples and rings, and branding irons among other things.

The coming of the gas buggy after 1909 naturally cut deeply into the blacksmith's trade. The anvils began to disappear! At Fulford the transition went like this:

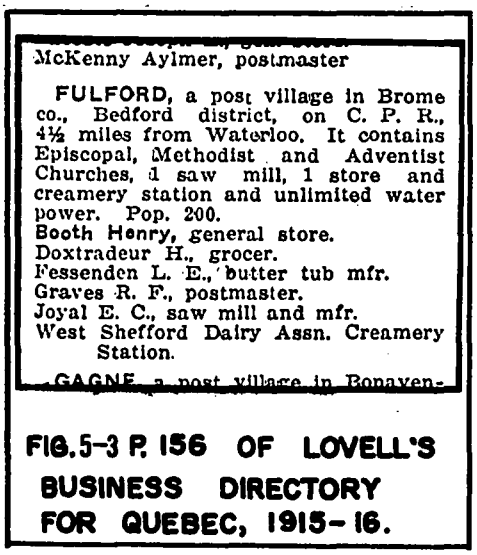
> "Travellers would stop at the blacksmith's shop for information. I remember how jealous I felt after a while when the cars began to come in taking the place of wagons. I got awful jealous because instead of coming to me for information, they'd go to the corner garage -- all painted up nice you know; they'd hand them out maps and everything else and so I didn't like it at all for a while."[4]

What was a blacksmith to do? Taylor, quite an adaptable and versatile man, began to service cars himself, thus becoming both a smithy and mechanic. He did well at Fulford and stayed there ten years.

In the end, it wasn't the automobile that drove him away but rather what he calls the 'school question'. Fulford's last artisan, the blacksmith, departed from the village scene in 1907:

> "I left the whole business, took my family and went toward Granby to see what was over there. I got as far as West Shefford, liked the place, and when I found they needed a blacksmith, I stayed there."[5]

Taylor stayed there for thirty-eight years shoeing horses, building carriages, servicing cars, and constructing houses.



McKenny Aylmer, postmaster

FULFORD, a post village in Brome co., Bedford district, on C. P. R., 4½ miles from Waterloo. It contains Episcopal, Methodist and Adventist Churches, a saw mill, 1 store and creamery station and unlimited water power. Pop. 200.
Booth Henry, general store.
Doxtradeur H., grocer.
Fessenden L. E., butter tub mfr.
Graves R. F., postmaster.
Joyal E. C., saw mill and mfr.
West Shefford Dairy Assn. Creamery Station.

GAGNE, a post village in Bonaven-

FIG.5-3 P. 156 OF LOVELL'S BUSINESS DIRECTORY FOR QUEBEC, 1915-16.

Taylor, like other country blacksmiths, was literally driven into not a larger village or town at this time -- but he was the only villager; many of the residents of the local hamlets and villages resorted to out-migration when confronted with the 'school question'.

It will be remembered from the previous cross-section that the Fulford school had one of the largest enrollments in the township in the 1870's and 80's. But by the 1890's both schoolhouses associated with the village had drastically reduced attendance figures. It was obvious that the village could support only one school and one teacher and in 1898 a solution was reached: the Fessenden school was two miles from the village but the building was a far better structure and so the pupils of the Lewis school no. 17 (Fulford) were merged with Fessenden school no. 25. Since one-third of the pupils at the old village school were French, the structure was

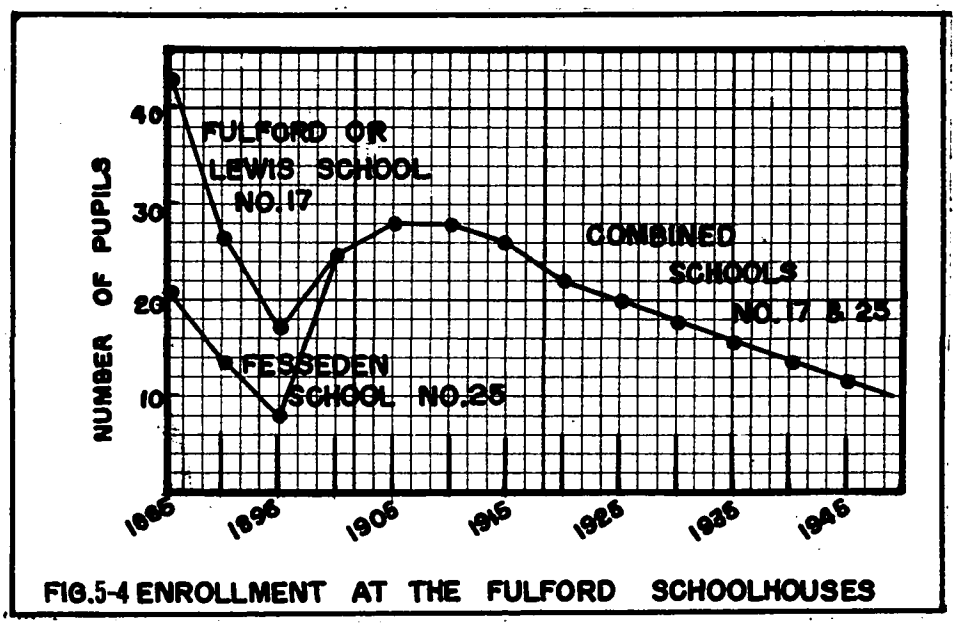


FIG.5-4 ENROLLMENT AT THE FULFORD SCHOOLHOUSES

designated for use as a Catholic school. Thus by 1900 Fulford was left with a Catholic school in the village itself and a Protestant school two miles away.

For a time the combined Fessenden school held its own numerically, but the trend was unmistakable: 28 pupils in 1910, 26 in 1915, 22 in 1920. "Children can't be expected to walk over two miles to school, and that radius gives, where farms range from one to two hundred acres, an average of one school to every twenty families."[6] When there was less than twenty families left (Fulford with 22 families in 1920 was loosing two families per year) the schoolhouse could be expected to close. This then was the predicament that rendered Walter Taylor and other 'Fulfordians' uneasy and anxious.

The breakdown of the Protestant school system in the Townships was integrally related to the English depopulation of the countryside and it is not clear which is the cause and which the effect. At least one contemporary saw something far more sinister -- a plot against the Protestant system -- in what was quite probably the natural course of events:

> "The townships had a system of schools as old as their settlement and as non-sectarian as those of Ontario. They have been undermined by the innovation of confessional schools. It was officially stated in 1906 that 400 had gone out of existence... No matter under what pretence separate schools are introduced into farming sections, the result is to destroy the original schools ... In the invasion of the Townshops Rome planned to destroy the schools of their founders, and she is killing them by the dozen."[7]

This rather inflamatory statement was penned in 1908 by Robert Sellar and is perhaps inderstandable in that it emanated from a contemporary viewpoint forged by the heat of friction resulting from personal involvement in rapidly changing times and circumstances. In the broad historical perspective however the charge of an organized Popish plot melts before the well documented socio-economic and cultural geographic trends that characterize the transition from an agrarian to an urbanized society.

In fact, 'seperate' schoolhouses (i.e. confessional and Protestant) never existed at Fulford, even before 1900; schoolhouse no. 17 was culturally integrated throughout the period from 1880 to 1900. The English speaking pupils were dispossessed of their schoolhouse -- not by the Church of Rome-- but by decision of an English dominated Municipal Council; nor did the English children receive the short end of the schoolhouse trade -- it was the French pupils who were left with the structurally delapidated run-down Lewis schoolhouse.

CHAPTER 5 - NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] John MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada - Its Trends and Tasks, p. 57.

[2] Walter Taylor, Transcript of Tape Recorded Interview as contained in Appendix B.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Robert Sellar, The Tragedy of Quebec: The Explusion of the Protestant Farmers, p. 99.

[7] Ibid. p. 100.

fig.5-5, The Outlet Control Dam near the site of Bromere.

fig. 5-6, The fate of the old schoolhouse. Remains of Fulford School no. 17 in the village. Insert -- schoolhouse no. 16 (Caswell's) two miles from Fulford. Now serves as the Lambourne warehouse.

fig.5-5. The Outlet Control Dam near the site of Bromere.

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CHAPTER 6

The Village Today: Fulford 1967-68.

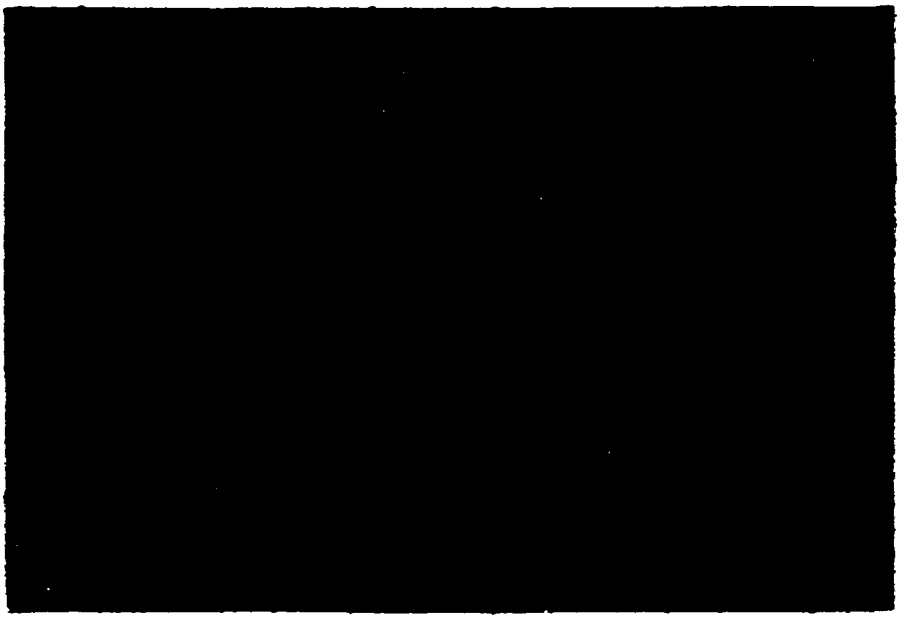

fig. 6-1. Entering the village from the Waterloo road.

A Moment in Time

Twilight, a January Evening, 1968.

... At 6:15 a C.P.R. diesel comes chugging through the valley with a train of sleeper coaches and a dining car; before reaching the Fulford crossing, a prolonged piercing blast from the diesel horn comes bouncing off the valley walls and echoes throughout the village. As a Maritime-bound businessman peers through the steamed-up window, only the flickering glow of a handful of porch lamps and kitchen lights illuminate the lusterless world of white. The faded letters on a weathered signboard go flashing by and, except for the whistle of the wind as it re-drifts the snow, silence returns to the village.

It's a deceptive silence, a quiet really. The village today seems more quiet than ever before. There's the occasional purr of a ski-doo and hum of a high-pitched TV, but an aura of tranquility pervades the frosty banks of the muffled stream.

Time seems to loose its dimension in such wintery stillness; the past and present converge. The rolling landscape and the barn's massive silhouette against the pale blue sky were much the same a century ago. Now the distant lights of Montréal are reflected in the sky above the horizon and nearby Brome Mountain is aglow with lights from the ski trails. The Parisiennes and the Volkswagens and the infrequent storm-coated foot-man leave their tread marks and footprints upon the icy road. Zero and falling!

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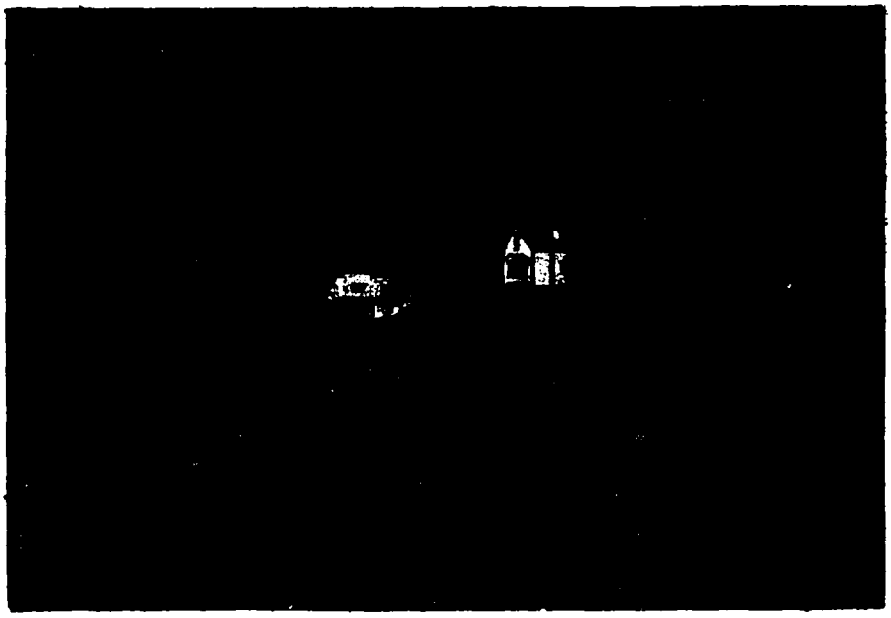

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In the fifty years following World War I a new set of family names has come upon the village; and yet much of the old Fulford -- the unpainted barns, the unpaved road, the horse-drawn reapers -- remains unchanged. Indeed, the pace of life seems to have slowed down and time moves less hectically than in the previous half century.

Most of the time there are about seventy-three people in the village with another nine or ten coming out from Montréal to reside here during the summer months. Except for one or two families most of the residents are new arrivals, having moved here sometime after World War II. The majority have come from either Montréal or a village or city in the Townships. One third can directly trace their lineage back to the British Isles through their parents and grandparents and another third are of Irish or Scottish stock who came to the Townships many generations ago. There are only three French Canadianhouseholds in the village but the immediate countryside is at least 50% French.

When the heads of households were questioned as to their reasons for locating at Fulford (see Appendix C) the six responses given were:

1. family ties (4)
2. close to place of business (4)
3. aesthetic appeal of the countryside (3)
4. preference for small village life (2)
5. no particular reason (2)
6. moved in off the farm (1)

Those who live at Fulford because of family ties are usually the sons or daughters of parents who brought their children here forty or fifty years ago and who have since passed away. The place of business referred to was generally a plant or shop in nearby Waterloo. It is interesting to note that almost a third of the people mentioned the aesthetic attraction of the countryside and village life. Montréal ("one monotonous urban grind") and Waterloo and Granby ("it's just getting too big now") were given as the places of previous residence in these cases.

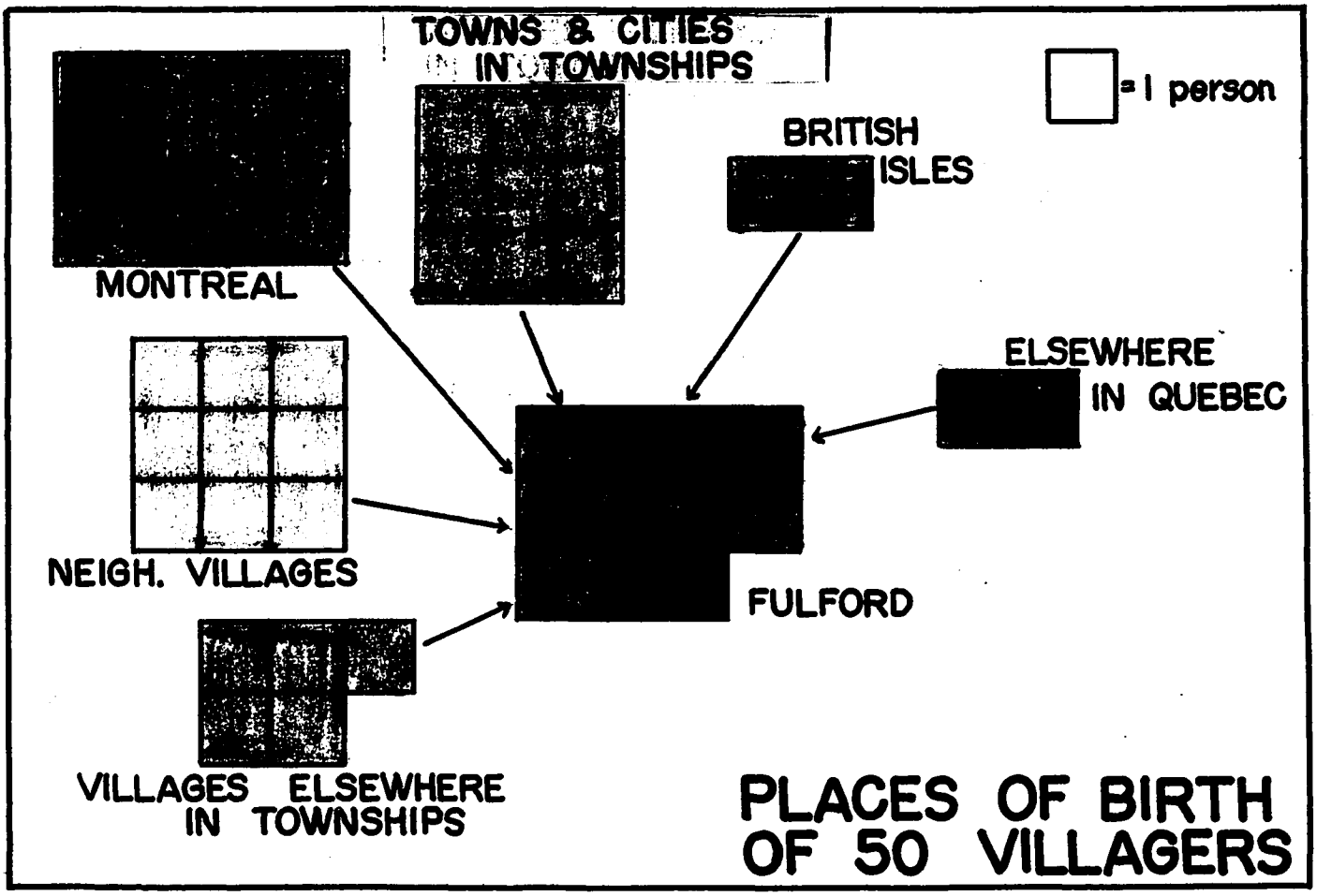
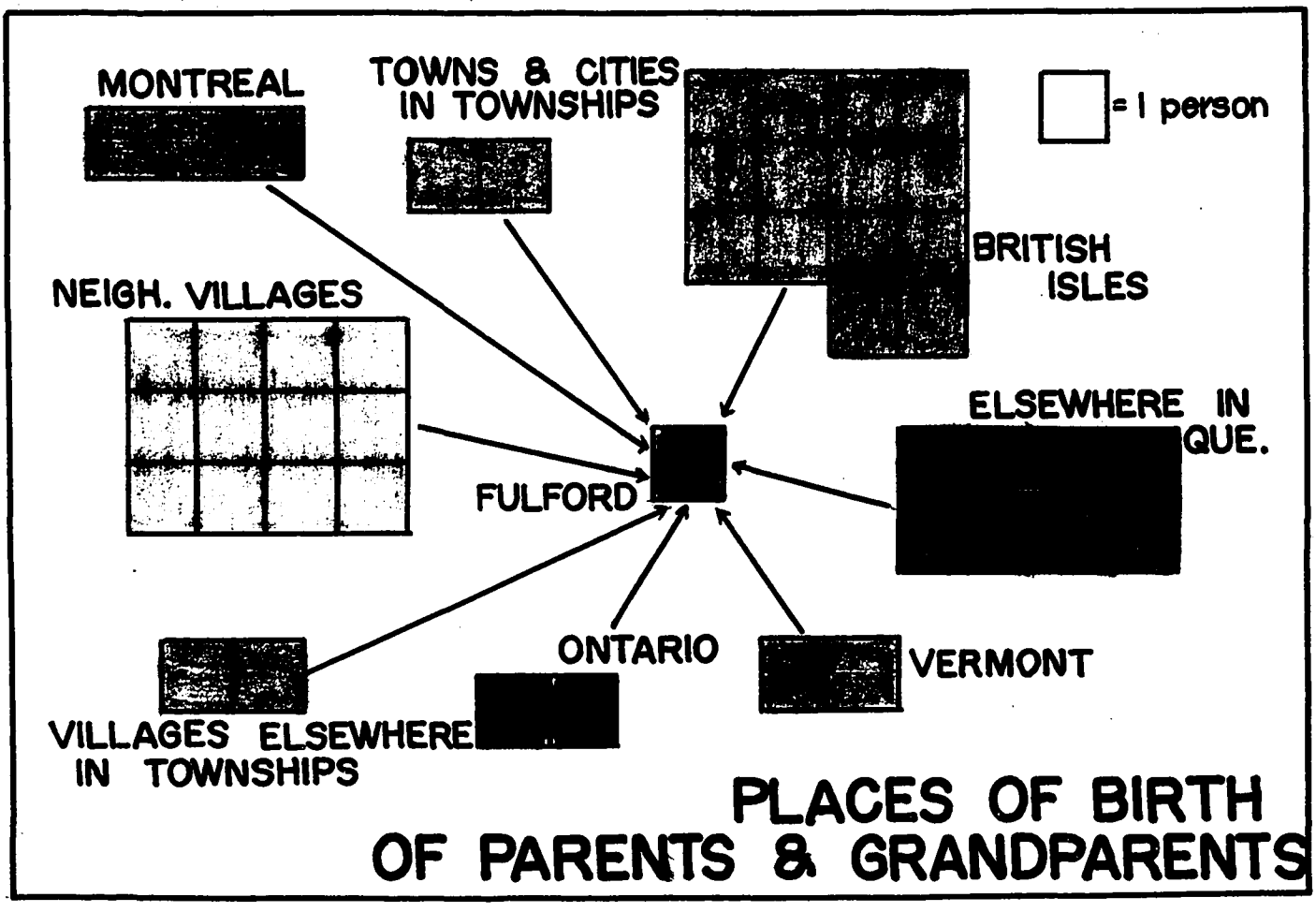

TOWNS & CITIES IN TOWNSHIPS
= 1 person
BRITISH ISLES
MONTREAL
ELSEWHERE IN QUEBEC
NEIGH. VILLAGES
FULFORD
VILLAGES ELSEWHERE IN TOWNSHIPS
PLACES OF BIRTH OF 50 VILLAGERS

FIG. 6-2


MONTREAL
TOWNS & CITIES IN TOWNSHIPS
= 1 person
BRITISH ISLES
NEIGH. VILLAGES
ELSEWHERE IN QUE.
FULFORD
ONTARIO
VERMONT
VILLAGES ELSEWHERE IN TOWNSHIPS
PLACES OF BIRTH OF PARENTS & GRANDPARENTS

The tradition of village enterprise which flourished with Oscar George, the Englands, and Rev. Joyal was -- and is -- perpetuated in this period by two of the newcomers to the village scene. The fact that Fulford didn't fade from the map after industry left, like many of the neighboring settlements, and that it contains a vital measure of enterprise today is attributable to the activity of Oscar Davis and Gregor Lambourne.

The Davis family was one of the original pioneer clans in the area and for many decades worked a farmstead not far from Fulford. In the 1920's Oscar Davis moved into the village, bought property, expanded the general store into an appliance shop, and came to dominate much of the village's life in the succeeding decades. Davis' involvement in every facet of Fulford's being is further demonstrated by the fact that he owned several houses in the community, helped organize the 'Fulford Winter Roads Association', and personally saw to the construction of Fulford Hall in 1963. (see fig. 10-7) When he died in 1965 Oscar Davis had for decades supplied both the social and commercial impetus without which the settlement may well have disappeared.

Gregor Lambourne came to Fulford by way of Montréal and Waterloo in 1961. He renovated the old Booth house and general store, became the village fire chief, renovated and expanded the Joyal house, and opened two warehouses in and near the village. At present he is the proprietor of a farm equipment firm, the Quebec Crown Dairy Supply Company. Lambourne also operates a guest house for summer vacationers and supplies the village with an orchestra for social events. (I fell compelled at this point to paranthetically inject an acknowledgment of Mr. Lambourne's immeasurable assistance during the author's summer field work).

fig. 6-3. The Quebec Crown Dairy Supply Company at Fulford.

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The theory that one man and his influence upon the course of events may explain what has happened in the life and development of a people, country, institution or town is a part of the social science of history; but can the geographer also say that one man -- or in this case a succession of outstanding men -- explains the changes within the spatial organization of a unit area, be it a country, city, or village? In the study of Fulford the temptation is to do so because both the past and present functions and the successive landscapes are in effect the accumulation of the enterprise and ingenuity of a half dozen men. Symbolically, the same house that the England Brothers built in 1863 has been passed down from the Rev. Joyal to Oscar Davis and now to Gregor Lambourne. Does the changing geography of other villages and towns so markedly reflect the continuous chain of human energy expended throughout the history of the village? And when this chain is broken -- when an entrepreneurial vacuum exists -- does the settlement wither and die for lack of individual drive?

Over one hundred years of growth, prosperity, and decline have witnessed the disappearance of certain functions and the retention of others. The educational and industrial activities had ceased in the previous period and the commercial village had all but vanished as well. Today industry is in Waterloo and the Protestant and Catholic Schools are in Knowlton and Waterloo respectively. Yet the commercial life of Fulford lingers on and perhaps will never really detach itself from this small community. In 1930 the rural analyst Charles Galpin stated that "...It will take a long time for the country store and the neighborhood hamlet stores actually to disappear in trade, but the influence of these miscellaneous trading posts may well be discounted even at present."[1]

True, the relatively immense array of merchants, shops, stores, etc., of the last century no longer exist and "for a large assortment of consumer goods, such as farm equipment, hardware, footgear, clothing, medical supplies,

TABLE 6-1
FULFORD TODAY - DATA DERIVED FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

HOUSEHOLDS	# PEOPLE	YEARS AT FULFORD	RESIDENCE BEFORE
1. Arès	10	14	West Shefford
2. Badger	5	--	---
3. Banks	8	6	Sutton
4. Bockus	2	19	Foster
5. Boyd	4	--	Lachute
6. Brunton	3	over 40	---
7. Coté	5	42	Sutton
8. Cowell	4	(summer only)	Montreal
9. Cushen	3	20	---
10. Davis	2	46	Montreal
11. Dearden	8	less 20	---
12. Dutton	2	less 20	---
13. Graves	2	68	born at Fulford
14. Hamman	2	(summer only)	---
15. Hammond	3	(summer only)	Montreal
16. Hayes	1	37	Montreal
17. Lambourne	4	6	Waterloo
18. Moffat	2	9	Knowlton
19. Naylor	1	70 plus	born at Fulford
20. Seymour	1	16	Bondville
21. Sparke	2	---	---
22. Turgeon	1	1	Granby
23. F. Wright	3	--	---
24. H. Wright	5	29	Foster

and for many services such as laudry and dry cleaning, and banking, the villagers may have to travel from five to twenty miles or depend on mailorder buying."[2] Still, that last vestige of retail activity -- the general store -- is of prime importance in the shopping habits of everyone in the village. The Wright's combination general store - post office - and service station is the only such establishment for a radius of four miles around. Thus to some extent the village store perpetuates an historical role as middleman or local service center for the farm hinterland; however most of the trade is derived from the twenty or so households within the village proper. A few of the villagers buy solely from the general store but most divide their business among other shopping places to which they travel once or twice a week; the frequency of response as derived from the questionnaire is:

1. Fulford (15)
2. Waterloo (11)
3. Granby (4)
4. Foster (3)
5. W. Shefford (1)
6. Knowlton (1)
7. Cowansville (1)
8. Montreal (1)

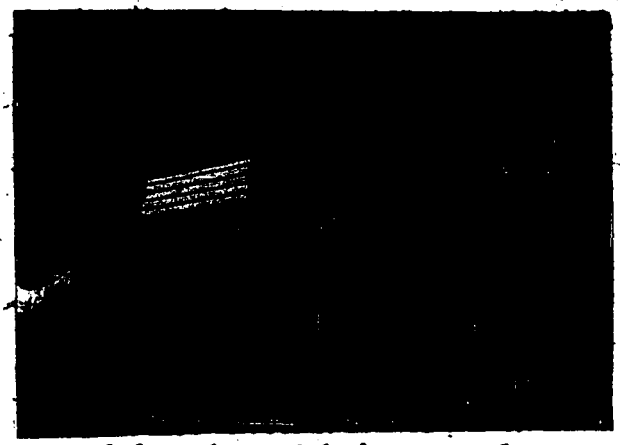

fig. 6-4. The Wright's General Store at Fulford.

The Bishop's study of several villages in the Stanstead area derived a 'Commercial and Residential Index' by expressing the number of commercial and residential units as a percentage of all the dwellings in the village; Fulford's indices were computed and added to the list which appears as follows:

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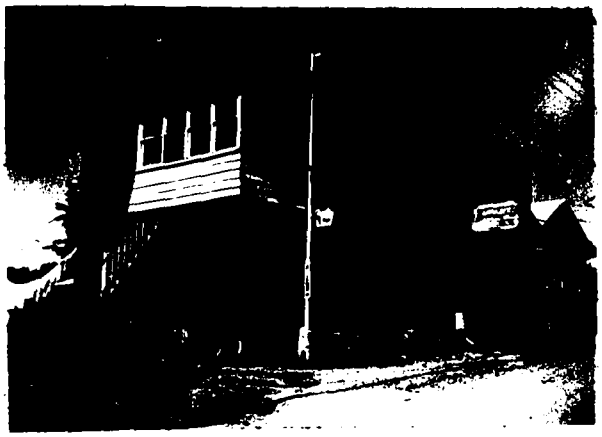

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	1863 indices		1967 indices	
	commercial	residential	commercial	residential
Fulford[3]	36	52	16	71
Barnston	20	66	21	76
Hatley	20	71	6	92
Huntingville	36	56	3	97
Massawippi	31	66	13	87

Fulford's 1863 indices most closely parallel those of Huntingville which was also a small community of 50 to 75 people owing its existence to the availability of water power. Today Fulford's comparatively high commercial index is related to the Lambourne company's activity and its non-residential use of several stores and houses in the village. Thus, although the village's commercial status has dropped sharply, it has not been totally eliminated.

The related residential and social functions on the other hand have assumed very substantial importance.

The community still manages to support two churches and a social hall and almost all the dwellings in the village are private residences (or combine the residential with another function). The social doings at Fulford, typical of any small settlement, include such diversions as Firefighter's dances, Boy Scout meetings, and gatherings of the United Church Women. Extensive relations with people in other parts of the Townships are evident from the register of guests and visitors (fig. 6-5) and a social range of contacts or 'area of visiting' could no doubt be mapped, but the value of such a graphically portrayed gossip column is of more use to the sociologist rather than the geographer.

The residential attractiveness of the village thus gives rise to a social function (as expressed in the community's need for a hockey rink, social hall, and weekly church services) that far surpasses the necessity of the village to function on a commercial level.

And what about tourism? A consideration of the impact of the tourist industry upon the village is unavoidably brief and in the words of Macbeth the "function is smother'd in surmise and nothing is but what is not."

FULFORD

Fulford Firefighters

The Fulford Fire fighters will be holding a dance in the hall on January 13th with music by Perry's Orchestra. Everyone is welcome.

U.C.W. meeting

The U.C.W. held their January meeting in the hall on January 4th. with eight members and one visitor present. The yearly report was read and accepted. The lucky package was won by Mrs. Arnold Badger. After a pleasant afternoon the meeting closed with the Mizpah Benediction. Lunch was served by Mrs. Charles Sparkes due to the illness of Mrs. Winnie Naylor.

The next meeting will be held on January 18th., in the hall.

Social News

● New Year's guests at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Greg Lamborne, were Mr. and Mrs. Lukenson of New Market Ontario.

● Guests of Mr. and Mrs. Ross Boyd on New Year's day were Mr. and Mrs. M. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. B. Williams, all of Foster also Mr. and Mrs. Allen Perkins and family of Cowansville.

● Mr. and Mrs. Archie Dutton spent New Year's at the home of their daughter and son-in-law Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and family of Belle Isle. Mr. and Mrs. Dutton and Mrs Arthur Cushen spent Thursday in Montreal.

● Mrs. Flossie Brunton had all her family home for New Year's day also her brother and sister-in-law Mr. and Mrs. Frances Stone and family of Waterloo.

● Mrs. Ivy Eadie was the guest of her sister and brother-in-law Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sparkes.

● Guests of Mr. and Mrs. L. Cote over the holidays were Mr. and Mrs. N. Desilets of Granby, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Giguere of Montreal also Miss D. Cote and friend of Waterloo.

● Saturday supper guests of Mr. and Mrs. George Badger and family were Mr. and Mrs. James Sweet and family of Eastman.

● Mr. and Mrs. Ken Wright of Ontario visited Mr. and Mrs. Donald Badger and family before returning to Ontario.

● Mr. and Mrs. W. Beauchamp of Montreal spent New Year's weekend at their home here, guests were Mr. and Mrs. J. Beauchamp of Granby, Mr. Allen Beauchamp and Miss Donna Lyons of Montreal.

● Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bliss and family visited Mr. and Mrs. Dedoer of Waterville.

● Mr. and Mrs. Jim Davis and family spent the holidays at their summer home here.

● Sunday dinner guests at Maple View Farm, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Badger were Mr. and Mrs. Donald Badger and family and Mr. Lawrence Page and Miss Martha Page of Knowlton.

Fulford Fire Fighter Dance

The dance held in the hall by the Fulford Fire Fighters was fairly well attended due to the slippery conditions of the roads. The next dance will be held in the hall on in January.

Fulford U.C.W. hold meeting

The meeting of the Fulford United Church Women was held in the Hall on Dec. 7th, with seven members present. The election of officers for the coming year was held. Mrs. Pearl Williams, as president; Miss Minnie Wiles, vice-president; secretary, Mrs. Frank Ounsworth; Mrs. Chalres Sparke as treasurer; work convenor, Mrs. Arnold Badger; Flower Fund, Miss Eva Badger. Finals plans were made for the Xmas Tree to be held in the hall on Dec. 15th.

Surprise packet was won by Mrs. W. Naylor.

The next meeting will be held in the hall on January 4th with Mrs. Naylor as hostess.

Following the meeting a lunch was served by the hostess Mrs. Frank Ounsworth assisted by Mrs. Hazel Hayes.

Social Items

● Mr. and Mrs. W. Gaylor and family of Granby were Sunday guests of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Ounsworth.

● Relatives and friends are sorry to hear that Mr. George Badger in on the sick a list and all wish a speedy recovery.

● Mrs. E. Banks Sr., Miss G. Stewart spent a few days visiting relatives in Toronto.

● Mrs. D. Sweet and Mrs. James Sweet and sons of Eastman spent a day with Mr. and Mrs. George Badger and family.

● Mr. and Mrs. Don Badger spent a day shopping in Granby.

Fig.6-5 Social Fulford.

Village doings from the Granby Leader Mail, Dec. 13, 1967.

Fulford, unlike Sutton, Knowlton, and Glen Sutton, is not reaping any pecuniary rewards from the tourist trade. The village, unfortunately or otherwise, lies halfway between the ski slopes of Bromont and the lakeshore beach at Bondville. The local people much prefer to pick blueberries on Brome Mountain in the summer and ice fish on Brome Lake in the winter rather than slide down the mountain in winter and ski on the water in summer.

It is questionable as to whether the ski chalets radiating from Bromont (formerly W. Shefford) will ever reach the village, but already one house in Fulford is rented out to skiers on winter weekends. That however is the extent of the tourist boom! There is talk of a provincial park nearby and perhaps this will further encourage the present trend toward summer houses and cottages for city-weary vacationers. Fulford's potential tourism may thus be said to reflect the aesthetic appeal of the countryside itself without the added inducement of sport or commercialized vacation activity.

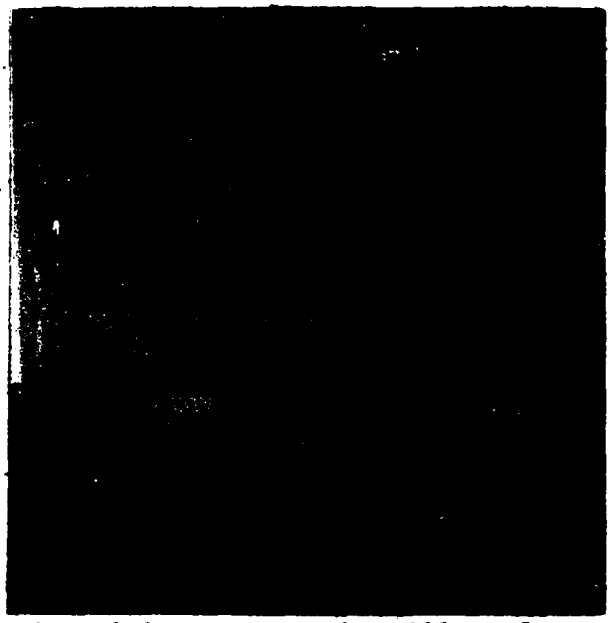

fig. 6-6. Leaving the Village from the South end.

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fig. 6-6. Leaving the Village from the South end.

