

IRISH LIFE IN RURAL QUEBEC

A History of Frampton

by

PATRICK M. REDMOND

Contents

Introduction

Settlement and self-sufficiency in the economy

External economic relations

Social life in the nineteenth century

The growth of a dairying economy

Social life in the present century

Conclusion

Bibliography

Appendices

Introduction

Few Irish live in Frampton now and the township resembles countless others in rural Quebec. Save for the graveyards. Their tombstones recall a past built and sustained by Irish families - the O'Neills, Doyles, Fitzgeralds, Redmonds, Kellys and many others - and left to succeeding waves of immigrants.

The few remaining and others who once lived there have told me much of its past. in recounting this, I have concentrated on the history of the Irish in the township, as it is their past of which I have been told most.

Hopefully, other groups who have shared Frampton may sense something of their past from this essay.

Settlement and Self Sufficiency in the Economy

Frampton township lies some sixty miles southeast of Quebec City, bordering the sides of the Etchemin River, as shown on map 1. Topographically, the township is a region of high lands, cut here and there by the valleys of numerous rivers and streams. Individual ridges rise to over 2000 feet.

Natural vegetation varies from grassland to forest. The latter predominated in the early nineteenth century when the first settlers arrived. The trees in them were first growth being, according to informants, too large for a man to put his arms round. Of the numerous hard and soft wood varieties, the sugar maple was perhaps the most valuable to the economy. After many years of settlement and clearing of land, woods remained only in some hills and more isolated valleys.

Soil types vary. Fontaine writes that much of the area contains sandy and silty soils, interspersed with innumerable stones of various sizes. (1) Richer black soils are found in some areas, these including some valleys. An extensive network of streams cover the land and provide a plentiful supply of water the year round.

The townships climate is a highly variable one, with hot summers and cold, harsh winters. Temperatures range from 90 to -25 degrees Fahrenheit during the year. Heavy snow falls during the winter. Frosts precede and follow winter, beginning around October and ending around April. In all, the environmental conditions make the region a challenging, though reasonably favourable one for those prepared to live in it.

The first to be so, entered shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century. The British conquest of French Canada in 1760 set the stage for the populating of the township. It did this, firstly, by removing the barriers to settlement south of the St. Lawrence. There was no longer any need to fear being too close to the enemies to the south. (2) These now controlled.

Secondly, the British changed land policies. They opened up new lands to settlement, under common socrage, rather than seigneurial, law. These lands were incorporated as townships, each of 40,000 acres. (3) They were allocated to loyal servants, such as soldiers and civil servants. Initially, land was ceded to individuals. Then, when this was found to encourage speculation to no useful end, it was replaced by cession to associations, each member of which received 1,200 acres of land. (4) According to Chapais, associates elected an agent who surveyed the township, opened roads to and through it, erected mills within it and encouraged settlement of it. (5)

Finally, British conquest encouraged new immigration to French Canada. Most of this came from Great Britain and Ireland. The immigrants were drawn by the comparable political authority, hopes for a better economic system and desire for a new social order.

Frampton was ceded to an association whose principal members comprised Gilbert and William Henderson, Pierre-Edouard Desbarats, Judge Pyke, James Irvine, William Berczy, William Simms, Colonel Vassel, Colonel Armstrong, Colonel Jacques Voyer and Messrs Hemisson, Holmes, McCarthy and Tough. (6) Some of these, and other less important members, were soldiers who had been demobilized. Archdeacon Mountain wrote, in 1831, that almost all the Protestant heads of families in Frampton were commuted pensioners from the army and one very decent man among them had left an arm behind him at the siege of Badajos". (7) Some were not willing to remain in this new land and sold their allocations to Colonel Gilbert Henderson. (8)

Three members of the association dominated it and, as a result, the formative years of Frampton's history. These three were Pierre-Edouard Desbarats and William and Gilbert

Henderson. Enright gives brief biographies of the three. (9)

Desbarats, born in 1765, was an important figure in the Quebec society of his time. Among posts he held were those of Lieutenant Colonel in the army, Justice of the Peace and Assistant-Registrar of the Legislative Council. He died in Quebec City in 1828 and was buried in Frampton.

William Henderson was born in 1783 in Papa Stour in the Shetland Islands. He came to Quebec in 1799 and there served in the army. Among his accomplishments in later years was the formation, with others, of the first fire insurance company in Canada. He lived to the ripe age of one hundred and was buried in Frampton. His brother, William, born three years after him, served also as a soldier in Quebec. Enright notes that he played a brilliant role in the war of 1812 as a Colonel in the 3rd Regiment. He died in 1876 and is buried in St.Malachie.

In time, Desbarats came to own much of the land on the west side of the Etchemin River, while the Henderson brothers acquired most of that on the eastern side.

Among the few other major landowners was Colonel Jacques Voyer, who owned what later became the second range in the western side. The association named the township Frampton. According to some, William Henderson chose the name to honour a writer, Mary Frampton, who enjoyed a literary reputation in England in the 1820s and whom he admired. (10) Magnan thought it was named after one of at least four villages in England having this name. (11) In later years, as the population of the township increased and numerous parishes were established within its boundaries, the name Frampton became restricted to the parish of St.Edward (12), in the western part of the township. (13) The eastern half then became known as St.Malachie because, writes Magnan, its early settlers came from Armagh, where that saint is greatly venerated. (14)

Various rivers and streams in the township were named after early settlers. Among those to be commemorated this way were Hemisson, Pyke, Henderson, Desbarats and Tough. (15) Desbarats and the Hendersons, unlike owners of other concessions in the colony, were interested in fostering settlement.

Desbarats initially encouraged French Canadian settlement of the township. However, French farmers, too accustomed to the seigneurial system, did not wish to change (16), so did not come. The three then encouraged Irish immigration to supplement existing English and Scottish settlement. (17)

Irish immigration to Frampton began in 1806 reaching a peak in the early 1830s. The Irish had left their homeland for various reasons. The majority sought to escape the poverty and starvation dominant there. Much has been written of the basis to this poverty: the harsh and cruel land laws, which took so heavy a burden in taxation, that Irish peasants were left without sufficient food to live. Godkin commented on the extent of this in Ulster:

"the tenant hardly ever has more than one-third of the profits he makes from his farm for his share, and too often but a fourth, or, perhaps, a fifth part, as the tenants share is charged with the tithe... A great portion of them (Irish agricultural workers) is, it is said, insufficiently provided with the commonest necessities. Their habitations are wretched hovels, several of a family sleep together on straw, or upon the bare ground, sometimes with a blanket, sometimes without even so much to cover them; their food consists of dry potatoes, and with these they are at times so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal in the day."(18)

Rationalization of land in the early nineteenth century, after the Act of Union, led to the amalgamation of small plots and forced many from the land. Then came the horrors of the potato famine, when the only food the majority of Irish lived on failed to grow. The failures caused recurring starvation and famine.

Poverty, loss of land and famines forced generation after generation to leave for countries which promised more: Australia, the United States the Canadian colonies. Assisted passages brought many to Quebec.

Despite the fact that most of the Irish in North America arrived during the years of the famines, virtually all of those who settled ultimately in Frampton reached Quebec before the great famines of the 1840s.

Some left to escape tyranny and persecution. Kirouac describes one such migrant, Cornelius Lyons. This man from Limerick, tired of oppressive seigneurial rents, one day refused to pay them. The landlord sent servants to confiscate his animals. He and a cousin took back the animals. When called to an inquest to explain his actions, he fled to refuge in the north of Ireland. From there, he went to France where he joined Napoleon's army. He remained in it for five years, fighting in many battles, including Waterloo. After these campaigns, he returned to Ireland, only to find a price on his head. He met his family secretly, then left for Canada with those of good health. He settled in St. Malachie in 1823. (19)

Another to do the same was Martin Murphy Sr. Charles R. Roy wrote that "crop failures, together with the hostile and unenlightened English rule, did not break the will of this pathfinder... (He) took advantage of an opportunity to migrate to Quebec", where the English were pushing settlement. (20)

Later immigration, mainly of French Canadians, was due to various reasons. These included overpopulation and poverty in other, longer-settled regions of Quebec. (21)

The course of immigration is shown in statistics on the population of Frampton available from regular national censuses and from parish reports. This can now be noted.

The population grew quickly till the mid-nineteenth century, then slowly afterwards. During the early decades of growth, virtually all settlers were English, Scottish and Irish. The former two were in the majority during the first decade or two. Then the Irish came to predominate. By 1840, there were approximately three Irish families for every English and Scottish one, by 1860, five. This proportion continued till the early twentieth century, when Irish emigration lessened their relative predominance. After 1840, French Canadians began immigrating into the township. By 1870, they were approximately equal in number to the English and Irish settlers. By the turn of the present century, the French comprised two-thirds of the population. In later decades, their majority increased still further as steady Irish emigration reduced their numbers. Detailed population statistics are given in Appendix 1.

During the early decades of settlement, most immigrants set out for Frampton from Quebec City. In later decades, most came from neighbouring parishes, a small number from more distant towns.

The first settlers arrived in Frampton with few possessions. These included goods brought from the homeland, as well as those purchased in Quebec. Among the former were candle-makers and shoe forms for the men and spinning wheels for the women. Mary Morin showed the writer some of the imported goods she possessed. Among these was a spinning wheel. Its wheel is smaller than Quebec-made ones. (22)

Among goods bought in Quebec were durable goods as well as food. Denis O'Leary recalled being told of a man who carried a stove on his back from Quebec to Frampton. (23)

Those who bought food seem to have bought small quantities. Kirouac wrote that the food comprised a little flour. (24)

When the settlers arrived in the township, either by following routes to parishes to the south or by traveling along the sides of the Etchemin River, they faced a hilly land, mostly covered with forests. They surveyed it carefully, looking for favourable places in which to settle. They sought to avoid swampy land and to settle on land with streams, to have water readily available. (25) Mike

Redmond recalled being told that his great-grandfather Andrew settled on the hills of the later fifth range, because he preferred that environment to the swampier valleys, such as that in which the village of Frampton presently sits. Some joked that he preferred it because he could then plant his potatoes and let them roll into the cellar when grown. (26)

Later settlement was more planned. Major roads were laid out, albeit initially only as tracks, and the land along these was divided into lots. The earliest settlers were inconvenienced sometimes by the road laying. Nellie Miller said that one road, later the fourth range road, passed through their property, dividing their house from the stream which supplied their water. (27)

The first division of lots recognized two hundred acre lots. There were about one hundred and seventy-five of these initially. Later these lots were further reduced, each being divided into two on average. As years went on, size varied still more, as some sold and others bought pieces of land or divided pieces of land up among sons.

Statistics in the Canadian censuses give some idea of the evolution of land ownership in the township.

Thus, by 1851, the land was divided up as follows:

size of farm	number of farms in acres
10 to 20	1
20 50	57
50 100	153
100 200	63
over 200	19 (28)

During the next four decades, the polarization of land ownership increased, with a slow, but steady growth of the number of small landowners and of those with holdings of above-average size. The following statistics show to what extent this took place:

size	number of farms		
	1871	1881	1891
0 to 10 acres	4	10	29
10 50	48	38	16
50 100	140	133	106
100 200	64	77	90
over 200	15	21	39 (29)

After this time, the tendency towards polarization was reduced by the demands made upon patterns of land ownership by a rising dairy industry. More is said about this below.

Land rights in Frampton township differed from those in neighbouring areas, such as St. Marie and St. Joseph, being of free and common socage rather than seigneurial tenure. (30)

Limited information was found on the price of land in the township in different years. Price of property depended on its state of repair and on buildings constructed or improvements made on it. Uncleared land cost four cents an acre in the 1820s. That was the price the Hendersons paid soldiers for land the latter did not want. (31) In 1868, uncleared land was selling for thirty cents an acre, according to the Report of the Commissioner for Crown Lands. (32) In 1901, that was still the price. (33)

Cleared land, with its additions, sold for considerably more. In 1831, land in another district went for twelve dollars an acre. (34) This price would have been somewhat higher than in Frampton, given the more isolated location of the latter.

The earliest available statistics on prices are for 1841. In that year, the Anglican pastor in

Frampton offered to sell his house and two hundred and thirty acres of land for four hundred and fifty pounds Sterling, approximately two thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars. (35) That averages out to almost ten dollars an acre. In 1844, Patrick O'Neill bought one hundred and four acres of land for thirty-seven pounds, ten shillings, approximately one hundred and eighty-seven dollars and fifty cents. (36) That amounted to around \$1.80 per acre. In 1861, John Coyle decided to emigrate to California and sold his one hundred and seventy-five acres for a thousand dollars. (37) In 1912, Tom Redmond sold one hundred acres for six hundred dollars. Apparently he waited ten years to sell it, for one hundred dollars down and five hundred over an extended period. Around 1915, John Redmond sold two hundred and thirty acres for twelve hundred dollars. (38)

Land prices appreciated steadily during the last sixty years and now sells for around two hundred dollars an acre as farmland, more if for summer use as resorts. In summary, land could vary considerably in price at any time, though the tendency was for a steady increase in price.

Not all settlers had sufficient funds to purchase land. These rented it. The biggest landlords were the Hendersons and Desbarats. Little information has been found on the numbers who rented over the years or the amounts they paid in rent.

The Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec contains some information on rents. The back of one-letter notes two rents paid to Desbarats in 1828. Matthew Reid paid seventeen and a half pounds of sugar, while Walter Fitzgerald paid for his father, James, twenty pounds of sugar, being for two years' rent. (39)

Taylor notes that rent in another district was two cents per acre, at some time in the nineteenth century. (40) This amount seems to have been asked in Frampton for many years. Fr. Humphrey recalled it being two or three cents per acre. (41)

In the early years of settlement, it seems to have been common for people to pay in kind, as in the example noted above. In addition to giving their produce, people gave labour. Fr. Humphrey had an uncle who worked for a few days each year on the Henderson estate in payment of his rent.

Payment was not always made promptly. Parishioners pointed this out to the Bishop when once resisting a priest's demand that they build a new church:

"For a number of years the inhabitants of Frampton have been visited by a number of afflictions ... (disease) among cattle, the wheat fly, frost and the potato blight, all which have tended to impoverish them, rendering them unable to pay the rent due for the land they hold, therefore they are not moreover in a position to build a new Church, as well as a residence for the Pastor, the more especially when these already exist". (42)

The practice of renting land declined as landlords sought to relinquish their holdings. The Desbarats family relinquished their land much earlier than did the Hendersons. One reason for this was the earlier death of the original landlord in the former family. Pierre-Edouard's successors did not live in the township and had few emotional ties to it. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the family had decided to sell their land in Frampton. They sold to those who had been renting from them. Their sale had its effect on the people, as a letter of 1858 from parishioners to the Bishop make clear:

"For a series of years we have held our lands without paying for them, in consequence of our poverty, our landlords having acted most lenient to us. Of late we have been forced to come to an agreement with them, which has placed us under great debts, many of us not being able to come to these arrangements are solely at their discretion. Moreover the greater part of us, having large helpless families at the present day, which place us in a very unfavourable position..."(43)

It seems families were threatened with eviction upon failure to pay monies required. (44)

Most seem to have settled the claims.

The Hendersons continued owning land into the present century. Kirouac, who wrote in 1909, saw the Henderson rent books. (45) Henry Redmond recalled Martin Kelly telling him of paying rent to an "English lord". (46)

All settlers eventually bought the land on which they settled. The dates and details of purchase seem to have been vague in some cases. One informant related that a friend recently had trouble selling his land because he possessed no official documents on it. He had to locate its official owner and obtain the rights. This owner was either a descendant of the Hendersons or one who had purchased from them. (47)

One of the first tasks of newly arrived settlers was building a shelter. Most early shelters were fairly rudimentary affairs. Kirouac wrote that the houses were only "huts or cabins of round wood in the middle of the forest". (48)

Archdeacon Mountain has given us some excellent descriptions of these early houses. In a journey through Frampton in 1830-31, he noted that one settler "had built his house not upon, but against a rock, a huge mass of stone forming one end of his dwelling, against which he makes his fire, which, when the whole face of the mass is heated, protects him against the most intense cold". (49)

He described the more conventional house of Mr. Free in that same visit:

"(Free's house) consisted of two rooms, one of which was nearly twenty feet square, with a stove in the middle, a bed in one corner, a few benches and stools of a sufficiently rough construction, a table, and a dresser with shelves upon, in which the little store of crockery, spoons, etc., was arranged with great neatness and precision, and everything was scrupulously clean. The inner walls consisted of logs laid longitudinally, squared on the sides, but with the bark remaining on the edges, and the intervals were stuffed with twisted rolls of straw... (the second room was) a kind of lumber-place, not fit to be occupied in the severity of the winter". (50)

In his report of a second visit, of 1837, he described the first shanty, then later, better-built, house of Rev. Knight:

"The walls of the principal room were formed of upright trunks of trees, smoothed off in front, but with the left bark adhering to them at the edge. The floor was composed of rough boards laid loosely together, and the ceiling was in the same unfinished condition ... close by the side of it is a hovel in the form of a shed, of which the elevation at the highest side of it is seven feet and a half, built of round logs with the bark on, with the rough edges projecting where they cross each other at the corners. Here the pastor dwelt before the erection of his present house."(51)

Many of the settlers replaced their early shelters with better houses, built of wood or stone, when they had the time, money and inclination.

The 1851 census noted that there were 329 families living in 303 houses of which 87 were shanties, 202 log houses, 12 frame houses and 2 stone houses. (52) The known stone houses were those of the Hendersons in St. Malachie and the Hudson family on the fourth range in St. Edward. The latter house still stands, presently serving as an old folks' home.

By 1891, no families lived in shanties, all having simple log houses at worst. The census of that year reported that 286 families lived in 277 dwellings of which 276 were wood and 1 stone. Of the wood house 240 had one story, 36 had two stories and 1 had three stories. They had the following numbers of rooms:

22 houses had 1 room

41	2 rooms
52	3
58	4
55	5

41 6 to 10
 8 over 11 (53)

A number of the early houses were built with barns attached to them. This was convenient in winter, sparing the need to venture into the cold to visit the barn. This practice declined towards the end of the century as people required larger barns and had more animals, so preferred apart locations. Most of the barns connected to houses have long been taken down, though one can still see the odd connected house and barn.

In the early decades of settlement, people sought to be as self-sufficient as possible, given their isolation and relative poverty. Self-sufficiency extended to most sectors of economic activity. People tried to meet most, if not all, of their food requirements and to produce a small surplus for uses discussed below. They did this through a process that ultimately cleared most of their lands. Each year they cleared a small area of land of its trees, shrubs and rocks, then turned the soil and planted their gardens. These newly cleared plots were called bush land. (54) Fr. Humphrey thought that about one new acre was cleared a year. (55) The size of the gardens did not increase as fast as did annual clearings. Rather, the soil on which the food was grown changed.

The censuses give a good idea of the gradual clearing of the land:

	1851	1871	1891
acres occupied	32,890	30,388	36,786
total improved -		12,546	18,544
under crops	2,485	8,174	11,537
in pasture	6,853	4,332	6,969
gardens and orchards	6	40	38
wood and wild land		23,546 -	18,242 (56)

Very few of the farms have ever been fully improved, a small acreage being deliberately preserved as woodland.

For many years the diet of the majority was a simple one. People ate "stirabout", a porridge made of oat flour (57), and potatoes (58).

This simple diet is confirmed by a list of foods cultivated given in the 1831 census. It noted that production comprised:

28,745 bushels of potatoes
 6,672 " oats
 153 " barley
 80 " peas
 4 " buckwheat (59)

In later years buckwheat became a more important component of the diet. Various informants recall it and potatoes being the staple fare. (60) The change may have been due to French Canadian influence. Fr. Humphrey was of the opinion they preferred buckwheat to oats. (61)

Such a diet was not highly nourishing. The parish priest, Fr. Robson, pointed this out to the Bishop in 1832, when appealing for exemption from fasting for the villagers. He wrote that the Catholics:

"only have for their food bread made of oat flour and potatoes and water, they have neither milk nor butter, nor fish, nor anything else which they should have, but one should note that these good faithful people have long been accustomed to this diet". (62)

There were various results of such a diet. Denis O'Leary recalled that weakness was one. (63) Another was indigestion. Dr. Dunn complained of this in 1850 when disparaging the "coarse homely bread" he faced for supper, a meal which "the weakness of his stomach forbid him oftentimes to touch". (64)

Not all settlers lived at this standard in the 1830s. A few, more fortunate than others, could afford a more balanced diet. For example, some had meat to eat. This is suggested by statistics on the possession of animals in the censuses. One of 1823, which noted that there were two cows, seventeen calves and thirty-four pigs in St. Malachie, attests to the limited use of meat in the early years of settlement. (65)

The diet improved in later years. People grew a greater variety of vegetables. Among these were peas, turnips, beets, corn and tomatoes. Details on the increased production of food are given in Appendix 5 which notes quantities of foods produced in select years. In addition, meat became a regular component of the diet. Pig is recalled as having been quite popular. Made into salt pork, it became a staple food for many families. (66) Appendix 6, which identifies animals owned in select years, shows sheep and cows to have also been popular. However, these do not seem to have been eaten as regularly, apparently due to their economic importance, discussed below. Cows added milk, and its byproducts, butter and cheese, to the diet.

Wild animals do not seem to have been an important foodstuff. Denis O'Leary thought the main reason for this was a shortage of guns. (67) He added that people sometimes killed porcupines with sticks. Mike Redmond said people also snared rabbits. (68) Some settlers did have guns, at least towards the end of the century. John Maher said that his father owned flintlocks. (69) John Redmond also owned guns. Mike Redmond said that those who owned guns bought powder, but made their own balls. (70)

Some people fished, at least in the later part of the century, Their apparent failure to do so earlier, at least according to the Robson report, cited above, may have been due to lack of familiarity with fish as a component of the diet. It may also have been due to lack of equipment. Denis O'Leary thought that people did not fish because they did not possess hooks. (71) Mike Redmond said fishing was popular when he was young. He himself caught thirty-two dozen one day. (72)

There was some collecting of wild foods. These comprised fruits, such as apples, and berries, such as strawberries, raspberries, black currants and blueberries.

Foods were preserved by various means. Vegetables such as potatoes, carrots and beets were buried in pits. These were dug below the frost line so the food wouldn't freeze during the winter. When dug up in the spring, they were very fresh. (73) Some fruits and other vegetables were preserved by being cooked and bottled. Little preservation is likely to have been done in the early years due to a shortage of sugar. However, it eventually became very common. Meat was salted, as we have noted above.

Sugar was obtained through the tapping of the sugar maple trees that grew on the farms. Initially many did not tap trees. Some lacked a satisfactory number of trees. Others lacked the equipment. This comprised pails, wooden troughs, kettles and the like. Some may have lacked the labour to tap trees, pull sleighs and boil sap. Some who could not tap themselves, employed others to do it for them. Nellie Miller said her grandfather hired French neighbours to tap for him. They kept half of the sugar they produced. (74)

Irish, Scottish and English settlers learned the art of tapping trees from their French neighbours, who earlier had learned it from the Indians. The earliest reference to tapping in Frampton is given by Kirouac, who states that French neighbours of Gilbert Henderson, living in Lonques Point and St. Jean, rented from him acres of maple sugar trees, to tap them in the spring. (75)

Tapping involved boring a hole in a inserting a small wooden trough therein. along this then fell to a larger trough, tapping involved boring a hole in a tree, then inserting a small wooden trough therein. Sap running along this then fell to a larger trough, lying below on the ground. The sap was collected from this then boiled in a large kettle.

Afterwards it was poured into barrels, then dragged back to the farms by men or animals. (76) The syrup provided farmers with their sugar. Any surplus was sold to neighbours who did not produce themselves, or exported to Quebec City or Levis. Some was used locally, to pay in kind, as we have seen above.

A number of people made their own liquor. This included beer and a variety of stronger substances, generally of a gin texture. A common name for the stronger drink was "begas". (77) The equipment required for beer making was simple. There were pots, these made first of clay, then of metal. That for making liquor was more complicated, including tubes as well as pots. The latter gathered and drew steam through cold water to condense it.

Most people made liquor and beer for home consumption only. A few sold it. Annual reports of the parish usually noted a small number of unlicensed sellers of drink. For example, there were six in 1853, three in 1868. (78)

Sellers of home made brew competed with those selling official commercially produced liquor. The number of official vendors in Frampton varied each year from two to six. Changes in number were influenced by, among things, the intensity of pressure exercised on Catholic owners by priests to close down. Further comments are made on this below.

Grains were among the few foods processed locally. They were ground at the gristmills. These were established initially by the two main landowners, Desbarats and George Henderson, and an Irish miller, James Kennedy. (79) Settlers were required to use their landlords' mills rather than build ones themselves. (80) Such use continued for much of the century. The charges are likely to have been similar to those elsewhere. In one neighbouring area, people paid one fourteenth of the amount ground. (81)

People made various household products from food. One was soap. To make this, old bones, fat, lye and water were cooked together in a large kettle. After cooking, soap was on the top, soft soap in the middle and water on the bottom. (82) They also made candles, of tallow, or cowls grease, found on the inside of cows. (83)

People cooked and heated their homes with wood they cut on their farms. Most family cutting was done in the fall and winter, after harvesting and before planting.

The settlers were also largely self-sufficient in supplying their shelter and other building requirements. Wood was by far the most important raw material used in construction. Farmers cut trees themselves then either took the logs to saw mills to have them cut (84) or cut them themselves. When doing their own cutting, they used wide flat axes to shape and long, thin ones to splice. They were finely cut reflecting commendable levels of craftsmanship among the settlers. Few buildings made of hand-cut lumber still stand. One of the last known to the writer, that of John Hennessey, was dismantled a few years ago, and its wood used to build two summer homes on the fourth range road.

Stone, when needed, was available locally. Few used it to make houses, other than as foundation. The cement used with stone was made locally, at least by some. Nellie Miller recalled her family producing limestone for cement. They built clay ovens, in which they placed limestones. These were then burnt over a continuous fire for a few days till becoming ashes. She remembered some disastrous burning sessions, when one of the men assigned to keep the fire going during the night fell asleep and allowed the fire to go out. (85) The making of lime may not have been common. Other informants did not recall making it. (86)

Labour needed for building houses and barns was readily available. Construction was relatively simple and standardized and many individuals were skilled in construction. Moreover, people gave their labour to each other.