The following panoramic map (fig. 6-7) shows Fulford as it might appear in a present day 'bird's-eye' view. The scale of the buildings is true and the spatial relationship of the cultural and physical features of the villagescape is accurate. A clear and precise rendition of the modern functional landscape and its components is presented as a supplement to this cross-section.

CHAPTER 6 - NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] Charles Galpin in Glenn Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: One Element of the American Settlement Fabric," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 33, p. 42.

[2] W. Gilles Ross (ed.), A Century of Change in Selected Eastern Township Villages: Barnston, Hatley, Huntingville, Massawippi, p. 52.

[3] Fulford's residential and commercial index is derived from 1867 figures, rather than 1863.

LEGEND

1. Schoolhouse ruins
2. Anglican Church
3. Bockus house & garage
4. blacksmith shop ruins
5. Lambourne (Joyal)
6. Brunton farm
7. Joyal factory ruins
8. United Church
9. Turgeon
10. Cushen
11. truss bridge (1920)
12. old mill ruins
13. Joyal ruins
14. Davis
15. Lambourne (Booth)
16. Hammond
17. Hammond barns
18. Hammond gravel pit
19. Wright barn & garage
20. Wright store
21. Lambourne warehouse
22. Graves house
23. Graves woodshed
24. Fulford cemetery
25. Hayes (Williams)
26. Ares farmstead
27. Ares gravel pit
28. Boyd house & garage
29. Moffatt
30. Cowell
31. Seymour
32. Hamman houses
33. Fulford hall & rink

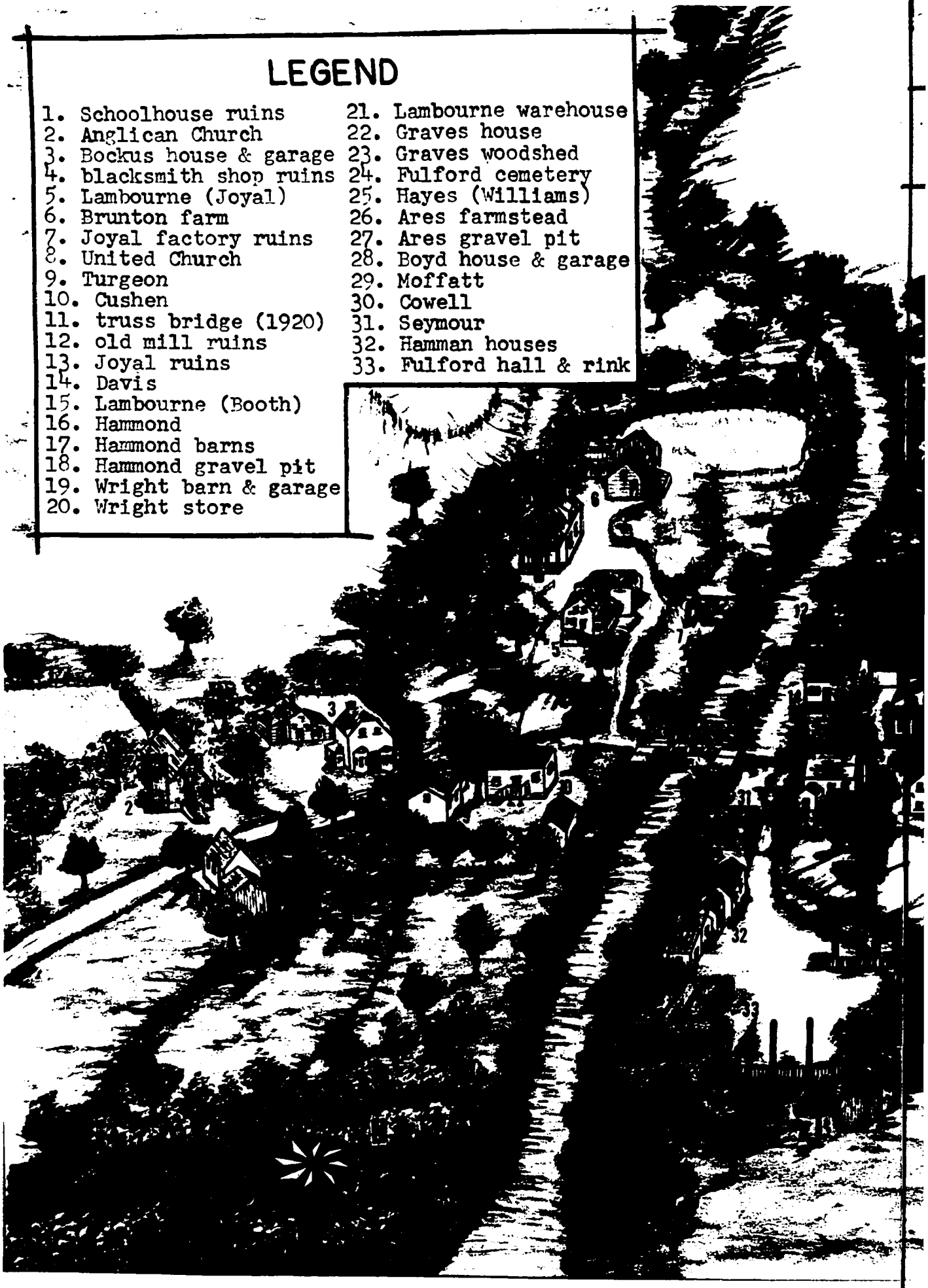


FIG. 6-7

Roy O'Brien

PART III

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

"The world's a scene of changes, and to be Constant, in Nature were inconstancy."

-- Abraham Cowley, Inconstancy.

CHAPTER 7

Demographic Change

> "all population change is simply the sum of reproductive change and net immigration which, in turn, are summations of births and deaths and of in-migrants and out-migrants... these spatial-temporal rhythms in rural numbers... are the demographic counterpart of the rise and concentric dispersal of higher forms of economic organization."
>
> -- Wilbur Zelinsky[1]

The Construction of Population Graphs and the Analysis of Data.

The graphs presented in figures 7-1, 7-2, and 7-3 are composed of data derived from a variety of source material ranging from census returns and rural business directories to cemetery data and voters lists. The ecclectic nature of this material permits much leeway in the numerical interpretation and the construction of population graphs (especially for villages) possesses a degree of subjectivity.

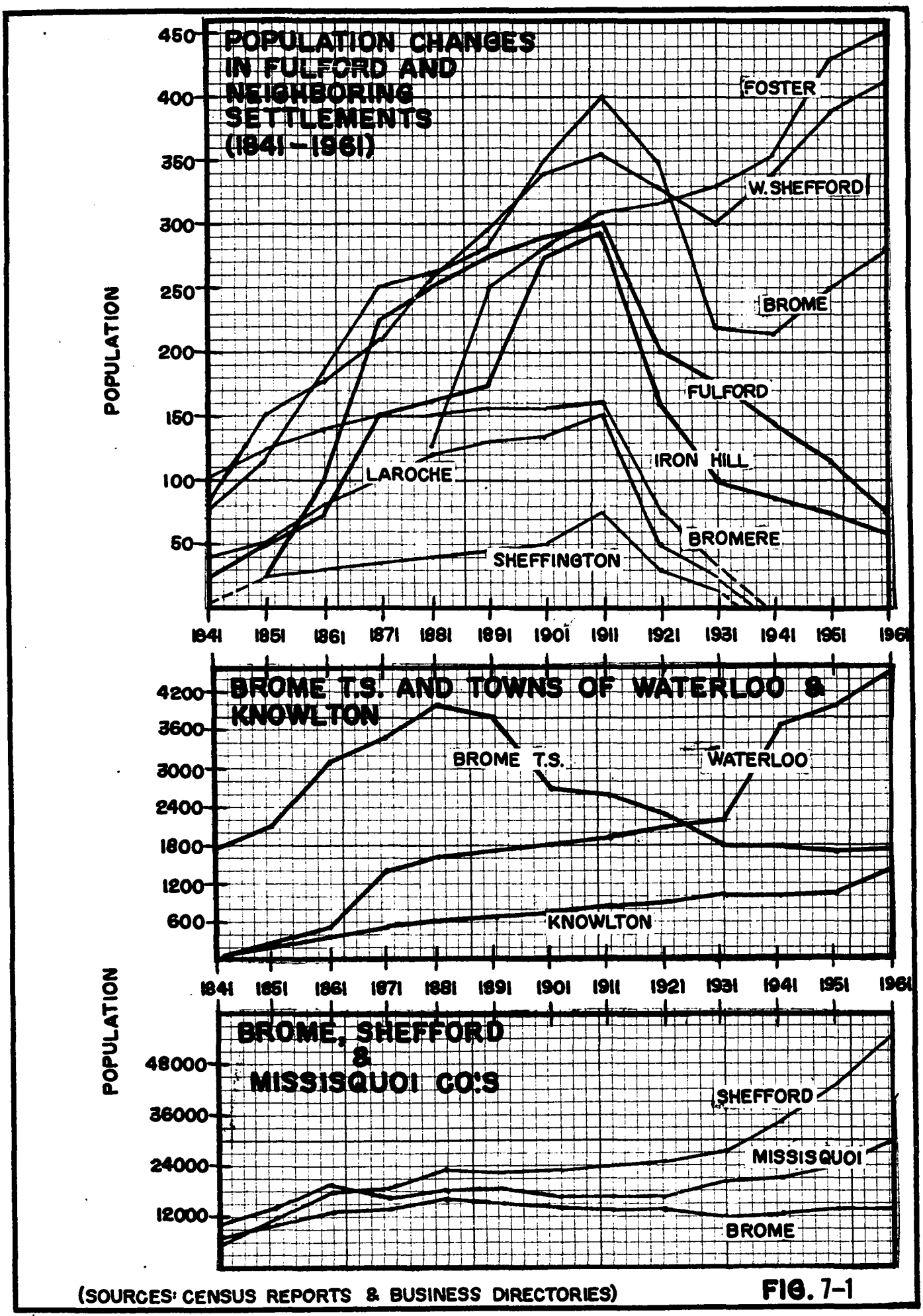
The Canada Census reports (which vary somewhat from the Municipal Census returns) are the primary source for statistics on a county and township level and the graphs are only as accurate as the Census reports themselves. Several difficulties are encountered with the utilization of these reports. For example, data on the age, occupational, ethnic and religious characteristics of the population of the Townships are unavailable after 1941; from 1901 onward the township data varies from decade to decade with respect to sub-divisions and voting districts included in each township. Furthermore, places with less than 250 people are generally excluded and consequently data for most villages and all hamlets is totally lacking in every decade.

The best source of demographic data for the villages and hamlets is the series of Eastern Township Directories published periodically by Lovell of Montréal between 1851 and 1916. The figures given are necessarily very rough estimates and rounded-off to the nearest 50th or 100th. Also given are capsule descriptions of the village, lists of occupations, and proprietary and tenant

farmers. Trewartha employed similar data from the Dunn and Bradstreet Commercial Ratings, the American counterpart of the Directories, in his South Dakota village study; he noted the shortcomings, inconsistancies, and wild fluctuations inherent in such listings and had to adjust his figures to what was more likely the demographic reality. The population estimates given in the business and farmers' directories for the Eastern Townships must be supplemented by and compared with material from other available sources.

Alternately, church records, voters lists, and valuation rolls, have a number of drawbacks and unfortunately offer remarkably little in research value. Communities the size of Fulford were usually unable to support a resident minister and the village, included in a rural church circuit, was visited perhaps once a week or every other week. As a result of this situation wherein the administrative center for each circuit was shifted from place to place, the records -- some of which are missing and fragmentary -- are scattered between the Sweetsburg Courthouse, the United Church in Waterloo, the Catholic Church in West Shefford, and the Anglican Minister's residence in Foster. Apart from the geographical dispersal of source material, the church records themselves were found to be of little real demographic value; the same information could just as expeditiously be obtained by a pencil-and-pad trip to the local cemetery since the church registries are simply a chronological listing of births, marriages and deaths.

Archival materials such as voters lists, valuation books, militia rolls, and postal records are of greater value. But again, because of the size of the village involved, there are natural drawbacks. No postal or militia records seem to exist for Fulford or the surrounding hamlets although a few such documents for Cowansville, Knowlton, and the larger villages are existant. The voters lists include only names of persons who were occupants of land valued at an ammount of five pounds and upward annually. Apart from the rather large percentage of people who apparently didn't bother to vote, the names of tenants, small lot holders, and absentee owners were sometimes arbitrarily excluded. The



(SOURCES: CENSUS REPORTS & BUSINESS DIRECTORIES)

FIG. 7-1

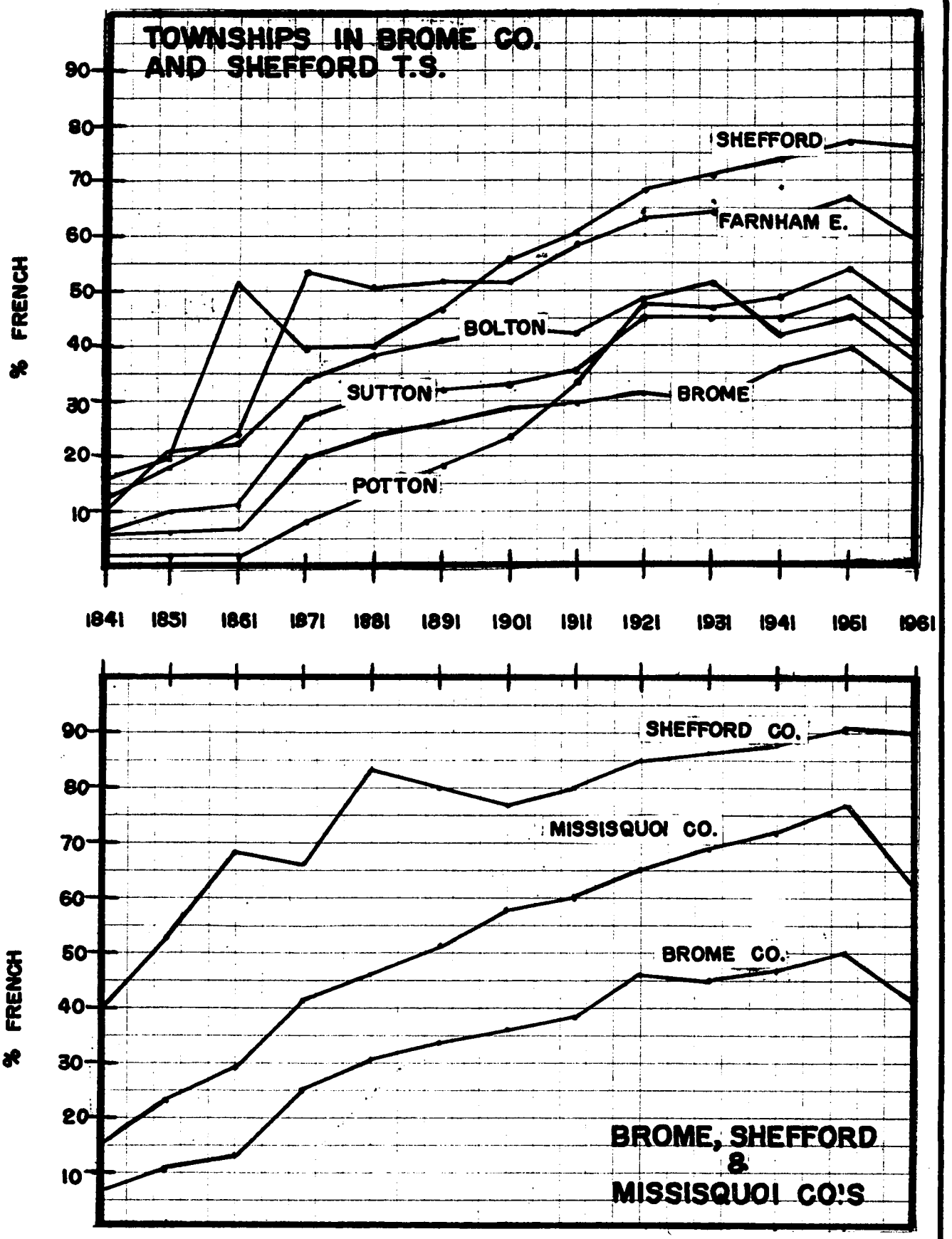
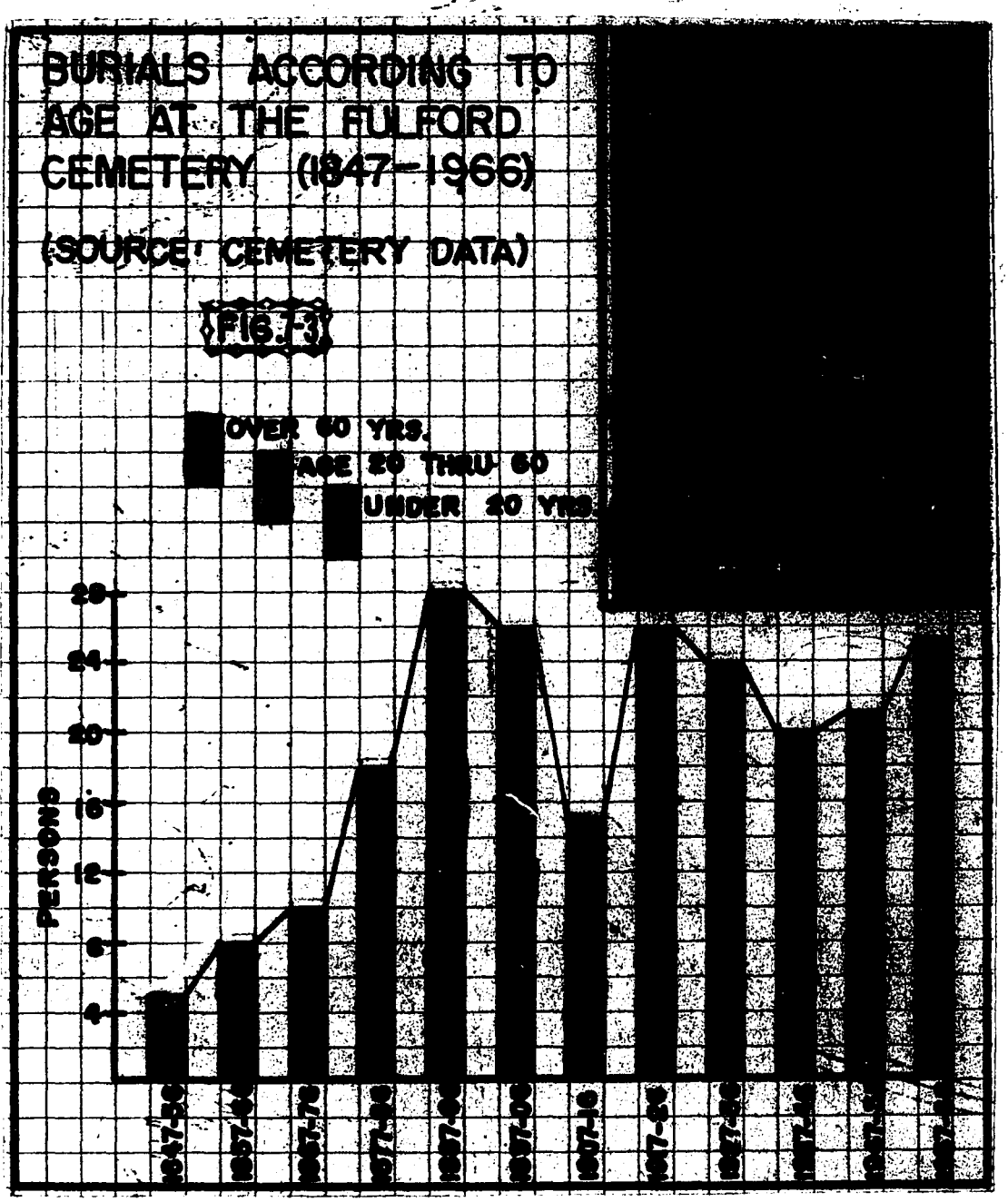
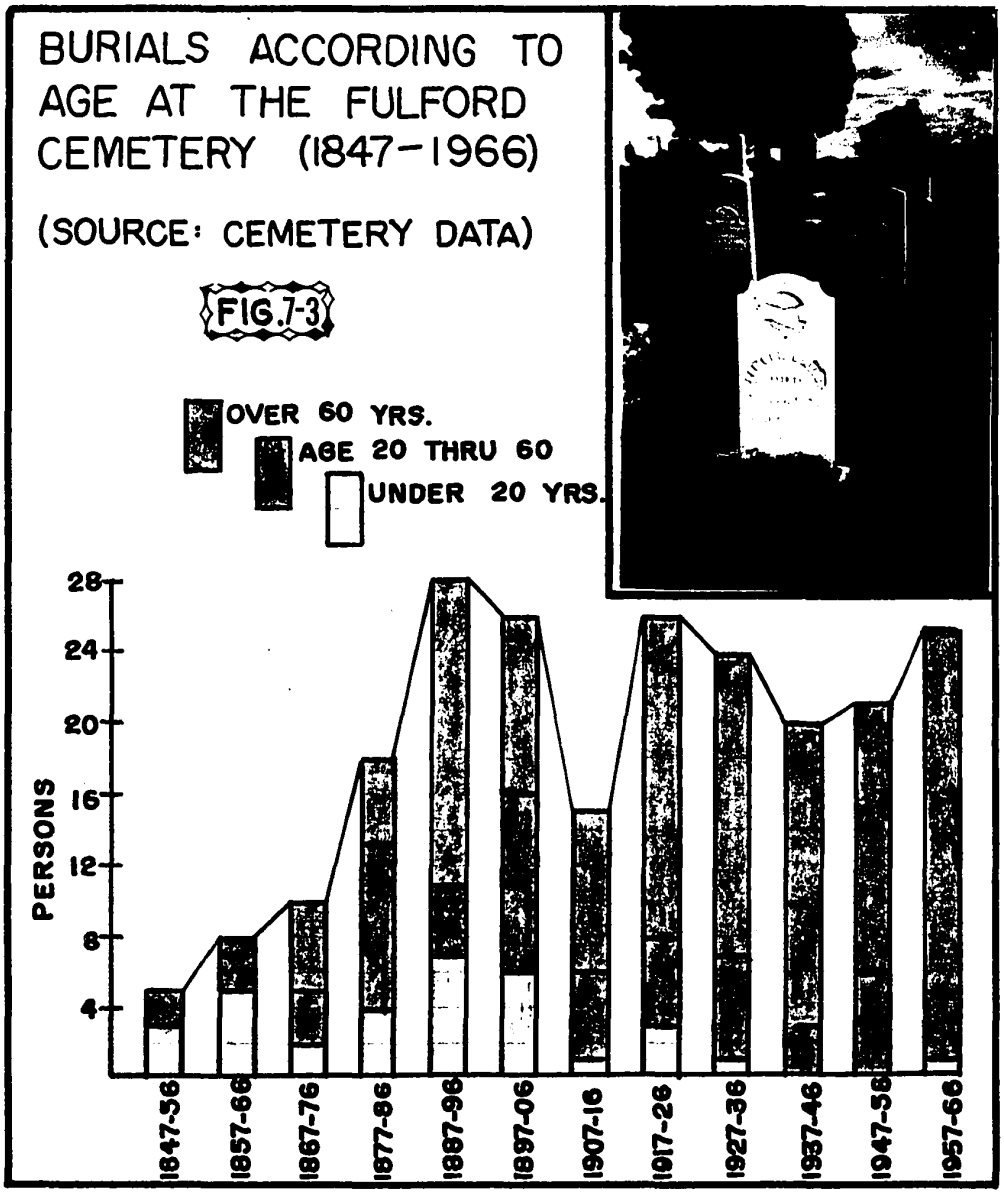


FIG. 7-2 FRENCH POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, 1841 – 1961

(SOURCE: CANADA CENSUS)


BURIALS ACCORDING TO AGE AT THE FULFORD CEMETERY (1847-1966)
(SOURCE: CEMETERY DATA)
FIG. 3
OVER 60 YRS.
AGE 20 THRU 60
UNDER 20 YRS.
PERSONS
28
24
20
16
12
8
4
1847-50
1857-60
1867-70
1877-80
1887-90
1897-00
1907-10
1917-20
1927-30
1937-40
1947-50
1957-60


BURIALS ACCORDING TO AGE AT THE FULFORD CEMETERY (1847-1966)
(SOURCE: CEMETERY DATA)
FIG.7-3
OVER 60 YRS.
AGE 20 THRU 60
UNDER 20 YRS.
PERSONS
28
24
20
16
12
8
4
1847-56
1857-66
1867-76
1877-86
1887-96
1897-06
1907-16
1917-26
1927-36
1937-46
1947-56
1957-66

same disadvantage is true of the valuation rolls (partial and inconsistent listings) when used as a research tool.

In addition to the Census material and Business Directories etc., the best demographic source of data was found to be the local cemetery itself. Cemeteries and tombstones are features of the cultural landscape and are of very significant value in a small place study.

Their demographic research value was stated by Frank Young who did a sociological study of two Canadian villages relying heavily upon the graveyard records:

> "Cemeteries are public, quantitative artifacts that extend backward into time... the class, associational, family and age and sex patterns, along with the values, changes, and conflicts that they involve are reflected in the artifacts of the graveyard."[2]

Geographically, L.W. Price was able to use tombstone data to trace waves of ethnic (Scotch, German and Polish) settlement over an area of Illinois and found that settlers from the British Isles chose the uplands while the German settlers chose the poorly drained lowlands. He stated that the implications of this space utilizing phenomenon "may contribute another facet to the growing interest in cultural geography."[3]

'The Fulford Union Cemetery' is thus a reservoir of vital statistics; there have been over two hundred and thirty burials at Fulford since 1847 and this complete necrology is presented in Appendix D. The age characteristics of the cemetery population in each decade is graphed in fig. 7-3 and the 'Measure of Familism' and continuity of family names are found on tables 7-1 and 7-2. 'Familism' is a sociological concept that measures the degree of kinship and size of family units; the coming of new family lines and intermariage between persons from various settlements is also implied.

As with any index there are problems of interpretation and validity. The nature of the data from the Fulford Cemetery illustrates some of these problems that must be kept in mind when interpreting the graphs and tables:

the Catholic population of Fulford buried its dead in Waterloo and West Shefford and are thus not represented in the local cemetery; at least 5% of the stones are badly weather-beaten and the legends are indiscernable; there are plots no doubt containing two or more persons where only one name appears on the slab; and then many of the village residents were buried elsewhere by sons and daughters who owned family plots.

Nevertheless some fairly valid assumptions can be made when the data is coordinated with other source material. For instance, the Bishop's University study arrived at 1863 village populations by multiplying the number of houses on the walling map by the average number of people per dwelling as described in the Census reports. This estimate might well be confirmed by computing the number of homes (i.e. families) in the village on the basis of cemetery data.

fig. 7-4. "...Maintenance of the identity of the dead is partly dependant on placing them in living time and space. Human space concepts continue to be used to locate the dead."

-- W.L. Warner [4]

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fig. 7-4. "...Maintenance of the identity of the dead is partly dependant on placing them in living time and space. Human space concepts continue to be used to locate the dead."

-- W.L. Warner [4]

Recognition and Explanation of Population Trends

Population geographer Wilbur Zelinsky described changes in the rural settlement pattern through a time series which he called "The Rural Life Cycle of American Counties."[5] With some modification this population cycle (the demographic manifestation of the historical sequence of land occupance) can be used to analyze the ups and downs of the graphs in figures 7-1 and 7-2. Four basic trends are discernable in the graphs of Fulford and the neighboring communities:

I) sharp population rise from 1841 to 1871

II) steady but more even progress from 1871 to 1911

III) major population slump in the decade 1911-1921

IV) slow but constant downhill slide of population after 1921

These trends are governed by political, historical, social, and economic considerations and their relationships in turn help explain the process of ethnic and social change in space over time.

From 1841-71 the pioneer or 'filling in' stage is very much related to population trends in adjacent parts of New England. Wilson's population maps for Vermont and New Hampshire (fig. 7-5) show the degree to which the northern part of New England was suffering from rural decline. By 1840 both states were loosing large numbers of farmers and rural craftsmen to Québec's Townshipsand elsewhere. In the period from 1840 to 1860 Vermont's population was tumbling downhill so fast that by "1860 overtwo-fifths of the natives of Vermont were living in other states."[6] Torbert pointed out that in 1860 in Lebanon Township, New Hampshire there were thirty fewer farmsteads than in 1830.[7] The Yankee origins of Fulford and nearby settlements has already been discussed and suffice it to say that the New England exodus was the primary demographic feature of the period and supplied the major impetus to the upward march of population in the Townships.

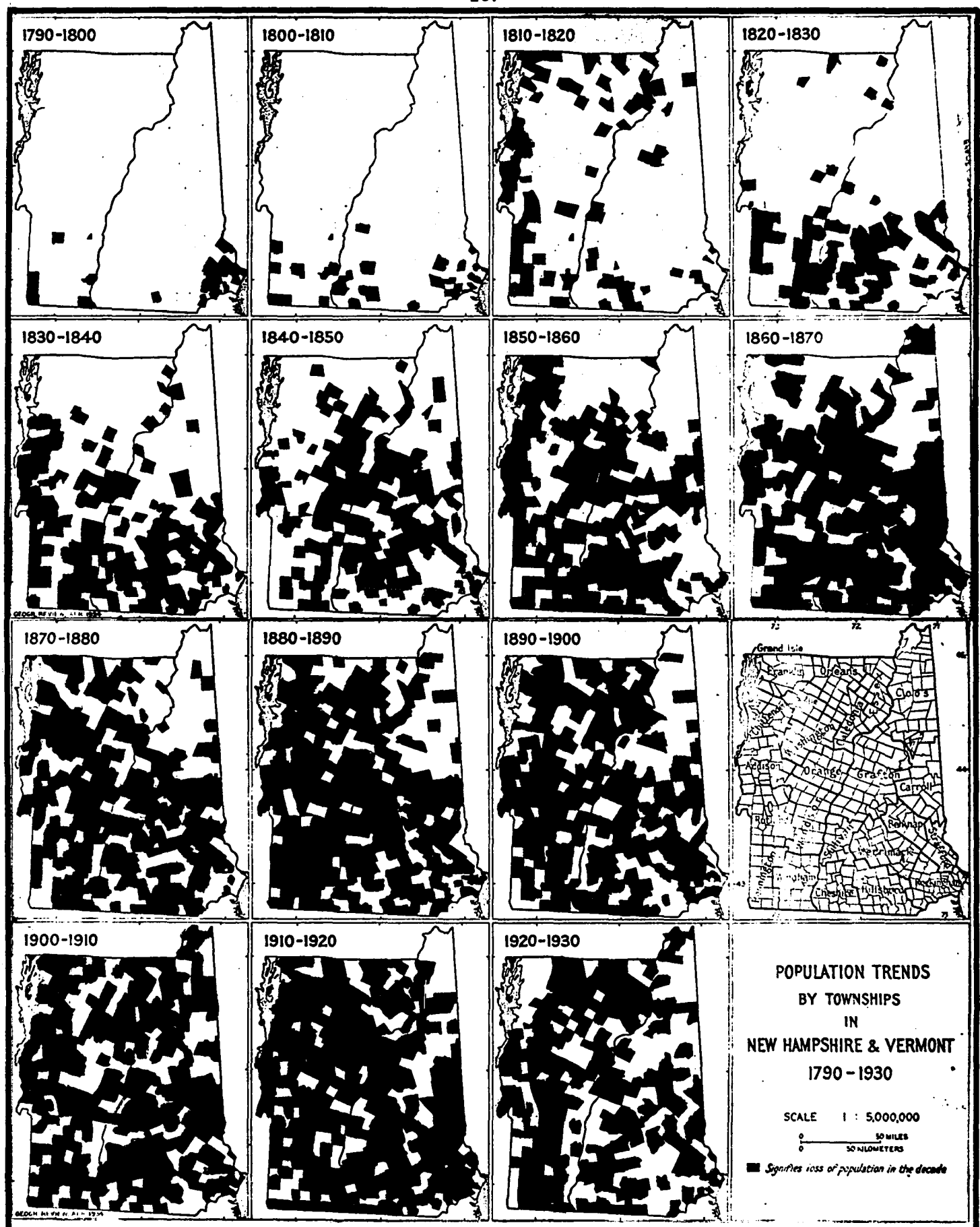


Fig.7-5 A series of maps of northwestern New England showing townships that have suffered loss of population (shaded areas) by decades from 1790 to 1930. From: H. Wilson, "Population Trends in Northwestern New England etc.", Geographical Review, Vol. 24

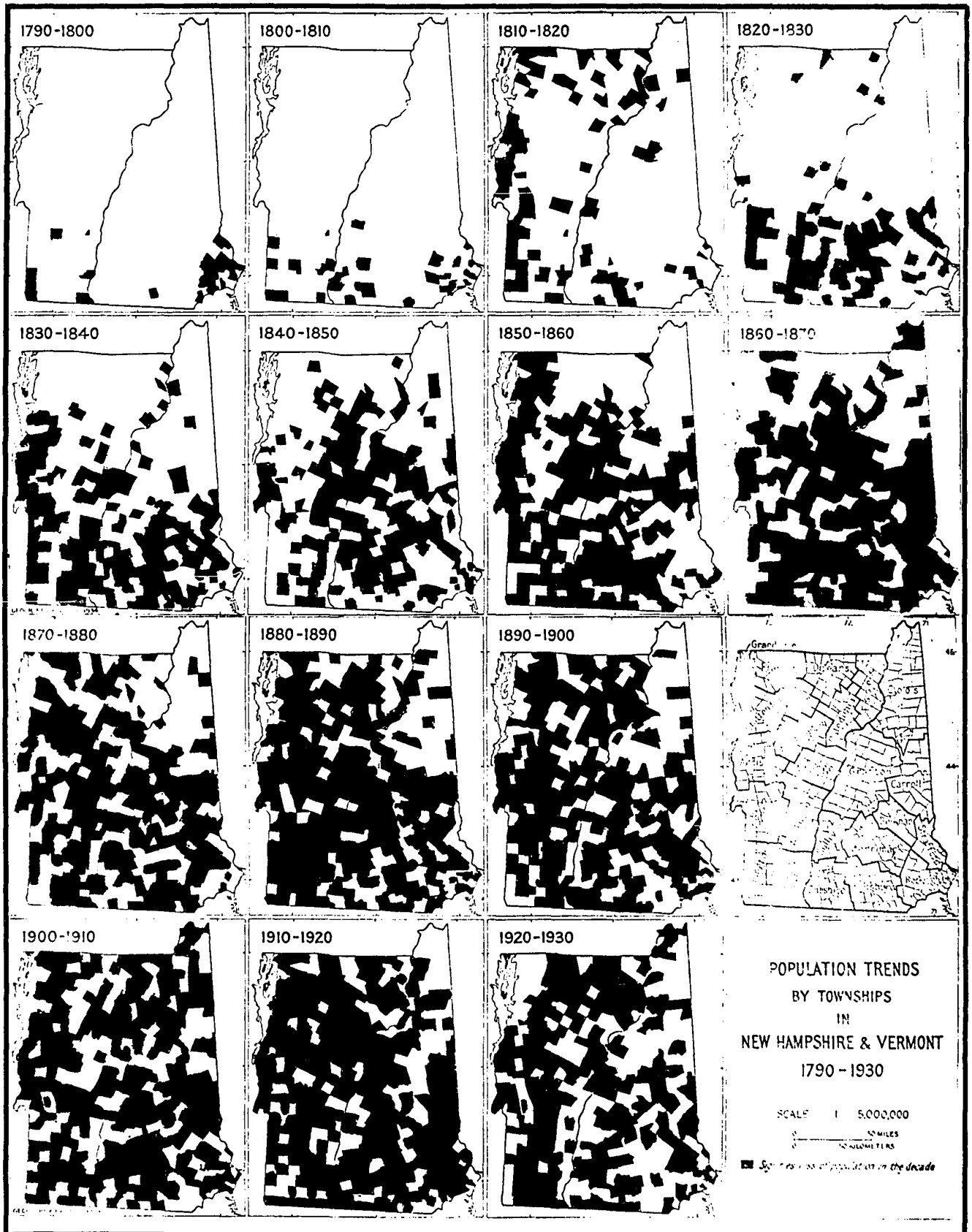


Fig.7-5 A series of maps of northwestern New England showing townships that have suffered loss of population (shaded areas) by decades from 1790 to 1930. From: H. Wilson, "Population Trends in Northwestern New England etc.", Geographical Review, Vol. 24

Although 'La Marée Française' was also pouring off the seigneuries by the 1850's and the saturation point of 53 persons per square mile was reached in 1861,[8] Brome County -- and Brome and Potton townships in particular -- was still less than one quarter French by 1871. Neighboring Shefford Township had a French majority by 1861, but Brome, more removed from the source area, was still solidly English speaking. The Municipal Council in 1855 recorded in its minute book that it was "not necessary or expedient to make or publish any notice, by-law, or resolution of this council in the French language, as the inhabitants thereof speak the English language only."[9] As the reserve lots were disposed of, a few French families arrived in the countryside of Brome township, but the villages of the township (and consequently Fulford) did not receive the crest of the wave for another fifty years.

The next forty years or so (1871 to 1911) were marked by a steady natural increase in the population and continued inmigration. The keynote trend of the period was the gradual but persistent increase in numbers of the French speaking sector.

After 1870 the English speaking farmers of Brome began to feel the pressure of a French population increase. The pressure was twofold: the carrying capacity of the land itself, according to Pochopien[10], reached its maximum point in Brome around 1881 after which it became physically impossible to increase the density per square mile; secondly, there was considerable social pressure exerted upon the English farmers to sell out to the French and move on to new opportunities elsewhere. On another front, after 1880 the outmigration from New England had markedly "declined and some of the migrants even returned to Vermont."[11] At the same time many of the Irish in and around Brome were lured away to the gold fields of British Columbia and construction jobs on canals and railways in the midwest. In short, farm sales were plentiful and conditions were ripe for continued French penetration.

Brome Township, it must be remembered, was in somewhat of an anomalous position. The area was entirely lacking an industrial or semi-industrial base and had no Waterloo, Granby, or Sherbrooke to attract job hungry French migrants to its beckoning factories and shops. Brome had a very strong agricultural emphasis, no urban development, and subsequently not only the French population was low but the total population as well. Jean Hunter stated this as a simple rule: "The numerical growth of both the total and the French population, over the period 1861-1931, has been determined by the degree of urban development in each township. The heavier the urban population, the greater the population growth in the township."[12]

Thus the French who did locate in Brome at this time came as farmers and not as factory workers or even village dwellers. The villages and hamlets in the Township -- with the exception of Laroche -- were not characteristically French speaking even though they may have been served by French merchants and blacksmiths.

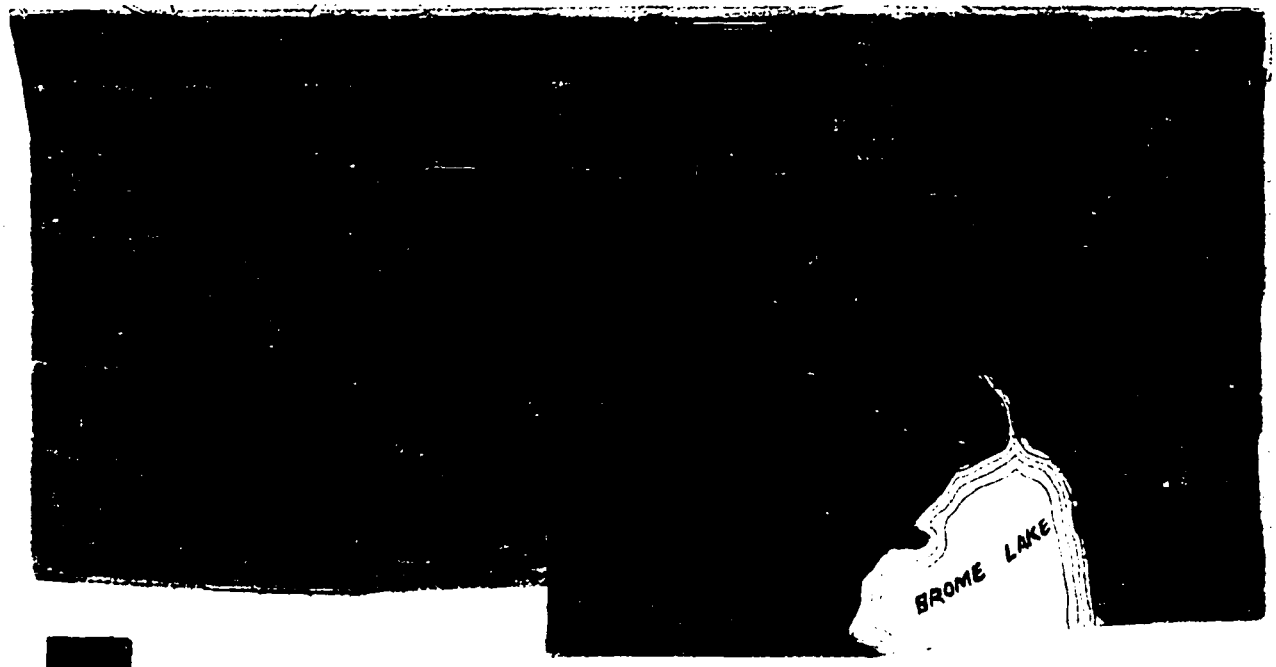
The fact that the French came at all however was bitterly lamented by some of the entrenched English speaking farmers. Robert Sellar, in his Tragedy of Quebec: The Explusion of the Protestant Farmers, cited three trends that were changing the rural landscape of the Townships in the late 1800's: the high mortality - low birth rate of the British, abandonment of farmsteads and outmigration of many of the British, and the "ecclesiastical designs and political nature of the Church of Rome."[13] He claimed that the English farmers were compelled,through the political powers of the Catholic Church, to sell their land; this, rather than the pull of the city or better land elsewhere, -- he contended -- explained the outmigration of the English. He continued:

> "The primary cause of the ejection of the Protestant farmer from the land is the parish system... so long as a farm is owned by a Protestant the priest can levy no tithe, his trustees no building tax. The moment it is sold to a Catholic, the priest draws tithe and the Church-warden dues."[14]

The Catholic Church no doubt served as a rallying point and financial patron during the French invasion (a role the Protestant denominations were either too small or too splintered to assume) but other less emotional and more objectively viewed factors must be considered as well.

Professor Aileen Ross investigated the relationship between the phenomena of spatial succession and social attitudes to show whether the solidarity of a group was affected by an ecological succession. She described the cycles of attitude through which the invaded English rural population in Compton, Richmond, and Sherbrooke Counties passed. The English speaking population at first met the clanishness of the French community with organized resistance; their attitude degenerated to discouragement and finally to a state of complete and hopeless apathy. Added to the standard list of factors explaining the English withdrawal (declining birth rate, better farm land to the west, the rural-urban pull) she added the psychological factor: "although the underlying causation of invasion is largely economic, certain psychological factors enter, such as beliefs and fears, which determine the rate at which the process will proceed."[15] The fear was one of growing isolation in the midst of a foreign culture and religion. To the English farmer the inevitability of the outcome was made clear by the shear weight of numbers; the situation had simply gone beyond his control and the time to withdraw had come.

In Fulford, Iron Hill, Bromere, and in the other small communities, the French segment was still negligable. To be sure, the English who were abandoning the countryside were coming into the villages and towns and the period, while being one of growth for these settlements, is not one of a French increase: "perhaps most important of all from the point of view of the French population movement, they (the villages) employ only a few hands, and possibly work only part of the year. They are not able to provide more than a very limited amount of employment."[16] French ownership of lots in the rural hinterland was another matter! More than a third of the farmlots around Fulford were by 1894 in French hands (fig. 7-6); the concentration of owner-



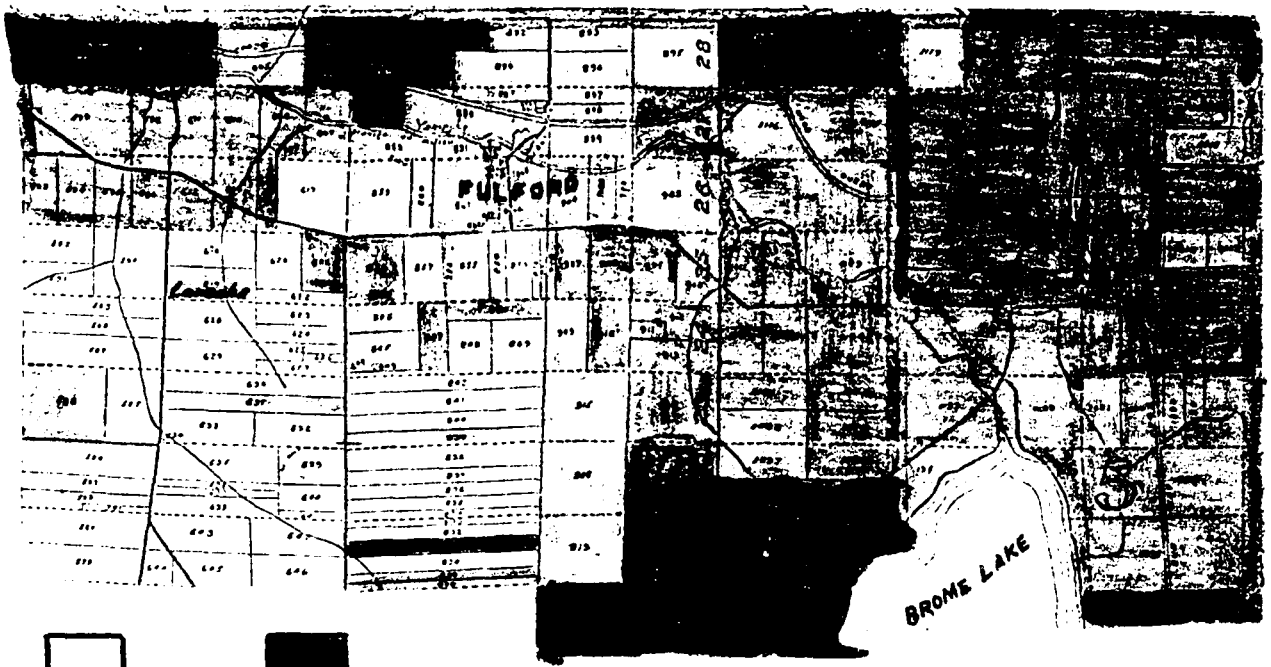
FRENCH

ENGLISH

OWNERSHIP OF LOTS AROUND FULFORD IN 1894

(1:63,360)

FIG. 7-6



FULFORD

SHEFFORD CO.

LAROCHE

W. SIDE OF BROME LAKE

FOSTER

ELSEWHERE

BROMERE

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF LOT OWNERS AROUND FULFORD IN 1894

(SOURCE: VOTER'S LISTS & VALUATION ROLLS FOR 1894, BCHS)

(BASE MAP: CADASTRAL MAP OF BROME CO., MINISTRE DES TERRES ET FORETS, 1937.)

ship clustered around the Laroche settlement in the 6th range but individual holdings spread throughout the area. By 1960 this pattern of ownership around Fulford was divided about equally between the two groups.

A comparison of Census data for 1911 and 1921 reveals a major and critical reversal in the upward population trend; 1911 marks the commencement of the single most important demographic trend in the Townships in the past century.

Rural areas eventually reach a point of maximum population after which a gradual decline sets in. The initial stage of this period is characterized by an extremely sharp slump in the study area that is best observed in the village graphs. Fulford and Iron Hill have quite similar demographic histories and both exhibit a loss of about one-third of the village population between 1911 and '21. The loss is equally drastic in the smaller villages (Bromere, Laroche, and Sheffington) which had no more than 150 people at their historical climax; the net effect was that the smaller communities quickly plummeted toward total extinction (and the geographic dynamics of this disappearance are presented in detail in Chapter 9). The larger villages of Brome and West Shefford were also subjected to heavy losses but, because of their relative size, they were able to make an eventual comeback. Foster, a comparatively new railroad center, was the only village in the area not to pass through such a stage of decline.

The explanation for this downward population slide lies in the combined and almost simultaneous effect of the English withdrawal, the decline of village crafts and industry, the advance of urbanization (Waterloo and Knowlton continued to grow throughout the decade), and the general French avoidance of village life. An additional consideration may well be related to the effects of World War I upon the makeup of the rural population. Specifically, as Hunter pointed out, English farmers took advantage of the high prices of the war boom to sell their farms and for each sellout a French buyer was always

available. The exchange rate, with the French taking out mortgages to pay for their purchases, was exceptionally rapid between 1917 and '21 in the District of Bedford (viz. Brome, Shefford, and Missisquoi Counties). Also, there were many farmers' sons and village youths who left forever to serve on the battlefields of Europe. In small agricultural settlements all across Canada, family lines were broken and family farms could not be passed down to the male heirs. In Walhachin, British Columbia for example "the peaceful tenor of this remarkable development changed drastically with the call to arms in 1914. Practically all the adult male population enlisted, leaving the burden of maintenance to the older men and those too young for military service."[17] At Fulford, there are no records of enlistments or war fatalities but Walter Taylor remembers that:

> "Vladimir West was one; he went over there and didn't come back... there was another one, George Ingram, a farmer's son... he was conscious striken and so he went over there and he didn't come back. There were probably a few others..."[18]

In a community the size of Fulford the reduction in the number of young males -- even if it is only a handful -- is of very definite consequence.

After 1921 the already established trend toward rural decline and urban increase continued at an unremitting pace. The countryside and smaller villages were continually being depleted while the larger villages and towns (W. Shefford, Brome, Foster) received the flood that had just 'come in off the farm'.

The French increase was momentarily halted by an economic depression between 1921 and '31, and Pochopien even notes that almost 500 French left Brome County in this decade. But by 1931 the percentage of French again began to rise. By this time 3/4 of all the townships were 70% or more French speaking (fig. 7-7). Still, in Brome, Missisquoi, Compton, and Stanstead, there was a sizable remnant of the English population. In 1931 William Wood observed that

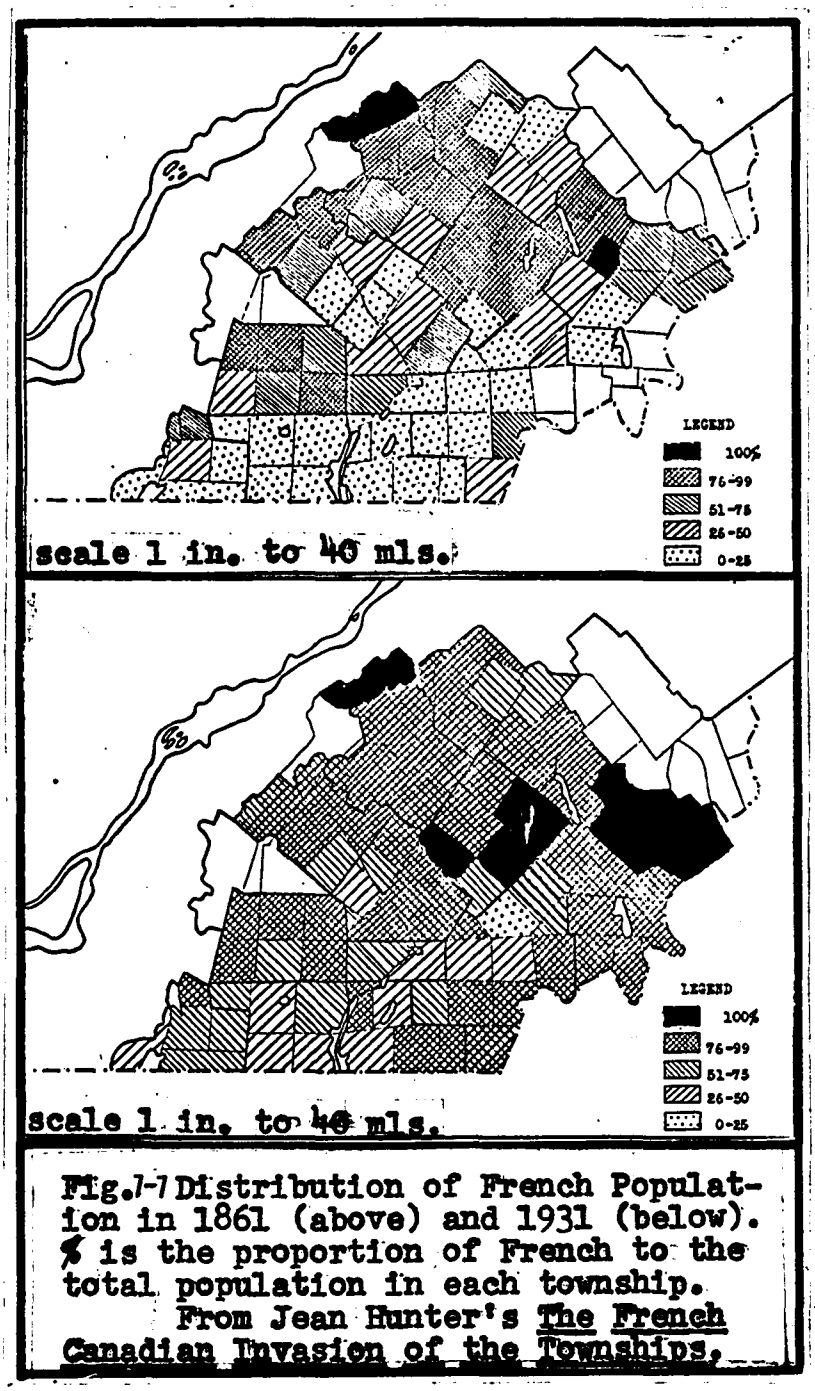


Fig.7-7 Distribution of French Population in 1861 (above) and 1931 (below). % is the proportion of French to the total population in each township. From Jean Hunter's The French Canadian Invasion of the Townships.

"the atmosphere and color of most of the settled parts of Brome County is that of England , or of the older regions of New England..."[19] The fact that Brome remained for a longer period mostly English speaking (55% in 1931) is also attributable to -- and this bears repeating -- the fact that it remained well into the 1930's the only county in the Townships with no urban center of over 1,000 people.

Although moving more slowly than elsewhere (and later historically) the French tide was nevertheless on the move. In the 1930's Brome, Shefford, and Missisquoi had the highest rate of farm indebtedness of any area in the Townships. Jean Hunter ascribed this to the great amount of farm transferal from English to French wherein the French, in order to snatch up the English farms,went heavily into debt.

The French also owned property in most of the villages by this time, and Fulford was no exception. According to Aileen Ross: "the buying of property (within the village) means that they (the French) have come to stay... in the minds of the English population it is the beginning of the end."[20]

With this background into the historical and more proximate trends in population, and remembering that the communities of Brome are still in a period of decline, what might be said of the character and content of the population of the village of Fulford, the end product of these twelve decades of demographic change?

The villagers are today grouped by the Census under the heading of rural non-farm residents and, surrounded by a numerically dominant French countryside, they are mainly English speaking store-keepers, clerks, foremen, laborers, retired farmers, and businessmen who commute to the nearest large town or city. For the most part, the present day Fulfordians are not the descendants of the early village settlers and there is little 'familism' between the households of the village -- little that is compared to half a century ago! If the village

population for each decade (and this should be true of the neighboring villages as well) is divided by the number of family names in the village, a name - person ratio, or 'measure of familism', is arrived at (table 7-1). The significance of this measure is that if the name-person ratio is large, then the families are large and village kinship and intermarriage are important. If small, the ratio reflects a declining family size and village ties. Frank Young worked this out for two Canadian villages and validated his index by a comparison of two forty year periods, 1871-1911 and 1921-1951. Young's ratios were 27-20 and 44-26. (21) The ratio at Fulford for these two periods was computed to be 18-9. It is obvious then that the degree of 'familism' in the village today is only half as important as it was fifty years ago. "Before 1900 there was a period of family expansion which in recent years has not maintained itself. This increase in familism coincides with a period of economic expansion when these villages were important..."[22]

A further measure of demographic change is obtained by checking the continuity -- or lack of continuity -- of the family lines in the village. Of the approximately twenty-four families in the village at present the lineage of only six can be traced back to the period before 1880 (table 7-2); another seven originated in the period between 1880 and 1920. This means that almost half of the families in the village located there after 1920 and consequently kinship ties are bound to be slight.

The age characteristics of the village have changed noticeably over the century. By referring to the age pyramids in fig. 7-8 it is seen that the smallest measure of change has occurred within the under 20 segment of the population: 49% in 1851 and 42% in 1967. The top of the pyramid, the over 40 age group, has almost doubled in size: 20% in 1851 to 38% in 1967. Meanwhile the most productive and economically important segment of the population, the 20 to 40 age group, has dwindled from 30% to 20%. The net result is that the age coloration of the village is considerably less dynamic today than in the past. The emergence of a village gerontocracy (also seen after 1917 in the age

TABLE 7-2 CONTINUITY OF FAMILY NAMES AT FULFORD		
PERIOD 1850-1880	PERIOD 1890-1920	PERIOD 1930-1960
	Armstrong	Armstrong
	Booth	Booth
Cummings	Cummings	
	Davis	Davis
England	England	England
Fessenden	Fessenden	Fessenden
George	George	George
	Graves	Graves
	Lewis	Lewis
	Miles	Miles
Sweet	Sweet	Sweet
Salsbury	Salsbury	
Tibbits	Tibbits	
Wright	Wright	Wright
Woodard	Woodard	Woodard
	Wilson	Wilson

TABLE 7-1. FAMILISM AT FULFORD			
PERIOD	# OF FAMILY NAMES	VILLAGE POP.	NAME-PERSON RATIO
1871-80	14	237	17
1881-90	14	262	19
1891-00	13	283	21
1901-10	17	295	17
1911-20	8	250	31
1921-30	15	187	12
1931-40	17	160	9
1941-50	13	130	10
1951-60	15	95	6

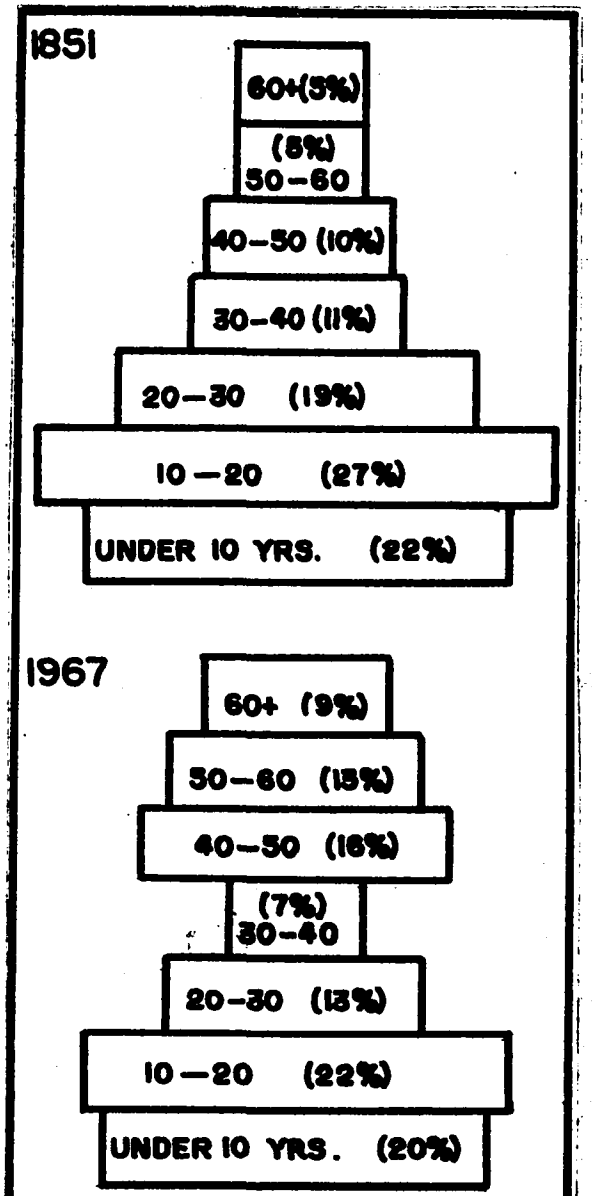


FIG.7-8 AGE PYRAMIDS SHOWING FULFORD'S POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

of burials graph) is a result of the outmigration of the middle age working class in search of job opportunities and better social contacts, and the relaxed and leisurely pace this 'retirement community' has assumed. The lack of a breeding population -- which affects the downward trend of the overall population -- will probably be one of the decisive factors in determining whether the village will continue to fall toward the X axis on the graph or eventually recover from its current fifty year slump.

CHAPTER 7 - NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Wilbur Zelinsky, "Changes in the Grographic Pattern of Rural Population of the United States 1790-1960," Geographical Review, vol. 52, pp. 513...524.

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[3] L.W. Price. "Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study," The Professional Geographer, July 1966, p. 201.

[4] W.L. Warner, The Living and the Dead, p. 282.

[5] Zelinsky, op. cit.

[6] E.L. Bogart, Peacham - The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, p. 225.

[7] Edward Torbert, "The Evolution of Land Utilization in Lebanon, New Hampshire," Geographical Review, Vol. 25, pp. 209-30.

[8] Jean Hunter, "The French Invasion of the Eastern Townships," McGill University Thesis, p. 75 .

[9] Minute Book of the Municipality and Township of Brome, Book no. 1, 6 August, 1855, (no page).

[10] K.M. Pochopien, "The District of Brome," McGill University Thesis, p.70.

[11] E.L. Bogart, op. cit. p. 337.

[12] Jean Hunter, op. cit. p. 96.

[13] Robert Sellar, The Tragedy of Quebec: The Explusion of the Protestant Farmers, p. 95.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Aileen Ross, "The Cultural Effects of Population Changes in the Eastern Townships," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. IX, p. 462.

[16] Jean Hunter, op. cit., p. 96.

[17] Chapman, Hardwick & Stager (eds.), A Travel Guide to Southwestern British Columbia, p . 29.

[18] Walter Taylor, transcript of tape recorded interview as contained in Appendix B.

[19] William Wood (ed.) The Storied Province of Quebec, Vol.II Ch. no. 5, p. 943.

[20] Aileen Ross, op. cit. p. 455.

[21] Frank Young, op. cit. p. 448-9.

[22] Ibid.

CHAPTER 8

The Countryscape: Shifting Emphasis of Agriculture.

> "Basic to an understanding of present agricultural land use patterns is the reconstruction of the agricultural geography of the past. Oftentimes, such an investigation will greatly illuminate the dynamic forces that initiate and give impetus to the changes."
>
> -- Lloyd Reeds, Agricultural Regions of Southern Ontario.[1]

Over the last one hundred years the countryside around Fulford has witnessed a progression of agricultural landscapes whose transitions reflect a pattern of change well established throughout Quebec's Townships. The changeover from one crop to a more profitable one, the increasing mechanization of farmwork, and the transformations in the appearance of the subsistence farm itself are very much a product of the demographic changes considered in the previous chapter. The study of the countryside is furthermore a part of the total geography of the local service villages whose hinterland it comprises.

The present farmscape in the study area represents the accumulated inheritance of over a century of agricultural experimentation and adjustments. The empty and decaying buildings, the obsolete and abandoned farm machinery that lies rusting in the barns and fields, and the once prospering villages themselves, are the historical jetsam of a rural society that settled Canada East in the mid-nineteenth century.

As the lumbermen and saw mill operators stripped the land of its woods, large tracts of natural pasture or semi-cleared lands were created. The soils on this acreage, once supporting a dense and luxurient woodland, were early recognized for their farming potential. The small landholders and tenant farmers arrived and cleared the remaining obstacles -- stones, boulders and stumps -- from the open fields. Around Fulford this was not until the late 1860's:

> "They used oxen for clearing the land then and they would weight 2200 pounds each and could just pull the stumps right out of the ground with no effort at all."[2]

The stumps were carried to the field margins and sometimes used as crude fences or boundary markers. The hardwood was carted to the mills while the bark of the softwoods was sold at the tannery. Thus the extractive village industries were, at this early period, in a way symbiotically linked to the work of agricultural clearance.

In the related Appalachian farmlands of Vermont and northern New England the tendancy was toward commercial agriculture after the coming of the railroads in the 1840's. Sheep raising on the uplands was popular and wheat remained the most widely grown crop. However, by the time patches of farmland began to appear throughout Quebec's Townships, parts of New England were already being abandoned and rural decline (accompanied by the outmigration discussed in chapter 7) was rising.

The Vermont farmers found wheat to be no longer a suitable commercial crop because of competition from the newly opened western states. Wheat was never a great favorite among the first farmers of Brome for much the same reason; the only difference was that if there was market competition it would have come from the farmlands of Ontario's townships, the Canadian commercial wheat belt at that time. Other field grains such as barley, rye, and oats did well on the loamy soils of Brome after the surface had been suitably cleared. Potatoes did particularly well on the Blandford and Racine sandy loams around Fulford.

From the beginning the keeping of livestock was of equal, if not more, importance in the area. The high degree of animal breeding, most notably in Brome Township, was probably attributable to the large percentage of English farmers. By 1871 nearly half of the improved acreage in the township was in pasture (see table 8-1). Cattle were the chief form of livestock kept, but sheep were popular until at least 1870.

The first farmscape that evolved in the countryside around Fulford included all these elements: maximum use of <u>all</u> the land, small but intensively used farms, English owned, grain and livestock based, relatively new and still

TABLE 8-1
COMPARISON OF AGRICULTURAL LAND USE IN 1851, 1871, 1931 & 1961

TOWNSHIP	ACRES OCCUPIED	ACRES IMPROVED	ACRES IN CROPS	ACRES IN PASTURE	UNIMPROVED ACREAGE
1851					
BROME	31,960	12,540	7,280	5,130	19,420
FARNHAM	40,650	12,000	7,110	4,840	28,640
SUTTON	35,550	13,400	8,450	4,920	22,250
POTTON	27,210	10,560	6,230	4,250	16,650
BOLTON	42,280	13,090	8,300	4,700	29,180
SHEFFORD	33,090	12,310	7,780	4,410	20,780
1871					
BROME	52,060	28,210	14,900	13,000	23,840
FARNHAM	29,800	15,470	7,610	7,690	14,330
SUTTON	47,660	25,130	13,070	11,760	22,530
POTTON	37,170	17,740	10,800	6,700	19,420
BOLTON	48,760	21,540	12,210	9,130	27,220
SHEFFORD	55,420	24,590	13,850	10,500	30,840
1931					
BROME	58,340	18,630	17,620	1,010	39,710
FARNHAM	52,180	27,510	24,360	3,150	14,670
SUTTON	54,740	16,390	14,760	1,630	38,350
POTTON	45,590	12,650	12,320	340	32,930
BOLTON	59,720	15,730	14,970	760	43,990
SHEFFORD	34,740	20,410	16,520	3,890	14,330
1961					
BROME	38,400	13,990	11,780	2,210	23,420
FARNHAM	45,880	26,800	20,490	6,310	18,190
SUTTON	37,870	14,920	10,630	3,390	22,940
POTTON	39,690	13,650	9,410	4,240	25,470
BOLTON	34,350	10,900	7,410	3,490	22,950
SHEFFORD	33,360	14,190	10,650	3,540	18,520

(note: figures are rounded to the nearest 10th)

TABLE 8-2
1931 & 1961 COMPARISON OF # OF FARMERS AND LIVESTOCK

TOWNSHIP	FARMERS		LIVESTOCK				
	OWNERS	TENANTS	MILK COWS	CATTLE	SHEEP	SWINE	HORSES
1931							
BROME	391	22	4,973	3,707	851	2,569	1,003
FARNHAM	381	68	4,468	2,881	507	2,371	1,011
SUTTON	318	50	4,040	3,010	359	1,526	870
POTTON	190	38	3,253	2,723	174	1,292	580
BOLTON	378	33	3,549	3,000	1019	1,856	800
SHEFFORD	235	24	3,245	2,288	482	1,719	614
1961							
BROME	206	5	3,092	5,495	115	2,283	350
FARNHAM	264	10	4,908	8,230	138	3,178	243
SUTTON	171	8	2,823	4,936	345	635	290
POTTON	162	5	2,247	3,776	35	1,343	192
BOLTON	174	4	2,044	3,663	144	144	261
SHEFFORD	211	6	2,639	4,593	21	2,439	288

Source: Canada Census for 1851,1871,1931 & 1961.

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Source: Canada Census for 1851,1871,1931 & 1961.

fertile soils. Because of the undeveloped nature of the roads and transport network markets were at a distance and local production was no doubt primarily for local consumption. The large number of village grist mills and tanneries (utilizing the hides of the farmers 'beef critters') would seem to indicate that the local service village was as far as the farmers' produce went.

By the 1880's a new set of conditions were injected into the rural framework of Brome Township. The French Canadian influx -- meager though it was in Brome at this time -- was taking its toll of English farmsteads and changes in the nature of the agricultural-family system were evident. Also, as a result of better transportation media the fact that the farmer was becoming more market oriented is reflected in the type farming in which he engaged. Finally, the condition of the land and soil -- now farmed extensively and continually for two decades at least -- was changing in such a way as to necessitate a new utilization of the fields.

A decline in grain production was probably the first indication that agriculture had passed beyond the pioneer stage. The perennial trip to the village to have the grist milled was no longer a part of the farm routine; the grist mills ceased operation and store bought flour (at $6.25 a barrel in 1882) was on stock in the general store. Much barley, used for making liquor and soup, was still grown but the general shift was to fodder crops which gave good yields on the older lands. Silage corn, hay, and alfalfa did well on the Blandford and Racine loams at Fulford. As more and more of the improved acreage was devoted to pasture the production of field crops became more intensive. A new efficiency in planting and harvesting (which maintained field crops at a constant production increase although declining relative to pasture) was the result of an agricultural revolution that reached Québec in the 1880's. John MacDougall, in Rural Life in Canada: Its Trends and Tasks, lists several of the mechanical innovations that appeared in 1886: the twine binder, gang plow,

manure spreader, trolley unloader, and the adaptation of the silo. Further innovations such as barbed wire and the cream separator strongly supported an agricultural inclination to animal breeding. For reasons of cultural background and economical preference, the English farmers tended toward stock raising and the French farmers toward dairying.

The English farmers concentrated on the fattening of beef cattle and the cultivation of prize-winning black Aberdeens; consequently they gradually abandoned the raising of sheep. In explaining the disappearance of sheep raising from New England after 1870, Wilson stated that competition in the form of lower prices for Australian and South American wool was the primary reason.[3] At any rate, the decline spread through the Townships at a slightly later date (again notice the time lag) and by 1910 for example the carding mills at nearby Sheffington and Bromere closed down.

The French farmer, newly arrived in Brome, was confronted with the fact that a marketable produce was assuming a more important position in the overall farm economy. This meant that the typical self-sufficient type of family farm could not be transplanted intact from the seigneuries to the Townships. Rather, the system began to break down under the pressure for surpluses, markets, and the paying off of mortgages.

The French farmers around Fulford were thus engaged in dairying -- entirely for butter and cheese processing at this time -- and their produce was handled by small village-based factories. Apart from the sale of their dairy produce to the local middleman, they brought considerable business to the village stores. This gave rise to what Kolb and Brunner described as the dichotomy between the French farmer and the English dominated hamlet:

> "the farmer paid so much money into the town through trade that he thought he ought to have some consideration, yet he contributed so little directly toward some of the social institutions that the villagers did not consider his rights very compelling...he did not share in the control and responsibility of the institutions he patronized. He stood on 'other peoples' streets'."[4]

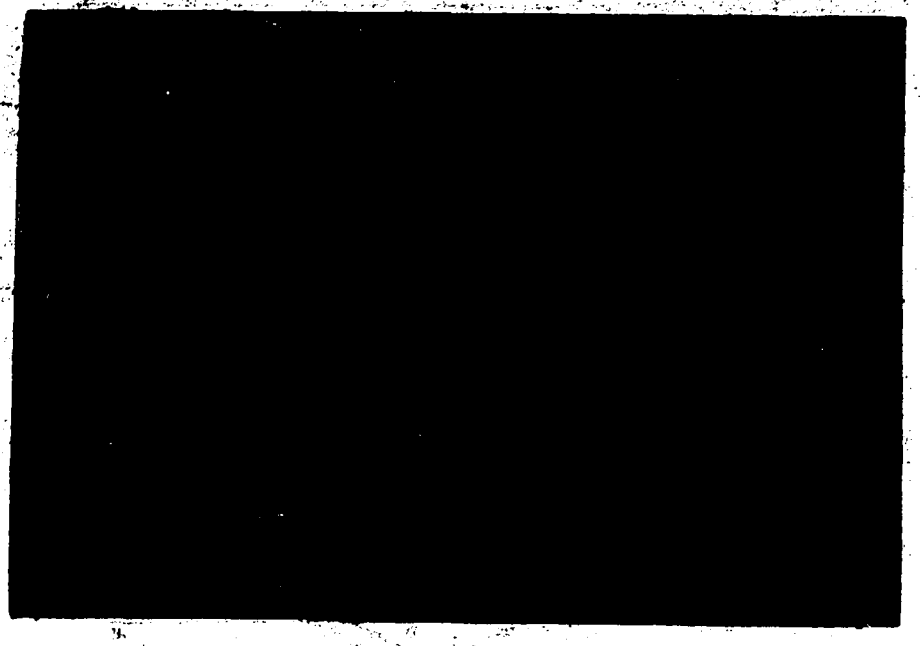

fig. 8-1. Extremely stoney nature of the Brompton Loam is evident in this part of Arès' pasture near the C.P.R. tracks.

fi. 8-2. Site of Luke Fessenden's Butter Tub Factory on the Yamaska about 1 1/2 miles above Fulford.