All were short of money and knew they could rely on help when needed. Religion and language did not determine to whom labour was given. Generally, proximity was important. Immediate neighbours assisted each other. The calling of labour was known as "holding a bee". When one was held, men came and did the construction, while women prepared food and drink.

In the early decades of settlement, most of the contents of houses were made by the settlers themselves. The exceptions were goods such as cutlery and plates. The types of homemade furniture has already been noted briefly above and need not be mentioned again.

By mid-century, as economic life improved, people bought more. Few informants recalled much being homemade.

People made most of their own clothes. Most clothing was made of wool. People may have purchased wool in the early years when they lacked sheep. BY the 1850s there were many sheep in the township, and people could meet their own requirements. Some liked to have both white and black sheep, in order to have different coloured wool. (87) Some sheared the sheep, then took the wool to a mill to have it prepared. Others did all the processing themselves. This involved shearing, then carting, weaving and spinning. (88) Some settlers brought spinning wheels with them from the British Isles. Presumably others bought ones locally.

Women in most families were able to knit clothes. Older people still knit.

It is not clear how much weaving was done. It had been a widely practiced occupation in Ireland, but may not have continued as intensively in the new land due to a lack of machines. Denis O'Leary thought the Irish did not weave much. He said that a number brought wool to French neighbours to have them weave. Some did weave. Nellie Miller's mother had a weaving machine. Nellie also recalled that Mrs Duff weaved a lot. The latter made "frieze". After making it, she washed it, then sent it to St. Mary's to have it pressed into cloth. The cloth, when returned, was made into pants, dresses and other clothing. (89)

Weaving all but died out in recent decades, though is now undergoing a revival in Frampton.

Homemade clothes seem to have been worn by Most though for few were they the only type of clothing available.

Various informants were of the opinion that people made their working clothes but bought their "Sunday" clothes. (90) These clothes were English manufactured textiles, available in Quebec in large quantities and at cheap prices during the century. (91)

Woolen clothes are likely to have been uncomfortable: thick, warm and baggy. However, no one complained, at least as long as they knew little of alternatives. Denis O'Leary stated that the clothes were usually the wrong size, often twice as big as needed. Moreover, they were firm. He had a friend who would stand his trousers up on the ground at night. (92) Elizabeth Kelly said that people had few sets, so used the same clothes until they wore them out. (93) Mary Morin joked about one neighbour who wore his trousers on one side for most of the year, then turned them inside out and bragged about his "new clothes". She recalled the annual washing of, perhaps, heavy clothes. In the spring, a large number were brought to a local brook. They were then boiled in a large black kettle, then washed in the water, then boiled again. (94)

As reliance on imported clothing increased the numbers of sheep declined. One rarely sees them in Frampton nowadays. The decline in their value may have been a welcome one. It required a considerable outlay of labour to turn wool into clothing. Moreover, sheep could be troublesome. Denis O'Leary considered them such, so would never keep them. (95) Mary Morin commented that they ate a lot of good clover and were always breaking out of fenced-in areas. (96)

Some settlers made their own shoes. Mary Morin possesses foot moulds for a variety of shoe

styles and sizes and gave the writer a brief explanation of how shoes were made. Denis O'Leary recalled the family going to a French neighbour to buy shoes of moccasin design. (97) Many made shoes for everyday wear, and bought shoes for Sunday and special occasions. Nellie Miller recalled being told that when people of St. Malachie came to West Frampton to church, before the 1850s when they had their own, walked in bare feet till near the church, where they put on their good shoes. (98) Lucy O'Grady said this led to jokes about people who wore their shoes on their heads. (99)

Self-sufficiency extended beyond the family to the community. All cooperated in the construction and maintenance of facilities for common use. Thus they provided materials and labour when needed. The Catholic and Anglican chapels were built in 1825 and 1831 respectively through such cooperation. Indeed people insisted on their right to meet community needs this way. (100)

People also provided labour for the building and maintenance of roads. The first roads built to and through Frampton were royal roads. Settlers were required to maintain these or pay others to do so. (101) Most accepted this responsibility. They did the same for later roads, on the whole. One instance is known of refusal to cooperate. In 1859, one man refused to build a winter road on his land. People complained and a road officer summoned him to answer for his behaviour. He refused to come. A hearing was held anyway and he was fined \$5. and costs. He refused to pay. A distress warrant was then issued and two constables went to seize chattels and goods to that value. A neighbour warned the settler of their advent. He quickly armed himself with an axe, his wife with a cudgel, and told the constables "he would slay with an axe any one that would come nearer to his house". Letters then went to the Bishop asking for advice on further action. No further information was found on the outcome of the issue. (102)

The need to maintain roads led some people to show reluctance to have roads in their areas. Mike Redmond recalled families on the fifth range feuding for years over building a byroad to that range, some opposing it, others demanding it. (103)

The roads we are talking about were not of the highest quality. Nor were they comprehensive. Archdeacon Mountain found many parts of the township without roads in 1830, as he tells us in the following comment:

"A party of country people rode up on horseback, women sitting without pillions behind the men; and I found that it consisted of two couples who had come to be married, with their friends, from the almost inaccessible township of Cranbourne, from which they had been obliged to make an enormous circuit, their only outlet being by a difficult horse-path through the woods, to the road which runs through the French parishes along the margin of the Chaudiere River: - pursuing which road for something like twenty miles down the river, they strike back at St. Mary's, and have hence fourteen miles to travel before they reach their minister at Frampton. (104)

Where roads existed, they were often of poor quality. Fr. O'Grady wrote of them in 1833: "(Each house) is in the middle of thick woods, where it is almost impossible to penetrate, due to the bad state of the roads. The roads in these townships surpass any description. I really do not know if they should be called roads or rather paths, very badly marked out, many of which a horse never passed through or very seldom a man on foot."(105)

Stumps sticking out along them tripped horses and trapped wheels, branches alongside them lashed riders and the mud enveloping them after rains trapped wheels. Most roads remained mud paths throughout the nineteenth century. Nellie Miller remembers them well. Late in the century, they were improved through having gravel sprinkled on them. The gravel came from Springbrook gravel pit, a hill owned by the Hurleys. (106)

Work on the roads was done by hand at first. Then, when animals became available, people used scrapers, which they hitched to the animals, to keep roads in repair. (107)

External Economic Relations

The self-sufficiency developed in Frampton, like that in countless other small communities in nineteenth century North America was a fairly comprehensive one. However, it, like that elsewhere, was never fully independent of the outside world. Various goods and services had to be provided by specialists within and outside the community. These included land, types of food, such as salt and tea, some types of clothing, tools, animals and services, such as food processing, equipment manufacture and religious work.

Some of these goods and services could be paid for in kind. These included the use of the grist and saw mills and the upkeep of the clergy.

However, some providers of goods and services did not care for payment in kind. For example, some priests lamented the large quantities of potatoes and grain they received, in contrast to the small amount of much-needed cash.

Still others refused payment in kind. Such included those who sold imported goods and who provided medical, educational and some religious services. For these people had to obtain cash. As a result, the people of Frampton had to rely on the outside world to some extent. This reliance, moreover, increased as the economy of the township developed, and peoples' diets improved and they had more animals and better clothes and houses.

The development of reliance on the external world had its effects on the settlers. These were comparable to ones which developed among settlers on the South African frontier, as described by Neumark:

"The frontier farmer ... was dependent upon certain indispensable articles, such as guns, gunpowder, iron rods for the forge, salt, tea or coffee, some utensils, and some clothing for himself and his family. These articles could be obtained only from the outside world in exchange for frontier products, which had to be of high value in relation to their bulk. This is why the frontiersman's economy had to be a market-bound economy... Regarded purely as a means of procuring the indispensable articles from the trading centres, the "cash crop" or its expectation at the frontier of settlement was probably of decisive importance to any settler, however self-sufficient, and the important part played by such a "cash crop" in frontier expansion was all out of proportion to the value of "subsistence crops" of such a frontier economy. (108)

So also with Frampton. Its people needed cash and attached considerable importance to developing means of raising it. These ways can now be discussed.

One way of raising capital was through selling farm produce. In the early years of settlement, few foods were sold. There was little variety in types produced and people had little surplus. This is evident from contemporary quotes, noted above. In addition, people lacked means of transport, so had to carry their goods to market by foot.

Perhaps the first foods sold were potatoes and oats, these being the two main food crops. It is likely they were taken to market only a few times a year. Occasional jokes are told about walking to market. In one, a woman was returning to Frampton from Levis, carrying what she had bought. Enroute, she was offered a lift. She accepted and sat on the buggy but continued holding her bag because, she said, as the driver was kind enough to carry her, she could at least carry the bag.

Towards the middle of the century, a greater variety of farm produce was being sold. More and more people acquired animals and sold the foods these provided. The milk from cows was made into butter. The butter was prepared on individual farms, then stored in crocks or tubs before being taken to market. Butter became an important export for many years, as approximate statistics, given in Appendix 7, show. Frampton butter had a high reputation. Roy noted, at the

turn of the century, that it was an excellent, high quality butter. (109)

Small quantities of cheese were made from milk.

The cows themselves gradually became an important market product, their meat being sold salted or fresh. Pigs were also stocked, to be sold first, as salt pork, and then live.

Sheep were kept for the wool they provided. Some wool was sold. Ouellet refers to Irish settlers near the Chaudiere River who produced wool, which was "definitely superior to that of the same type ordinarily imported". (110)

With the export of butter and other animal products marketing became a much more regular activity, taking place intensively in the summer and fairly regularly in the winter. The increase in activity was made possible through improvements in transport facilities with the greater availability of horses and buggies. Some statistics on this availability are given in Appendix 8.

The families seem to have participated more. Where previously only one had gone, often the woman, now whole families went.

Other farm products to be sold included forest products, such as wood and maple sugar, Appendix 9, which notes production of forest products in select years, gives a rough idea of amounts exported. Both products became more important as transport developed, they being difficult and unprofitable to carry or little exploited before then.

The sale of farm products helped greatly to sustain families through enabling them to meet many financial obligations. However, the township was not the best located to supply urban markets and met competition from more favourably located areas. Moreover, its people were poor and often did not have much of a surplus for export. Generally, the majority failed to meet all their financial obligations through such sales.

As a result, people had to sell their only other great commodity - their labour. Its sale became one the most important mainstays of life in Frampton. Indeed, appreciating its importance is critical to understanding the economic history of Frampton. Besides providing capital, the selling of labour ultimately determined whether everyone became or remained a farmer, and where they settled in whatever occupation they undertook.

Most people initially retained the option of continuing to farm in Frampton by migrating only temporarily or seasonally. They planned to save money for long-term ends, such as marrying and buying farms and equipment, or short-term ends, such as buying clothes and food and partying. However, the rigors of temporary migration had to be justified whenever undertake Whenever a return to Frampton seemed less desirable than remaining in the outside area in which one worked then people did not return. Almost every individual within each generation considered his relation to the village and decided whether to stay or to leave.

Labour was oriented towards three major and a number of minor centres at different periods during the past two hundred years. The major ones, according to informants, and their periods were:

Quebec City/Levis 1806-c.1850

Maine/Vermont/New Hampshire 1840-1930

Quebec North Shore 1920s on

Minor destinations included the above at other periods, as well as the following, during the following dates, which are approximate:

Montreal/Three Rivers 1830-1960

Toronto 1830-1960

Boston 1830-1890

Pennsylvania and places west 1840-1890
Canadian West 1900-1930

The migration to Quebec City was the earliest and, for a while, the most important. One reason for this was its proximity, in an age when most traveling was done by foot or wagon. Another was its importance as a major demand centre for labour. This was appreciated by most settlers who, as immigrants, had stayed a while in the city working before moving on to Frampton. Moreover, many settlers had brought skills from Ireland, such as carpentry and masonry, which were useful in industries such as shipbuilding. That industry was a large and important one in Quebec until the middle of the nineteenth century (111), when more modern boats, constructed elsewhere, became more popular.

Quebec City was also popular because going there did not require one to miss the planting or harvesting seasons.

The decline of various industries in Quebec City lessened its desirability as a market for labour by the middle of the nineteenth century. (112) Moreover, competition for employment was increasing as poor French were leaving their lands in ever greater numbers.

To replace Quebec City, people turned to the neighbouring lands of the northeast United States. A variety of jobs were available there. Some worked on farms doing jobs such as haying. Henry Redmond's grandfather was one of these. (113) Others worked in the woods. Most migrants recall doing this type of work. Still others worked in factories.

The northeast states were popular because there were many jobs available. Moreover, wages may have been higher than in Quebec City. Moreover, the employment centres were not too far from Frampton. The closest centre, Jackman, Maine, was only eighty miles away. In the early years, people walked to these centres. Later, when the Americans built a railway to Jackman, people walked to there, then took the train. (114)

The length of time spent in these areas of employment varied. Some went there only for the fall or winter. Others worked there virtually year round, returning only for brief visits in the summer. (115)

The number of times people migrated also varied. Some made the journey year after year. Henry Redmond stated that his father, John, migrated for about thirty years before marrying (c.1859-1889). (116) A number went to the same places year after year. John Redmond apparently worked for the same foreman his grand uncle had worked for thirty-five years earlier. (117)

The majority of migrants were single men, though some married men traveled as well.