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The dichotomy, a product in part of the changing geographic relationship between the village and the countryside, was further apparent in the division of labor and profits in the dairy business in the 1880's and 90's. While it was the Frenchman who worked the farm and trafficed the product to the village factory, it was the English owner-operator who reaped most of the profits by marketing the finished product. As regards Fulford, the nearest cheese factory was at Dunham, but the village had its own butter tub factory whose apex of production was reached during the 1890's. Luke Fessenden, of a pioneer Fulford family, operated the tub shop on the north bank of the Yamaska not far from the village. (see fig. 8-2). The butter was hand processed on the farm and brought to Fessenden's where it was packed into round wooden tubs and shipped to such markets as Waterloo, West Shefford and Granby. The tubs, which cost Fessenden about .30¢ apiece to make, were constructed of wooden slats sawn in the mill at Fessenden Falls. The tubs were soon replaced with packaged boxes and the tub factory became another remnant feature of village industry in the cultural landscape.

Dairying became the dominant agricultural pursuit in the early 1900's and the industry has since been marked by several internal shifts.

The initial concentration on butter and cheese, whose production had migrated to town-based factories, was replaced for a while by creamery operations. At Fulford a creamery station of the West Shefford Dairy Association was opened (fig. 8-3) and the production of cream commenced. This type of dairying however proved to be a quickly passing vogue -- operations again migrated to the larger towns -- and the objectives of the dairymen were soon turned elsewhere.

The production of market milk had by the First World War become the primary occupation of the dairy farmer. The almost total shift to milking had a very noticeable impact upon the farm scene:

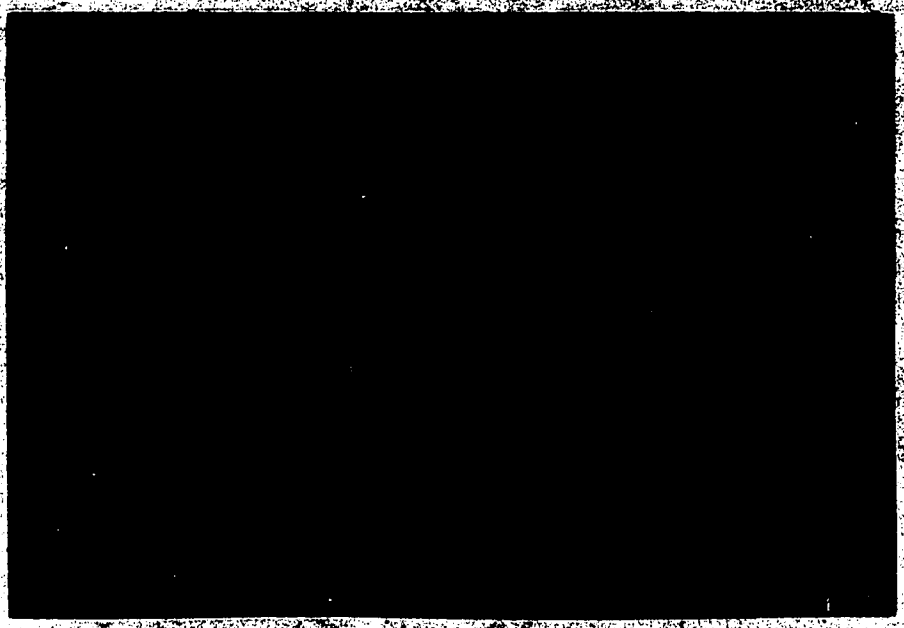

fig.8-3. This was formerly the Lawrence Creamery at the crossroads just south of Fulford.

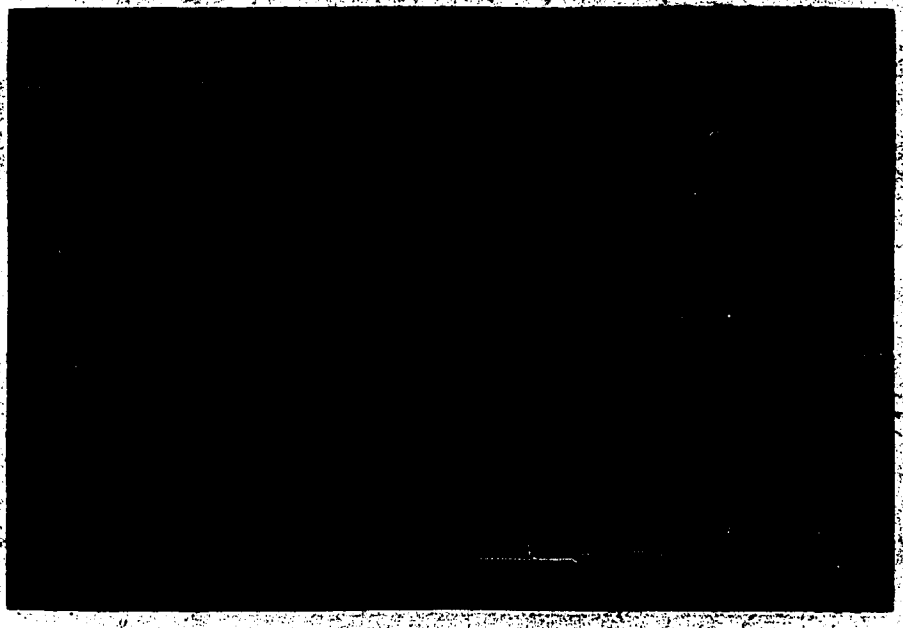

fig. 8-4. Wright farm at Fulford. The village appears in the densely wooded area to the right. Shefford Mt. in the distance.

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fig. 8-4. Wright farm at Fulford. The village appears in the densely wooded area to the right. Shefford Mt. in the distance.

> "Silos and milk houses had to be built, stables and barns remodeled and equipped to meet the increasingly stringent sanitary requirements. Calves had now to be raised without skim milk, and swine disappeared as a commercial product. Farm equipment was improved and to some extent motorized."[5]

In the village of Fulford the building which housed the creamery was converted into a milk processing station. In the morning farmers would bring in their 30 gallon cans of fresh milk to be processed and transferred to larger tanks for shipment to market. This was a rural scene no doubt repeated day after day throughout the milk shed region of southern Québec and northern Vermont.

fig. 8-5. Milk wagon crossing the Yamaska at Fulford around 1920.

In partial response to the centering of farm activity upon milking, other aspects of the rural life-system changed as well. Land exhaustion and soil deterioration slowly began to be felt. In Vermont, which had for a much longer period of time served as New England's milkshed, the situation was more advanced and more critical. "Poor cultivation, inadequate fertilizer, rough implements, neglected livestock and lack of rotation"[6] were blamed for the sorry state of the Yankee farm scene. Preoccupied with the job of getting the highest

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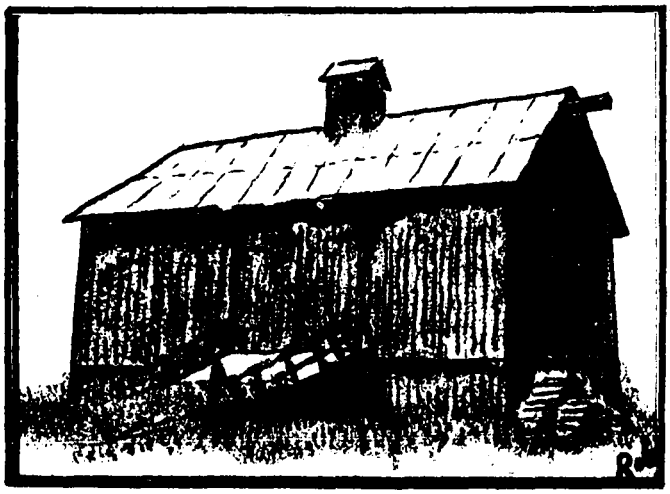
quantity and best quality of milk possible, the farmer sometimes gave less than careful attention to the condition of his fields and other livestock. The farmer was constantly trying to grow more silage grain to feed his expanding dairy herds during the winter months on smaller and more intensively cropped fields. By this time, say 1910 or 1920, the soil, if not heavily fertilized and conserved through rotation, could not produce as it used to.

The pasture lands were deteriorating too. Torbert suggests that "the decline of carrying capacity appears to have been hastened by the change from sheep raising to dairying and by consequent undergrazing -- not by overgrazing, as was the case earlier."[7] The quality of the pastures then, in contrast to the cultivated fields, desintegrated through underwork; the cows which undergrazed the fields (relative to the sheep) simultaneously underfertilized them. In some places there was further adulteration of the pasture's work capacity; in 1913 MacDougall noted that "in the county of Brome, Quebec, orange hawkweed threathens to destroy the pasture and has reduced its power for carrying stock."[8]

The stress placed upon dairying brought social as well as physical changes to the countryside. No previous form of farming had been so subject to such rapid and complete mechanization. The mechanization of farm labor, coupled with such factors as improved scientific techniques and the amalgamation of farms, meant that fewer farmers on fewer farms were producing more per unit area than ever before. Of course the process of urbanization and rural decline was already well underway, but the shift to dairying was no doubt an added stimulus in the broad movement of population toward the urban areas. Note the rural-urban changeover in the decade when dairying in the study area was in its heyday:

	1921		1931		Total Pop. Change
	rural	urban	rural	urban	in County
Brome Co.	77%	23%	71%	29%	-7%
Shefford Co.	57%	43%	46%	54%	+8%

(Source: Quebec Stat. Yearbook, 1941)



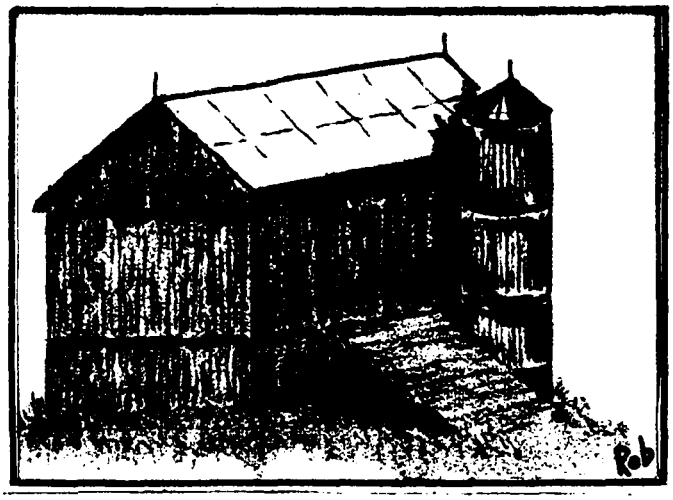


Fig.8-6 The only active barns in Fulford today. The Wright barn (above) and the Ares barn (below) were both built by English farmers in the 1800's and are characterized by the 'ramp' or 'ponton' prevalent in 19th century New England barns.

Brome had a six percent urban (i.e. village) increase while seven percent of the population left the county (mainly to Shefford) to settle in the larger towns nearby. Shefford had become more than 50% urban by 1931 while increasing eight percent in total population.

In the following decade the economic depression brought even more people off the farms, but by this time dairying was starting to decline anyway. The general agricultural malaise of the area -- typified at this time by dairying -- was the net result of the combined impact of all the social and physical conditions so far discussed. The proof that the era of dairying was petering out at Fulford came in 1933 with the closing of the milk station. The processing was afterwards done by mechanical hand separators on the farm itself and milk trucks from Granby brought the produce straight from the farm to the factory, bypassing the obsolete village milk station.

Since the end of World War II the geography of the farm area in Brome and Shefford Counties has been dominated by two broad agricultural trends: (1) a shift to a more intensive mixed farm economy, and (2) widespread field abandonment and woodland reoccupance.

In 1961 each of the five townships in Brome had more land in pasture than thirty years before (table 8-1). However, the increased pasturage does not reflect a resurgence of dairying -- the number of milk cows has dropped 40% -- but rather a revival of interest in cattle breeding. In Brome Township in 1961 there were nearly 5500 cattle as compared with the 1931 level of just over 3700. In Farnham the increase was from 2880 to 8200 and in Shefford from 2290 to almost 4600. Meanwhile the number of swine has remained about the same in most places and the number of sheep and horses has declined drastically.

In contrast to the expanded acreage in pasture, the amount of land in cultivated fields has everywhere declined. On the land use map of the Township drawn at Laval University (map 8-1) it is seen that the unimproved and

marginal pasture is almost as common as the improved pasture land. Also, the amount of land in woodland is continually rising as recently abandoned pastures and fields revert to unproductive scrub woodland. It seems likely that the percent of farmland cropped will continue to decrease and the amount of woodland increase until the same proportions existing a century ago are achieved.

The typical farm today is an intensively used 100 to 200 acre holding and the preferred crops are oats and silage corn. At Fulford there are only two active farms whose operators live within the village, the Arès and Wright farms (fig. 8-6 and 8-4). On the Wright farm fodder grains are grown and sold to dairy farmers (mostly French) on the Waterloo road north of the village. Arès cultivates part of his farm and grazes two or three dozen cows on rough pasture while supplementing his farm income through the operation of a gravel pit.

fig. 8-7. Arès family farmhouse, once owned by the England Brothers.

At least a dozen other farms, about half English and half French, comprise the immediate hinterland of the village (fig. 8-8), but most -- not all -- contribute little to Fulford either socially or economically. Indeed, the villagers are seldom sure of who owns which farm in the neighborhood, let alone how he is doing or what he is growing. This is in part due to the relatively rapid rate of sale and transferal of lots and the loss of contact between the villagers and the surrounding farmers. Few of the farmers shop at

Air Photo no. A13030, 1945, Ottawa.

fig. 8-8. Aerial photograph of the Fulford area showing the Wright and [illegible] farms and farms of the immediate [illegible] road (nos. 1 to 12)

Air Photo no. A13030, 1945, Ottawa.

fig. 8-8. Aerial photograph of the Fulford area showing the Wright and Arès farms and farms of the immediate hinterland (no. 1 to 12)

Fulford (why should they when Waterloo is so near?) although some maintain a postal box in the general store.

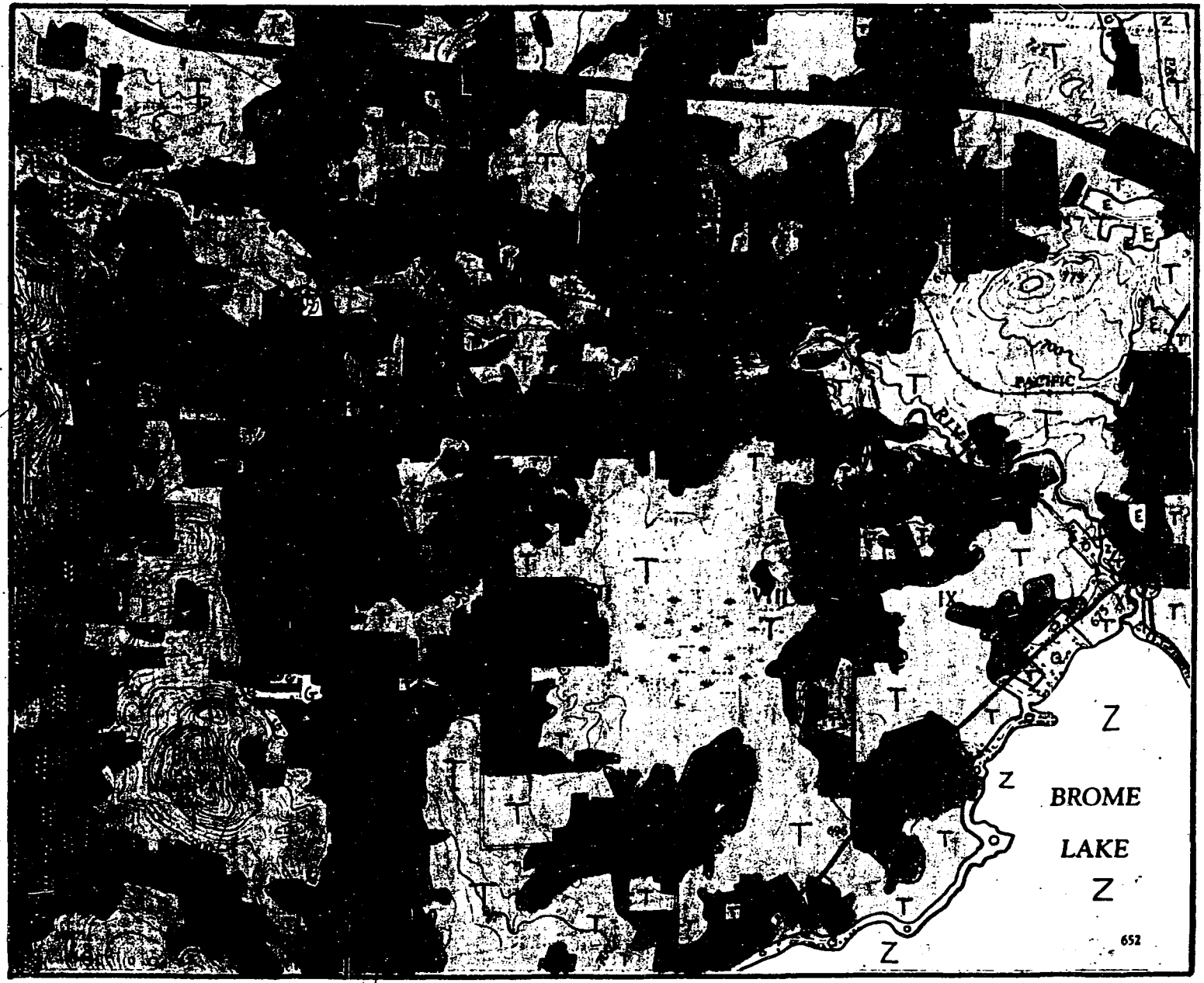
TABLE 8-3
NUMBER AND SIZE OF FARMS WITH BREAKDOWN OF CROPS GROWN (1961)*

TOWNSHIP	# of FARMS	SIZE (IN ACRES)				AMMT CROPS (ACRES)				
		-69	70-129	130-239	240-	WHEAT	OATS	BARLEY	RYE	CORN
BROME	228	35	63	84	46	51	621	8	5	129
FARNHAM	293	45	93	110	45	104	4163	7	47	989
SUTTON	197	17	50	88	42	33	1044	28	4	280
POTTON	176	15	30	61	70	5	976	35	12	105
BOLTON	193	34	49	88	37	12	921	20	18	122
SHEFFORD	217	43	53	84	37	55	1070	56	0	148

*Note: For census purposes a farm is an agricultural land holding unit of at least one acre from which farm products worth at least $50. were sold in the last twelve months.

(Source: Canada Census for 1961)

The lack of specialization in stock raising, and more recently dairying, has -- along with everything else -- apparently afforded the inter-village farmers the opportunity (or perhaps need) to literally turn their backs on the village or hamlet in favor of the nearby larger town. The trend toward general mixed farming has meant the elimination of such village-based attractions as agricultural fairs (which are now held in Granby, Sherbrooke, and even Montréal), stock competitions, local grange meetings, and village industry such as cheese, butter, and milk factories. The importance of village livestock fairs in the development of cattle rearing and in the growth of rural centers is referred to by Lloyd Reeds in his study of the agricultural changes in Southern Ontario [9] and by Christipher Rand in his study of Salisbury Township in Connecticut.[10] It may be only coincidental or of minor implication but it is surprising to note that Foster, the village with the greatest population upswing in the study area, continues to specialize in horsebreeding and successfully presents an annual horse fair -- an attraction that draws spectators from all over the Townships and certainly contributes something to the village's social and economic staying power.



CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE CANADA LAND INVENTORY DEVELOPED BY McCLELLAN AND JERSAK, OTTAWA, 1965.

WOODLAND

T PRODUCTIVE

NON-PRODUCTIVE

PASTURE

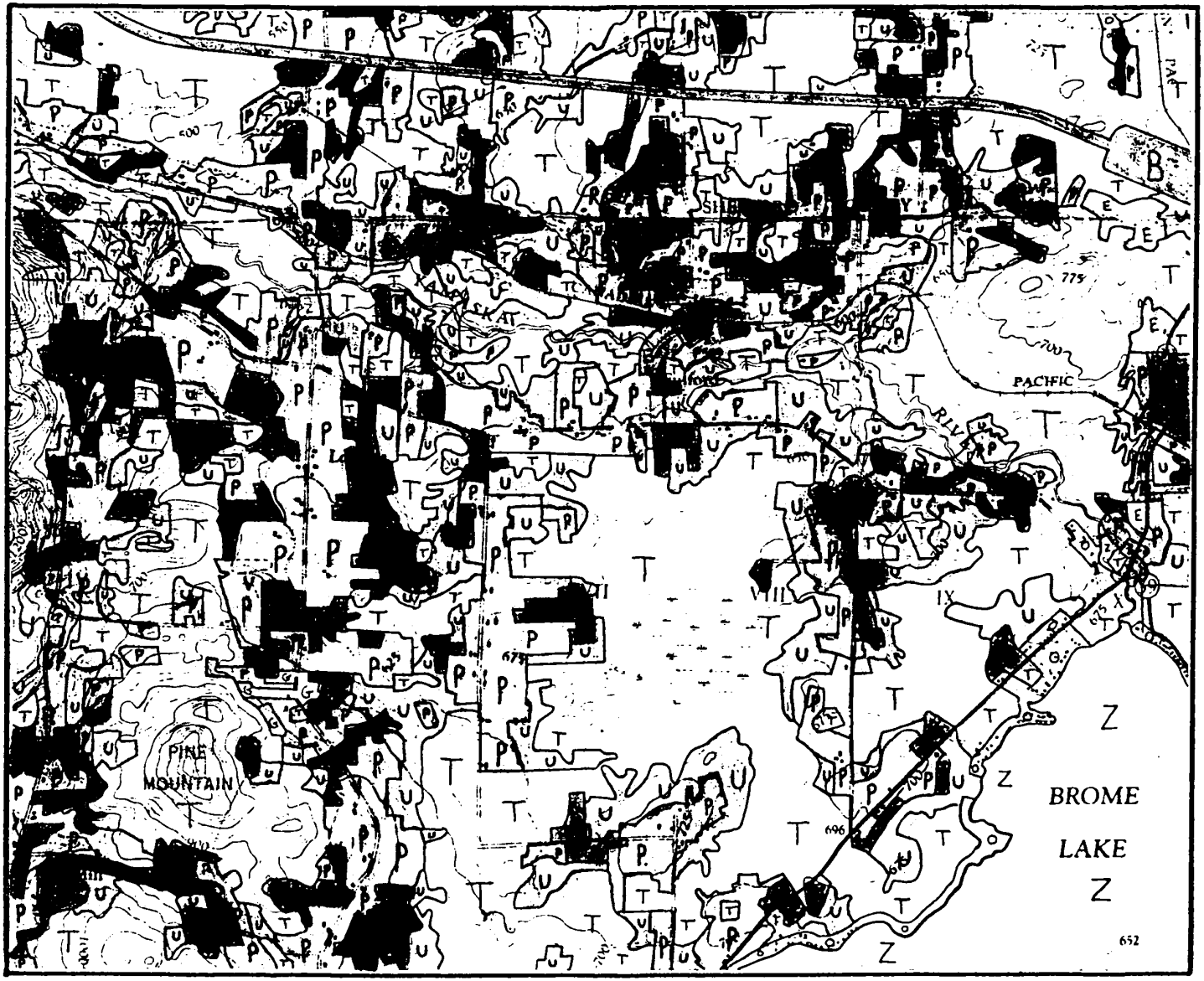
IMPROVED

UNIMPROVED

BUILT UP

BASE MAP: GRANBY EAST TOPOGRAPHIC SHEET (1:50,000)

MAP 8-1. LAND USE MAP OF FULFORD AREA.
(INCLUDING PARTS OF BROME & SHEFFORD TOWNSHIPS)



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BASE MAP: GRANBY EAST TOPOGRAPHIC SHEET (1:50,000)

MAP 8-1. LAND USE MAP OF FULFORD AREA.
(INCLUDING PARTS OF BROME & SHEFFORD TOWNSHIPS)

Professor Thompson of Syracuse, in describing the depopulated rural areas of New York State (which make up 50% of the state's acreage incidentally) referred to such environments as a "mixed landscape of farms and abandoned land."[11] This 'mixed landscape', dominant throughout the entire Appalachian upland and its borderlands, aptly describes the countryscape around Fulford.

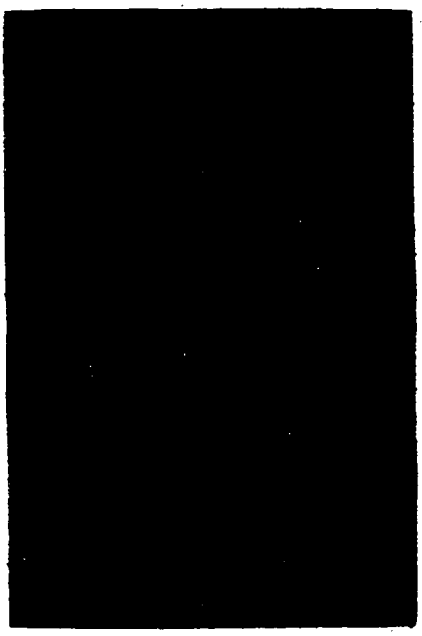

fig. 8-9. A common sight in the countryside around Fulford -- vacant farmhouses up for sale.

The financial collapse during the 30's drove many of the marginal and tenant farmers out of business, and this withdrawal continues even to the present. "Limitations in physical environment, small farm size, and questionable management skills, and the necessity of farms to produce better returns"[12] were a few of the many pressures and circumstances operating against the farmer. Today in Brome, Potton and Sutton there are less than half the number of farms that there were in 1931. As a result, the total occupied acreage (table 8-1) is less today than at any time in the past one hundred years.

Because of these conditions much of the land that was cleared and farmed in the late 1800's and early part of this century (land, which like the marginal farmlands of Quebec's clay belts,[13] probably never had a sufficient agricultural potential in the first place) is reverting to its'natural'

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pre-settlement condition while, as Torbert puts it, a "rising sea of woodland"[14] gradually inundates the land. Bogart suggested that this pattern of abandonment and woodland reoccupance was not necessarily a disagreeable or disruptive condition:

> "the abandonment of unprofitable areas for agricultural exploitation and the decline in the number of farms was for the most part a wholesome movement. Many of the existing farms, ill-located or upon sterile soils, should never have been improved.They were taken up...when farming was the only recourse."[15]

Torbert remarked that Lebanon Township, New Hampshire was growing more and more to resemble the countryside as it must have appeared in the early years of settlement. In Brome the same observation can be made with much justification. The encroachment of a young conifer forest is in many places taking on considerable proportions. At Fulford (fig.1-4) the present trees are perhaps thirty of forty years in age indicating a field abandonment of around 1920 or 30. The conifers especially, and fir in particular, are leading the revegetated species because of the tough unpalatable nature of the seedlings that thrive in close-cropped pasture where other less hardier species are at a disadvantage. The series of vegetative regrowth that follows agricultural land abandonment was observed in an area of similar topography and vegetation, in the foothills of the Berkshire section of the Appalachian upland in Connecticut:

> "First you get goldenrod and hardhack -- the low growth of deserted fields. Then, pushing up through this, come certain of the scrubbier trees -- gray birch, for instance, and white pine. These volunteers ... prepare the seedbed and the microclimate -- the shade and so on -- for what comes later... sugar maple, hemlock, beech, the oaks, the ashes, and yellow birch. It takes about three hundred years to achieve the climax forest here..."[16]

Sim Graves, who worked a farm at Fulford for fifty years before his recent retirement, expressed what is no doubt the universal old-time farmer's lament:

> "Farms all gone up to bush, no fences, very stoney soils...too sandy ... it's all too bad."[17]

The various degrees or stages of the abandonment process are everywhere discernable in the vicinity of Fulford. Spaced between the still active farm lots are the typical relict features such as rusted wire fences, overgrown hedgerows, cellar holes, and pecariously tilting barns that lend to the landscape what Rand calls "an air of decay."[18] No less than a half dozen large farmhouses within two miles of Fulford are up for sale. What becomes of them? Professor Thompson has analyzed the same situation in northeastern New York and his particularly relevant comments are quoted at length:

> "Once a farm is abandoned the house and other structures are not always doomed to disappearance. If the structures are of good line and in reasonable condition, city people frequently buy and modernize them for summer use, or perhaps for year-round living if the location is within reasonable commuting distance to urban areas. The advent of the automobile, the improvement of roads and snow removal facilities, and most important, the desire for a home in the country, so widespread among middle and upper-income urbanites, have brought about this kind of use of abandoned farm structures. Sometimes, too, new homes are built in attractive sites on abandoned land. The new occupant, who earns his income from a city position, looks on the steep, rocky slopes around him not as deterrents to his future, as the farmer before him must have done, but as aesthetically attractive phenomena contributing to his attemps to relax in a countryside far from the noise and pressure of city environment."[19]

fig. 8-10. One of several abandoned and crumbling barns in Fulford.

CHAPTER 9

Dynamics of the Hamlet System.

The death of three neighboring hamlets or villages (viz. Sheffington, Laroche, and Bromere) was noted in the analysis of the population data in Chapter 7. The disappearance of these communities, all located within six miles of Fulford, is an historical-demographic phenomenon that must be viewed as a part of the total dynamics of the hamlet system in the study area. Naturally, the malfunctions that have caused the elimination of several elements from the system have direct bearing upon the past and present nature of the study village itself.

The term system is used quite loosely here and in no sense implies a closed or perfectly ordered arrangement of geographical settlements. The eight small communities that comprise the system (see table 9-1 and map 9-1) do however interact with each other historically, economically, and demographically; possess a cultural and environmental similarity; and share a common service and trade area that is more or less a spatial unit-area encompassed at four corners by the larger villages of Waterloo, West Shefford, Knowlton, and Sweetsburg.

Besides reflecting the processes and forces of external changes (in-migration and out-migration, the rise of nearby urban centers, and broad economic conditions) in their population graphs, these rural centers of trade and small scale industry are physically linked by a common agricultural hinterland whose moods of prosperity, transition, and decay are also reflected in the villages themselves. The dynamics of the hamlet system are thus integrally related to, and in great part explained by, the temporal and spatial fluctuations within the demographic and agricultural realms.

Before proceeding toward a consideration of the geographical factors involved in the death of the hamlets and the failure of the system to support them, a brief synopsis of their life histories is in order. This temporarily

relegates Fulford to the sidelight, but it must be remembered that the neighboring settlements are active participants in those circumstances that have helped to shape and change the geography of Fulford as well.

Sheffington was the smallest and most transient of the three deceased hamlets. It was located midway between Fulford and West Shefford on the county line road (i.e. between Brome and Shefford Counties).

In the 1850's many of the farmers around Fulford and West Shefford were engaged in sheep raising and so in 1859 a woolen factory was established on the north bank of the Yamaska about two miles above West Shefford. When a sawmill was erected on the site in 1861 the place was referred to as 'Sheffington'. Apparently the settlement had a rough time in its early years; the woolen factory burnt down and floods washed away most of the mill works.

The woolen factory was rebuilt, a post office opened in 1875, and by 1880 the population had reached about forty or fifty (the Directory estimate for this date, fig. 9-1, is far too high). Throughout the 1880's the place is accredited with a good business in wool carding and sawing timber. Walter Taylor made many trips here when he was a young boy:

> "It was never a really good size village but there was a carding mill there to make woolen yarns. There was a man by the name of Neal, two Neal Brothers, Rob and Henry; they operated there... We'd bring our wool down there in the fall of the year and sometimes they had so much to do that we'd have to wait. They'd spin it into yarn and roll it...If we had nothing else to do, we'd go down there, they had a store there..."[2]

When the Canadian Pacific Railway came through a station house was built and perhaps a dozen homes clustered around the mill site by 1900. Reaching a peak of around seventy-five or eighty people in 1911, the village quickly and quietly disappeared from the map and most traces in the landscape today have completely vanished.

Bromere, variably referred to as 'the outlet settlement', is a bit of an historical question mark in that very little mention is ever made of this

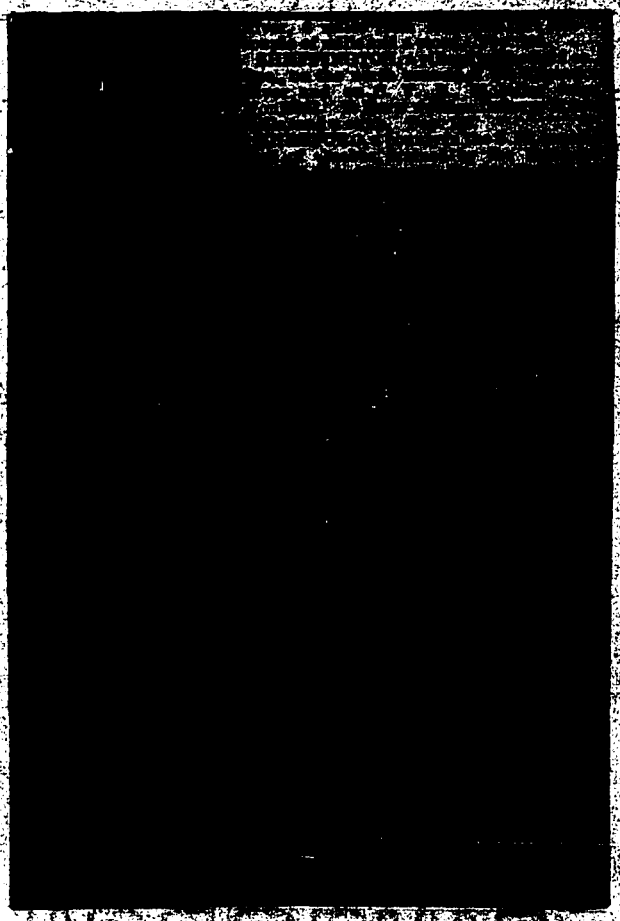

fig. 9-1. Shellington today: almost total reversion to the natural state; fence posts and foundations amid the saplings and bushes. (Insert: Lovell's Directory entry for 1881.)[1]

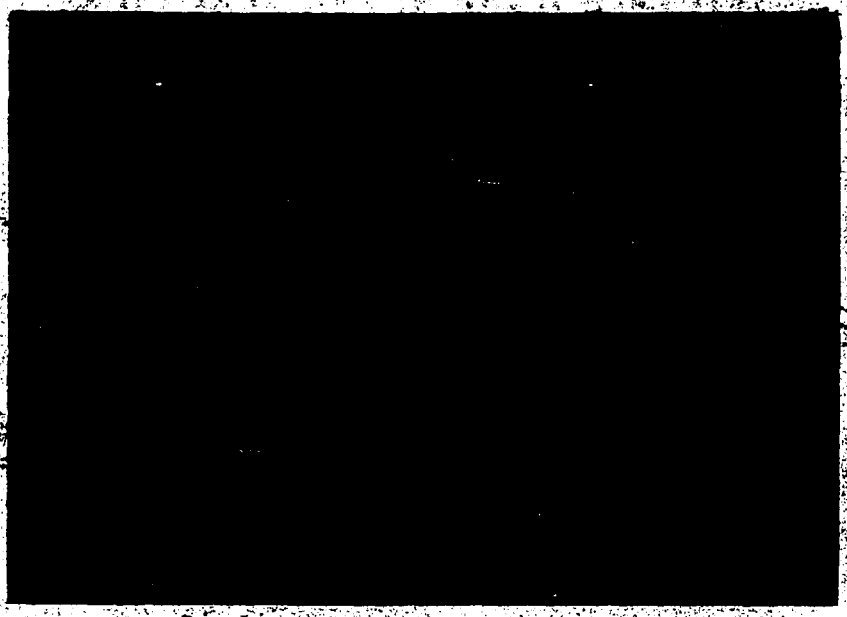

fig. 9-2. Brodere today.

River, 6 miles from Kentville. It has a couple of mills and a store. Pop. 200.
SHEFFINGTON, a village in Shefford co., Que., on the north branch of the Yamaska River and on C. V. R., 56 miles from Montreal. It has a woollen factory, 2 saw mills, and a store. Pop. 150.
SHEFFORD, a county in the S.W. central part of Quebec, drained by the Yamaska

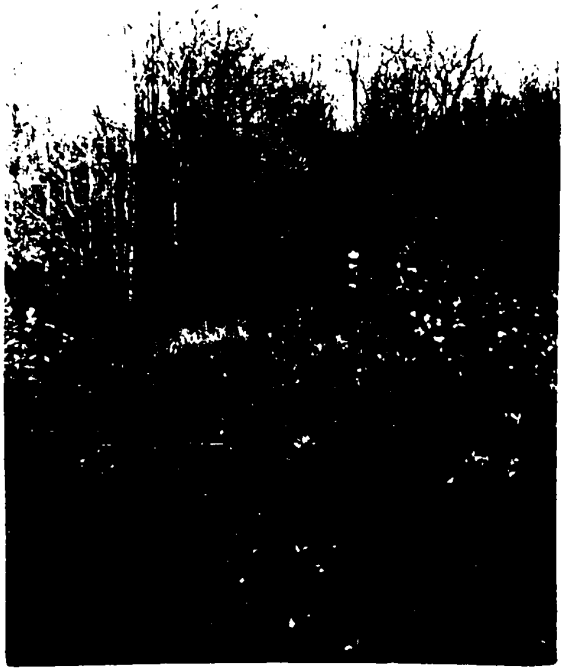

fig. 9-1. Sheffington today: almost total reversion to the natural state; fence posts and foundations amid the saplings and bushes. (Insert: Lovell's Directory entry for 1881.)[1]

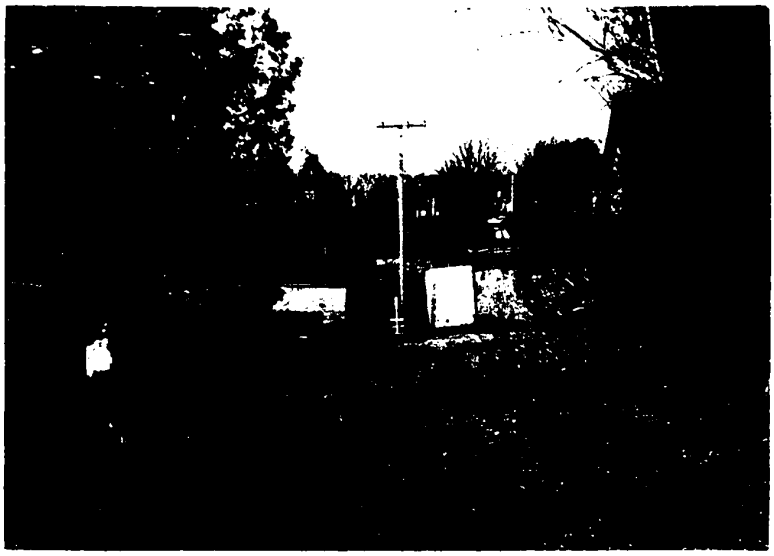

fig. 9-2. Bromere today.

rather loosely structured village. The community was situated at the north end of Brome Lake where the Central Yamaska is discharged.

Taylor's History of Brome relates that a Mr. John Jones of Montréal built a saw mill here in 1832 and a grist mill five years later. Despite this early start, the settlement advanced slowly due to Mr. Jones' desire to personally control the surrounding lots and prohibit others from locating here. Mr. Jones soon passed away however and Bromere did have around one hundred people by 1850.

A post office was opened in 1858 and by 1864 a wool carding mill appears on Walling's map (fig. 3-1). It is perhaps indicative of the importance of sheep raising around Fulford in the 1850's and 60's to note the existence of two carding mills, one three miles to the east (Bromere) and one three miles to the west (Sheffington). For the next fifty years the village passed through an uneventful and undisturbed day-to-day history, being bypassed by the C.P.R. line that was laid a mile and a quarter to the north at Foster.

The residents had considerably dispersed lot holdings all along the Yamaska Valley past Fulford (fig. 7-6) and there is indication of extensive social contacts between these two villages. The village itself seems to have been dispersed over a wide area as well -- along the river bank and shore of the reservoir created in the 1890's; but the settlement was primarily centered at the junction of the Waterloo and Knowlton roads.

In 1911 Bromere reached a highpoint of about 150 people and rapidly began to loose its population. By 1930 all trace of village activity was gone and little more can be said of the settlement. Today, a dozen or so homes and a 'power station'(actually the control shed for the Yamaska dam in fig. 5-5) are all that mark the location of the former village.

Laroche or 'the French settlement' is the third neighboring hamlet of Fulford that has ceased to exist. It was about three miles southwest of Fulford in the direction of Iron Hill. The village was laid out upon a flat stretch of land in the 6th range between Brome Mountain and the Yamaska Valley.

Until 1854 most of the lots were either the property of the British American Land Company or retained as reserves (Lot no. 20,21,23,24). However, French settlers had been here on the intervening lots (no. 22 and 25) for several decades at least. When the reserve lots were bought by the French in 1854 this block of five adjacent lots coalesced into a string of roadside stores and farmhouses. A post office was also established in the 1850's. The name of the settlement -- 'Laroche' -- is derived from one of the early families. In 1864 Walling depicted the place as a rather well built-up village with a considerable concentration of houses.

fig. 9-3. [illegible] south with Pine Mt. in the distance. There are many cellar holes beneath the snow.

After 1880 the village grew rapidly as more French settlers, who were constantly coming into the area, bought out the neighboring English farms. By 1894, there were about forty families here; most of the lots in the 5th, 6th, and 7th ranges were owned and occupied by the French families of Laroche.(fig. 7-6) Interestingly, the lots were subdivided within the families and quite naturally the old long lot pattern was reincarnated in Brome Township. This pattern of field subdivision persists even to this day.

In 1911 the population was perhaps at 150 and although the Directories attribute several dubious activities to the village (fig. 9-4), there was no doubt a Catholic school, butter factory, post office, one or two stores, and-- possibly -- some sort of a small grain mill. Despite the unreliable nature of

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fig. 9-3. Laroche today. Looking south with Pine Mt. in the distance. There are many cellar holes beneath the snow.

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the Directory material, it is entirely possible that Laroche lost two-thirds of its population between 1910 and 1916 as the entries in fig. 9-4 suggest. After this date, the village, along with Sheffington and Bromere, passes from the historical record and becomes a defunct element in the cultural landscape.

Tetu Arthur, shoemaker

LAROCHE, a post village in Brome co., Que., 3 miles from West Shefford Station, on the C.P.R., 61 miles south-east of Montreal, with port on Brome Lake. It has 1 Roman Catholic church, 3 stores, 2 hotels, flour and saw mills, 1 butter factory, and 1 bank (Eastern Townships), express and telegraph office at West Shefford. Pop. 150.
Bourbeau P. W., butter factory
Lapierre Alfred, postmaster.

LAROCHELLE, a post village in Megantic co., Que., on the Nicolet River, 6 miles from Stanfold. Pop. 350.

1910

Lapointe Prospere, agent agr. implts.

LAROCHE, a post village in Brome co., Bedford district, 2 miles from Fulford, on the C. P. Ry. Pop. 50.
Bourbeau P. W., butter factory.
Lapierre Alf., postmaster.

LAROCHELLE, a post village in Megantic co., Arthabaska district, 6

1916

Fig.9-4 Lovell's Business Directory entries for Laroche, 1910 & 1916.

By World War I these three postal villages with their population clusters, stores, mills, and homes had simply ceased to exist as settlements of any viable importance. It seems likely that quite a few families left in the decade just prior to the war since the 1918 topographic sheet shows only about a half dozen structures apiece at Sheffington and Laroche, and maybe a dozen at Bromere (fig. 9-5). This raises the question as to how accurate an indicator of actual population size and number of occupied houses the topographic maps are, but at any rate it is known from written sources that these hamlets were in a state of decline at this time (it would have been quite revealing if a topographic sheet had been prepared in 1900 for example).

Little physical change has occurred in the villagescapes since 1918 and,

The other small settlements in the area deserve less of an appraisal because they are only indirectly related to the problem of Fulford and the three defunct hamlets and occupy a peripheral position in the system itself.

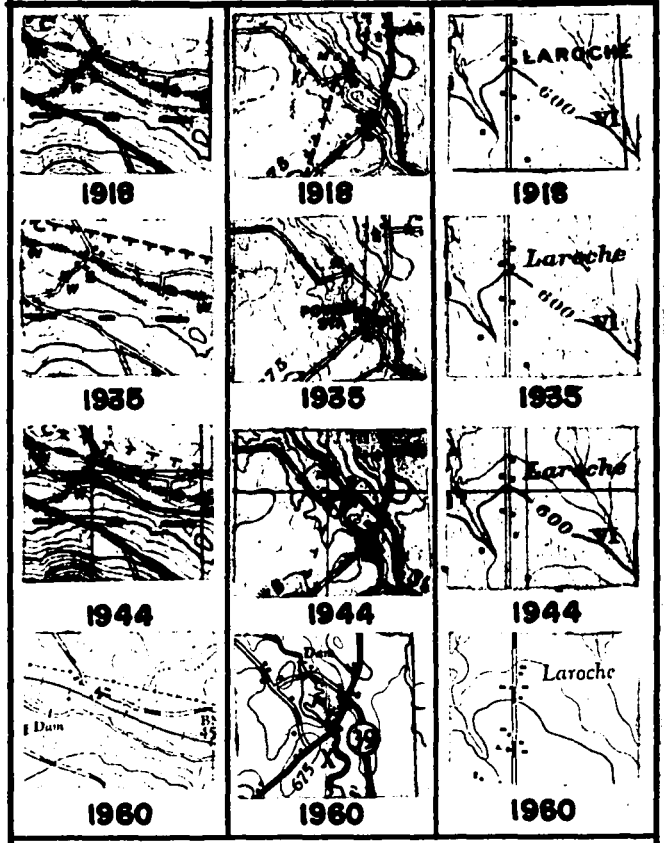
As was mentioned, Foster appeared on the scene rather late (1880-90) and prospered because of its relationship with the C.P.Railway. Most of its business connections and social ties lie with Bolton and Shefford Townships and the village today contains well over 400 people. Brome or Brome Center (as distinct from Brome Corners) is situated on the Knowlton-Sweetsburg road and is similar to Foster in that it has had an upswing in population and most of its activity is focused beyond the system toward the village of Brome Corners. Brome serves as the repository for the record books of the Municipal Council which are housed in the office of the Superintendant of Roads. Lastly, Bondville is an anomaly in that the original settlement has been replaced by a resort community, Bondville Beach, that bears little connection or resemblance with the former village.

An Examination of the Causes of Hamlet Extinction.

It is difficult to single out any one or two factors and definitively state that these were the reasons why certain settlements declined and eventually disappeared. The mesh of historical, physical, social, and economic activities is so tight that one must synthesize all information from the various realms and hypothesize only in the broadest terms. It is also obvious that the same factors which contributed to village decline worked -- less successfully however -- upon Fulford and Iron Hill. Fulford has suffered and the factors responsible for the extinction of Sheffington, Bromere and Laroche bear directly upon the stagnation and subsequent diminishment of population in the study village.

In general then, the phenomenon of hamlet extinction is symptomatic of two functionally related conditions that could be applied to much of the Anglo-American rural landscape between 1910 and 1930: economic incapacity

FIG.9-5 SHEFFINGTON, BROMERE, LAROCHE IN TOPOGRAPHIC MAP SERIES (GRANBY EAST SHEET) BETWEEN 1918 AND 1960.



SCALES: 1918, 1935, 1944 AT 1:63,300 AND 1960 AT 1:50,000

FIG. 9-6. VILLAGES OF FULFORD AND IRON HILL IN THE TOPOGRAPHIC MAP SERIES (GRANBY E. SHEET) BETWEEN 1918 AND 1960

FULFORD

1918 1935 1944 1960

IRON HILL

1918 1935 1944 1960

(SCALES: 1918, 1935, 1944 AT 1:63,300
AND 1960 AT 1:50,000)

of the smallest members of the settlement hierarchy, and increased communication and transportation with a proportional increase in accessibility.

Based upon his 1918 study of a dozen small rural centers in Wisconsin, Charles Galpin concluded that trade was the functional sine qua non about which village life revolved:

> "Business -- trade and manufacture, dealing with material goods... seeking a profit, seeking a livelihood with a surplus, which is to be turned into a rising standard of living, is the principle and genius drawing people together into clusters."[3]

It was the economic needs of the farmer, expressed in such centers of accretion as the general store, cheese factory, blacksmith shop and grist mill, that led to the creation of rural settlements. It was thus this delicate equilibrium between need on the one hand and trade and production on the other that formed the successful equation of village staying power. At Fulford and elsewhere in the vicinity this equation, successful for half a century, began to break down shortly after the turn of the century.

The centripetal power of village trade and commerce diminished after 1900 because of changes in the relationship between the village and its farm hinterland. The farmer was shifting his buying power to the towns and cities or resorting to the mail order catalogue; the farm oriented crafts and services performed in the villages -- grist mill, blacksmith, milk and cheese factory -- migrated to the towns of the region; the village post office had been replaced by rural free delivery routes. Thus the chain of commerce that linked the local trading community and the irregular zone of related farmsteads was broken because the villages could no longer keep pace with the broad economic shifts in the region. The problem of economic incapacity may then be seen as a deadly inward spiral of people and services: improved and modernized farm machinery (resulting from the agricultural revolution in Québec after 1880) afforded the individual farmer the ability to grow more grain, rear more livestock, and produce more milk -- which necessitated the enlargement and movement

of processing plants and factories to the labor force and markets in the cities. The economically burgeoning towns then provided city-based services and goods whose lower prices and wider range eliminated the traditional middle-man (i.e. the country store) and created a downward plunge in both the influence and staying power of the hamlets and villages.

Sheffington, whose only claim to fame was its wool carding mill, became inviable with the increase in dairying (and the influx of French Canadians) and the abandonment of sheep raising which was discussed in the previous chapter. Hamlet decline is in this case closely related to the changing demographic and agricultural framework of the area. The presence of a saw mill did little to alleviate the economic pressure since every little settlement worth its name had a saw mill. A further consideration in the demise of Sheffington was its proximity to West Shefford -- in short it was too close (2 miles) to the larger center to develop and maintain an industrial base in competition with the mills and shops of the nearby town.

The decline of Bromere and Laroche is less evidently the direct result of industrial withdrawal (the carding mills, grist mills, and saw mills had been closed in these places at an earlier date). Rather, a general and more gradual retreat of the typical crafts and trades was experienced. Also, the fall of Bromere is simultaneous with the rise of the neighboring rail center at Foster. The disappearance of both again reflects the shift to a more urban way of life: the English at Bromere moving to the relatively larger centers at Knowlton and Foster, and the French at Laroche migrating to the shops at Waterloo and Granby.

At Fulford the retailing and merchandising functions were sharply curtailed at this time but, unlike the three neighboring hamlets, the village survived the worst and retains a measure of commercial activity to this day. Why? The answer, although lying in the crossweavings of all the internal and external geographic relationships considered thus far, can be reduced to two fairly distinguishable factors.

First, the study village -- as was noted in Chapter 6 -- was fortunately endowed with an almost unbroken line of village entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurial tradition established with Oscar George and the Englands had apparently supplied enough momentum to carry the village through the hard times of the twentieth century. The fact that the Neal Brothers of Sheffington and Mr. Jones of Bromere were not followed in their economic pursuits is one factor that stands Fulford -- with its Rev. Joyal, Oscar Davis, and Greg Lambourne -- apart from those settlements that lost their drawing power. The human element, more than anything physical or biological, is what has directly determined the capacity of one hamlet to endure where others have failed.

Secondly, the industrial vacuum, common to all the hamlets, was filled at Fulford by the social and commercial functions elaborated upon in Chapter 6. Why wasn't the industrial exodus in the other places succeeded by a social function which might have held the faltering communities together? The answer seems to lie in the fact that although each settlement -- Fulford, Laroche, Bromere, Sheffington, and Iron Hill -- reached a state of commercial incapacity around 1910 or '15, the larger hamlets of the group, Fulford and Iron Hill, retained at least a sufficient number of residents upon whom a social function could be based. With less than seventy-five residents apiece, Laroche, Sheffington and Bromere were by 1920 lacking the human element (again!) needed to support local churches, clubs, and schools. Consequently, while emphasis merely shifted from one function to another at Fulford and Iron Hill, the smaller members of the hamlet system, when faced with the loss of their economic function, were too weak population-wise to survive the depression of the 1930's.

Increased Communication and Accessibility.

In discussing the role of roads and paper routes as media, Marshall McLuhan observed that "speedup tends to separate functions, both commercial

and political, and acceleration beyond a point in any system becomes disruption and breakdown."[4] This statement quite aptly explains what the application of an ever-improving mechanical and electrical technology has upon both the functions and structure of settlements. After 1910 rural life was bombarded with a new set of media -- automobiles, telephones and improved roads -- and the very concept of space and distance was tampered with, the village neighborhood mechanically contracted and, stripped of their functions and most of their population, the smaller places simply disappeared.

TABLE 9-1 SPACING OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE STUDY AREA

VILLAGE OR HAMLET	ROAD DISTANCE TO NEAREST SETTLEMENT	NEAREST SETTLEMENT	ROAD DISTANCE TO NEAREST VILLAGE	NEAREST VILLAGE
Fulford	3 (miles)	Laroche	4 (miles)	Waterloo
Iron Hill	3.5	Laroche	5.5	W. Shef.
Laroche	3	Fulford	4.25	W. Shef.
Bromere	1.25	Foster	5	Waterloo
Foster	1.25	Bromere	4.75	Waterloo
Sheffington	3.5	Laroche	2	W. Shef.
Bondville	3.5	Brome Ctr.	3.25	Knowlton
Brome Ctr.	2.75	Brome	4.1	Knowlton

Before considering the impact of the various media upon Fulford and the other hamlets, their spatial setting should be noted. Trewartha says that the spacing of hamlets depends upon three variables: the agricultural prosperity, the surface configuration, and historical habit.[5] Based upon his own work and other such studies he noted that the average distance between hamlets in a typical inter-village area was about 4.1 miles (air line distance). This compares with an average of about 3 miles (road distance) in the study area; the fact that the distance in the study area is noticeably smaller is due to the broken and rolling nature of the topography in this part of the townships, and to the historically older and more densely settled nature of this New England-like area in contrast to Trewartha's midwestern study area. In any event it is difficult to reach any conclusions on the basis of distance alone; the functions of time and velocity, as reflected in the conditions of the road surface and type of conveyance, must also be accounted for.

The village blacksmith may have regretted the coming of the motor car, but for most people it was a welcome addition to the farmstead. The farmer was no longer forced to rely upon such a slow mode of transportation as the horse-and-buggy; the lingering strain of rural inaccessibility and isolation was quickly dissolving. The spacing and arrangement of the hamlets and their functions was literally refashioned:

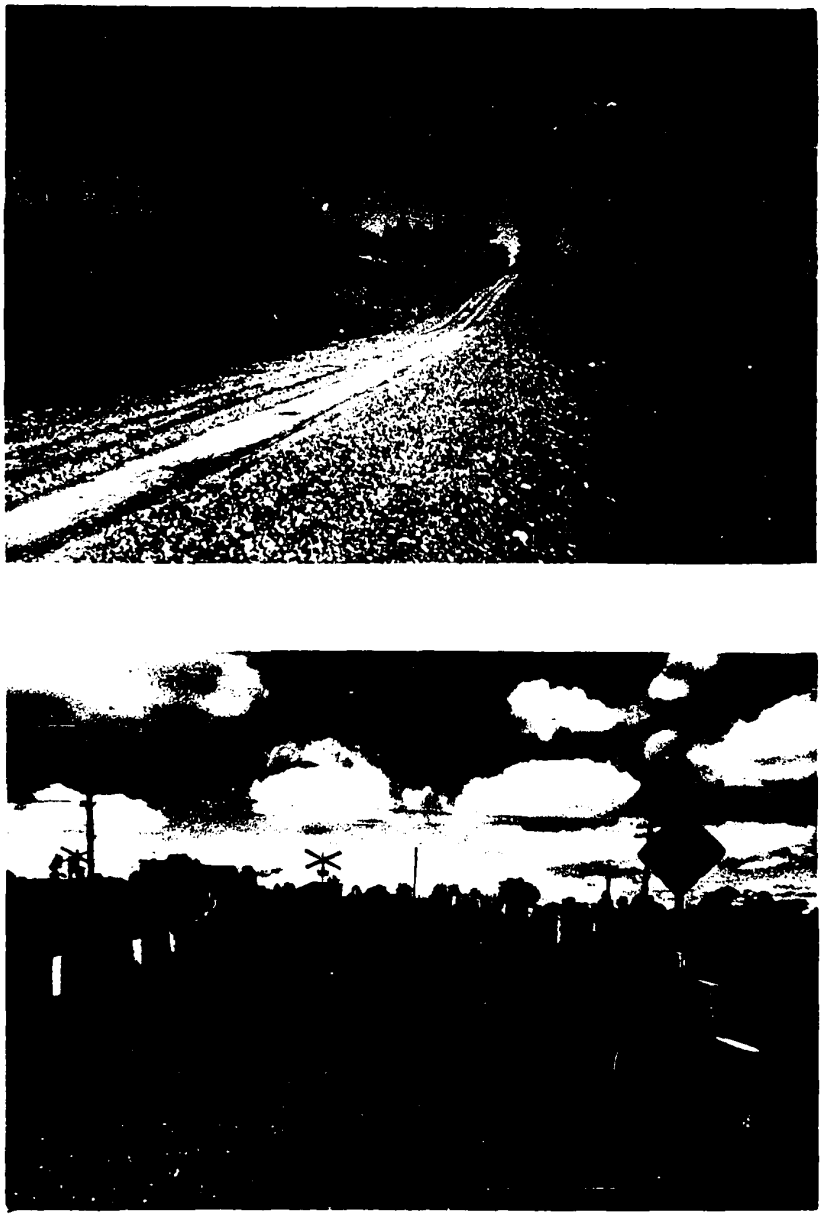
> "In the automobile even the increasing mobility of people has permitted many essential community services to be concentrated in the larger centers; these services have migrated away from the small village along with the job opportunities they represented."[6]

By the time the Model 'T' Ford appeared in 1918, Fulford, Sheffington, Bromere, and Laroche were loosing population very rapidly. The automobile, while not being the initial factor involved, helped to further the process of decline already under way. But to what extent was the automobile readily available to the average farmer at this time? Bogart, commenting upon the Vermont farmer, said that:

> "After about 1920 the production of the Model 'T' Ford brought cars within reach of all but the poorest farmers while liberal credit terms made their purchase easy. In 1920 only 26 percent of the farmers (in Vermont) reported automobiles, but in 1930 the proportion was 64 percent."[7]

Lynn Smith, in his study of Louisiana hamlets, found that the population peak in the settlements was reached about 1916 and afterward curved downward -- as a result of the automobile.[8] However, it seems probable that the coming of the automobile was instrumental in speeding up a social and demographic realignment of rural population that would have occurred anyway as a result of the changes in the economic and industrial capabilities of the hamlets and the agricultural shifts in the area. Perhaps no sector of rural life was so affected by the coming of the motor vehicle as the farmscene; besides the basic changeover to motorized farm machinery (tractors, plows and hayloaders) the distance to -- and accessibility of -- the market and factory towns was altered by the use of milk trucks for daily pickup and delivery.

fig.9-7. Roads of the study area today. Above, the county line road just east of the site of Sheffington. Below, the road to Waterloo north of Fulford.



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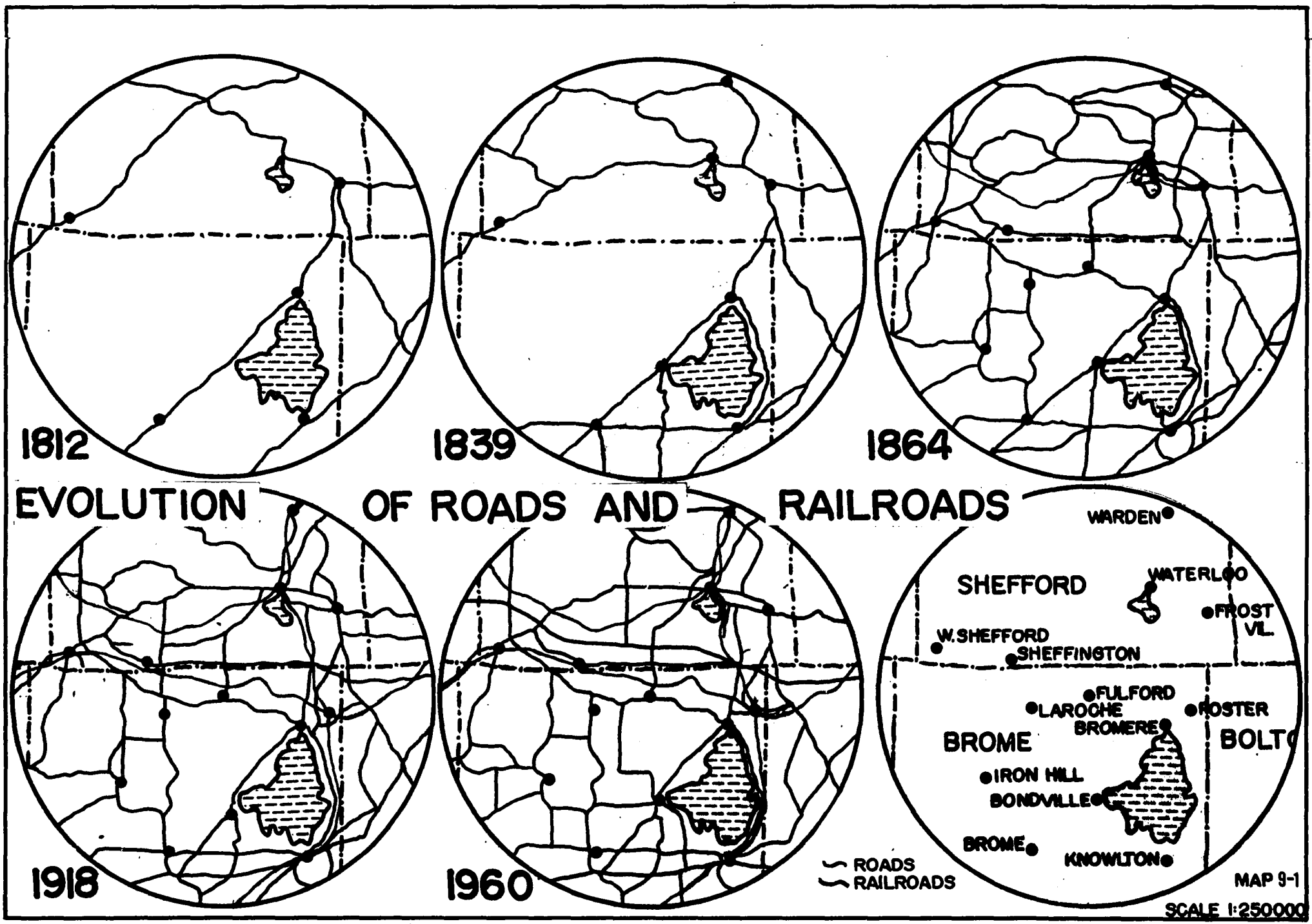

1812
1839
1864
EVOLUTION OF ROADS AND RAILROADS
1918
1960
WARDEN
SHEFFORD
WATERLOO
FROST VIL.
W. SHEFFORD
SHEFFINGTON
FULFORD
LAROCHE
ROSTER
BROMERE
BROME
BOLTO
IRON HILL
BONDVILLE
BROME
KNOWLTON
ROADS
RAILROADS
MAP 9-1
SCALE 1:250000

trends (abandonment of the countryside and migration to the towns and cities) and their varying effects upon each community.

Did the railroad have an adverse or positive effect upon the industrial capacity and accessibility of the hamlets? Did the fact that Fulford had a siding and a station house help perpetuate the village?

It is extremely difficult to access whether the coming of the railway was an asset to the settlements in the area. The data is slight (the records for this section of the line were lost when the Farnham station house was destroyed by fire in 1941) and it would probably be wisest and easiest to dismiss the railway altogether as a factor in hamlet decline.

Iron Hill, Laroche, and Bromere were never served by rail lines nor is it likely that they were very much affected by the C.P.R. line which ran through Fulford and Sheffington. Both of the later settlements had a station house (since removed), but use of the building was limited to the infrequent traveller who was compelled to flag down the passenger trains to and from Montréal. Neither settlement appeared on the timetable and except for a rare cargo of freight (for either the Rev. Joyal or the blacksmith) that was backed onto the siding at Fulford, the effects of this mode of transportation upon the settlements in question seem to have been highly inconsequential. Derek Booth sums it up quite nicely:

> "The majority of the railroads... at the time of their construction, intended primarily to merely pass through the Townships carrying goods to and from markets beyond their boundaries and the benefits derived by the towns (and hamlets) through which they passed were incidental."[9]

In conclusion it seems evident that hamlet decline in the period 1910 to 1920 is a universal phenomenon that was witnessed throughout the rural inter-village zones all across the Anglo-American countryside. Landis, in his work on South Dakota trade centers, observed a peak in 1911 followed by sharp decline.[10] Bogart mentioned a similar date in his Vermont study, Smith in his

fig. 9-8. C.P.R. tracks and siding at Fulford.

fig. 9-9. Former site of the C.P.R. station house at Fulford. The station house (inset) was removed several years ago and is now utilized as a farm building on a nearby lot.

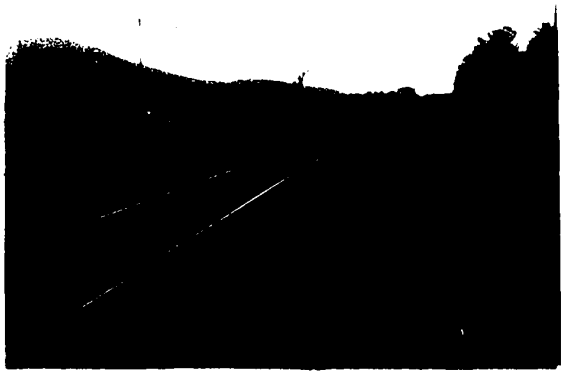


fig. 9-8. C.P.R. tracks and siding at Fulford.

fig. 9-9. Former site of the C.P.R. station house at Fulford. The station house (inset) was removed several years ago and is now utilized as a farm building on a nearby lot.

Louisiana study, and Trewartha went deeply into the causations and effects of this trend in his work in southwestern Wisconsin. The reasons for the decline are not peculiar to any one area but are embedded in the fundamental issues behind the concept of rural decline that Trewartha summed up as follows:

> "This (the buying power of farmers) along with the improvement and rerouting of roads, the common use of motor cars, and the serious depression of the last decade (the 1930's) have all forced readjustments upon rural trading communities, and in these readjustments some hamlets may suffer and a few become extinct."[11]

Fulford and Iron Hill suffered, and are still suffering very much from the loss in prestige and numbers; Sheffington, Laroche, and Bromere however became extinct members of the settlement hierarchy fifty years ago.

CHAPTER 9 - NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] Lovellhas placed Sheffington on the north branch of the Yamaska and on the C.V.R. tracks while actually the village was on the central Yamaska and on the C.P.R. tracks. Evidentally the Directory has confused the community with quite different hamlets of Shefford Vale and Shefford Mountain, although only Sheffington had a woolen mill!

[2] Walter Taylor, transcript of tape recorded interview as contained in Appendix B.

[3] Charles Galpin, "Structure of Rural Society,"Chapter no. 4, in Rural Life, p. 88

[4] Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extentions of Man, p. 91.

[5] Glenn Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: One Element of the American Settlement Fabric," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 33, pp. 32-81.

[6] W. Gilles Ross (ed.), A Century of Change in Selected Eastern Township Villages: Barnston, Hatley, Huntingville, Massawippi, p. 52.

[7] E.L. Bogart, Peacham -- The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, p. 385. He also notes that by 1930 60% of the farmers had telephones.

[8] Lynn Smith, as quoted in Trewartha, op. cit. p. 43.

[9] Derek Booth, "An Historical Geography of Brome County,1790-1914 " McGill University Thesis, p. 98.

[10] Landis, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin no. 279, 1933.

[11] Trewartha, op. cit. p. 50.

CHAPTER 10

The Villagescape: Role of Form and Appearance

The geography of the village has now been analyzed at four periods in time and the process of change has thus far been considered in its relationship with the demographic or human fabric of the settlement area, the shifting emphasis of the farmscape, and the functional aspects of the components in the overall settlement system. Lastly, but certainly not of least importance, are the various physical and cultural elements that constitute the micro-geography of the nerve center of this town-and-country pattern -- the villagescape!

Both the form (or morphology) and the appearance of the community are markedly influenced by the functional roles and historical changes characteristic of the village framework. The form here refers to the physical distribution or spatial alignment of the various functional units (commercial, residential, social etc.) on the village lot; appearance is concerned with the man-made items in the landscape (such as houses, bridges, roads and fences) that reflect a complete sequence of historical development through their visual state of antiquity, decay, abandonment, and renovation.

Form of the Village.

Trewartha has stated that the functions within a hamlet are arranged haphasardly and with the lack of a street grid no attempt at spatial organization is made or is possible.[1] And yet the influence of function upon the form of the settlement, whether it be located by human preference or physical dictates, is not so 'haphasard' if viewed in terms of historical development. To understand how and in what manner the villagescape evolved (and to answer such questions as whether there is an historical core and what the axes and angles of growth are) the progression of ownership, transferal, and subdivision of the lot upon which the village is located must first be considered.

Lot no. 27 in the 7th Range -- A Study in Real Estate.

The mechanics of the real estate game revolve around such esoteric matters as deed registrations and transferals, finance and trust company foreclosures and mortgages, and property evaluation ratings; I have made no attempt to explain (or even comprehend) the inner workings of their relationship since the financial and legal implications go considerably beyond the scope of this study. Rather what is more pertinent to an evaluation of the form of the villagescape is the 'where' and 'why' behind a particular subdivision of the cadastral grid and how this has affected the morphology of the village in question, namely Fulford.