During the early decades of the twentieth century, new employment opportunities developed in Quebec and people once again redirected their migration. One important employer was the wood industry on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River. Among firms established there were the Spruce Falls Power and Paper, which supplied the New York Times, the Ontario Pulp and Paper, which supplied the Chicago Tribune and the New York Daily News, (118) and Price Brothers. (119)

The first Framptonians to visit this new employment area were Bill Magher and Bill Kelly. They became foreman at Ontario Pulp and Paper and Price Brothers respectively. Villagers were impressed by the money they made. One reportedly made \$3,000. in 1912. Accordingly, the villagers started going there to work.

Minor destinations were those to which small numbers went, without any apparent pattern. Those who went to cities found a variety of occupations in factories, hospitals and private homes. Those who went to rural areas worked on farms or in mines.

Movement to the cities went on throughout the years under consideration, particularly for young women. Quebec was popular during the nineteenth century, while Montreal became more popular in the present one. Men went to cities as well as to rural areas.

Few recalled much about work on the mines. Among those worked at were mines in Pennsylvania and Montana.

The odd migrant was killed while working at these. A tombstone in Frampton Catholic cemetery identifies one migrant who died in a mining accident in Butte, Montana in the mid-nineteenth century.

The work on farms is well remembered. The farms of the northeast United States were succeeded as points of emigration by those in Ontario and the Canadian West. That in Ontario continues on a small scale to this day, the destination now being the tobacco farms of southern Ontario.

Migration to the west went on for about thirty years. People traveled there by train in the autumn to assist in harvesting.

Temporary migration was generally profitable. Joseph Hennessey said it "gave people their start". (120) Everyone recalled at least one story of individuals making good use of the money they earned. For example, Mary Morin told of Benjamin Thomas, who returned from North Dakota in the 1870s with fine horses, a fur coat and money to marry. (121)

The odd migrant did not care for the work. Nellie Miller recalled being told by Mike Duff of how unpleasant work was in the west, where during harvesting, they lived in a shack and slept on the bare ground. (122)

Few statistics are available on the extent of temporary migration. Parish reports commented on permanent emigration, while national censuses either ignored the matter or had information of limited value on it. For example, the 1851 census notes that thirty male and twenty female members of family were away that year.

However, this seems a low figure, perhaps due to the time of the census taking. Contemporary sources, such as Dunn (123), and informants, suggest that between a third and a half of those unmarried between fifteen and forty were away at any one time. There were, in 1851, 254 people in this age range and it seems likely that more than fifty were absent that year.

Temporary migration often gave way to permanent migration. This evolution has been of tremendous significance to the history of Frampton. In the short term, it meant a steady loss of members of family or neighbours for all in the township. In the long run, it has transformed, at least a few times, the composition of the population, changing it from, first, a majority English farming one, to a majority Irish one, then a majority French one and, finally a majority French non-farming one.

People emigrated for various reasons. Most were economic in nature. The main ones were the harshness of life, the poverty and the lack of facilities in the hilly, isolated settlement. Complementing these, were other reasons which arose at particular times.

The first known major migration took place in 1840 when some forty families made the decision to leave Frampton and begin a long migration to the American south-west. (124) Among the reasons for this emigration was the economic depression of the 1830s, which weakened sales of farm produce and reduced work opportunities. Troubles were intensified by disease, which struck people and crops. (125) The paper *Le Canadien* gave some idea of the troubles, in its comments on Beauce County, a neighbour to Dorchester, in which Frampton was situated. It wrote:

"The roads have become impassible because of the flooding of the rivers and have reduced the farmers to the greatest misery. The least afflicted, that is, the wealthier farmers, are themselves? in difficult straits. They have done all in their power to help the others and save them from death by starvation, in selling or lending the small quantities of wheat or flour they were saving for themselves, in the hope of obtaining some shortly from Quebec. Our poor farmers are desolated, not only suffering from famine this year, but aware that they will have the same distress next year, and a good number in the two parishes are left without crops. Most have nothing to eat but a small amount of sugar dissolved in water. They are also finding that there is no way of avoiding famine other than by eating dead animals lying along the roads. Added to that, the scarlet fever has struck these poor families and imagine if you can the state of the poor inhabitants of Beauce."(125)

Frampton does not seem to have been as hard hit. No informants recalled being told of such hard times.

However, life was difficult enough to bring about a large emigration.

The economic depressions in the Canadian economy during the 1890s and 1930s helped foster emigration during these years.

Some individuals left because they tired of their hilly lands. One such movement was of several families who abandoned St.Patrick concession (now called La Crapaudiere) around 1871, in favour of flat, more fertile lands to the west. (126) Finally, people regularly heard of new opportunities in one part or another of North America and opted for a new, and hopefully better life elsewhere.

Some people left because they disliked a life of farming. Farming was demanding, repetitive, tedious and rarely financially rewarding. Farmers had to rise and retire early. They were often isolated and had quiet social lives. These were reasons given by informants for some abandonment of farming. Such negative attitudes to farming must not have been very prevalent in the nineteenth century, when farming was the basis to the national economy. Rather, they emerged as important in the present century as the urban industrial alternative became much stronger and more appealing.

People do not seem to have left Frampton due to the inability to obtain farming land, as was the case in much of French Canada. There always seems to have been a surplus of farms. For example, in 1858, there were one hundred farms used only for the growing of wood. (127) There were still many wood farms in 1884, as we can see from map 2. These could be cultivated if necessary.

However, the cost of farms may have been a deterrent to farming, particularly before the 1880s and the rise of the dairy industry, when capital was scarce. Quality of farmland available is likely to have been a factor encouraging emigration. People often found better land away and moved to obtain it. Such motivated the emigrants of 1840 as a report on the migration notes:

"About this time (1840), stories began to circulate in this neighbourhood of the wonderful fertility of the soil in the Far West, and these reports were especially glowing in regard to the territory of Missouri. Martin Murphy Sr. determined to go West". (128)

Some emigrated because they found the climate harsh and oppressive. The Murphys reportedly gave this as one reason for their emigration in the 1840s. (129) Given that the settlers came from the milder climate of the British Isles, it is likely that the first generation found the winters, with their freezing winds and heavy, long snowfalls rather unbearable. The warmer climate of the United States must have appealed to many.

Some left for personal reasons: a broken love affair, a family dispute or a desire to travel.

Finally, in later generations, some left due to a growing sense of social isolation as their religious, language or culture group became an ever-smaller percentage of the population. This feeling must have arisen first among English and Scottish Protestant settlers who, in the course of the nineteenth century, became a smaller and smaller minority, due to increased Irish and French Catholic immigration. Kirouac referred to this isolation in noting a comment by Fr. Rousseau of St. Malachie in the mid-nineteenth century, that the Protestants were seeking to sell their lands now that French Canadians were moving in. (130) Not all felt this isolation.

Where a social environment remained pleasant and viable they remained much longer. Thus, for example, a viable Anglican community remained in the areas between the fourth range and the St. Malachie border until the 1950s.

A comparable social isolation was felt in the present century by English-speaking Irish farmers, as they became an ever-smaller group amidst an expanding French-Canadian population. This has led to a steady emigration in recent decades.

People emigrated to many places. Some were popular at certain times, others throughout the period under study.

Those popular at all times included Quebec City and Montreal. Those liked at certain periods included:

Missouri/California 1840-1890

Boston 1840-1890

Missouri/California 1840-1890

Boston 1840-1890

Maine/Vermont/New Hampshire 1840-1930

Canadian West 1900-1930

New York/New Jersey 1918-1950

Sherbrooke 1945-1955

Informants identified a number of individuals and families who left for the locations cited above.

These comprised:

California 1840 30-40 families, including Murphys, Millers.

1853 families of Walter Fitzgerald, Tom Nash, Widow Walsh, Widow Miller, John Murphy, Daniel Madigan, 10 single men

1860 1 single man

c.1880s Duffs, Enright, Doyles

pre 1890s Andrew Redmond, Jordans, Cullens, John Coyle.

Washington pre 1870 O'Learys, Thomas & William Donahue.

New Mexico late 1800s Courtneys

Minnesota late 1800s Courtneys

North Dakota late 1800s Courtneys

Alaska 1890s Goldens

Pennsylvania mid 1800s Will Miller

late 1800s O'Learys

Detroit early 1900s Walshes, Redmonds

Boston early 1800s most youth of Cranbourne

c.1845 Whelans

post 1840s O'Learys

1860 3 single women

Maine/Vermont late 1800s Hennesseys, Quigleys, O'Learys.

C.1910 Sheehans

post 1910 many that subsequently went to New Jersey.

New Jersey c.1920 Mike Redmond, Tom O'Leary.

post 1920s Redmonds, Barrys, O'Learys, Kellys, Jacques, Kinsleys, Sherans, Donahues, Cullens, Reeds, J.Kelly, B.Brennan.

1950s F.Brennan, R.O'Grady, 1. O'Grady.
Saskatchewan early 1900s Fitzgeralds, Doyles.
Alberta early 1900s Fitzgeralds, Redmonds, B.Falls, Brennans.
Ontario 1860 1 single man
1863 1 single man
1950s Bradleys, Villeneuves.
1960s McGraws, Mahers.
Montreal post 1920s Jacques, Redmonds, Mahers, Kellys, Dorans, O'Neils.
Quebec City 1900s Doyles, Furlongs, Baillargeons.
Sherbrooke 1950s Hurleys, Combers, Bradleys, McBeans, MacCowans, Fosters, Kinsleys,
J.Fitzmorris.

Some of the destinations noted above stand out as ones which appealed to successive generations of migrants. These include California, Maine, Vermont, New Jersey and Ontario. It seems individuals were told of the success of predecessors in these places and followed them in search of the better life.

Some places became points of permanent migration after they had been visited in temporary migration. These included Minnesota and North Dakota, Boston, Maine, Vermont, the Canadian West, Ontario and Montreal.

The scale of emigration from Frampton was times sufficiently large to be demoralizing to who remained behind. William Dunn lamented of Cranbourne in 1844 that of the twenty-six families there, most were old pensioners whose children were principally living in the United States. (131)

The parish priest of Frampton wrote in 1856, that a few years previous, "the flower of the youth of Frampton left and went to California. Frampton still suffers from this loss". (132) Old Irish Framptonians reminisce fondly of days past when the Irish were a larger number in the parish.

Little information is available on the status of migrants. Single people had considerable opportunity and incentive to move through their practice of temporary migration. Those who returned and married often remained in the township unless unfavourable developments, such as the death of animals or ruin of crops made their viability marginal or their lives intolerable.

Migrants came from all economic classes, particularly among the single, though less so among the married.

Those who left, sold what they had, for as much as they could, then moved to predetermined areas to reestablish themselves. Movement in the early years was often a complicated matter. How complicated can be seen in the instance of the 1840 migration to California. Martin Murphy Sr. and others, after selling their property, traveled by boat down the St.Lawrence to Cleveland, Ohio, thence by canal to Portsmouth on the Ohio River, then down this to the Mississippi, then down the Missouri to St.Louis. They settled nearby on the Platte Purchase in Holt County. While there, they were told of the Mexican country of California, with its "beautiful valley; its genial sunshine, its fertile soil and health-giving climate, where disease was comparatively unknown". Enticed, the migrants set out again. They sold their lands, bought wagon trains and provisions and moved on through Nevada to California. They were the first Americans to cross the plains and reach and settle in California. Enroute they met different Indian groups, who treated them well. Once in California, they established ranches in the San Jose valley and other areas. The lands they bought, rose greatly in value following the gold rush and the subsequent mass movement of people to California. Their farms provided food for many of the early gold miners, townsmen and soldiers. It was on Martin Murphy Sr.' ranch that "the first rupture occurred between the Americans and Mexicans, which led to the conquest of California." The migrations by Martin Murphy Sr., from Ireland, to Quebec, to Missouri, then to California were certainly among the more remarkable of those by Frampton settlers. (133)

In their new homes, emigrants met various success. Many of those who emigrated westwards in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did well. They acquired considerable lands as these were being opened up and did well on them. The odd settler found oil on his land. Those who settled in towns in the eastern United States and Canada found jobs at all levels in the economy. As with any diverse community, some have fared better than others. All have helped to enrich the polyglot culture of North America.

Social Life in the Nineteenth Century

In the early years of settlement, social life was limited. Small numbers of settlers inhabited a vast land. Living in homes surrounded by forests and fields, they were cut off from neighbours by poor communications and some lack of need to communicate given the limited levels of communal organization developed.

Despite this, both formal and informal contacts existed among people. The most important of the formal contacts was provided through the church. We can now examine its role in the lives of the people.

To many immigrants, identification with and participation in the church was always very important. This created difficulties in the early years of settlement when the settlement lacked churches.

People wishing to participate had to attend churches in neighbouring parishes, such as St. Mary's. Given the poor roads available, attendance was irregular.