As indicated in fig. 2-1, lot no. 27 was originally marked off as one of the Township's crown reserves. In 1832 the local land agent, Col. Paul Knowlton, was granted this particular lot by the crown. It remained in his hands until 1855 when lot no. 27 and most of the other lots in the Township came under the proprietorship of Hiram Foster. Foster immediately began to parcel out segments of various lots to interested buyers, mostly mill owners and tannery operators. Oscar George and the England Brothers secured the initial deeds of ownership on lot no. 27 but their holdings were small riverside plots at first:

Entries for Brome Township Voters List of 1858
Lot no. 27-7th Range

	owners	acres	contents
1.	Oscar George	3	house and mill
2.	Francis England	1	house and tannery
3.	George England	1	" " "
4.	Philo England	1	" " "

In the 1860's legal subdivisions of the lot were created and Oscar George and the Englands, who through continuous acquisition from Hiram Foster now owned most of the acreage in the lot, rented or sold plots of land to farmers. In the beginning the pattern of ownership was quite simple: George owned most of the land on the north side of the river and the Englands held the

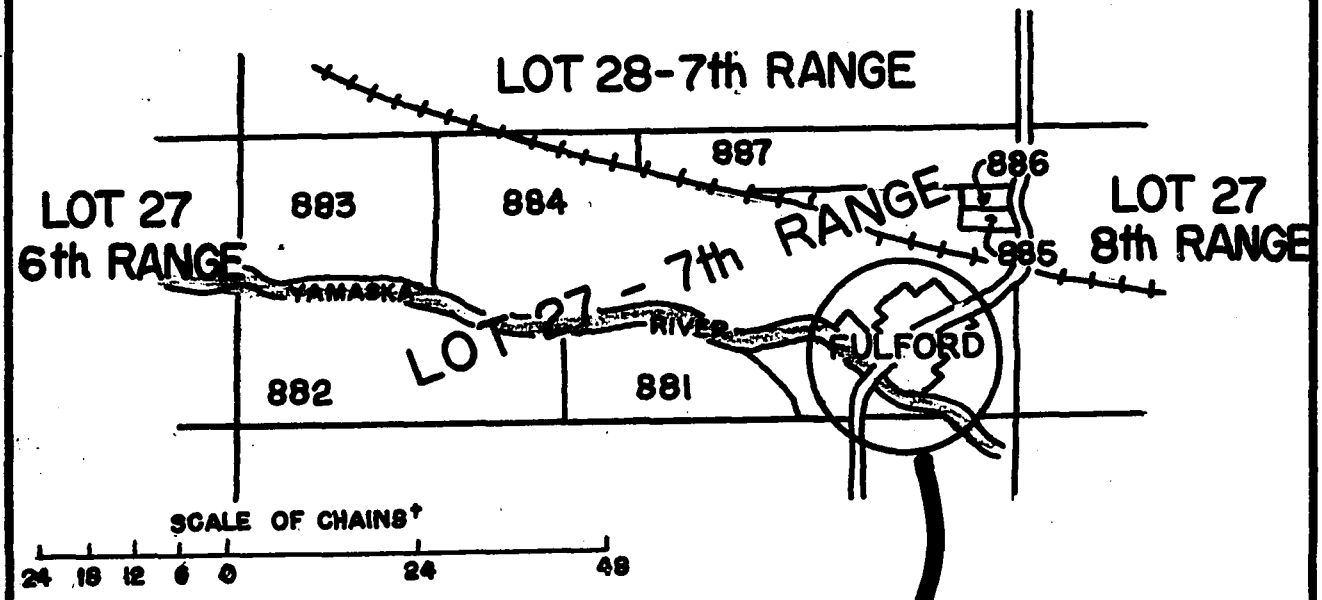
land on the south side. But as they sold pieces and patches to newcomers confusion in the matter of boundaries, frontage, and water rights mounted. Officially there was no cadastral grid with mapped subdivisions of the lot and so delineation of holdings and acreage was accomplished.through perplexingly worded agreements; one or two illustrations will illustrate the crude and imprecise nature of describing property holdings:

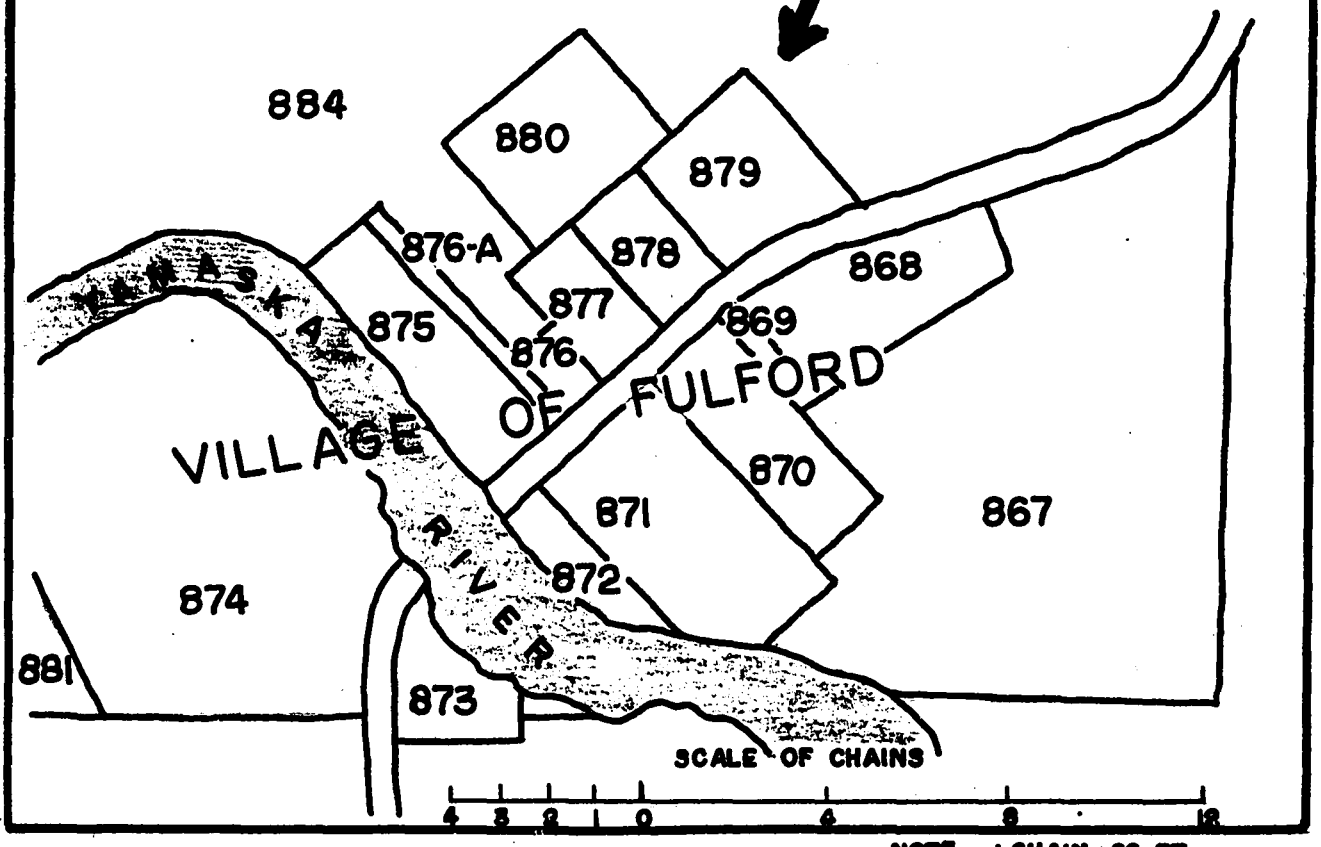
> Aug 14, 1866 -- F. England sells the following parcel of land to P. & G. England...
>
> "being all the land contained on the south side of the river, and on the west of the road as now travelled, bounded on the east by the highway, on the north by the centre of the river, westerly by the lot no. 27 in the 6th range and on the south by land belonging to James Booth or representatives together with the privelege use of one half of the water of the river running through the said premises."[2]
>
> March 3, 1868 -- Oscar George sells two parcels of land to F. England...
>
> (1) "lying and situate(d) on the east side of the road leading to Shefford across said lot bounded... on the west by the east side of the said road, on the north by the south line of one Aaron Spear's farm...bounded southerly by the bank or center of the river Yamaska, be its contents what it may, together with a blacksmith's shop thereon erected."
> (2) "seventy-two acres of land with the mills and all houses and other buildings thereon erected... on the north side of said river Yamaska on the west side of the road leading to Shefford across the said lot with the previously stated 4 exceptions."[3]

Throughout the 1860's and 70's the flow of property from one owner to another and back again was phenomenal and the fact that there are seventy-three deeds of transferal for lot no. 27 in the fourteen year period between 1866 and 1880 attests to the rapid-fire rate of real estate transactions. The complete listing of the parties involved in the seventy-three transferals is presented in Appendix E and it becomes quite obvious that to trace the mergers, sales, and succession of owners and occupants of any particular part of the lot -- and then map the results -- would surely entail a cartographic nightmare.

MAP 101. CADASTRAL GRIDS OF LOT 27 AND THE VILLAGE OF FULFORD

(FROM THE CADASTRAL GRID OF BROME T.S., 1901, KNOWLTON P.Q.)





NOTE — 1 CHAIN = 66 FT.

It thus comes as no surprise to find that the Municipalities in the Township decided to delimit on paper the lot subdivisions already existing in fact. In 1880 a cadastral grid both for the lot and village were created wherein each plot was given a cadastral reference number under which the owner(s) was listed in the Index to Estate at the county courthouse. This grid, whose influence upon the form of the settlement is manifest by its very nature (map 10-1) persists with few additions or alterations to the present day.

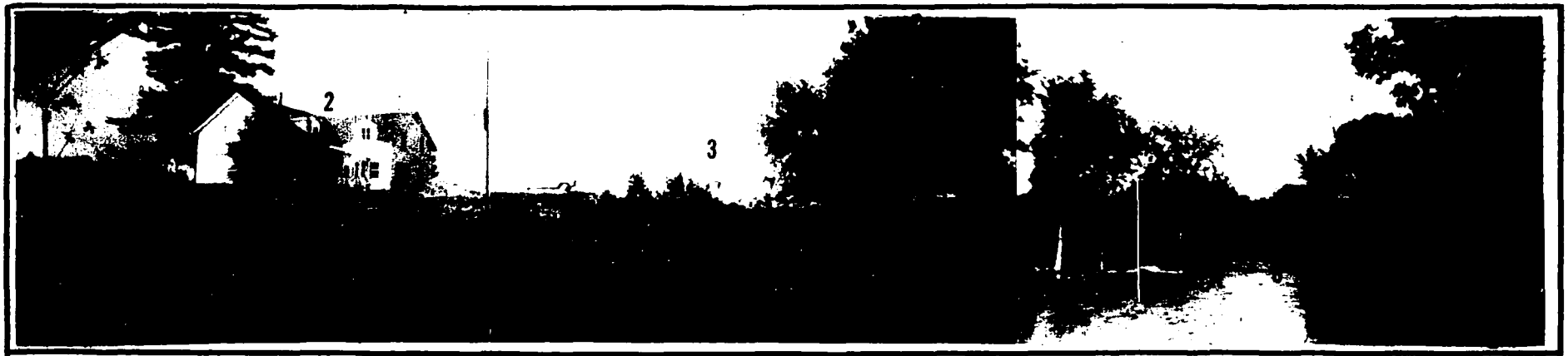
Historical Core and Axes of Development.

What then does this review of real estate development upon lot no. 27 reveal in terms of an evolving landscape? Lot no. 27 was chosen for settlement--at the exclusion of the adjacent lots -- basically for the attractiveness of its water power site on the Yamaska. The range road that was carved out from Shefford line south in the 1860's followed the boundary between the 7th and 8th ranges but swerved sharply to the west in lot no. 27 to accomodate the budding industries at this point on the river. Naturally, this confluence of settlement, communication, and hydraulic importance became the historical core of lot no. 27.

But what of the village core itself? Is the historical village core the present day core? Walling's map (fig. 3-1) shows that the village in the 1860's was very much oriented toward the river; the mills, tannery buildings, rake factory, and the England's house on the south bank all closely paralleled the line of the river. There was even the semblance of east - west roads on either side of the Yamaska. The village of this period, a center of small extractive industry, literally faced the river. Consequently, what one might call Fulford's archaeological diggings are the remains of a now vacated river-oriented historical core (fig. 10-1).

As the village functions changed in the 1870's a new axis of development arose perpendicular to the river. New homes were built on the attractive high ground on the north bank which was traversed by the range road.

FIG.10-1. PANORAMA OF THE RIVER AT FULFORD TODAY



Standing beneath the bridge (1) and looking north along the Yamaska today much of the village's past is visible in the present landscape. It was on the riverbanks in this panoramic view that activity first commenced. The England Bros. house (2) was built in the 1860's and was situated near the tannery which was at a later date converted to a cabinet factory. The ruins of these structures are seen at (3) and (4). Similarly the remains of the bark mill (5), the mill dam (6), and Oscar George's saw mill (7) are still apparent. The level of the river, heightened by the dam, was once above the dense shrubbery on the left bank.

The buildings, soon functioning as stores, craft shops, and post office, became the focal point of a trading village whose outlook was toward the farms of the area for service and trade. By the 1890's the road -- and no longer the river -- was the lifeline from the village to the hinterland and other settlements.

As the sequence of maps from 1918 to 1960 suggest (fig. 9-6) there has been no significant deviation from this road-oriented, single-cluster pattern of development. The railroad failed to draw any measure of settlement to it, nor has the crossroads to the south of Fulford seen any competitive development. The core of the village today remains on the original site (i.e. the Yamaska) but the orientation of the houses and ruined foundations within the settlement reflect two historical axes of development.

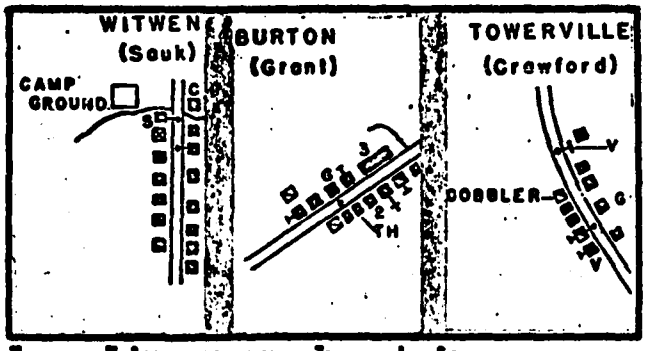
Classification of the Village Ground Plan.

The layout of the village, or what Trewartha calls the 'ground plan', is the cumulative visual evidence of the morphologic evolution of the settlement. What types of ground plans are there? And what is Fulford's ground plan? How does this compare with the layout of historically related neighboring communities?

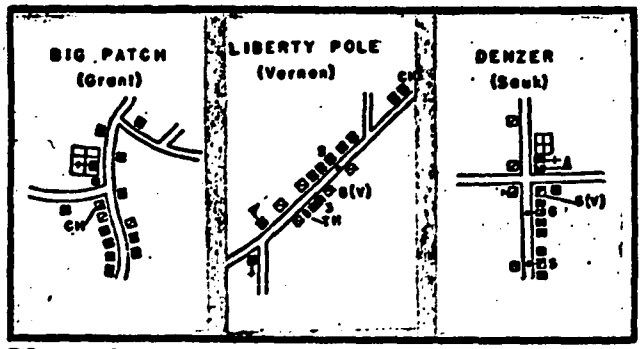
The hamlet or the small village, as Trewartha explains, is unlike any other agglomerated settlement in that the fundamental element of the plan is the highway or road upon which the place is located:

> "This contrast in ground plan between hamlets and other clustered settlements reflects the weak centripetal power of the former. Depending more completely than other settlements upon farmer support, the hamlet's public service units are placed easily accessible to rural traffic."[4]

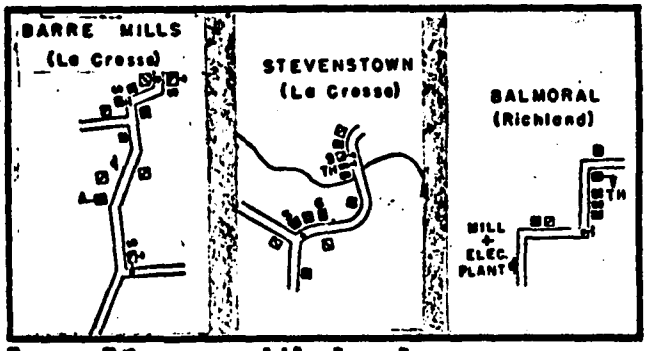
Trewartha has devised a classification scheme for small settlements based upon the road plan and the hamlet morphology; six categories and their subdivisions (as presented in fig. 10-2) embrace all hamlet types:



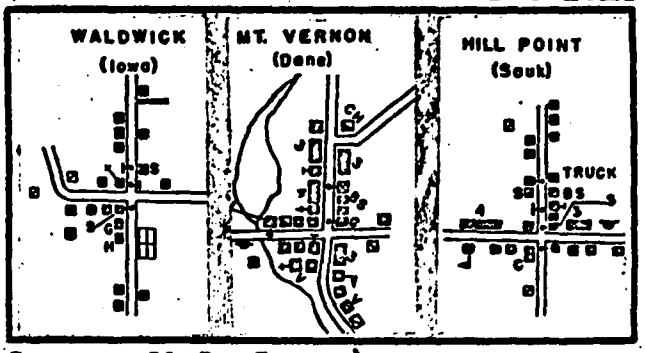
1a - linear or shoestring



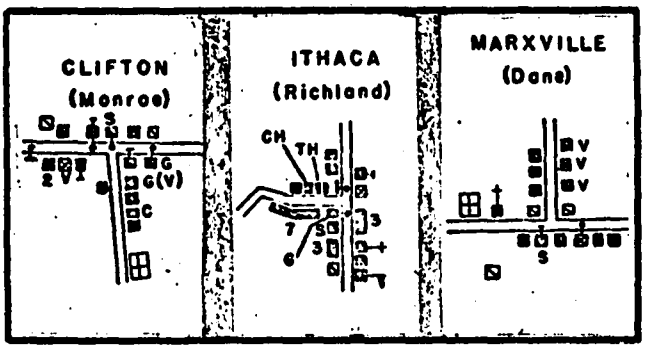
1b - linear at road intersections



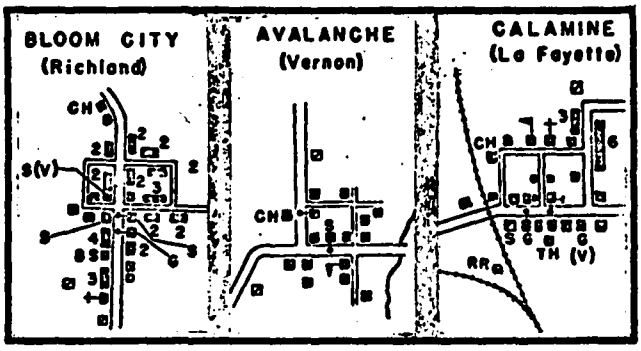
1c - linear with bends



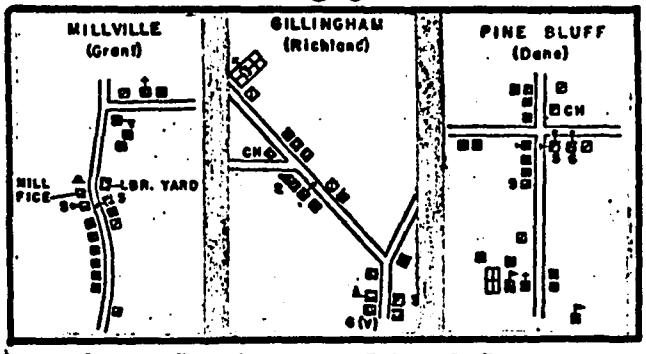
2a - radial along 4 or more roads



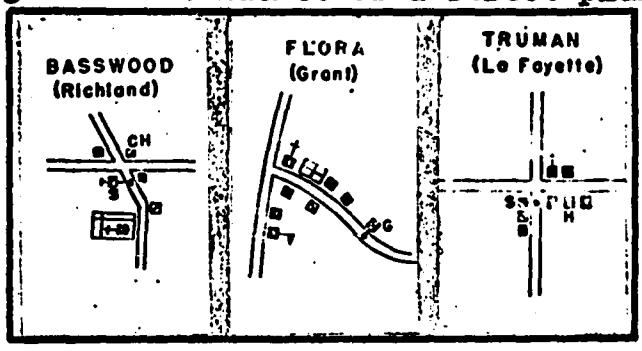
2b - radial along 3 roads



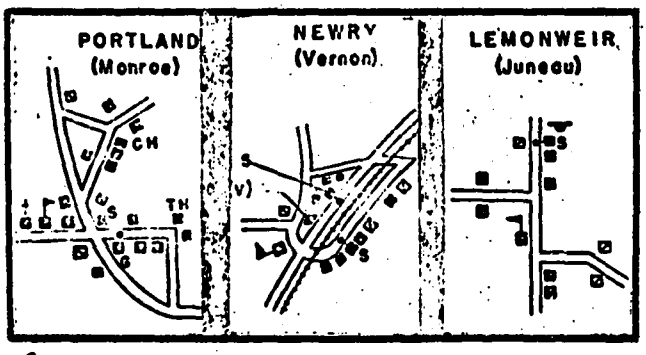
3 - with evidence of a street plan



4 - two cluster or binodal



5 - little or no distinct form



6 - complex settlement pattern

FIG. 10-2. TREWARTHA'S HAMLET TYPES

(FROM "THE UNINCORPORATED HAMLET," ANNALS OF THE AAG, MARCH 1943, pp. 67-73)

SCALE: 1 IN. = 1/3 MILE

1. a) linear or shoestring
   b) linear or shoestring associated with road intersections
   c) linear or shoestring associated with bends
2. a) radial along 4 or more roads
   b) radial along 3 roads
3. with some evidence of a street plan distinct from the highway
4. two-cluster or binodal
5. insignificant hamlets too small to have a distinct form
6. complex structural form[5]

Despite what may seem to be a complex evolution of form, Fulford possesses the simplest type of ground plan -- linear or shoestring with no associations (1.a). Although exhibiting an early riverine alignment no permanent road of any quality ever developed along this axis. The village simply strung itself out along the curving line of the range road on both sides of the river (fig. 10-3).

Only two other settlements in the study area, Laroche and W. Bolton, display the linear ground plan. Laroche, as has been seen, was a string arrangement of shops and farmhouses fronting upon the range road with a fairly well developed set of long lots radiating back from the road. W. Bolton's plan is linear today but shows evidence of a road intersection that was aborted at some phase in its history.

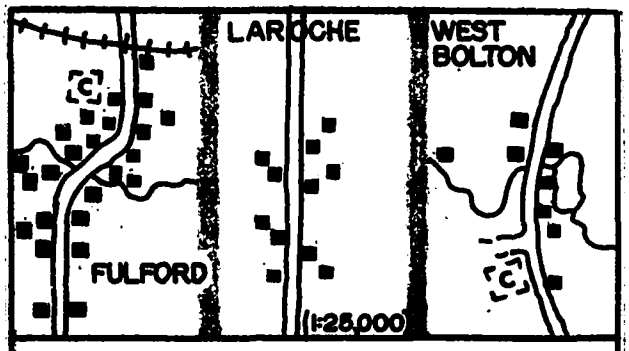


fig. 10-3 linear type hamlets (1a)

Settlements with a radial ground plan were found to be the most common variety. Trewartha propounds that only the larger hamlets have buildings enough to make a clear-cut radial pattern possible. The fact that Iron Hill, Foster, and Frost Village have radial plans associated with three roads[6] might then be taken to be a further proof that these places have indeed crossed that indefinable line between hamlet and village. But of course the ability to

develop at a road intersection is no indication of size or staying power; Sheffington was a well settled, radially-dispersed road junction before the road across the Yamaska was abandoned and the bridge demolished.

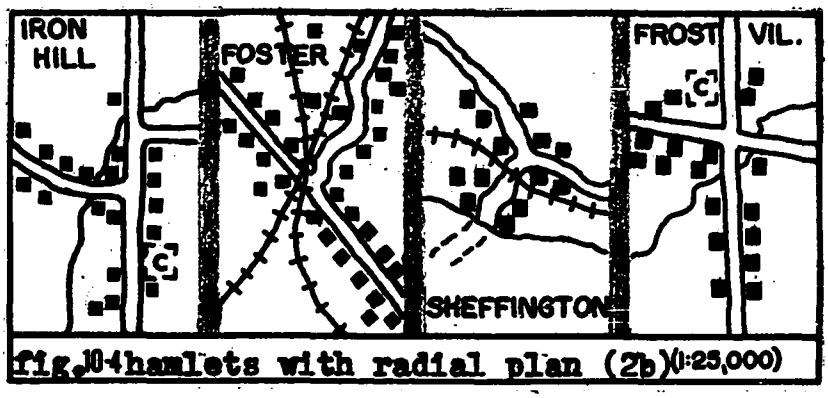


fig. 10-4 hamlets with radial plan (2b) (1:25,000)

Of the remaining settlements in the study area, Bromere is of the radial type also, but is associated with four roads (2.a) rather than only three. Located on a diagonal township road (one of the first created in the area) the site soon became the junction of roads leading to Fulford, Waterloo, and Knowlton. There are at least two hamlets too small to have any recognizable ground plan: Brome Center and Bondville. Situated at intersections, these settlements were nevertheless unable to attract more than three of four families into a cluster and never developed a community core of any size.

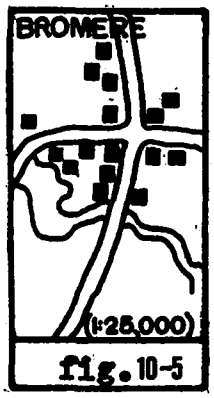


fig. 10-5

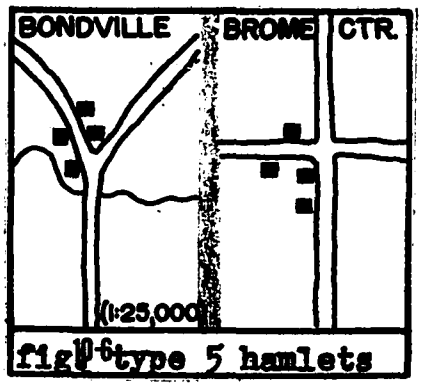


fig. 10-6 type 5 hamlets

A settlement's ground plan is an entirely man-made pattern that results through the interaction of historical forces and physical conditions. The evolution of the villagescape's form varies remarkably from one settlement to the next despite similar locational and human factors (for instance, the fact that Fulford, Sheffington, Iron Hill, and Bromere were all originally mill sites). It is the micro-geographic variations -- the roll of the land, the

width of the river, the presence of rapids or a gravel pit -- combined with the accidents of history and the vagaries of human choice that permit so wide a range of possibilities in the village form.

Appearance of the Village.

The Bishop's University study of several villages in the Townships made the point that very little seems to have changed in the physical appearance of the villages during the last century. Of course a few barns and houses have vanished and others have had improvements made upon them, but the total visual composition has not been so altered that it would not be easily recognizable to a village dweller of the 1870's. It is this grindingly slow pace of change in a small rural settlement -- that always remained a small rural settlement -- that provides a slow motion study of man in his environment.

Surely it is impossible to examine the place of every man-made artifact in the villagescape -- the barns, the barn doors, the boards, the nails, the type of nail heads -- and observe how they reflect changes in the functional development of the settlement. What items then best portray the overall sequence of the village's growth through alterations, additions, and substractions from their own sub-systems? What features of Fulford's cultural geography continually recur in all the cross-sections of time and therefore lend themselves to a process study?

Taking a cue from the previous three chapters it is seen that the demographic progression best expresses itself in terms of housing changes. In the words of Winston Churchill: "We shape our buildings and they shape us." Then the matter of transportation and communication, as a factor in the dynamics of the hamlet system, relates first to the village roads (in this case road) and secondly, because of Fulford's riverine location, to the village bridge. Lastly, although the agricultural realm is best evidenced at work in the changing countryscape, the particularly strong agricultural bent

of the village is indicated by the omnipresence of a variety of fence types throughout the villagescape itself.

Housing as a Measure of Demographic Progression.

The importance of building types and ages of houses in understanding the workings of a culture was summed up by Prof. Fred Kniffen of Louisiana State:

> "housing even considered alone is a basic part of human geography. It reflects cultural heritage, current fashion, functional needs, and the positive and negative aspects of noncultural environment."[7]

Kniffen has studied both the diffusion of the 'I' frame house along the U.S. east coast and the cultural areas of house types in Louisiana.

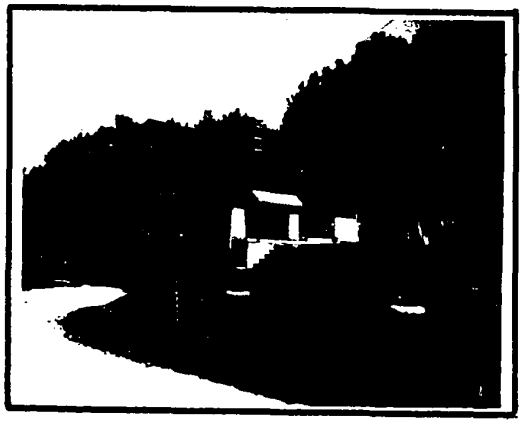
There exists no such regional study or comprehensive catalogue of house types, barn types, or roof types for Québec's Eastern Townships and it is difficult to say what diffusion patterns or distinct house type areas exist with any great detail. Cultural variations in village housing are probably negligible since practically all such housing was English-built and English-occupied for the greater part of the area's history. The architectural nuances introduced by the French farmers are best seen in the coloration and ornamentation of the farmhouses outside the villages. It would become somewhat speculatory and sketchy to draw any generalities for the rest of the townships on the basis of one village study. However, the progression of house types and their changes does to a great extent mirror the local history and the micro-geography of the study area. Until a comprehensive and broader study of the region's occupance patterns is available, the matter of housing is best diagnosed along the lines of the settlement's internal development.

If the reader will for a moment refer to the 'bird's-eye' view of Fulford today at the end of Chapter 6, it will be seen that there are less than a score of residential buildings in the village -- seventeen to be exact. Fig. 3-2 depicts six of the oldest houses that date to the 1860's and early

FIG. 10-7

FULFORD'S MODERN BUILDINGS

C. SEYMOUR 1944



O. DAVIS 1956

J. TURGEON 1952

A. CUSHEN 1954

FULFORD HALL 1963

70's while fig. 10-7 presents the four post World War II houses in the village; it must also be noted that the Arès' farmhouse (fig. 8-7) and the Graves and Hayes houses (fig. 10-9) all date to the 1870's. Through simple arithmetic a rather startling conclusion is arrived at: only 4 houses were constructed in the entire period between 1880 and 1940. Yet isn't this the era of the village's greatest surge of prosperity, its population peak, and apex of growth?

The apparent contradiction can not unfortunately be resolved by offering the very uncomplicated solution that the other houses were torn down. It is a fact of the villagescape --confirmed through map analysis -- that fewer than a half dozen buildings (exclusive of course of barns) were ever demolished. The houses that were constructed in the 1860's and 70's were built eminently well; with thick and sturdy clapboards and, in most cases, stone foundations they were made to last! Those few that were removed survived at least until the 1930's and 40's and have since been replaced by modern buildings on the same site.

The solution to the problem lies within the development of the village core. By 1880 the roadside was lined on both sides of the river -- from the churches to the cemetery -- with an unbroken string of multi-functional craft shops, general stores, mills, and private homes. The frontage of each establishment was not cramped -- there were passageways, garden plots, and greenery between the buildings; but still there was no room for new structures. At this point in time (the late 1880's and 90's) the village might well have adopted a rudimentary street plan with several lanes at right angles to the range road, but the drawing power of the settlement was not strong enough. Those who located at Fulford werefarmers and consequently they built their homes not in the village but in the immediate countryside. They were within walking distance of the general store, had their name on a postal box, and attended village socials, but their houses (as the dozens of cellar holes and abandoned farmhouses reveal) were a part of Fulford's farm hinterland.

It is thus seen that the village core has passed through two quite distinct periods of housing development along two axes of growth: the initial period of growth in the 1860's and 70's was at first along the river and then the road; secondly, a period of building extending from the 1940's until the present using available plots along the roadside.

Fulford's change of role from commercial-agricultural village to purely residential-social center is perhaps the keynote in the transition of this segment of the villagescape today. The buildings are either undergoing a functional shift, being torn down, or being renovated and enlarged.

The barns probably express the most unmistakable evidence of functional change. Their roofs have been tinned, weather-beaten boards replaced, sidings given a coat of paint, and the structures now used as garages and storage sheds (fig. 10-8). A great number of roadside barns have been dismantled for use as firewood and some have been rebuilt into smaller wood sheds and poultry coops. Fulford's barns have not yet achieved the heights of functional creativity that the barns in parts of nearby north-eastern New York state have: conversion to private homes, stripped of barn boards for sale as ornamental and highly expensive weathered antique wood, and the ultimate in landscaping, repainted as three dimentional pop art abstractions with psychadelic designs.

Apart from the barns, most of the current work on renovation and enlargement is being done on the private homes. This usually involves a functional change as well: the Lambourne living room was formerly the Booth general store, M. Coté's house once served as the village creamery, the old England-Joyal house now contains tourist rooms and the offices of the Quebec Crown Dairy Supply Co., and the Moffatt house was once the Adventist Church.

The effect that renovation can have upon the total picture of the villagescape is obvious in fig. 10-9 which contrasts the Hayes and Graves houses. If the relative prosperity or state of economic health of a village is to be judged by the appearance of its buildings -- their decay or attractiveness--

FIG.10-8 FUNCTIONAL CHANGE OF THE VILLAGE STRUCTURES

MANY OF THE BARNS HAVE BEEN CONVERTED TO GARAGES: (1) BOCKUS (2) MOFFATT (3) BOYD (4) WRIGHT

such factors as age and materials of construction are diminished in light of the improvements and renovations performed upon the houses by individual owners in the community. That there is a fair amount of activity in the construction sector (see fig. 10-10) may say something for the village's will to survive and counter the drop toward oblivion predicted by the population graphs. Again, such a process as rejuvenation of the village's housing is a factor related to the most recent components in the demographic progression: an influx in the last twenty years of a leisure oriented retirement community in search of pleasant and attractive surroundings, and an outward facing rural non-agricultural class of former city dwellers.

These then are some of the visible ways in which the villagescape is altered by the interactions of the villagers and the houses they build and inhabit. It must be remembered that the total effect of the changes is perceivable only when seen over an extended period of time, for the villagescape from one decade to the next may only differ in the shade of color on the clapboards or in the amount of rust on the tin roofs. Otherwise, the total composition in the number and placement of houses -- despite an internal migration and a constant redistribution of functions along the village road -- remains intact.

The Role of Bridge and Road in Transportation.

Have improvements upon the structure of the bridge and the composition of the roads in any way affected the villagescape itself? The effect of a better road network upon travel between the hamlets has already been discussed, but what of its effect upon the location and development of functions at the village core?

The maintenance of the bridge and road have for the last one hundred years consumed a remarkable amount of the village's and municipality's time, effort, and money. The road, created in the 1850's,was of corduroy in part

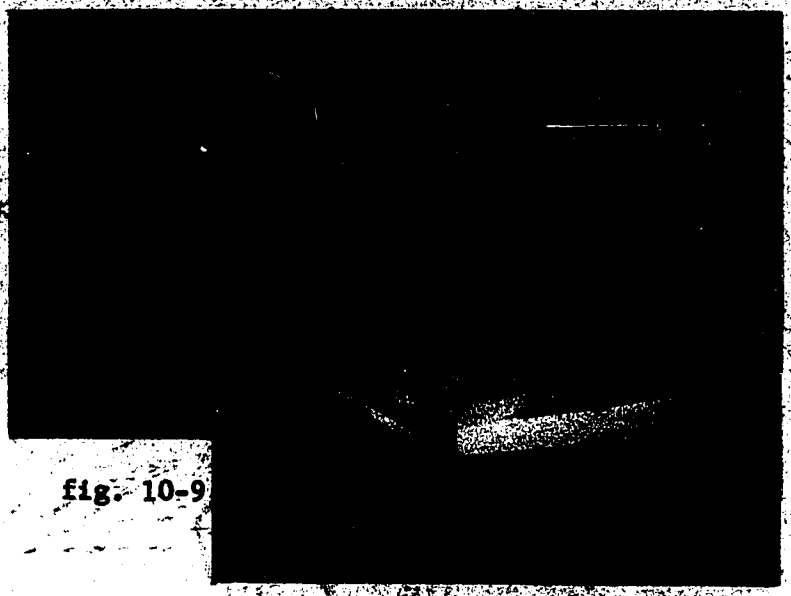


fig. 10-9

Standing face to face at the north end of the village, the Hayes (above) and Graves houses provide a striking contrast. Of approximately the same age and style, their appearance is otherwise dissimilar. The Graves house was repainted, re-roofed, and renovated both inside and outside.

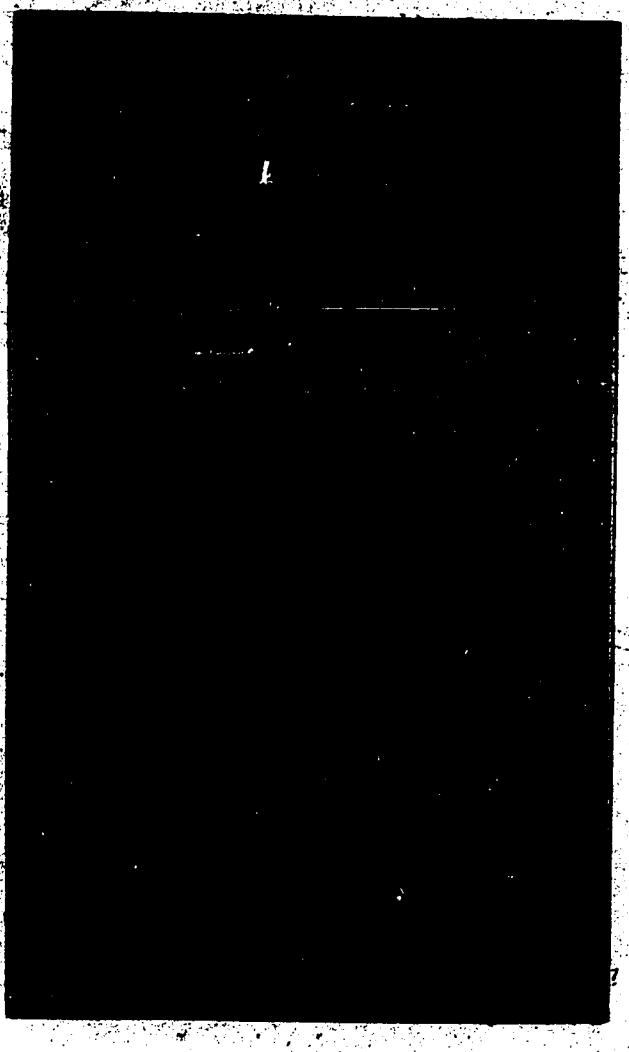


fig. 10-10. The old England house is now owned by the Lambourne family who have both completely renovated the building inside and out and are now adding a new wing to the rear of the building.

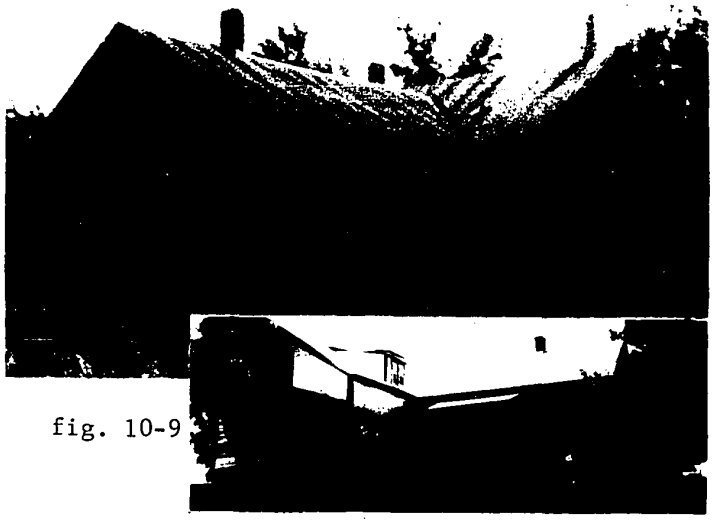


fig. 10-9

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FIG.10-11 THE VILLAGESCAPE IN 1940 AND 1967

(a) 1940 -- The view is toward the southwest with Brome Mt. in the distance. The old England house is seen between a solitary pine and an elm along the riverbank. Also visible is a barn in the woods at right and a horse grazing in the field at left.

(b) 1967 -- The pine tree and the elm have remained constant amid a scene of change. The England house has been remodeled and new fencing appears along the newly surfaced road. The barn at the right (although not visible) is gone and the excavation in the left foreground has been occupied by the Seymour house (built in 1944).

because of the perennial problem of spring mud. Repairs upon the village street were apparently inadequate and inexpert if judged by the great frequency of repair work upon the same section of the road. Out of a total of thirty-one by-laws passed by the Municipality between 1855 and '65, one half were concerned with the upkeep and maintenance of public roads and bridges. From 1850 to 1890 an incredible amount of repair work was needed to keep the bridge in a servicable condition. Here are a few extracts from the municipal record books that attest to this concern:

> "6 Sept. 1869 -- George England repairing the bridge $1.00...Amasa E. Lewis filling approaches to bridge at Fulford $56.00
>
> 3 Dec. 1877 -- George W. Pickering repairing bridge at Fulford $200.
>
> 1 June 1885 -- Nazaire Bessette repairing the bridge at Fulford $15.16
>
> 2 Sept. 1889 -- C.P. Kilbourne balance on repair of bridge at Fulford $150... Jos. Morin furnishing cross cords for the bridge at Fulford $10."

The bridge, of simple plank construction, that had cost $50. to build in 1857 had by 1889 cost the municipality almost $700. to repair. In 1892 sixteen bridges in the vicinity of Fulford were washed away by spring floods but the patchwork structure in the village for some miraculous reason remained in place. Nevertheless, it was recognized that both the bridge and road were in a bad state of disrepair and that the rotting planks and logs would again have to be replaced or else an entirely new bridge and surfaced road installed.

Still it was not until 1920 that the necessary improvements were effected. A steel frame truss bridge (fig. 10-12), buttressed on concrete and stone, was erected and the finishing touches -- guard railings and paint -- were added in the 1920's by laborers from the village. The road also received a thick dirt covering that buried the corduroy planks and raised the road surface several feet above the drainage ditches. The road had thus been transformed into a raised embankment where it previously had been a water-logged depression.

The truss bridge stands unchanged today but the road was tarred throughout the length of the village street in 1956. On the outskirts of the village the road surface is presently gravel topped but sections of the road are being improved from year to year.

The road and bridge are by the very nature of their maintenance and technological modifications an interesting commentary upon the course of landscape change from a raucous pioneer mill center to the sedate village of today, but the surprising fact is that more than mere improvement has transpired. An actual relocation of the road and bridge has occurred! This relocation was in response to the changing functional relationship among the more important parts of the villagescape.

The pre-1920 plank bridge stood a good five or more yards downriver from the present structure. This in itself is not a major migration but it also meant that the village road passed somewhat to the west of today's tarred road. Why the movement? It seems that the original road was at first a service path for the operations conducted in the mills and tannery, located on either river bank about thirty or forty yards downriver! The road came into the England Brothers tanyard where the bark was unloaded. On the north side of the river Oscar George's mills and house stood in close proximity to the original course of the roadway. By 1920 however village industry was dead and the mills and tannery were gone; there was in short no longer a need to maintain the curve of the original road which was straightened out and connected by a more suitably placed bridge.

And so in a small way the historical progression of road and bridge also reflect something of the sequence of village development. From oxcart to oldsmobile, the changing stress placed upon the location and condition of the village's arteries of transportation is directly related to the functions performed by the community through its historical periods of industrial, commercial, and social intercourse.

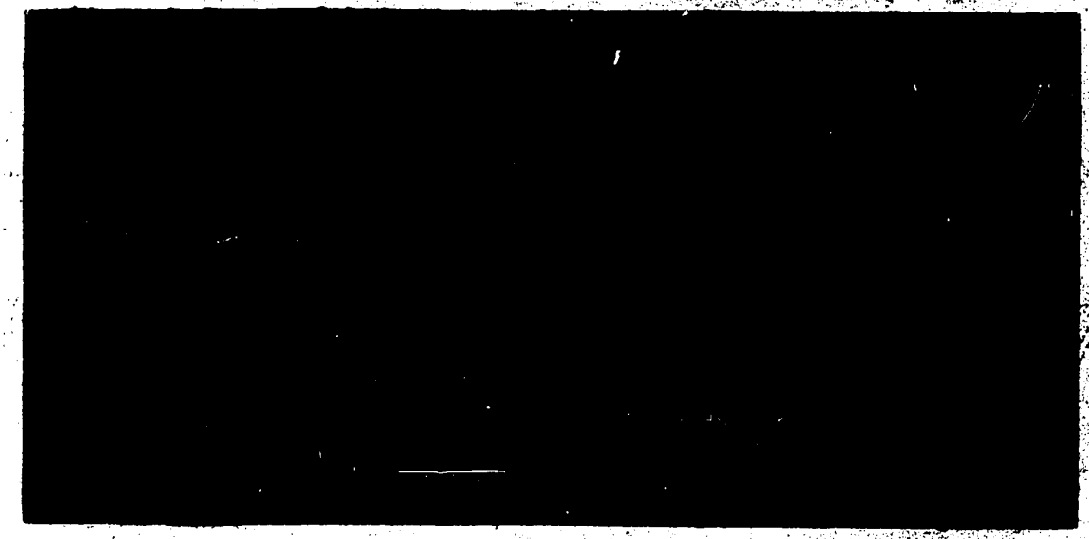

fig. 10-12. The Fulford truss birdge was constructed in 1920 and replaced a much repaired plank and post structure similar to those wooden bridges that cross the Yamaska above and below Fulford today.

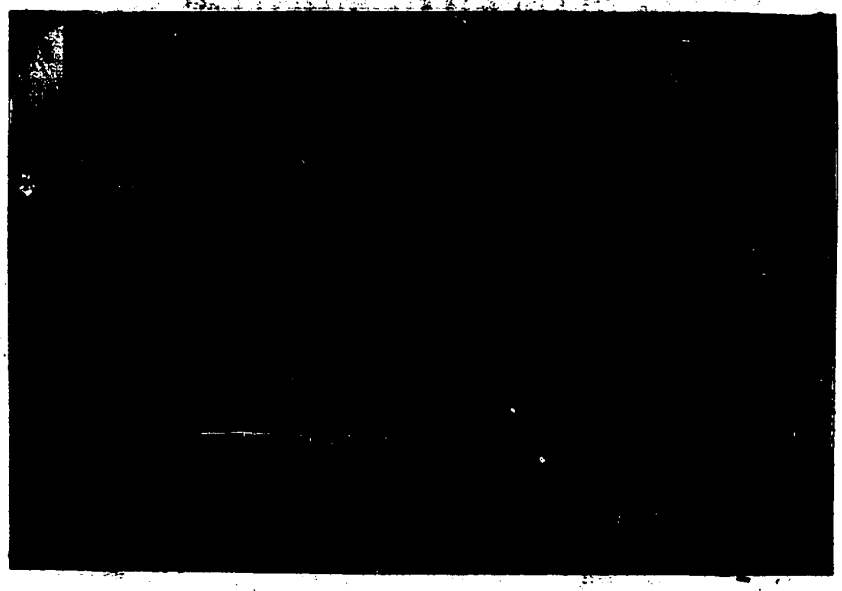

fig. 10-13. The original location of the Fulford bridge. Until 1920 the old plank bridge stood about five yards downriver (left) from the present truss bridge which appears at the righthand margin of the photo.

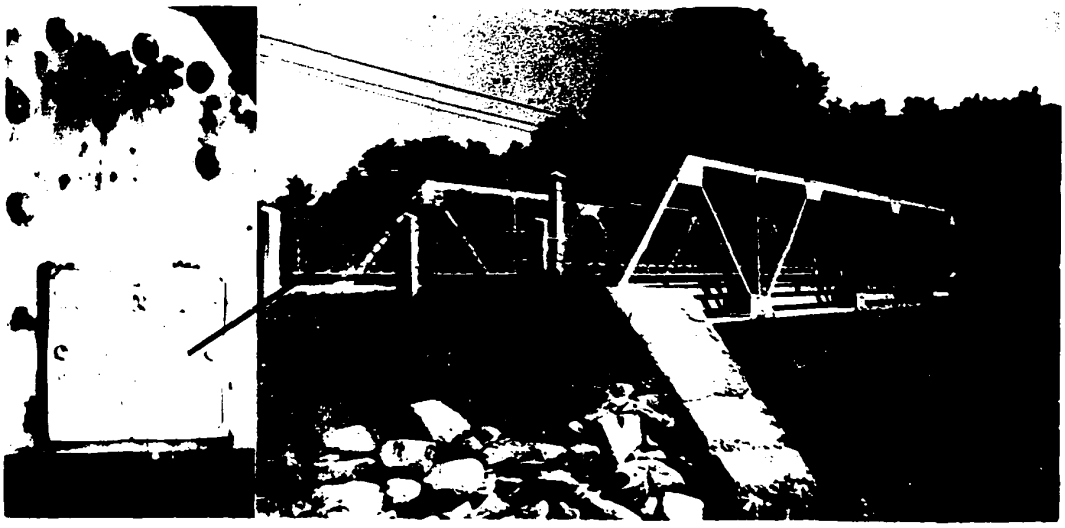

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fig. 10-13. The original location of the Fulford bridge. Until 1920 the old plank bridge stood about five yards downriver (left) from the present truss bridge which appears at the righthand margin of the photo.

Fence types as an indication of agricultural shifts.

Apart from their proverbial ability to make good neighbors, good fences also serve as good indicators of the changing functions within the village. They have a tendancy to be left behind as anachronistic reminders of the former pattern of land use even when all other physical traces have been erased.

The extremely stoney and bouldery nature of the Fulford soils has been mentioned in connection with the type of crops and agriculture suited to this area; one would thus assume that -- like their New England cousins -- the Fulford farmers would have made constructive use of this natural and so abundant building material scattered over their fields. But such was not the case. In her observations on the absence of stone fences in Québec's Rouge Valley, Pauline Gibson states that:

> "the Quebec farmer has no tradition of building walls of dry stone, in contrast to the farmers of New England. The stones cleared from the fields are usually moved to the edge of the field, generally to the foot of the upland, or, more rarely, piled up near the centre."[8]

Although several stone walls are seen in the hinterland around Fulford, it seems that the early English settlers in the village considered field boulders a nuisance and attempted to bury or stack them. The larger boulders were left undisturbed and the smaller ones, it was believed, would add to the fertility of the soil;[9] but it was the medium size boulders that were manageable. At Fulford, instead of erecting stone fences, the farmers piled many of the rocks in the middle of the pasture because stone fences were 'undesirable'. Sim Graves remembered the fuss and bother attached to the idea of stone fences when the land was being cleared in the late 1800's. As a result, only one rather small (25 feet at most) stone fence exists in the village. (fig. 10-15). Its origin is dubious but probably stood at the margin of a field where the Bockus house was built in 1900.

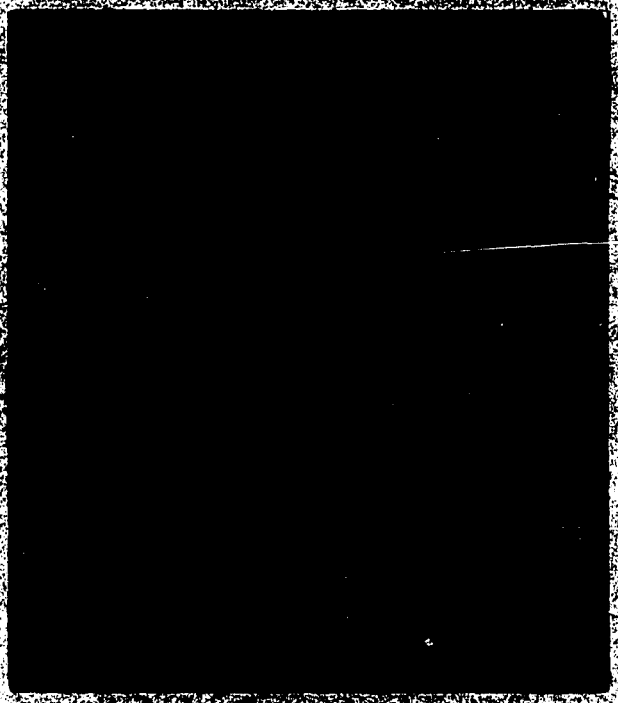

fig. 10-14. A stone pile in the middle of Arès' pasture just north of the village.

fig. 10-15. The only stone wall in the village. This stone wall on the north side of the Bockus house, ornamental in function today, was being dismantled in the summer of 1967 and the stones carted away for use as construction material.

fig. 10-14. A stone pile in the middle of Arès' pasture just north of the village.

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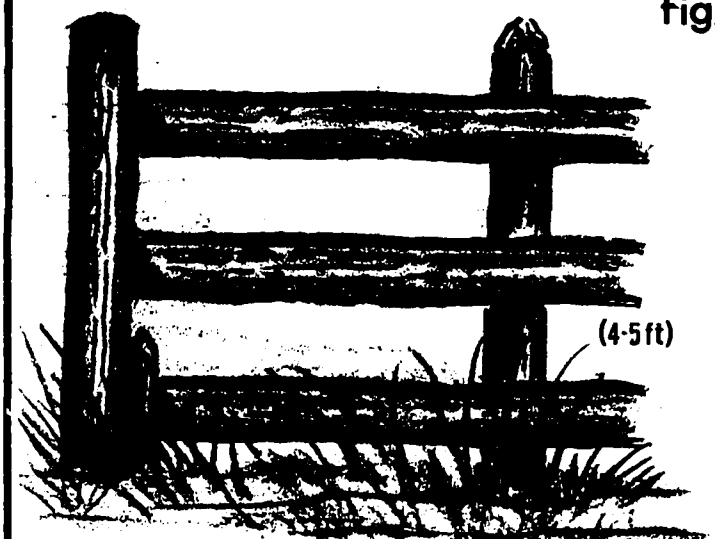
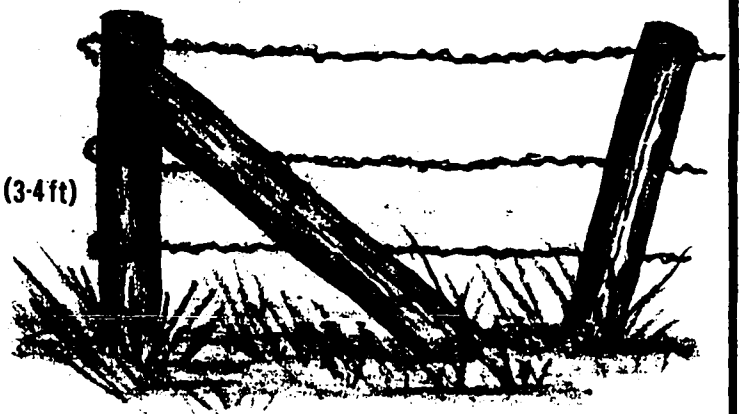
FULFORD FENCE TYPES

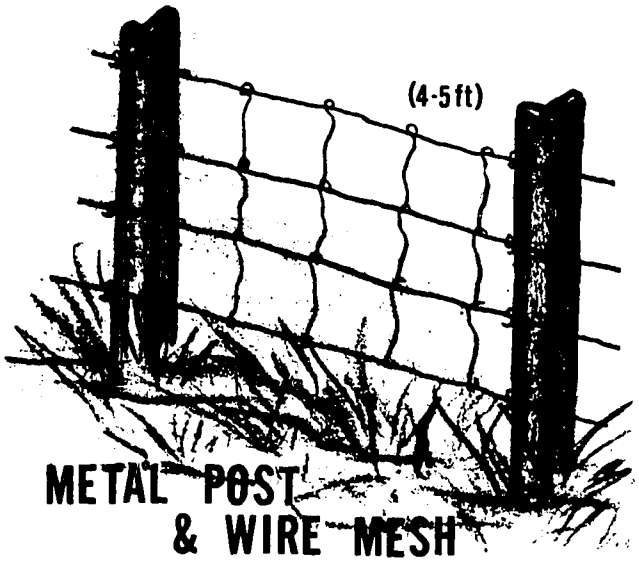
fig. 10-16



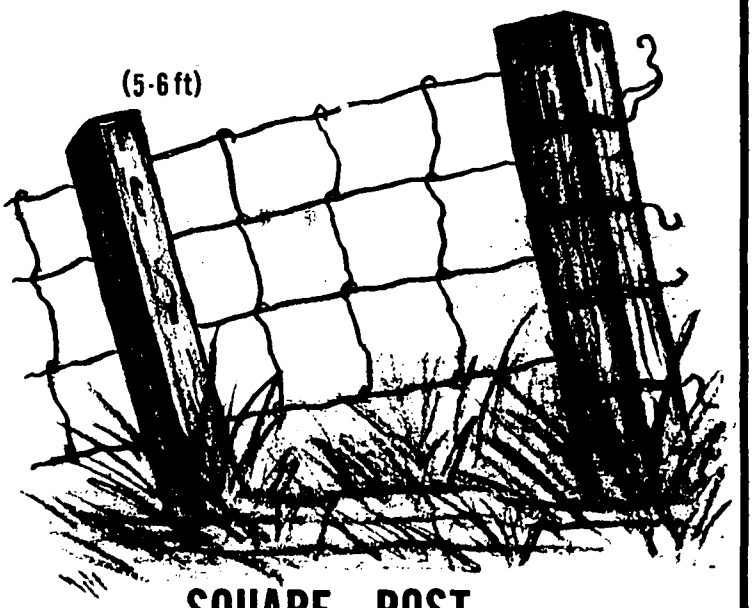
PLANK & POST



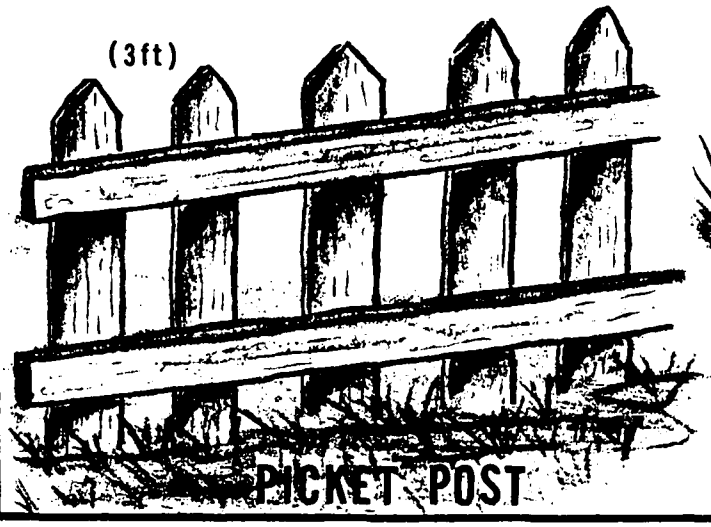
POST & BARBED WIRE



METAL POST
& WIRE MESH



SQUARE POST
& WIRE MESH



PICKET POST

UNLINKED
ROAD GUIDE POST

rob

along parts of the village street.

Today, the agricultural interest of the village is only of secondary or even tertiary importance. Functions of the modern village have shifted almost totally away from agriculture and the newer types of fencing have no relationship with the farming Fulford of times past. This change is vividly portrayed by the innumerable rows of badly rusting and rotting fences that once divided one farmer's pasture from another farmer's corn field and by the fence-enclosed lots along the village street on which dense groves of fir trees grow.

CHAPTER 10 - NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Glenn Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: One Element of The American Settlement Fabric," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 33, p. 63.

[2] Register of Estate B, Vol. 10, pp. 213-14, deed no. 5807.

[3] Ibid., pp. 700-02, deed no. 6263.

[4] Trewartha, op. cit., p. 67.

[5] Ibid., p. 68

[6] Although Frost Village and Iron Hill have four roads (therefore type 2.a) they have developed along only three of these roads (type 2.b) and have not utilized the fourth for settlement.

[7] Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 55, no. 4.

[8] Pauline Gibson, "Settlement and Abandonment of Land in the Rouge Valley, Laurentides, Quebec: An Historical Geography", McGill University Thesis, p. 165.

[9] Edward Torbert, "The Evolution of Land Utilization in Lebanon, New Hampshire", Geographical Review, Vol. 25, p. 210.

[10] W. Prescott Webb, The Great Plains, p. 296.

CHAPTER 11

Projection and Conclusions

"We look at the present through a rear-view mirror.
We march backwards into the future."
-- Marshall McLuhan.[1]

There is a temptation, in view of Fulford's declining population and prestigious anonimity, to draw a comparison to Oliver Goldsmith's Deserted Village where "the sounds of population fail, (and) no cheerful murmurs fluctuate in the gale," but the parallel is neither completely fair nor accurate. Fulford is not as yet a dead or even decaying village, and whether it will ever become one -- like Sheffington -- is a highly problematical consideration.

It does seem likely that the village will undergo a further demise of functional activity. Such historically vital institutions as the churches and post office will, from all indications, be either partially or totally phased out in the near future.

At both the Anglican and United Churches the congregations are small, so small in fact that the point is approaching when neither will be financially able to bear the cost of upkeep and weekly services. There exists between these two denominations what is termed 'the timetable of union' wherein inter-communion services are projected for 1969 and perhaps official amalgamation of the churches by 1974. What this means in terms of the village landscape is that one of the buildings will be abandoned and Anglican - United Church services combined under one roof. However, there is the possibility that, if the village population continues to spiral downward, the services and structures of both churches will pass away, and Fulford will have lost its religious function altogether.

The other imperiled functional unit is the village post office. In the last three years the Post Office Department has closed down over 700 rural post offices in Canada, mostly in Quebec (171) and Ontario (133).[2] The reasons given for the shutdowns are economy:

> "Most offices being closed are called revenue-producing post offices by Ottawa...the post-master's salary is at least $100. more than the revenue produced by his office."

and service:

> "Village and rural residents who once picked up their mail at private homes where such post offices are located now are served by couriers who not only bring the mail to the door but also sell stamps, pick up parcels and in general act as one-man post offices."[3]

This government policy is directed at communities currently having a store-front post office serving less than thirty families. Fulford certainly falls within this category and it seems only a matter of time before the Wright's combination general store - gas station - post office will loose one of its functions.

The possible withdrawal of the churches and post office is related to the general problem of population decline which in turn affects the staying power of the village. It is evident from the graphs in Chapter 7 that Fulford has been steadily loosing population since the early part of this century; is this trend likely to continue?

Calling upon the experts in such matters, Trewartha believes that the number of hamlets is not on the overall decline and that there is no reason to believe that this settlement type is headed toward extinction.[4] Wilson predicts that hamlet and village population will level off and tend to become fairly stationary.[5] Kolb and Brunner agree with this concept of leveling off in the village population and furthermore contend that:

> "villages with rapid change tendancies seem to be on the decline and those of a more steady and established character appear to be on the increase."[6]

Fulford, with a record of over one hundred years of continuous and prosperous existence, has throughout its cross-sections and functional analysis displayed something far short of "rapid change tendancies."

It was mentioned in the preface to this work that an underlying theme of time lag between American and Canadian settlements would be noticed. This technological and cultural time lag, operating over a spatial gap of some one to two hundred miles, exemplified itself in many ways in the development of the townships of Québec and those of Vermont: the migration of Yankee woodsmen and millers to Québec, the same agricultural phases experienced at slightly later dates in Québec, and the earlier arrival of the telephone and automobile in Vermont. Might not this time lag afford a study advantage in that the current demographic trends of northwestern Vermont may, in a general way, foretell the course of events in southern Québec?

If such a relationship exists, then the optimistic assessments of Trewartha, Wilson, et al. with regard to rural population may well be justified. Today, the rural population of Vermont is again on the rise, and very noticeably so. In 1960 the northern counties of Washington and Chittendon reached all-time population peaks while other counties throughout the state reached a levelling-off phase characteristic of no net loss in numbers. While Québec's townships are experiencing what Zelinsky has termed the third phase of the rural life cycle -- dwindling numbers and decline, Vermont's townships are well advanced in the fourth phase -- a marked upward trend:

> "a general stabilization or resettlement of the rural hinterland by a more or less urbanized population, a kind of broad metropolitan penumbra that is decidedly rural in a spatial sense but increasingly urban in function and outlook."[7]

Actually, some parts of Québec's townships are already experiencing an upswing in rural residents, and like Vermont, these people are the rural non-farmers of the Census; whatever they are termed -- urban dropouts or back-to-the-landers -- they form the vanguard of an urban exodus that draws the hamlets and farmsteads into the penumbra of the nearest metropolitan area. As the shadow of the 'Greater Burlington Area' is cast across the northern tier of Vermont, so too is the shadow of Montréal's influence cast upon the hamlets and villages of Brome. Fulford, although sixty miles distant, is very much under the spell of Mayor Drapeau and his 'world'.

If an era of rural population stability (or reversal of the downward trend) is dawning in this region of Québec, perhaps it will be in the hamlets and villages such as Fulford where it will be first apparent. It appears unlikely that the village population will rise very significantly in the future, nor for that matter is it likely to decline very much either. At least one house at Fulford has been up for sale for the past year with no buyers and there are no plans for construction of any new homes. Of course it is impossible to judge whether there will be any new arrivals in the village, but it seems that those who are here now will tend to remain. To the questionnaire inquiry "Are you intent upon remaining in Fulford?" the response in all cases was a unanimous and unequivocal "Yes".

It does seem that Fulford has survived a critical point in time and by so doing has secured to itself the continued existence of its point in space. In terms of spatial perception, one somehow feels that the worst is over; the economic depressions, the departure of so many people and functions, and the long night of population decline have all left their scars upon the villagescape, and yet Fulford has endured all the trials and exasperations imposed by the process of change.

Today there is an air of stability about the place that cannot be expressed by demographic statistics or economic data alone; there is an intangible essence of permanence born of a successful interaction between the physical and human elements which expresses itself in what Bogart terms "the immeasurable things " by which a small rural community manages to retain its population:

> "well-built and comfortable houses, cleared lands, woodland, public buildings, good roads, and other improvements. Such things are not willingly abandoned, and there will always be a permanent resident population which will enjoy and utilize them."[8]

It is difficult to project a more precise picture of the future landscape. The continued entrepreneurial activities of Gregor Lambourne will be a major factor. Another factor will be the outside influences emanating from distant Montréal (land speculation and the urban exodus) and nearby Waterloo (there are rumors of a proposed penitentiary and new autoroute exit on the road to Fulford).

In a sense, there can be no elaborate conclusion to this study, for the village is in a state of change and continual motion from day to day. The year 1968 is only a point in time on the long geographic settlement progression from saw mill site to tannery village to merchandising town to depopulated hamlet to semi-retirement community to ...? However, based upon the relationships and patterns of people, places, and things evolved over the past one hundred years and upon the perception of the villagescape today, it is reasonably certain that there will in the foreseeable future be a Fulford, 'a hint of thickening in the settlement plasm', whatever specific form or shape it may take.

A place is said to have two geographic considerations, namely site and situation, upon which to base an analysis of its functions and visual characteristics. The spatial and temporal qualities of these considerations are perpetually renewed in accordance with changes in the man-land relationship. It is with the smallest unit of the settlement hierarchy that these changes can best be studied and analyzed.

Fulford, more or less typical of the hamlets in Québec's Eastern Townships, has afforded itself well to such an analysis. Apart from the subthemes of frontier settlement, time lag, and cultural admixture, the overriding theme of man and his landscape emerges. The villagescape and its adjacent farmscape are man-created and man-dominated; the biological and physical subsystems have for the most part been subjected to the economic dictates and cultural whims of successive communities of pioneers, farmers and craftsmen, and more recently 'rural non-farmers'. The original site of the settlement

has remained the same but its appearance and physical qualities have been altered much. Similarly, the situation has had to keep pace with man's evolving web of communications and the overextension of his media.

In a negative way, man also creates abandoned and depopulated landscapes. The demise of villages and the regeneration of forest growth are not outside the consideration of a man-induced environment.

Fulford, riding in its own time slot and spatially unique in its own way, is a living historical geographic commentary upon the forces of the cultural, physical, and biological subsystems whose interworkings produce what Zelinsky calls the "whereness" and "whenness" of a place.

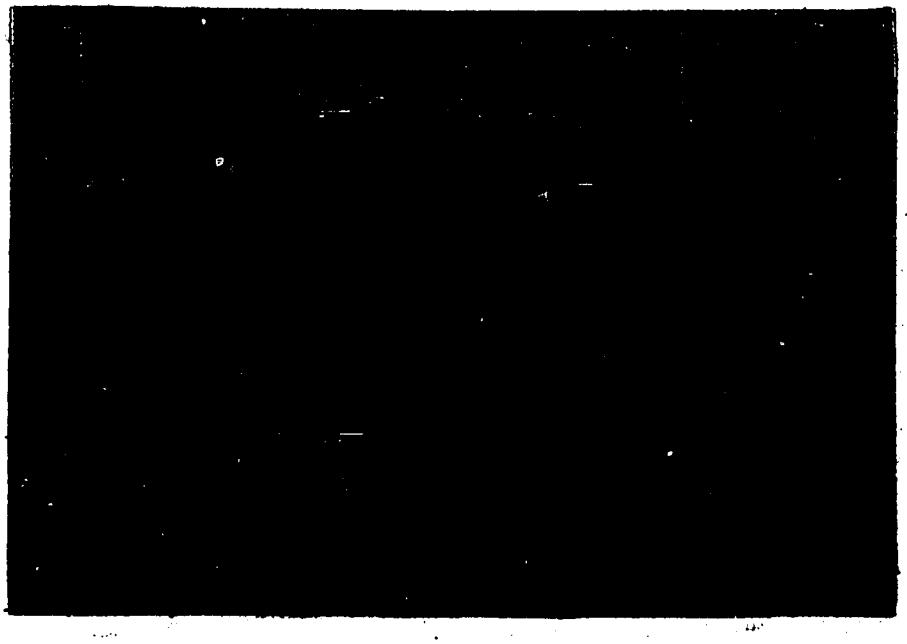


fig. 11-1. All that remains of Fulford's industry stands silhouetted in the sunset...but not for long! The pillars that supported the village tannery and later the Rev. Joyal's gramophone factory will join the parade of changes. Plans call for the construction of a barn on this very site, using these same ruins.

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CHAPTER 11- NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Marshall McLuhan, The Medium is the Massage, p. 75.

[2] "Hundreds of Rural Post Offices Being Shut Down," in The Montreal Star, April 3, 1968.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Glenn Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: One Element of the American Settlement Fabric," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 33, p. 50.

[5] Harold Wilson, "Population Trends in Northwestern New England 1790-1930," Geographical Review, Vol. 24, p. 277.

[6] Kolb and Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 267.

[7] Wilbur Zelinsky, "Changes in the Geographic Patterns of Rural Population of the United States 1790-1960," Geographical Review, Vol. 52, p. 504.

[8] E.L. Bogart, Peacham -- The Story of a Vermont Hill Town, p. 340.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A -- Street Maps of Neighboring Villages in 1864 (from Walling's Map).

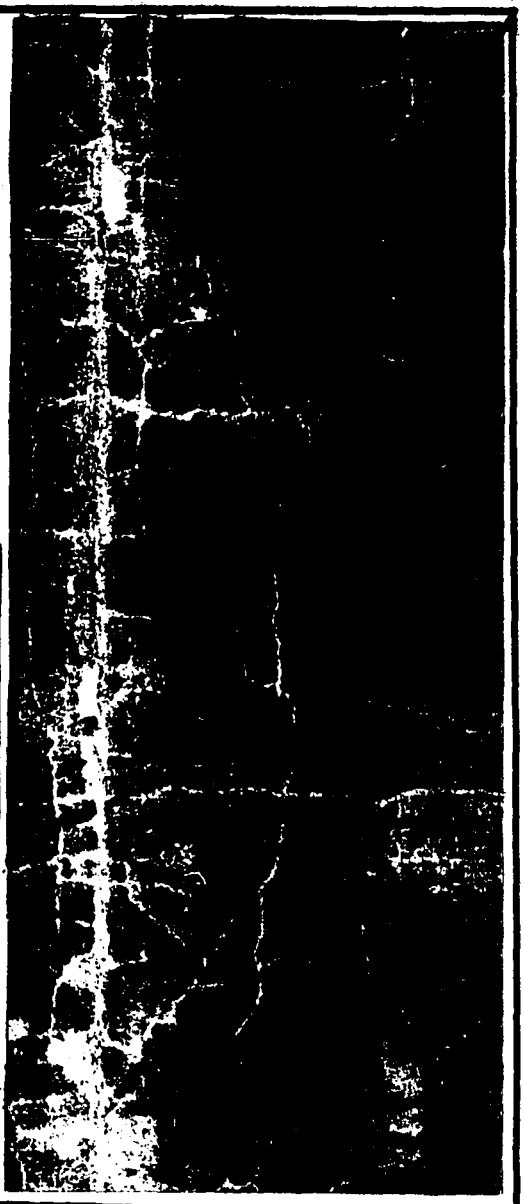
APPENDIX B -- Transcript of Tape Recorded Interview with Walter Taylor at Knowlton, Quebec on January 13, 1968.

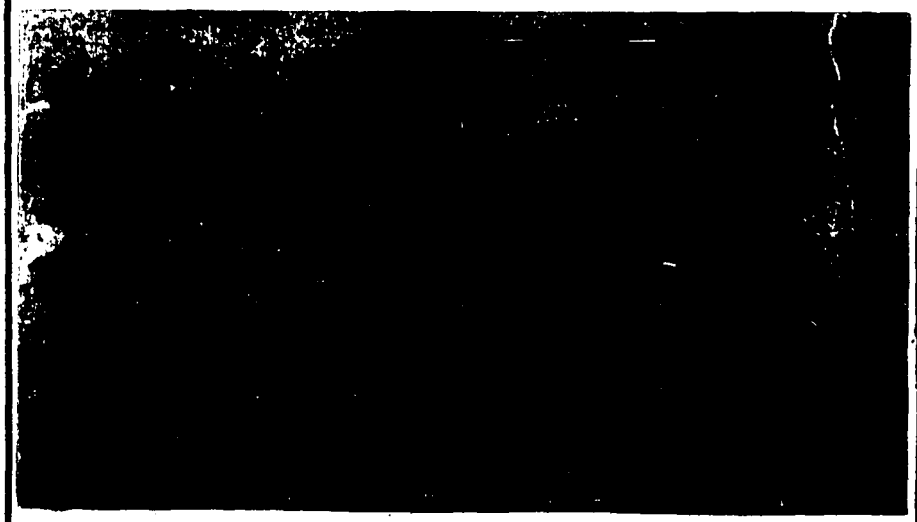
APPENDIX C -- Sample Copy of "Questionnaire to the Heads of Households at Fulford"

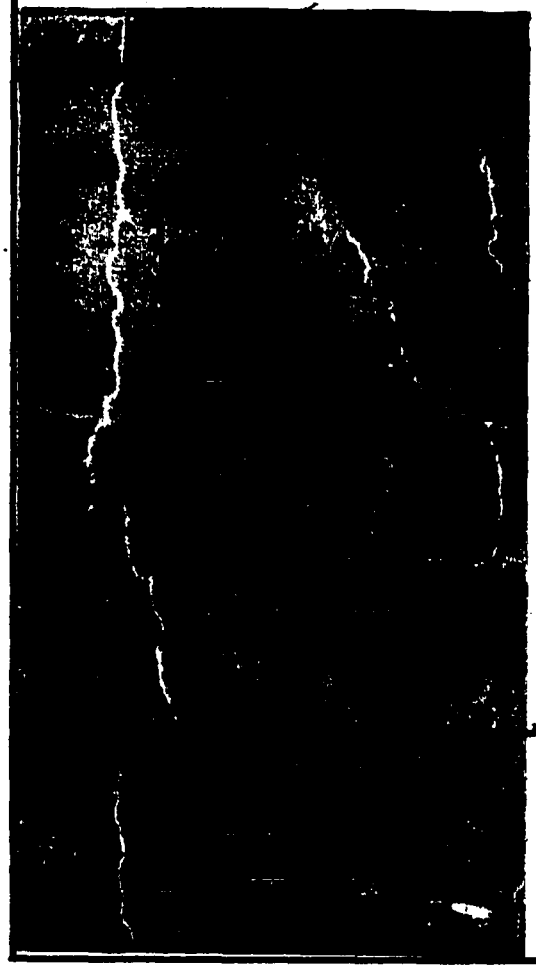
APPENDIX D -- Complete Necrology of the Fulford Cemetery

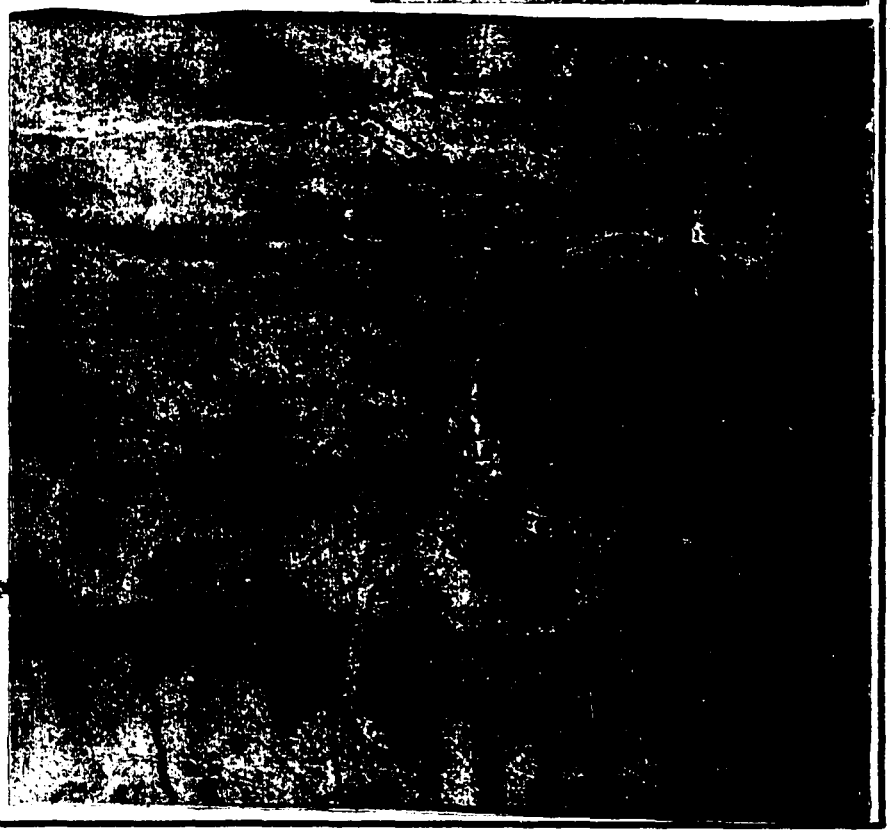
APPENDIX E -- Deeds of Transferal for parts of Lot no. 27 in the 7th Range of Brome Township between 1866 and 1880.