After 1822, a Catholic priest made regular visits to the township to say mass in the houses of different people. (134)

In 1825, Catholics in the township applied for a parish of their own. Those who applied are named in Appendix 2. Though their number was small, they were granted a parish. Mary Morin said that such grants to small groups was rare and was given to these applicants because the contemporary Bishop, J.O. Plessis, had a particular fondness for these people. (135)

The church was built on the second range road, on land donated by Desbarats. For three years it was served by a visiting priest. In 1829, it was given its first resident pastor, Rev. Bernard Madden. (136)

Seeing the success of the Catholics in Frampton, those in scattered parts of the township also asked for their own parishes. They were requested for various reasons. Applicants from St. Malachie gave, in 1830, their reasons for applying: "the badness of the roads and the length of the way (which) prevents your memorialists from availing themselves of such constant attendance in either of these places of worship as they could desire". (137)

Unfortunately, they were considered too few and too poor to support a separate parish in 1830. A good number came rarely to church afterwards.

In 1845, St. Malachie built its first chapel and, in 1857, gained its first priest.

In that same year a chapel was built in Cranbourne.

In later years, the size of the parish of St. Edward changed as sections were removed and placed in other parishes. Occasionally, requests were made to add sections. In 1833, eight Irish families asked to be annexed to St. Edward, on the grounds that they attended its church and paid dues to it. (138) In the early twentieth century, some settlers rejected annexation to Standon, sold their farms and bought new ones in St. Edward. (139)

The Anglicans, like the Catholics, were administered by visiting pastors in the early years of settlement. In 1831, they built their first church, on the road from St. Edward to St. Malachie. After its completion, they had a regular pastor.

According to the population census of 1884, a second Anglican church was later built on the second range. The compiler seems to have erred in this. None remembered the second church. Indeed, the site it is noted on was near that of the first Catholic Church, and appears, in fact, to represent this.

A Presbyterian church appears to have been built by 1884. It was not learned when it was built or how long it lasted.

Following the establishment of the churches, the influence of the church on Frampton society increased.

One important area of influence was in education. Influence evolved gradually. At first it was limited. According to Kirouac, the first school was established by Henderson in 1828. (140) It was a royal school. (141) Both Catholics and Protestants attended it. Most pupils attended irregularly, weather, poor transport and the need to do farm work detracting from attendance. The pupils learnt spelling, writing, letters, reading and the New Testament.

The Catholic Church worried about the corrupting influence of Protestant theology and, on at least one occasion, in 1832, warned that religion was not to be taught in the school. (142) Nondenominational schools continued till 1852, when the Catholic Bishop, worried about the mixing, wrote to the parish priest. He reminded the latter of the struggles being waged by Catholics in the United States and Upper Canada (Ontario) for separate education. He insisted that the horror of mixed education end immediately and stated that if a Catholic taught Protestant doctrine to Protestant students, those who attended could not be admitted to the sacraments. (143)

Separate schools for the different religions were developed from then on.

Education expanded steadily during the century. In 1853, there were four schools, teaching eighty-six boys and one hundred and twenty-four girls. (144) One of these was a Protestant school. In 1862, a French language school was established by Fr. Paradis. (145) This number remained roughly steady till towards the end of the century, by which time schools were established on most ranges. These schools evolved into bilingual ones, with English and French speaking pupils being taught together in their own language, in the years following Paradis' departure.

In matters other than education, the influence of the churches varied. Anglican pastors exercised less influence than their Catholic counterparts, understandable perhaps in light of the importance given by the latter to the personal and private practice of religion. This limited influence is noted in various reports. For example, there is the lament by Rev. Jenkins of "the great apathy of the people with respect to both Sunday and Day schools". (146)

It is further shown in a letter from parishioners to a Bishop complaining that their pastor "assumed a haughty manner", used "improper language from the pulpit" and "performed his duties in a negligent way". (147) Investigations from Quebec showed these feelings not to be shared by many of the parishioners. Still, the church worked to improve the lives of its congregation. Among improvements made was the establishment of a library. In 1862 it had two hundred and fifty volumes. (148)

The Catholic Church had a greater influence on its adherents due, to a good extent, to the nature of its beliefs. Some influences were general and exercised by all priests, others particular, the predilection of individual clergy.

One general influence came on marriage. The church forbid Catholics to marry Protestants. Most obeyed its dictates and few marriages took place between the two groups. (149) The prescription did not damage relations between the two groups. People recall relations as having been quite good. It limited options in marriage and increased the occurrence of close blood marriages among the two groups. It seems the former only became a problem towards the end of the century, by which time immigration had all but ceased. Informants recall various families which died out because children did not marry, or married late and had no children. A number of individuals never married. Close blood marriages gradually became fairly common.

Another general influence came in attitude to drink. Virtually all priests worried about it. A temperance society had been formed by 1853, having four hundred members that year. (150) It endured for many years, with the membership rising and falling, according to the pressures exerted by individual priests. Those who owned liquor establishments were constantly urged to sell them. Annual parish reports noted how many liquor establishments there were and who they were owned by. Priests rejoiced when any renounced selling. (151)

Individual priests emphasized particular issues. Some are well-recorded in the archives or have remained vivid in the memories of people. These can be noted.

One of the first priests to have a strong influence on the parish was Fr. John O'Grady, who served in the parish from 1832 to 1840. He sought to make the parish financially self-sufficient and wrote many letters on this issue. In one of 1833 he stated that people were not giving what they had committed to. Finding a great difference between promising to pay and paying, he wrote that if one could live on promises then Frampton would be one of the finest places to live. Instead of \$560, he had received \$125., this mainly in kind, comprising flour, potatoes, meat and butter. Still, he acknowledged that laxity was the result of poverty:

"The majority of the inhabitants of the township live in a state of extreme poverty. They have barely enough land cultivated to furnish themselves with potatoes. In general, once these farmers have finished their cultivation, they are forced to work in town to earn something to enable them to survive the winter". (152)

Seven years later, he noted that thirty families in St. Margaret's and one hundred and forty-one of the one hundred and sixty in St. Edward gave \$325. towards the priest's upkeep, a good improvement on earlier years. Nonetheless, he lamented, they never paid for High Mass or for services for the dead. (153) On another occasion, they refused to spend money on a new presbyter, because they felt his house was better than theirs. (154)

Later priests continued to press the people to be more generous in their support of the church. Fr. Dunn wrote in 1844, of the people of Cranbourne: "there are twenty-six families mostly old pensioners whose children are principally living in the United States, and I must say, they are no great things. However I say mass among them and hear their confessions, and they do not pay me, for they never paid any priest". He comforted himself with the thought that the Protestant families there were "worse again than our Catholics, there is no restraint over them". (155)

Money matters were important because they confirmed the control of the church over the people. In this respect, Frampton differed from neighbouring parishes. In the latter, people paid tithes and seemed to obey readily their pastors. Catholics in Frampton paid no tithes and spoke out whenever they felt it necessary. Then came a priest who determined to make Frampton parishioners similar to those in other parishes. He was Fr. Odilon Paradis, the first French Canadian priest posted to Frampton. He stayed there from 1856 to 1865 and had an impact on the parish that was such as to have him still live in the memories of people.

Paradis encouraged the people to give more in collection. When not enough was forthcoming, he complained to the Bishop that as long as contributions were not fixed by law, the priest would be at the mercy of the people. The Bishop responded by applying the law of tithes. Angered, the

parishioners resisted the application of the law for some time.

He worked to correct attitudes and behaviour he considered faulty. In this regard, he attacked habits such as night walking by youth and general resistance to his authority by adults. (156) Perhaps his most explosive act was to move the church. Built in 1825, the church had, by the middle of the nineteenth century, become inconveniently located for many settlers in the now much-expanded, settled region of the parish. Accordingly, the priest decided to build a new one in a more central location. The story of the move and the controversy it aroused is well told in the "History of Frampton" and the records of the Archdiocese of Quebec, upon which the former is based. This can be summarized.

All who lived in the vicinity of the church on the second range bitterly opposed the plan to move. These comprised almost exclusively the early Irish settlers. Supporting them was George Desbarats, son of Pierre-Edouard, who had donated the land to build the first church. Paradis had the support of some Irish settlers living in the central and western parts of the parish, as well as the French settlers. Both sides sent numerous letters outlining their views and denouncing those of their opponents to the Bishop.

One letter from the opponents of the move might be quoted to give some idea of the intensity of division. Written to the Bishop, it stated:

"(Until the Rev. M. Paradis started) agitating this question in Frampton ... upon his arrival amongst us, we were going on quietly and peaceably as Christians should and ought. The Rev. Gentleman has just lit the fire of obstinacy and strife, he has kept flaming the coals until he kindled a blaze. We know not where it will terminate. We are of opinion that for the good of the parish it would be better to remove him seeing that he is opposed to more than half of the people, and the people opposed to him, seeing that in a parish where the like circumstances exist there is no faith or religion".

Numerous meetings were held, attended by representatives of the Bishop. These tended to favour Fr. Paradis.

The opponents, wrote Fr. Paradis, seeing their hopes vanish, took a grudge against me and wanted to chase me from the parish. One Sunday they barricaded the Church to prevent me from saying mass. Having nevertheless celebrated, and removed the Blessed Sacrament, I thought it better to go and consult the Bishop on steps to be taken. While I was there, a delegation arrived and asked for my return to Frampton and apologized for the bad conduct of some Framptonians. I thus returned, but with a decree of erection and a pastoral letter for the rebels. I then applied to the Commissioners to have a new parish recognized and on the 15th March, 1858 the proclamation erecting the new parish appeared in the official gazette, having met no opposition. (157)

Offered land on the fourth range, Fr. Paradis arranged loans to finance the building. A church, rectory, sacristy and covered walk were built a cost of \$7244. The opponents of the move, according to Fr. Paradis, wounded in their pride, protested by deserting the church. Some never returned to church. Others emigrated. The remainder were persuaded to return years later by successors to Fr. Paradis.

The split in the parish made it difficult to repay the loan. However, the supporters, presumably strongly encouraged by Paradis, repaid within nine years.

People accepted much more readily the power of the priest over them after this dispute. Years later, some recalled being told never to argue with the priest. (158)

Paradis left in 1865, having brought much change to a previously, loosely organized parish. He had strengthened its financial base and tightened its moral lines. He had built, and ensured payment for, a far more grandiose church. Enright commented of him:

"Long will the memory of this priest with the iron hand live in the memory of Framptonians. He passed like an irresistible army which breaks through all on its way, but always to ameliorate".(159)

Some would doubt the last phrase.

Later priests also made their mark. Fr. Gagnon wrote of his efforts to improve morals by denouncing "surprise parties", at which young people danced. They were declining in number due to his efforts. He also guarded against "wakes", sessions mourning the dead, at which liquor was consumed. (160) More will be said below on church attitudes in later years.

Most other social life was organized at the inter-family level and comprised individuals and families visiting each other. During such visits one popular pastime was storytelling. Enright gives the following comments on this:

"The isolation of the early settlers in their woodland retreat stimulated their social instinct, always dynamic in the Irish, linked them heartily together so that they formed a convivial fraternity ... They lived in the -pre days: pre-radios, pre-highways, pre-motorcars, even pre-horse and buggy. Their entertainment was of their own creation. As a result, scores of them became raconteurs of no mean merit. I still have vivid recollections of how as children, we used to look forward to the periodic visits of a septeguararian named Michael Magher. Mike had learned the art of spinning mystic yarns from the original denizens of the realm. For hours he would hold us spellbound with the most amazing assortment of weird tales. The only drawback was that our subsequent slumbers were troubled with fantastic visions of banshees, ghosts and whatnot."(161)

Many informants recounted stories they were told when young, of the tricks played by the ghosts that lived in the woods on the Cranbourne road, of the "Lock Ness" type monster that inhabits a lake in Cranbourne and of a man whose hand dried up after he cut the tail from a priest's horse.

When serious conversation was called for, it was often a well-informed one. Kirouac recalled many of the conversations that took place in his many of the conversations that took place in his youth. He remembered a Patrick Hayes of St.Malachie who talked often of the difficult life of the Irish in the home country, and added:

"even today, when one talks of Home Rule, this courageous farmer, bent with age, rises proudly and speaks with emotion of his mother country. He would like to be young again in order to redress the rights of his countrymen."(162)

The same writer recalled discussions that took place in the mid-nineteenth century on the Act of Union, how it came about and how it had been the ruin of Ireland. Settlers followed Irish politics and responded to events that affected them, such as the death of its leaders. (163)

People enjoyed playing cards when they visited each other, particularly in wintertime when there was little to do. Ucker and forty-five were two popular games. (164)

Parties were held at birthdays, harvest celebrations and the like. At these, people danced, drank and played music. Various informants recalled the names of some of the better musicians. Nellie Miller remembered James Bradley, Joe White, Johnny Golden and Andrew Hudson as being good with the violin and Mrs. Hudson as being an accomplished piano player. (165)

Sometimes dissension limited visiting among families. One of the more notable instances of this is noted in the 1853 report. It noted that much ill will existed among people along the first range due to various causes,

"but especially from a superstition which prevailed among them that some families made use of Infernal means to take away butter, milk, etc. from the proper owners". (166)

People enjoyed reading. To meet this need, both the Catholic and Anglican churches established small libraries. We have commented above on that started by the Anglicans so need not mention

it further. The Catholic Church had an English library of some two hundred volumes by 1853. (167) It was well supported. When Fr. Paradis served in Frampton, he opened a French library. In 1862 he abandoned this because it was not well supported and the people were apathetic. (168) People also bought magazines and papers from the outside world, mainly Quebec City. The Anglican minister, Rev. Jenkins, did not care for some of these. He wrote, in 1862: "we have now two hundred and fifty volumes of interesting and instructive books which are doing good service in supplying the people with healthy reading, in place of those trashy novels and sensation newspapers which at one time flooded the township". (169)

No one recalled much about political life before the late nineteenth century, so nothing can be said on it. More is said below on awareness of politics from then onwards.

One final aspect of social relations can be commented upon, that is, the relations between the language groups in the township. As noted above, Frampton was English-speaking only in the early decades, then became English and French speaking, and now is predominantly French speaking. The first French-speaking settlers appear to have integrated into the English community, speaking their language and practicing their culture.

As more French-Canadians immigrated, they became distinct as a group. Two main cultures then emerged, each seeking to preserve its life and culture. The English-speakers had subgroups of Irish Catholics and English and Scottish Protestants. Yet religion seemed an easier divide to cross than language and the two were close in many ways.

No rigid divide ever consolidated itself between the two language groups. Difficulties did exist. Each group had different outlooks, attitudes and behaviour. Each wanted these sustained and resisted interruptions to them. One priest lamented this in 1868 when writing that the parish was in a veritable malaise due to the mixing of races. Each wanted affairs to follow models of their own race and resented those which did not. He blamed malice and ignorance. (170) Such pessimism was exceptional. Cooperation could be hard and did break down at times as, for example, over the moving of the church. Fr. Gagnon appears to have been depressed by the bitter aftermath of Fr. Paradis' work. Nevertheless, on the whole, people were able to live together and cooperate when each needed help. Difficulties, such as fights among youth and reluctance to speak another language, remained minor irritants in a society which lived a bilingualism a century before Canada espoused it and Quebec renounced it.

By the early twentieth century, French Canadians were in the majority. As a result, their culture came to dominate the church and society at large. French is now by far the more predominant language in the township and the remaining Irish converse a lot in that language. Still, people are proud of their history of good relations and sustained tolerance.

The Growth of a Dairy Economy

Rather fundamental changes took place in the farming economy of Frampton, as it did many other places in Eastern Canada, from the 1870s onward. The changes comprised the adoption of dairying the basis to farm economies following the introduction of cheese, then butter, factories into Eastern Canada from the United States in 1866. (171) The Commissioner of Agriculture exulted on the change taking place:

"exports will increase and transform our agricultural system... (Dairying) is the most certain ... and that which requires less labour on the farms and gives the largest and most abundant results. Dairying is then what suits this country, in the way of climate, state of the soil, and situation of the markets, and its introduction into the Province of Quebec is, no doubt, the greatest agricultural progress that has take place for the last fifty years". (172)

Dairying was important because it gave farmers an opportunity to produce on a regular, sustained basis, a commodity that could be readily sold and exported. Cheese and butter were in great demand in England, "the best world market", Quebec was convenient to it, already had commercial contacts with it and already enjoyed popularity for their high quality exports to it. (173)

Cheese was the more popular product, retaining its flavour, consistency, firmness and colour till sold. Butter gave greater problems for some years, often arriving in England as a greasy, discoloured liquid. One report noted that this was due to the poor tubs in which it was packed. This problem was overcome with improved techniques of manufacture and the introduction of chilled transport. (174)

Cheese factories were relatively inexpensive to build and, apparently, were profitable when in operation. One report lamented that "the opinion unfortunately prevails that the owner of a cheese factory makes a fortune in the very first year". (175) It discounted such rumours and warned that if too many factories were built in one area, patronage of each would be reduced, reducing revenue and, thus, the quality of services. The industrious or ambitious ignored the warning. They saw factories as the ideal investment and built them everywhere. Frampton farmers enjoyed the convenience of this building. By 1900, there were ten cheese and butter factories in St. Joseph, four in Frampton and two in Cranbourne. The latter six were:

Frampton: Wm Meagher main road

Evangeliste Gregoire 7th range

Louis Marcoux main road (Ste. Marie)

Philippe Gregoire St. Anges

Cranbourne: Jos. Dumont 3rd range

Jos. Cloutier 4th range (176)

This number remained roughly the same for some time, albeit with changes in ownership. Thus, the factory owned by Meagher closed down, while ones by Bison and Lazaure opened up. These small factories were replaced in 1945 by a large factory built and managed by a newly formed cooperative society. (177)

The government formed an inspectorate to check regularly the quality of services offered by the factories. In addition, it, and the Dairymen's Association, formed in 1881, undertook research into the dairying economy. This included determining the best areas in which to produce cheese and butter, the characteristics of different strains of cows, the effects of different foods on cows and the like.

After finding that cheese could be highly variable from area to area, the Department of Agriculture determined that

"elevated and dry pastures with a gravelly soil produce a milk more easily turned into cheese and

butter than low and damp soils". (178) Most of Frampton had the former conditions, so produced a desirable, worthwhile product.

As opportunities arose in dairying, more and more people purchased cows. Kirouac marveled at the change taking place by 1900 in which "farmers are transforming their lands into vast pastures on which they keep fifteen to twenty cows". (179) Those informants who recalled the change stressed that it was gradual rather than abrupt. For example, Nellie Miller stated that at their farm, there were nine cows when she was young. Their milk was made into butter, which was stored in tubs in a cool cellar, then take in quantity to Quebec. (180) Later they stopped this and took milk to the factory. Gradually the family increased production to meet the growing demand for milk.

Most farmers owned the widespread Quebec breed of cow, a mix of Jersey and Normandy breeds. It was a productive breed. According to one report, it gave more milk and butter than other breeds in proportion to the food it consumed, if healthy and well fed. (181) A few farmers owned other breeds, such as Durham Shorthorns.

Farmers were urged to give their cows the right foods to ensure good productivity. These foods included a variety of grasses and millet, as well as cowpeas, Indian corn and wheat bran among other foods. (182) Farmers in Frampton increased their production of grasses and of grains such as oats and wheat. People were well aware of the need to give animals the right quantity of food to ensure good production. (183)

Various reports gave them some idea of quantities needed. A 600 lb. cow eating 24 lbs. of hay per day produced 20 lbs. of milk while one fed only 18 lbs. per day, produced 10 to 12 lbs. of milk. (184)

The need to produce more food, particularly grasses, brought changes in the use of land. A much larger acreage was cultivated. Farmers had to own, at a rough minimum, some fifty acres of land to be viable in this type of economy. Thus, farms of small acreage gradually disappeared, those owning such apparently leaving. Informants recalled few people owning farms of small acreage by the early decades of the twentieth century.

The use of labour on farms also changed. Some activities previously undertaken were gradually abandoned. These included the manufacture of butter by hand and its transport to Quebec. In its place, people turned their labour to the production of increased food, the milking of cows and the transport of milk to factories.

The means of producing food also changed. While it had been possible to cultivate a few acres by hand in say, the 1820s, it was not possible to do the same with fifty acres or more by the 1890s. Animal power became important. Oxen and horses were increasingly bought to pull ploughs, harrows and cultivators. Oxen were more common than horses for some decades. Denis O'Leary stated that they were preferred because they were cheaper to feed than horses, which required a more specialized diet of hay and oats. Oxen, on the other hand, ate hay and straw. Some farmers could not afford oxen, particularly in the early years of increased production. These borrowed the oxen of neighbours. (185) Oxen remained important field animals well into the twentieth century. Louis Morin and others on the second range used them until the 1940s. (186)

Gradually, they were replaced by horses. There were numerous reasons for this. First, people became wealthier, so could afford horses. Once owning them, some concluded it was cheaper to use the horse for farm work as well as transport, than to support both horses and oxen. Secondly, oxen were slower than horses. Fr. Humphrey said this became a disadvantage as more modern and complicated machinery was introduced. (187) Horses remained the main work animal till recent decades when they were increasingly replaced by tractors.

Virtually all farmers in Frampton now use tractors, keeping only the odd horse for irregular work or travel, particularly in winter.

With machinery and animals, family labour on farms became much more productive. People were able to assume new labour requirements, such as transporting milk, without new hiring needs. (188) The workload of individuals changed. Women no longer had to work much in the fields. (189) Men took over more of the responsibility for taking produce to market.

Communal labour declined with the changes in farming. The availability of animals and machinery lessened the need for it. (190) Also people had more money and could afford to pay for communal services with cash rather than with their labour as previously. Some communal work did continue. Gene O'Grady recalled helping neighbours to harvest in the 1950s. (191) The Morins and their neighbours still assist each other in a variety of tasks. Stable settlement areas did it longest. (192)

Perhaps one of the most important changes brought by dairying was its increase in the availability of capital on farms. Various data suggest that farmers had little money during the early decades of settlement. Much of this, given in parish reports, has been noted above. Other reports, and data obtained from informants, also note that money was scarce. (193) The scarcity was not as pronounced by the 1850s, when people had started selling a greater variety of farm produce and more of their labour. Still, shortages often were experienced. These were further lessened once dairying took hold. Kirouac commented on this when noting that every fortnight farmers returned from cheese factories with a handsome sum of money. He added, happily, that the earnings of the priest increased in proportion. (194)

Cows became a currency of sorts. Mike Redmond said that his grandfather, John, did well at farming and gave two cows as a dowry rather than the usual one. (195)

Various government reports specified the money that could be made through dairying. For example, according to a report of 1881, a cow of 600 lbs., fed 24 lbs. of hay each day could produce 20 lbs. of milk per day. Milk paid 1 cent per lb., so one could earn \$6. per month per cow. (196)

Thus, farming became more profitable than it ever had been in Frampton. However, it must be remembered that not all individuals benefited equally within the community. Some owned more land and had more cows than others. Some had better labour resources than others. Moreover, within families, the eldest son inherited the farm while younger children had to develop a viable life on another farm or in another occupation. Hence seasonal and permanent migration continued.

The increased wealth of the community was reflected in the gradual improvement of communications. Roads improved dramatically from the late nineteenth century onwards, existing ones being improved and new ones built regularly. (197) By the early twentieth century, one could travel and move goods easily within and outside Frampton.

With the development of roads, came improvements in transport. Frampton entered the horse and buggy age, one which lasted for some decades. In winters, sleighs replaced buggies. Buggies remained the main means of transport till after the Second World War, when they were replaced by motor transport. Among the last to use a horse and buggy was Denis O'Leary, who still drove his in the 1960s.

Public commercial facilities developed as wealth increased. Perhaps the first of these comprised individuals and small companies who traded on behalf of others. These either acted as brokers, selling goods on behalf of farmers, or wholesalers, buying from farmers and selling in bulk. With these, people gradually changed from selling salted, to selling fresh, meat. Traders initially took the animals directly to Quebec. Then when St. Joseph and St. Malachie were linked to Quebec

by railway, they drove the animals to these centres. Mary Morin said people had to close their gates to prevent animals from running off the road into pastures. (198) Elizabeth Kelly said this form of transport declined after the First World War. (199)

Complementing these traders, were transient traders. These went from farm to farm with their wares. They carried them on their backs in packsacks, or on their heads in boxes or, if wealthy enough, in a cart pulled by a horse. They sold a variety of clothes, trinkets and other goods. Some were Jewish, others French. People welcomed their visits as a chance to purchase the odd good and hear the latest news. They sometimes fed the traders, in return for a gift. (200) The odd trader did well and bought a truck to participate in the trade on a bigger scale. Traveling for trade by farmers or traders was not without its dangers. Roland Baillargeon told of one family which was notorious for highway robbery. People who passed their place at night had to be very careful as the robbers would swoop down on the unwary under cover of night and steal what goods they had.(201)

Stores were established in the township. It is not known exactly when the first ones were established. One, run by John Wilson, was operating in East Frampton by the 1840s. It was the only one on the King's Road from Lake Etchemin to Ste. Claire and was a rendezvous for all farmers of the area.(202) Stores seem to have opened later in Frampton. No informants remembered exactly when the first one opened. A few thought that John Doyle had the first store. Others followed.

By the 1920s, among the establishments there were a few general stores, a butcher's and a few hotels. More gristmills were established. The three large ones of the early decades of the century gave way to numerous small ones run by individual farmers. There was one on most ranges. These continued till around the Second World War when the cooperative built a large mill. The last of the millers was Wickens. He asked that his millstone serve as his headstone as no one else would need it. His wish was granted and one might see it at the Anglican cemetery in Cranbourne.

In recent years, the work done by the cooperative mill has declined as farmers have tended to buy flour rather than grow and process grain.

The improved economy was reflected in a better diet. People grew and preserved a greater variety of foods. They had more animals and ate a greater variety of meats. They also bought far more food. In recent decades, self-sufficiency in food production has declined dramatically as people have tended to buy ever more of their food requirements.

In addition to buying more food, people bought more clothes. People stopped making various items of apparel, such as wool trousers. One of the last to wear these was a brother of Nellie Miller. People had the money and wanted the convenience of buying clothes. Handicrafts in general declined.

The need for self-sufficiency in the construction of barns and homes and their contents declined. People bought more of the components for building, such as nails and iron roofing. They employed labour to help in construction. The labour was skilled, comprising carpenters and electricians, among others. To furnish homes, people bought furniture, such as beds, tables, seats and cupboards, and utensils to replace homemade goods.

The advent of electricity brought a vast new variety of goods to farms. Few farms have much that remains from the earlier, simpler, self-sufficient period.