APPENDIX A. STREET MAPS OF NEIGHBORING VILLAGES IN 1864 (FROM WALLING)

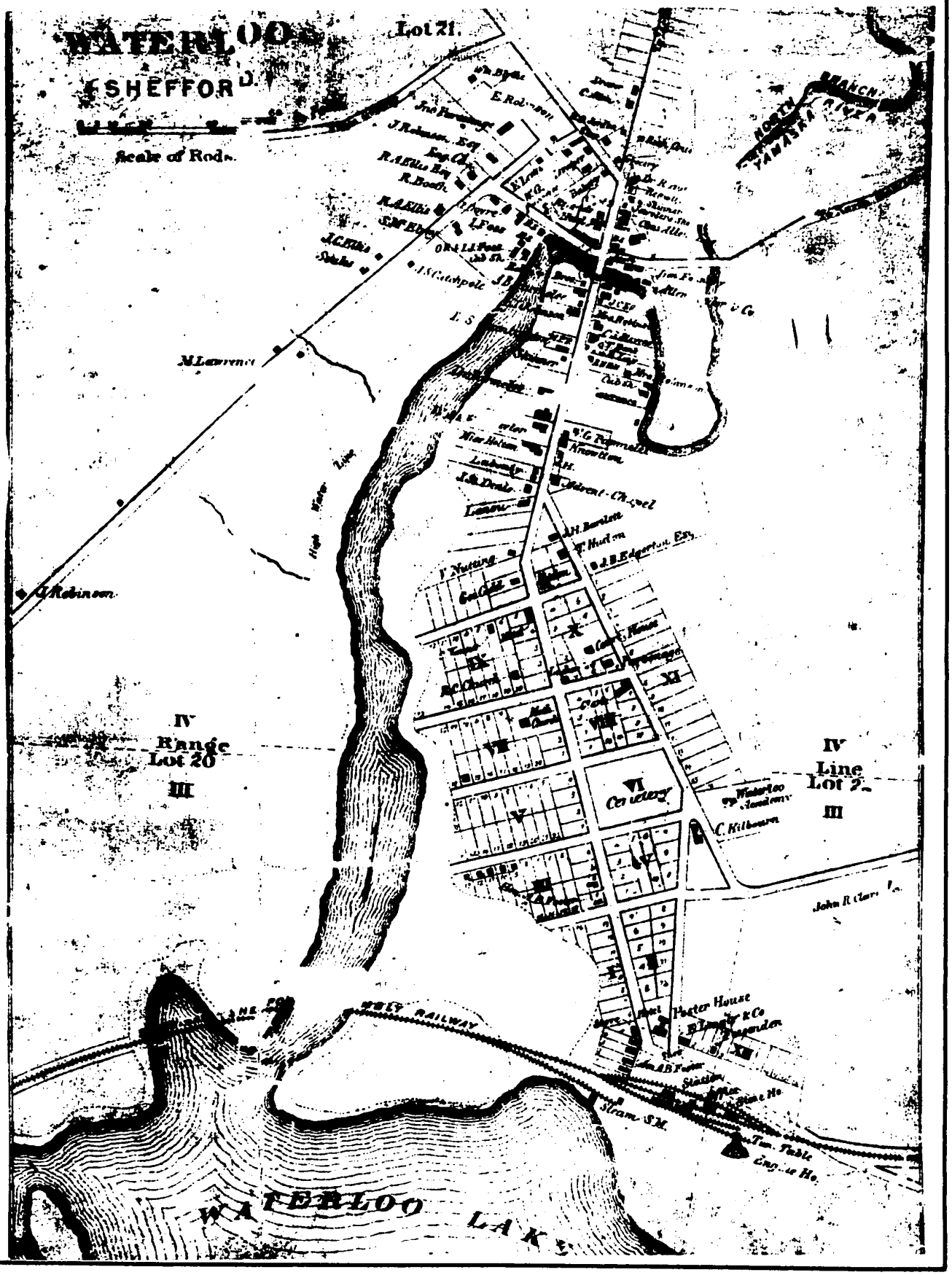








(APPENDIX A CONT'D) WATERLOO VILLAGE



APPENDIX B

Transcript of tape recorded interview with Walter Taylor, at Knowlton, Quebec, January 13, 1968.

(Mr. Taylor was born in 1874, on a farm near Fulford, did his apprenticeship in the carriage factories of Waterloo and opened his blacksmith shop in Fulford in 1897. He remained at Fulford for ten years and removed his trade to West Shefford in 1907. He stayed there for 38 years.)

Q.- What did the village of Fulford look like 50 years ago?

A.- There were two churches, an Anglican and a Methodist; they were built in 1863; the incumbent there at that time was bishop Fulford. He was in Montreal and he had all those little places in his charge. That's all as far as the churches are concerned.

Q.- What did the tannery look like?

A.- It was just a wooden structure. There were seven or eight vats. Vats were what they put the liquids in. They buy tanbark from the farmers, farmers from miles away, even as far as West Shefford, which is five or six miles, brought hemlock bark to Fulford. There were lots of timbers around, all types. The farmers would work out there and cut these big trees down in winter, maybe a tree a hundred feet high and four feet thick; they cut them down and skin the bark off. They ring it for several feet, they cut the bark with the axe, they split the bark off and it would lay there during most of the summer and dry off. The tree itself would just lay there, it had no use. The bark was valuable for tanning purposes. They'd cart that down into the tannery yard. They had a mill for grinding that up.

Q.- Why did the tannery finally close?

A.- It closed, let me think for a moment... it was rebuilt of course in 1897, right on the old foundations. Yes, it closed in 1896 and was built up the following year. They put in a little different system of tanning. The original tannery closed in 1879 and was rebuilt in 1880. The last tannery was taken away about 1907.

Q.- Were they running out of bark?

A.- They didn't use bark at that time. At that time, they stopped tanning shoe leather. They used to make all different things out of leather, laces and belts; they had other chemicals and machines there.

Q.- Was the man who reopened the tannery Mr. Joyal?

A.- Well yes, across the river was a saw mill; that was built first by Oscar George. Just at the end of that, there was a grist mill, and he also built that.

Q.- You did blacksmith work at Fulford?

A.- In Fulford? Yes. I went to Waterloo in 1888 as an apprentice. There were six carriage-makers there at that time, and I went to work for one of them. I stayed there 10 years. When I came to Fulford they had opened this tannery up and rebuilt it, and they made these laces. The rake factory was built over a hundred years ago in Fulford and they made hand rakes for raking hay.

Q.- What about the blacksmith shop in Fulford?

A.- There was an old blacksmith there, a very good one too. His name was Lucien Bourgeois. He had quite a good trade; he could make anything out of wire. They didn't have any steel in them days, it was all wire. He was a professional blacksmith; he was just across the street from me. I came in there and bought an old barn, built a fire in it, and set to work. I didn't say anything to him or anybody else. And it wasn't long before I had it (the village trade) all to myself. What prompted me to come there was that he used to drink; he was an old man, a nice man though. He'd take his horse and buggy and go up to Waterloo... and he'd drink this cheap whiskey, five cents a glass. So not long after that, a few years or so, he died.

Q.- Could you tell me more about the blacksmith's work?

A.- The blacksmith was a very important man. You had to be a veterinary surgeon at that time, and I was. They depended on the blacksmith. If a cow was sick or anything they'd call on him. The blacksmith had to be a good workman in those days because there was plenty of competition. I could do anything any good carriage-maker could do. At certain seasons there were special jobs to be done: repaint jobs on carriages or building sleds. Travellers would stop at the blacksmith shop for information. I remember how jealous I felt after a while when the cars began to come in taking the place of wagons. I got awful jealous because instead of coming to me for information they'd go to the corner garage - all painted up nice you know; they'd hand them out maps and everything else and so I didn't like it at all for a while.

Q.- For how long did you remain at Fulford?

A.- I stayed there ten years. I had the trade all to myself ... I did well there (Fulford) and had an addition to my shop.

Q.- Why did you eventually leave Fulford?

A.- I was looking ahead quite aways and was worried about the school question. There was no school and I had to get out of there. So I built a buggy and made plans to leave. I left the whole business, took my family and went toward Granby to see what was over there. I got as far as West Shefford, liked the place, and when I found out they needed a blacksmith, I stayed there. I worked there 38 years.

Q.- Do you remember any stories about the tornado that hit Fulford about 1877?

A.- Well no, but about 1880 or 84, we had severe winters. There was one winter we had a tremendous pile of snow all piled up all over the place. There was a lot of fences six and eight feet high, wooden fences, you couldn't see one of them, all covered up. That was prophesied by a man named Wiggins. It got the name of Wiggins storm. We don't have the winters now we used to have. But as far as tornadoes are concerned, no. Too many bushes and the winds didn't have the effect, not till later when they got the land cleared off. Then we began to have really severe winds.

Q.- Was the village fairly prosperous around 1900?

A.- Yes, it was beginning to pick up then. Cars began to come in in 1919; well I began to service cars myself. And I got along fine.

Q.- I guess the land was entirely cleared for farming in 1900?

A.- Oh yes, the forests just seemed to vanish when they started farming. They used oxen for clearing the land then and they would weight 2200 pounds each and could just pull the stumps right out of the ground with no effort at all.

Q.- Do you remember when the railroad came through Fulford?

A.- Yes, I was a water boy on that railroad. That was in 1884. It was the C.P.R.

Q.- What did the railroad deliver to Fulford?

A.- They brought general supplies, whatever was needed. The freight trains went through, they had a siding, but there was no station there. If you had a consignment of freight like I did, I had horseshoes coming from Montréal, they would come to Fulford but wouldn't stop there because there was no station. So they'd take it over to Foster...then I had to go to Foster, 5 miles, to get my freight. But after a while, we'd give an order to a firm in Montréal, we'd specify with that order 'Freight Prepaid'. If it was prepaid they'd put it off at Fulford. If it wasn't prepaid, it'd go to Foster.

Q.- After World War I, where there many farmers' sons who didn't come back to the farm?

A.- There were some who didn't come back, but not too many. At Fulford, Vladimir West was one, he went over there and didn't come back... There was another one, George Ingram, a farmer's son... he was conscious striken and so he went over there and he didn't come back. There were probably a few others, I don't know.

Q.- Do you remember anything about Sheffington?

A.- Yes, that's near West Shefford. It was never a really good size village but there was a carding mill there to make woolen yarns. There was a man by the name of Neal, two Neal brothers: Rob and Henry, they operated there. We used to take wool down there if a farmer had sheep. We'd bring our wool down there in the fall of the year and sometimes they had so much to do that we'd have to wait. They'd spin it into yarn and roll it. Well, we used to come down there to Sheffington to get the rolls of wool made up. They had other things there. If we had nothing else to do, we'd go down there; they had a store there...

Q.- Where the people in Fulford mostly English or French?

A.- No, they were most all English there. They had some Frenchmen but they had to go over to West Shefford, six miles,to go to church. They made changes as fast as they could though...

Q.- There was a large dam on the river at Fulford, wasn't there?

A.- They had five dams along that river from Brome Lake to West Shefford. There was one at West Shefford; one at Sheffington for the carding mill and the grist mill; one at Fulford for the tannery, grist mill, and saw mill. The dam at Fulford was 11 feet 8 inches high, that's the maximum any dam coud be.

Q.- I imagine the village has changed a lot over the years?

A.- Oh yes! Fulford was quite a stern place then. But it's quiet now. The old fellows that worked the tanneries were pretty rough. The children at that time they just grew up, they weren't brought up. The people were alright though.

Q.- About what year would this be?

A.- That would be about 1880. Fulford at that time was a bigger place than Waterloo.

Q.- Do you recognize this house (the Bockus house)?

A.- I built that and it looks very much the same. Only I had a veranda on here and the roof went right across to the end. And I planted some big trees in front to give shade to the house, but they cut them down after I left. I built that in 1900.

Q.- Why did you build it with this style roof?

A.- Well, I don't mind telling you, I copied that off a house somebody built down here (Knowlton). And I liked that and so I did the same. In winter I carried the timbers into the mill down here and they sawed it. And I left the job to a fellow to put that house up and shingle it for $50.00. That's all he asked, just $50.00

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APPENDIX C — SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Historical Geographical Field Research
(summer 1967)

Questionnaire to the Heads of Households in Fulford

1. Name _____
1a. Place and Date of birth _____

2. Occupation _____
(if retired state occupation prior to retirement) _____

3. Number of persons in the household at Fulford _____

3a. Their ages and place of birth _____ 3 _____

_____ 1 _____ _____ 4 _____

_____ 2 _____ _____ 5 _____

_____ 6 _____

4. Parents place of birth _____ _____
...grandparents place of birth if known
_____ _____

5. Number of years living at Fulford _____
...in the same house? _____
5a. Place of residence before Fulford _____
5b. Reason (s) for locating at Fulford _____
_____

6. Approximate age of the house you are living in _____
6a. From whom was house purchased _____
or " " is house being rented _____

7. Number of acres of land owned (if any) _____

7a. land use _____ former land use _____
_____

8. Place (s) of shopping _____ _____ _____
8a. Frequency of shopping trips outside Fulford
_____ per week

9. Religion and mother tongue _____ _____

10. Are you intent upon remaining in Fulford? _____
10a. If no, why and where will you likely move to?
_____
_____

APPENDIX D

Necrology of the Fulford Cemetery.

Ashley Sweet
died 1914 age 83

William R. Sweet
1822-1907 age 85 yrs.

Infant Son of W.J. & Maud Taylor
died 1899 age 4 days

John Williams 1827-1897
his wife Rebecca Emrick
1838-1926

George Williams 1856-1939
his wife Sarah Wilson 1856-1949

James R. Armstrong 1880-1961
Janice 1962

John Salsbury 1830-1903
his wife Harriet Graves 1842-1915

Laura Lampman wife of Jacob Ruiter
died 1888 age 82 yrs.

Lycida Graves wife of R. Armstrong
1840-1908
Robert Armstrong 1824-1905
N. Ivy Brewer wife of J.R. Armstrong 1887- 1926

Richard R. Lewis 1877-1952
his wife Ada Louvina Williams
Evan L. Lewis

Eli Sweet 1864-1933

Mary Lasoir
wife of Wm. R. Sweet
died 1895 age 71 years

Reuben M. Armstrong
died 1905 age 25 yrs
William Armstrong 1850-1947
his wife Martha Williams 1859-1938
Clinton Armstrong 1884-1935

Mason Woodard died 1902 age 29 yrs.
Gerda Mason daughter of M. & Delia
Woodard died 1902 age 1 yr.
Forest Woodard 1898-1924
Delia Hayes wife of M. Woodard and
B. Richard 1876-1958

Eliza Salsbury 1873-1923

Ruth Elsie daughter of W. + E.S.
Williams 1921-1923

W.T.O. Lewis 1887-1935
his wife
Jenny LaFlour 1850-1906

Loren R. Davis 1884-1936
Merrils Davis 1846-1924
his wife Lucy Sweet 1848-1934

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his wife
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Loren R. Davis 1884-1936
Merrils Davis 1846-1924
his wife Lucy Sweet 1848-1934

S.Sylvester Sweet 1853-1929
his wife P. Ettie England
1857-1935
Mary McCann Stone 1886-1935

Laura Greenwood 1819-1896
wife of Warren Woodard

Hiram Woodard 1845-1902
his wife Annie Booth born 1848 --

Alice Eastman 1848-1928
wife of H.A. Thomas
H.A. Thomas 1842-1922

Truman Davis
died 1902 age 80 yrs.
Lizzie E. Davis daughter of T. &
P. Davis died 1889 age 22 yrs.
Polly Davis died 1894 age 70 yrs.
wife of Truman

Carrie Virgie 1877-1950
wife of Roy Peasley

Oscar E. Sherwood 1847-1921
his wife Betsey Bradley 1852-1946

Emily Emrick 1835-1930
wife of Samuel Wright

Samuel Wright died 1880 age 50 yrs.

Otis Cook died 1876 age 68 yrs.

Miles E. Rhicard 1851-1921
his wife Sarah J. Davis 1854-1939

Sewell Davis 1877-1951
his wife Carrie Smith 1877 ---

William Davis died 1891 age 50 yrs.

Elizabeth Wright died 1907 age 66 yrs.
wife of William Davis

Henry Davis died 1889 age 16 yrs.
son of Wm. & Elizabeth Davis

James J. Booth died 1891 age 84 yrs.

Sarah Booth died 1883 in her 75th yr.
wife of James Booth 1st

Seymour England 1823-1909
his wife Amarilla England
1820-1903
their son and daughter ---
Fred.T.England 1853-1928
Annie England 1861-1932

Cornelius Salsbury
died 1879 age 81 yrs.
his wife Lydia Corey
died 1879 age 77 yrs.

Sarah A. Woodard died 1895 age 44
wife of John Woodard
Lizzy G. Seward daughter of J.H. &
S.A. Seward died 1894 age 20

Stephen Gaylor 1866-1945
his wife Carrie Davis 1871-1958

Forest Son of S.&C. Davis
died 1898 ate 2 yrs.

Hattie F. Marston daughter of Agnes
& Jeremiah died 1882 age 5 months
Jeremiah Marston 1831-1894

Hiram L. Doe 1846-1930
his wife Matilda Wright 1859 ---

William A. Miles 1875-1950

Merrils Davis died 1891 age 80 yrs.

Elmour Davis died 1882 age 31 yrs.

Alonzo Davis 1844-1934

Almira Davis 1850-1914
wife of Alonzo Davis

Bethana E. Davis 1892 age 16 yrs.
daughter of Alonzo Davis

Ernest Wright 1861-1944

Henry J. Wright died 1861 age 4 yrs.
son of Samuel & Emily Wright

Susanah Booth died 1884 age 44 yrs.
wife of Gilbert Wilber

Nellie H. Rouse died 1878 age 2 mon.
daughter of J.R. & M.S. Rouse

Orson W. Devlin
died 1885 age 27 yrs.

Edward Devlin 1854-1925
his wife Nancy Woodard 1855-1918

Harold C. West 1910-1932

Gertrude Haskell
wife of William Shepard

H.C. Haskell 1849-1934
his wife Elzina Kennison 1851-1917

James Sutherland 1857-1918
his wife Catherine Budge 1856-1901

Richard Booth 1834-1918
his wife Mary Hayes 1839-1920
Cecil D. Booth 1887-1910
accidentally killed

Cornelia A. George wife of John Gibbs
died 1883 age 41
?____ of John Gibbs died 1889 age 17

Edward Gibbs 1864-1955
his wife Ester Susan Powers
1863-1920

Hannah Moss wife of E. Fessenden
died 1865- age 1 yr.

Ebenezeh Fessenden died 1856

William O. Fessenden
died 1887 age 73

Sarah Tibbits wife of William O.
Fessenden died 1876 age 64

Alonzo Couette died 1860 age 22

Almon J. Drew died 1865 age 27

Isabela child of J.E. & E.R. Booth
died 1922 age 1 day

Willis Davis 1857-1941

William J. Hay died 1901 age 57
his wife Everissa Davis
died 1938 age 91

Edith Devlin wife of Otis Streeter
died 1902 age 23

Warren Woodard died 1881 age 67 yrs.

Malcolm H. Miles son of William & Catherine
Miles died 1888 age 5

William Miles his wife Catherine 1843-1906
Robert Miles 1878-1907
Duncan Miles 1872-1914

Charity L. Cummings wife of Wm. Cummings
died 1853 age 47 yrs.

William J. Cummings died 1895 age 71 yrs.

Roger White (?) (ing?) died 1876

Urania Wilson wife of Edward Powers
died 1904 age 63

Elizabeth Makinson wife of Edward Gibbs
1884-1943

Ethel May daughter of E.H. & E. Doe
died 1906 age 19 yrs.

Oscar E. Davis 1906-1965
his wife Annie May Miller _____

Kenneth S. Graves 1922-1953

Winniford daughter of ____ & Mary
Sargent died 1866 age 3 weeks

Samuel E. Eldridge son of G.S. & H.I.
died 1868 age 20 yrs.

Meral L. Eldridge dau. of G.S. & H.I.
died 1860 age 16 yrs.

G.S. Eldridge died 1855 age 42

Meral Bell dau. of G.S. & H.I.
Eldridge died 1843 age 14 months

Arthur Wiles 1871-1957
his wife Mable Taylor 1872-1961

Volney Brunton 1906-1963
Flossie Stone 1911-_____

Elvira M. Wright wife of Wm. Ezra Eastman died 1897 age 42

W. Ezra Eastman 1868-1920

Elvira Alice Urceline Eastman daughter 1897-1897

Lydia daughter of Moses and Margaret Wright died 1873 age 21

Gelan (?) son of Moses and Margaret Wright date (?)

Wilfred J. Wright 1921-1942

Luther S. Hayes 1862-1939
his wife Eromina A. Donaway 1864-1939

Henry E. Joyal 1844-1923
his wife Ruth A. Cutting 1850-1932

Daisie Joyal 1881-1962

Charles Demeges died 1875 age 26

Maggie Wright 1854-1932
wife of Charlie Demage

Joel Rollins died 1871 age 80 yrs.

Jonathan George 1801-1866
born in Coffstown N.H.

S.P. West 1840-1919

Eliza Wright died 1880 age 38
wife of Sands P. West

Infant son of S.P. & E. West
died 1880 age 1 day

Oliver A. West died 1913 age 38

Vera E. Wilson 1884-1954
wife of Oliver West & Geo Wright

Leroy Penn England son of George & Ely(?) died 1851 age 5 months

John Thomas Straveley 1862-1953
his wife Hannah Winter 1864-1946

Eliza U. Blinn 1859-1906
mother of Laura A. Kenneth

Luke E. Fessenden 1857-1943
his wife Lucia Beard Kemp 1879-1964
Eben Fessenden 1817-1887
his wife Charlotte M. Tibbits 1834-1901
Marcus George Fessenden 1856-1860
son of E. & C. Fessenden

L. Eben Fessenden 1910-1955
his wife Marion E. Bell 1907-1963

Eben E. Fessenden died 1887 age 69

Frank Wright 1932-1955

Sydney Griffiths 1892-_____
his wife Mary Ellen Smith 1892-1965

Joy Galer Poirier 1902 - _____

Robert Lattimer a native of Ireland age 85 about 1875 (?)

Hubert DeSolla 1878-1960
his wife Daisy V. W right 1883-1958
their daughter Mary 1907-1939

Hannah Robinson died 1877 age 87
wife of Sylvester Sweet

Sylvester Sweet died 1887 age 89

Schuyler Woodard 1871-1939
his wife Lillia Davis 1877-1958

Our Baby son of Alison & Martha Bowen
died 1869

Henry Arthur Naylor 1891-1965

Arthur Brunton 1897-1966
Ralph Brunton 1912- ____

Homer I. Brunton 1871-1953
Margarite L. Armstrong 1870-1933

Albert Williamson Sargeant
died 1962 age 64

Anna L. Sinotte 1912-1962

Simeon H. Graves 1899-____
his wife Alice Straveley 1896-1967
their son Kenneth 1932-1932

Edith May Kenison died 1890 age 3
daughter of Lilion & ? K.

Burt F. Rhicard 1883-1964
Miles G. Rhicard 1908-____
his wife Hazel N. Booth 1907-____

Henry Booth 1861-1925
his wife Sarah J. Aseltine
1866-1938
their children Gladys M. 1894-1894
& R. Scoot Booth 1892-1914

George W. Smith 1821-1893
his wife Lephe E. Collins 1826-1893

Garnet A. Graves 1898-1964
his wife Hazel I. Banks 1903- ____

Floyd Graves 1892-1952
his wives Hazel Golden 1902-1932
Gladys Gray 1904-____

Jed P. Clark Jr. died 1895 age 18
son of Jed P. & Lettie A. Clark

Jed P. Clark died 1884 age 51

Ransom Graves 1857-1940
his wife Hattie Williams 1864-1946

Philip A. Baird 1878-1950
Elizabeth T. Carter 1882-1951

Victorine Violley Spears dau. of
James L. & Emily Spears died
1878 age 22

Sarah Stickney 1835-1883
wife of George Pickering

William W. Pickering died 1879
age 17 son of G.W. & Sarah

Edson S. Davis 1863-1942
his wife Catherine George 1872-1957
their daughter Gertrude 1910-1912

Norris Woodard 1842-1931
his wife Lucy A. Wright 1841-1916
Henry Woodard 1843-1920
Carrie Anne Woodard only child of
Norris & Lucy W. died 1900 age 24
Cyntha daughter of Norris & Lucy W.
died 1871 age 1 month

James Wright died 1922 age 84
his wife Huldah Davis died 1922 age 78
Moses Wright died 1902 age 87
his wife Margaret Williams died 1897 age 80

Clarence Howard Wright son of
Orlando & Sydna Wright died 1904 age 1

Leonard Charles Ross 1888-____
his wife Martha Banks 1890-1963

Albert H. Banks 1863-1950
his wife Annie Medlock 1863-1933

Ursula A. Johnson died 1887 age 67
wife of H. Grove Wright
H. Grove Wright died 1888 age 72

George Wright died 1949
Lettie Wright died 1913 age 66
wife of George A. Wright

Wayne Wright 1949-1960
son of Laura & Howard Wright

Ernest Seymour 1920-____
his wife Mary Wright 1916-1951

Frank Galer 1861-1935
his wife Lillie Wright 1873-1957

Evelyn Gaylor born 1893-____

Reginald D. Gaylor 1907-1951
Vivian Olive Gaylor 1915-1949

Ruth J. Eastman 1833-1919
wife of John Blinn
John S. Blinn 1824-1895

William H. Davis 1891-____
his wife Lena G. Hills 1898-____
their daughter Edith May 1917-1917

The totals of the foregoing data on the Fulford Cemetery are:

Stones --- 177
Persons -- 232

The following is a compilation of all the family names appearing in the cemetery:

Armstrong
Aseltine

Baird
Banks
Bell
Blinn
Booth
Bowen
Bradley
Brewer
Brunton
Budge

Carter
Clark
Collins
Cook
Corey
Couette
Cummings
Cutting

Davis
Demeges
DeSolla
Doe
Donaway
Drew

Eastman
Eldridge
Emrick
England

Fessenden

Galer
Gaylor
George
Gibbs
Golden
Graves
Gray
Greenwood
Griffiths

Haskell
Hay
Hayes
Hills

Johnson
Joyal

Kemp
Kenneth
Kennison

Laflour
Lampman
Lasoir
Lattimer
Lewis

Makinson
Marston
Mason
Medlock
Miles
Miller
Moss

Naylor

Peasley
Pickering
Poirier
Powers

Rhicard
Robinson
Rollins
Ross
Rouse
Ruiter

Salsbury
Sargent
Seward
Seymour
Shepherd
Sherwood
Sinotte
Smith
Spears
Stone
Straveley
Streeter
Sutherland
Sweet

Taylor
Thomas
Tibbits

West
White (ing?)
Wiles
Williams
Wilson
Winter
Woodard
Wright

APPENDIX E

Deeds of Transferal for parts of Lot 27 in the 7th Range of Brome Township between 1866 and 1880.
(as contained in Index to Estate Vol. 2 at the Knowlton Registry Office)

	Register	Volume	Page	Deed no.
Oscar George to the Trust Co. of U.C.	B	8	667	5023
Oscar George to John Gibbs	"	9	185	5208
John Gibbs to Benjamin Gibbs	"	9	209	5229
Benjamin Gibbs to Francis England	"	9	210	5230
George England et. al. to Francis England	"	9	324	5338
Francis England to Philo & Geo. England	"	10	213	5807
Oscar George to Francis England	"	10	700	6263
Hiram Foster to Ishmael Hurlburt	"	11	91	6354
Ishmael Hurlburt to Hiram Foster	"	11	92	6355
Lemon Orcutt to Robert E. Phelps	"	11	170	6426
John Lang to Henry Lang	"	11	285	6510
Ishmael Hurlburt to Reuben Hurlburt	"	12	17	6877
Hiram Foster to Curtis Faber	"	12	216	7023
John Lang to Orin R. Foss	"	12	507	7244
Louis Bouchard to Nelson Hurlburt	"	13	483	7827
Nelson Hurlburt to Louis Bouchard	"	13	484	7828
William Fessenden to Robert Haughton	"	15	458	9043
Curtis Faber to Francis England	"	15	566	9138
Geo. & Philo England to Francis England	"	15	569	9141
Hiram Foster to John Lang	"	15	605	9172
James G. Booth to School Comm. Brome	"	16	131	9351
Alfred Hurlburt to George Hurlburt	"	16	261	9499
George Hurlburt to William Regan	"	16	371	9617
Ellen Phelps to Robert Phelps	"	16	402	9655
R.E. Phelps et. al. to Francis England	"	16	470	9740
Orin Foss to Henry Lang	"	16	478	9792
Benjamin Gibbs to Francis England et. al.	"	17	276	10146
John Gibbs to Hiram Foster	"	17	390	10223
Nelson Hurlburt to Hiram Foster	"	18	272	10678
John Gibbs to Samuel and Harlow Davis	"	18	394	10770
William Regan to Hiram Foster	"	18	616	10941
Nelson Hurlburt to John D. Graves	"	18	152	11194
George England to Francis & Philo England	"	20	207	11937
Francis & Philo England to Nazaire Bessette	"	20	354	12069
John D. Graves to Eli Ruiter	"	20	564	12300
John Ashton to Henry & W.H. Lang	N	1	98	140
Francis, Geo. & Philo England to L. Bouchard	B	21	441	12901
Samuel Davis to Harlow Davis	"	21	652	13090
Harlow Davis to Louis Bouchard	"	21	653	13091
Louis Bouchard to Samuel Davis	"	21	654	13092
Louis Bouchard to Eastern Townships Bank	"	23	67	13718
Harlow Davis to James Hayes	"	23	187	13794
Robert Phelps to Wm. McLaughlin	"	23	188	13795
Henry Lang to James Hayes	"	23	683	14149
Eli Ruiter to Joshua Rowell	"	23	175	14328
Louis Bouchard to Philo & Fr. England	"	24	573	14654

Wm. Regan to Frederick T. England	B	25	23	14824
Frederick England to Hiram Foster	"	25	25	14825
Henry Lang to Sarah Knowlton	"	25	356	15037
Francis & Philo England to Buckley Shaw	"	27	72	16043
Fred. T. England to William P. England	"	27	136	16100
Francis & Philo England to Stephen & Isaiah Sweet	"	27	159	16121
Francis & Philo England to Isaiah Sweet	"	27	171	16133
Louis Bouchard to John Williams	"	28	394	16924
Louis Bouchard to Adolphe Bourgeois	"	28	415	16941
Isaiah Sweet to Stephen S. Sweet	"	29	5	17180
Nazaire Bessette to Eli Ruiter	"	30	207	17979
Eli Ruiter to John Seward	"	30	209	17980
Stephen S. Sweet to Merrill Davis	"	30	229	17995
Stephen S. Sweet to William P. England	"	30	230	17996
Joshua Rowell to Francis England	"	30	335	18084
Isaiah Sweet to Francis & Philo England	"	30	611	18323
Francis and Philo England to Henry Lang	"	30	612	18824
Robert E. Phelps to John Sargent	"	32	79	19101
Eli Ruiter to Oscar George	"	33	66	19674
Buckley Shaw to John Cassils	"	33	147	19715
Henry Lang to Elijah Davis	"	33	221	19769
Francis & Philo England to Nazaire Bessette	"	33	416	19901
Henry Lang to Elijah Davis	N	1	189	279
Fr. & Philo England to Jean Bte. Bessette	B	33	557	20012
Elijah Davis to Louis Bouchard	"	34	629	20667
Henry Lang to Sarah Knowlton	"	35	168	20909
Stephen Sweet to Stella R. Orcutt	"	35	222	20960

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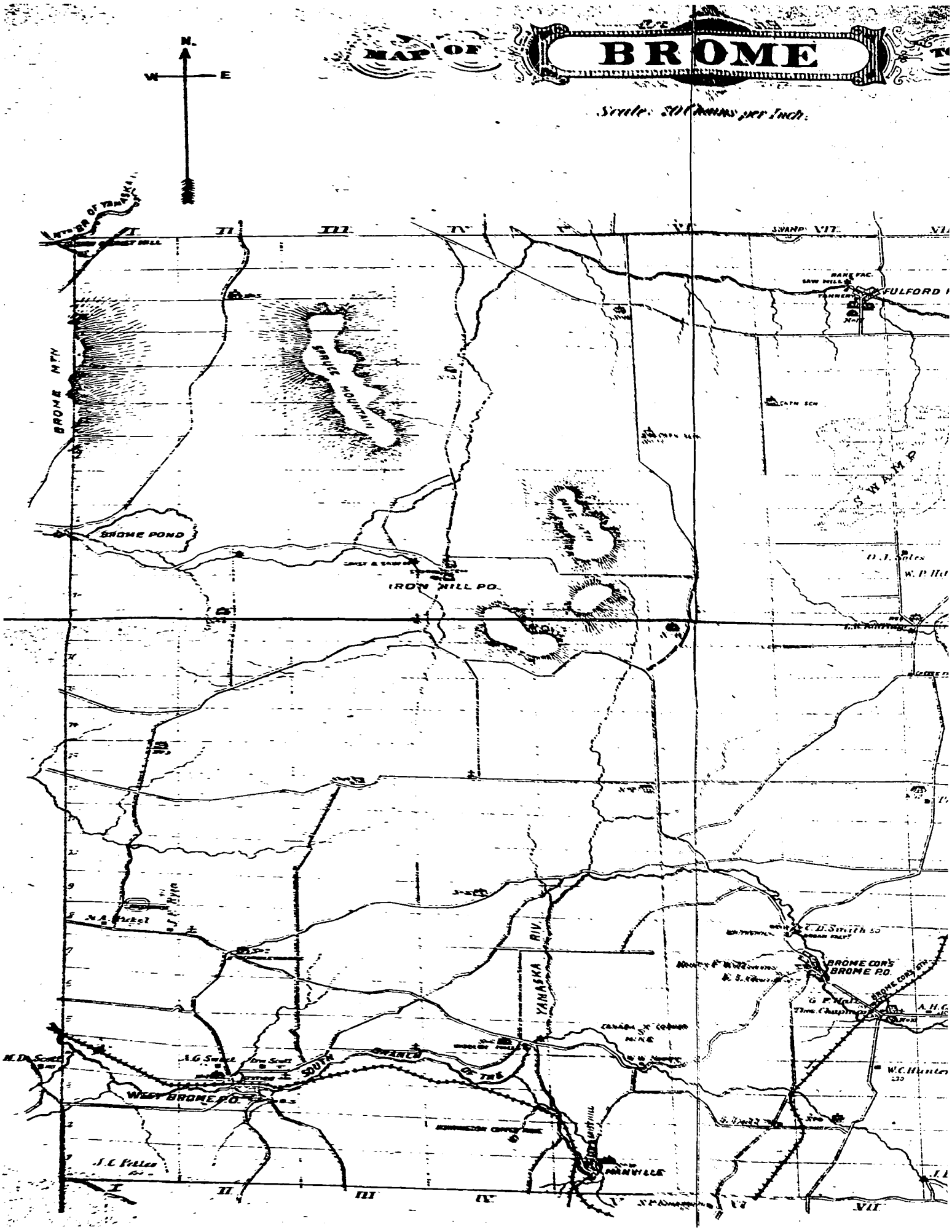
MAP OF
BROME
Scale: 500 Rods per Inch.
N.
W
E
BROME MTN.
SPRUCE MOUNTAIN
BROME POND
IRON HILL P.O.
SWAMP
FULFORD
YAMASKA RIV.
BROME COR'S
BROME P.O.
WEST BROME P.O.
SOUTH BRANCH OF THE
ABERVILLE
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII

BROME TOWNSHIP

Scale: 500 Rods per Inch.