As the above changes have taken place, the economy of Frampton has become very closely intertwined with that of the outside world in all respects. The inhabitants of Frampton now survive through this interrelationship. This involvement has introduced a third phase in the evolution of the economy of Frampton. It is one in which the dairying economy has become considerably

more refined and controlled. The provincial and federal governments have actively intervened in the farming economy to raise its standards and increase its efficiency. They have imposed stricter standards for production and have emphasized the need for volume production by individual farms by carefully allocated quotas. The changes have required farmers to invest heavily in mechanizing dairying and in increasing herds. An increase in land cultivated has often been necessary. Many farmers decided not to make the change and have decided to opt out of participation in the dairying economy. These fear indebtedness, uncertainty about the profitability of the new lifestyle and worries about changing government policies.

After opting out, some seek alternative means of profitable work, such as raising pigs. Some readopt an essentially subsistence lifestyle. Many are leaving the farms altogether and moving to the village or cities. Young people in particular are showing very little interest generally in farming.

Farm after farm, cleared long ago and for years feeding families and producing a surplus for market, has now returned to a previous woodland state. This development is transforming the economy of Frampton. .

As farms have closed, summer homes have opened up, as more and more Quebecers have come to appreciate the wild and quiet beauty of this rugged area. Hundreds of summer homes now dot the ranges where farms once thrived. Framptonians increasingly cater to these groups. A small number acquire multiple farms for wood production and to retain for future benefit.

Social life in the present century

Religion remained the most important force in Frampton society after 1870, in the same way that it had been before that date. Indeed, its influence increased for many years. One reason for this may have been the changing composition of the population.

French Canadians historically were well accustomed to heeding the wishes of the church and may have strengthened general passivity. Another reason is likely to have been the general reluctance of people to oppose the church after the troubles with Fr.Paradis.

Pastors in Frampton were deeply involved in the rising conservatism that influenced Quebec Catholicism in the late nineteenth century. Conservatism in Frampton was perhaps carried to its greatest lengths during the tenure of Fr. John O'Farrell (1883- 1916).

O'Farrell was the first of the sons of Frampton to be raised to the priesthood.(203) The following comment is given on him in the "History of Frampton":

"(He was) the most marking figure that passed through Frampton. Tall, big, very authoritative, quick-tempered, he brought back the years with Fr. Paradis. Even with his iron hand, he knew how to make himself loved. If he reproached violently the disorders that took place, once done scolding, his heart was in his hand." (204)

Among the disorders that bothered him were dancing, the playing of music and drinking. People were warned constantly of the evils of dancing and of the temptations it invited. They were ordered not to dance themselves and strongly encouraged not to attend homes, particularly Protestant ones, where dancing took place. Under the pressure of him and other priests, people thought twice before dancing. Older people often refrained from dancing, but younger ones did not. Dancing parties continued to be held.

Music was almost as disgusting to these servants of God as was dancing. Sermons explained its evils and told people not to go to places encouraging the vice. One family in particular was regularly criticized for their enjoyment of music. This family, of five girls and no working men, invited village men to help them with the haying and other chores. Food, music and dancing rewarded those who helped. Their bees were very popular, indeed highlight for many years. People said other women were envious of the five for they had all the men. The family left Frampton some years ago. Old people say that on a cold, windy night, one can sometimes hear the faint sounds of violins coming from the empty, dark house.

Drinking was damned regularly as an evil that wasted money, ruined lives and broke families. As in earlier years, Catholics were pressured not to sell liquor. Some acquiesced, others did not. The Temperance League remained strong for many years.(205) Pastors were judged on their success in controlling drinking. Thus, one is remembered as having been ineffective because "he couldn't remedy the question of temperance and other disorders". (206) Some people abandoned confession rather than their drink. (207)

The rising influence of the Church over society was marked in the educational sector. The influence was greater over French, than over Irish, Catholic education, the variety of books and courses available being more restricted for the former than for the latter.(208) A growing influence was further shown in the development of select aims in education. A basic education was essential for all, anything beyond it, the privilege of selected few. The basic education comprised teaching people to read and write.(209) This could be done in five years or so.(210) The few who received more, did so usually in order that they could become teachers or enter the religious life. Thus, as expansion of education took place in the late nineteenth century, more and more people entered the religious life.

Fr. Enright, a former Framptonian himself, has identified some who followed a religious calling. They included Patrick Duff, who went to the Grand Seminary in 1864. Patrick Brennan, who joined the Redemptorists in 1916, Enright, who joined the Sons of St. Alphonsus in 1918, then later Gerard Redmond and Walter Fitzgerald, sons of Framptonians who had left. Many more girls entered the religious life than did boys. Enright has eulogized the former:

"Not until time is no more will Frampton be able to measure accurately the spiritual glory accruing to her little Irish population its magnificent contribution to the sisterhood. The noble deeds of these brides of Christ will never be enshrined in ode and epic and history but they will be heralded in heaven. The book of life will chronicle the myriad of selfless acts performed in the brooding silence of that sacred tomb - the cloister ... Three daughters of Michael Fitzgerald and Hannah Duff, who were among the first to settle in Frampton, entered the Good Shepherd Order. A cousin of these, Margaret ... joined the Sisters of Charity at Quebec. We now come to a family that has a very rare if not a unique record. Successively all the girls, six in number, of the fifteen children of Thomas Duff and Cesaire Allaire, heard and answered the biblical summons "go you also into my vineyard"...They entered between 1896 and 1913. Five other Frampton girls, contemporaries of the Duff sisters, consecrated their lives to God ... Alice Whelan, Nellie Fitzgerald, Stella Goulden, Alice Falls and Mary Falls".(211)

Sometimes there were pressures on people to enter the religious life. Ann Redmond recalled that some children were identified as being of the religious type. These were encouraged to follow the religious life. Individuals so encouraged usually entered to see if they had a vocation.(212) These social pressures diminished considerably in recent decades as the role of the church in village life has declined.

Schools remained organized along a sectarian basis from the 1850s onwards. The Catholics had one on each of most ranges until recent decades.(213) In addition they had a school run by sisters in the village from the early years of the twentieth century. The Protestants had a separate school near their church. This remained viable until 1950, when it was closed due to the small numbers attending it. Its closure encouraged the emigration of the last remaining Protestant families in the township.(214)

The teachers in the schools were immigrants or their descendants. Most were women, though a few were men. During the nineteenth century virtually all were Irish, their numbers including Anastasia Duff and Mary Quigley in 1859, Bridget Brennan and Margaret O'Grady in 1870, Mary Lawlor and M. O'Brien in 1884 and Nellie Fitzgerald and M. Hennessey in 1907. The daughters of French settlers were starting to teach by 1870.

Other aspects of social life continued as they had in the nineteenth century some, such as visiting, being increased due to the availability of improved transport, others declining. New social activities emerged, such as listening to the radio. The radio greatly increased contact with the outside world.

The quality of life improved with the development of medical facilities. During much of the nineteenth century, there had been no doctors in Frampton and people, when seriously ill, had to go to neighbouring towns for help. People made only limited use of such facilities. One reason was their expense. One doctor was criticized in 1830 by the Anglican pastor for the "exorbitant charges made on the unwary Irish".(215)

Like their French neighbours, the English and Irish used the services of local, unofficial practitioners of medicine. These included bone setters and herbal specialists.(216) These helped at times. However, people remained quite vulnerable to diseases, sometimes of epidemic proportions, that struck at times. Among epidemics remembered was diphtheria one of the 1890s. Romuald Baillargeon lost five of his seven children within a month of it.(217)

Another hit in the early twentieth century taking, among others, six of the eight children of Nicodeme Audet, and leaving his remaining one retarded.(218) Tuberculosis was a sickness that hit many.(219)

By the twentieth century, there was a doctor in the village available to treat most illnesses. People made good use of his services. Serious cases of illness could readily be taken to major centres, due to the availability of good transport facilities.

The influence of politics increased in the late nineteenth century, becoming a vibrant part of life in the township. There were three categories of politics: local, provincial and federal. Local politics seem to have remained low key. The post of mayor was a respected one, but none remember being particularly excited by any bid for it.

Provincial and federal politics aroused far more interest. A number of Framptonians were committed to one or other of the major parties, and spent considerable time trying to influence the floating vote. When elections came along, they held meetings and socials, to gain advantage with persuasive argument or small gift. Many remember the latter, which comprised free liquor at parties or gifts of bottles of liquor or money. Meetings were usually hectic affairs. Many were held on Sundays, following religious services. Hecklers and supporters of opposition parties gave a rough time to many speakers. Henry Redmond said he and brothers attended political meetings with his father, often to protect him from opponents.(220)

Political opponents refused to speak to or associate with each other around election time. After elections the victors marched to the houses of losers and burnt straw effigies of their candidate in front of them.(221)

After the First World War, political violence declined through measures such as holding meetings of different parties on separate days. In recent years elections have become fairly complacent affairs. This seems odd in light of the fact that it has been in recent years that government has had its greatest impact on Frampton through its grants and loans to farmers and control over the foods they produce and sell.

Conclusion

Thus, has the history of Frampton evolved. From being a typical farming frontier in the early nineteenth century, with the few amenities such had, it became, in the present century, one of the many dairying villages of Eastern Canada. This evolution brought with it a stronger and more productive economy, one which offered an acceptable, though not ideal, life for many of its inhabitants till recent years. All the while, Frampton gave some the means and others the need to leave it and form new lives elsewhere in the mosaic that is North American society.

Bibliography

Oral and written sources have been used in this study. The oral sources have been present and former inhabitants of Frampton, listed below. They provided a very important part of the data which made this study possible, a part that was not available elsewhere. The author regrets not having started the project some years earlier when more of an earlier generation would have been available to reminisce.

Written sources comprised archival and published materials. The archives of particular value comprised those of the Catholic Archdiocese of Quebec and the Anglican Archdioceses of Quebec and Montreal.

The writer visited the Catholic Archdiocese archives in September 1976 and examined most of the correspondence available on Frampton. This is classified in two files, the contents of which are numbered chronologically according to the time letters were received by the Bishops from parishioners. The first file contains all letters written before 1905, the second, those afterwards. The first file is the more illuminating, containing many reports on the state of the mission among things.

Louis Morin visited these archives. Louis has spent many winters, when work on his farm is not demanding, recording data on the history of Frampton. He kindly allowed me to read his archival notes as well as other data.

Fr. W. J. Enright visited the same archives earlier. He summarized his findings in a work called "Framptonology", written in the 1930s. Copies of Enright's work are held by various people, including Elizabeth C. Kelly, who kindly allowed me to read her copy.

Louis Morin also visited the Anglican Archives in Quebec and collected information from annual and occasional reports of missionaries, as published in journals of the Church Society. He allowed the writer to read his notes.

The writer visited the Archives in Montreal, and there read many of the same reports. In addition the Synod reports, published mission works and national censuses were perused.

The writer visited the national archives in Quebec but found little information of relevance in these.

Local government and parish offices contained some data. The writer checked the local government offices in Frampton, upon the recommendation of Louis Morin. He found there the census of 1884, reproduced in the study as map 2. Louis Morin obtained information from a number of neighbouring parish and government offices. The information includes data on land rights, births, marriages, deaths and the like. His interest in and devotion to the history of Frampton and been immense and many owe a debt to him for what he has recovered and retained of the past of the township.

Most written works contained limited information on Frampton. Among the most useful have been works written by pastors and others in the church on the parishes. These have included Fr. Kirouac's study of St. Malachie, written in 1909, Rouillard's study of 1901, Hawkins' work of 1849, Mountain's of 1866, Magnan's of 1925 and the anonymous history of 1950. Relevant parts of the last of these have been translated by Mary Lawlor. Elizabeth Kelly showed me a copy of this translation. Among other quite useful works have been those of descendants of emigrants to California, or those interested in them.

Otherwise, general works on the history of Ireland Quebec and Canada were consulted to provide the general context within which the history of Frampton evolved.

Informants

Baillargeon, Roland b.1925 born in Frampton, I lives now in Quebec City.
Hennessey, Joseph b.1911, born in Frampton, left for seasonal migration from 1925 onwards; retired and living on brother's farm.
Hennessey, Raymond b.1921, born in Frampton, left for seasonal migration from 1936 onwards, still farming in Frampton.
Humphrey, Fr. Edward b.1888, left Frampton to study for priesthood, parish priest of Frampton 1938-66, retired, living in village.
Kelly, Elizabeth C. b.1896, born in Frampton, taught in school there, married and lived on a farm, now retired and living in the village.
Miller, Nellie b.1883, d.1975, born in Frampton, emigrated for temporary migration, lived on farm, retired in village.
Morin, Louis 1915-1995, born in Frampton where he farmed until his death.
Morin, Mary 1917-1995, born in Frampton and lived on farm with husband.
Maher, John b.1921, born in Frampton, left in 1933 for Montreal, lives there now.
O'Grady, Tom 1893-1973, born in Frampton, emigrated temporarily from 1920 onwards, later farmed in Frampton.
O'Grady, Lucy 1900, lived on farm with husband, then retired to Quebec City after his death.
O'Grady, Gene b.1941, born in Frampton, lived there on farm until 1963, emigrated to Montreal, now living in Shannon, near Quebec City.
O'Leary, Denis b.1901, born and lived on farm, now retired in village.
O'Leary, Margaret b.1914, born in Frampton and lived on farm with husband Denis, is now retired in village.
O'Leary, Joseph b.1906, born in Frampton, emigrated temporarily in 1934, permanently in 1940, now retired in Frampton.
Redmond, Henry 1909-1985, left Frampton temporarily in 1926, permanently in 1942, moving to St. Hubert, near Montreal.
Redmond, Ann 1916-1987, born in Frampton, left to work in Montreal in 1937, husband of Henry .
Redmond, Mike b.1896, left Frampton permanently in 1915, now retired in New Jersey.
Redmond, Myles b.1908, left Frampton temporarily in 1925, permanently in 1937. Lived in Montreal.

Unpublished Sources

Anonymous "Frampton Trees, ABC Volume to Our Ancestors, Comprising Genealogies of the Duffs, Fitzgeralds, Doyles", (Los Angeles, 1946).
Enright, W.J. "Framptonology", n.d.
Kelly, Elizabeth C. "Three Histories of St. Edward of Frampton", comprising the study by Enright, and translations of La Petite Histoire, cited below, by Mary Lawlor.
Roy, Charles R. "The first immigrant train to traverse the entire state of Nevada enroute to California", paper submitted to Nevada Historical Quarterly.

Government Publications

Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works for the Province of Quebec.
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Colonization of the Province of Quebec.
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the Province of Quebec.
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec.
Annual Reports of the Minister of Public instruction of the Province of Quebec.
Annual Reports of the Dairymen's Association of the Province of Quebec.

Published Works

Anonymous La Petite Histoire des paroisses de la Federation des Cercles de Fermiers du District Regional n. 4. Comtes: Levis, Bellefleur, Dorchester. Lotbiniere, (Quebec, 1950)
Anonymous Recueil de Genealogies des comtes de Beauce-Dorchester-Frontenac, 1625-1946.
Anderson, I.B. "Internal migration in Canada, 1931-1961", Economic Council of Canada, (Ottawa, 1966).
Chapais, J.C. in A. Shortt and A.G. Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, (Toronto, 1914), V.XVI
Doneen, Marguerite Golden Letters to Amanda and Kristine, (1974).
Firestone, O.J. Canada's Economic Development, 1867-1953, (London, 1958).
Fontaine, C.-A. "Les sols du Quebec", in E. Minville, ed., L'Agriculture - true (Montreal: Fides, 1943).
Fowke, V.C. Canadian Agricultural Policy-The Historical Pattern, (Toronto, 1946) .
George, Peter J. & E.H. Oksanen "Recent developments in the quantification of Canadian economic history", Social History, n.4, 1969.
Godkin, J. The Land War in Ireland. (London Macmillan, 1870).
Hare, John & H. Provost Voirie et Peuplement au Canada Francaise-La Nouvelle Beauce, Pub.n.5,
La Societe Historique de la Chaudiere, (Quebec, 1965).
Hawkins, Ernest Annals of the Diocese of Quebec, (London, 1849).
Innis, H.A. The Dairy Industry in Canada, (New Haven, 1937).
Kirouac J. Histoire de la Paroisse de Saint Malachie, (Quebec: Proulx, 1909).
LeJeune, R.P.L. Dictionnaire General du Canada, (Ottawa, 1931), v.1.
Lithwick, N.H. Economic Growth in Canada, (Toronto, 1967).
Magnan, Hormidas Dictionnaire Historique et Geographique des Paroisses, Missions et Municipalities de la Province de Quebec, (Arthabaska, 1925)
Marchand, E. Allison "San Jose", The Weekly Graphic, New York, November 22, 1887.
Mountain, Armine W. A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Late Bishop of Quebec, (Montreal, 1866).
Miner, Horace St. Denis. A French Canadian Parish, (Chicago, 1939).
Nerlove, Marc "Railroads and American economic growth", Journal of Economic

History, XVIII (1958) xxv i , (1966).
Neumark, S.D. Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1835, (Stanford, 1957).
Ouellet, Fernand "L'agriculture bas-canadienne vue A travers les dimes et la renteer nature",
Social History, 8, (1971). Histoire Economique et Sociale du Quebec, 1760-1850, (Montreal:Fides
1966).
Provost, H. Sainte Marie de la Nouvelle Beauce, (Quebec, 1967).
Rouillard, Eugene La Colonization dans les Comtes de Dorchester Bellechase, Montmagny,
L'Islet, Kamouraska, (Quebec, 1901).
Roy, J.E. La Seigneurie de Lauzon, (Quebec, 1895-1903), 5 volumes. Safarian, A.E. The
Canadian Economy in the Great Depression, (Toronto, 1959).
Taylor, M. History of Brome County, Quebec.v.I, (Montreal:Lovell, 1908).
Wade, Mason The French Canadians, 1760-1945, (Toronto:Macmillan, 1955)

Appendix 1

General Population: Catholic and Protestant

year	number of which Catholic and Protestant		
1806	few		
1825	194		
1831	925		
1844	1362	1032	330
1851	1999	1486	513
1853	2035	1555	480
1861	2568	2053	515
1871	1944	1598	346
1891	1653		
1911	1937	1958	16
1931	1784	1738	46

Composition of Catholic Population

year	Irish	French	unit
1839	142	12	families
1853	235	25	families
1856	169	33	families
1860	141	72	families
1871	1006	836	individuals
1911	488	1470	individuals
1931	278	1460	individuals

Sources:

1825,1831: Census, Lower Canada,c-179,Beauce;
1839: Louis Morin papers, Missions de Quebec, 1.1839;
1844: AAQ, F.1-32, Fr.W.Dunn to Bishop,30.3.44
1851: Census of the Canadas,1851-2,v.I,p.116;
1853: AAQ, F.1-54, Fr.M.Kerrigan to Bishop, parish report, 1853;
1856: AAQ, F.1-59, parish report, 1856;
1860: AAQ, F.1-117, parish report, 1860;
1861: AAQ, F.1-118, parish report, 1861;
1871: Census of the Canadas, 1870-1,V.1,P.159
1891, 1911, 1931: Census of Canada, 1931, v.2 Table 12, p.44.

Appendix 2

Settlers Requesting a Church in Frampton, 1825

Peter Murphy,	wife and 5 children
Robert Sample	" 5
James Farrell	" 7
Patrick Burns	" 6
Edward Brennan	" 2
Patrick Devereux	" 4
Timothy Connell	" 6
James Shea	" 3
James Nevil	" 5
Myles Duff	" 10
James Fitzgerald	" 8
William Doyle	" 1
Andrew Murphy	" 5
Michael St.John	" 4
Richard Ayler	" 8
Denis Kelly	" 3
William Maher	" 1
Thomas Conly	" 4
Patrick Kinsley	" 2
Myles Murphy	" 4
Matthew Reed	" 5
Martin Murphy	" 6
James Doyle	" 3
Patrick Bulger	" 3
Denis O'Neil	
John Daily	
Widow Boyne	" 5
Joseph Sutton	
Walter Fitzgerald	
Lawrence Fitzharris	
William Whealan	
Michael Fitzharris	
Bridget Whealan	

Sources: AAQ, F.1-6, Parish to Bishop, 1825.

Appendix 3

Settlers Requesting a Priest in Frampton, 1831, Committed to Pay
the Following for Three Years to Support the Same:

	(Pounds/shillings/pence)
Andrew Murphy	1
Edward Brennan	1
Peter Murphy	1
James Fitzgerald	1
Patrick Byrne	1
William Maher	1
Patrick Devereux	1
Matthew Reed	1
Robert Mills	1
William Sample	1
Martin Murphy	1
Myles Duff	1
Walter Fitzgerald	/10/0
Michael Farrell	5/0
William Martin	5/0
James Nugent	5/0
Daniel Madigan	5/0
Lawrence Fitzhenry	5/0
Michael Doran	2/6
Michael St. John	1/0
Matthew Conners	10/0
Philip Walsh	10/0
James Clark	10/0
Thomas Kelly	10/0
Thomas Walsh	10/0
James Doyle	10/0
James Butler	10/0
John Golden	10/0
William Doyle	10/0
Joseph Dempsey	10/0
William Hughes	10/0
Baptiste Bernard	10/0
Lawrence Fitzhenry	1/0 /0
John Ross	2/0 /0
John Cowly	
Patrick Cowly	
James Cowly	
Nicholas Fitzsimmons	2/0 /0

Source: AAQ, F.1-6a, Parishioners to Bishop, 12.9.1831. 1 pound was equal to \$5.; 10/0 to \$2.50.

Appendix 4

Parishioners Wishing to Retain Fr.Dunn,1845

James Butler, Patrick Burns, Edward Brennan, Patrick Brennan, William Brennan, Anthony Brennan, Daniel Byrns, James Breen, Thomas Conroy, James Coyle, Thomas Currigan, Patrick Connolly, Matthew Conner, Thomas Conner, Patrick Conner, John Conner, Thomas Cullen, John Cullen, John Duff, Moses Donahue, William Donahue, Maurice Doyle, Lawrence Ervin, Patrick Fitzgerald, James Fitzgerald, James Falls, James and Patrick Griffin, John Harigan, Michael Harigan, James Harigan, Jos. Kelly, John Hughes, James Kelly, James Kensley, Denis Kavana, Moses Kavana, Michael Lawlor, Thos Lawlor, John Lawlor, Patrick Moran, Philip Maher, John McGrath, Miles Murphy, Peter Murphy, Thomas Murphy, James Murphy, James Madden, Hugh McDonough, James McLean, Thomas Nash, James O'Grady, Mick O'Bryan, Patrick O'Neil, Matthew Reed, Joseph Reed, Hugh Redmond, Michael St. John, John Shannon, Patrick Sullivan, James Sullivan, John Shean, Michael Sinnot, William Sample, James Smyth, Rich Thomas, Benjamin Thomas, John Thomas, John Toole, James Wale, Henry Whey.

Source: Louis Morin papers.

Appendix 5

Frampton Food Production in Select Years

food	1851		1871		1891	
	acres	bushels	acres	bushels	acres	bushels
wheat	131	1179	58	692	59	496
barley	174	1241		6924	211	2427
rye	72	743		26		80
peas	101	702		507		161
oats	1456	23535		34358		28584
potatoes	516	29163	342	56882		18447
turnips	35	1674		849	9	533
grass seed	48	93		75		26
beans		12		38		2
buckwheat				2617		3120
corn				8		
other roots				125		
hay	229161	bundles	2023	tons	4117	tons
flax	159	lbs.				

Sources:

1851: Census of the Canadas, v.2.,pp.82-7

1871: Census of Canada, v.3, Table xxiii, St. parish only

1891: Census of of Canada, v.4, Table ii, St. parish only.

Appendix 6

Frampton Animal Population

	1823	1851	1881	1891
bulls,oxen		151	330	389
milch cows	2	918	1068	1216
calves	17	677	732	926
horses		329	280	288
sheep		1140	1717	2727
pigs	34	1118	617	421
colts,fillies			37	114
turkeys				29
geese				143
ducks				5
hens,chickens				4901

Sources: 1823: Kirouac, op cit, p.40, St. Malachie

1851: Census of the Canadas, v.2, pp.82

1881: Census of Canada, v.3, Table xxii pp.120-1. The figures given here for Dorchester County. These have divided by ten to give the quantity above.

1891: Census of Canada, v.4, Table iii.

Appendix 7

Cash Crop Production

	1851	1871	1881	1891
wool (lbs)	2774			7966
fulled cloth(yds)	677	8175		
linen(yds)	73	4350	3750	
flannel(yds)	2057		6500	
maple sugar(lbs)	31650	16550	24890	
butter(lbs)	49533	74750	69740	94899
cheese(lbs)	236	18	5	50
pork(barrels)	397			
beef(barrels)	91			
flax seed(lbs)		250		
dressed flax(lbs)		2860		
tobacco (lbs)		1215	3725	
hops(lbs)	12			
apples(bushels)	18			
other fruit(bushels)	40			
musk rat skins	180			
flax & hemp(lbs)		2250		
swine				737
cattle				1200

Sources: 1851: Census of the Canadas, v.2,pp.82-7;

1871: Census of Canada, v.3,Tablexxiv, Dorchester West statistics divided by five to give approximate number.

1881: Census of Canada,v.3,Tablexxv,p.236-7, Dorchester County, Frampton one-tenth app.

1891: Census of Canada, v.4, Tableiii.

Appendix 8

Carriages and Machines 1871 Dorchester West

2390 light carriages, 4854 transport vehicles, 2696 ploughs, harrows and cultivators, 3 reapers and mowers, 4 horse rakes, 331 threshing mills, 591 fanning mills.

Source: Census of Canada, 1870-71, v.3, Table xxii, p.114. Frampton had approximately one-fifth of the above.

Appendix 9

Forest Production

Product	1851	1871	1881
Maple sugar (lbs)	31650	16000	24890
square pine~white (cu.ft)	18	260	
square pine-red “		260	
tamarack “	175	590	
birch & maple “	150	1050	
all other timber “	22600	18700	
pine logs “	200	250	
other logs “	4020	7800	
tan bark(cords)	18		
firewood “	8000	7380	

Sources: 1851: Census of the Canadas, 1850-51, v.2, pp.82-7;

1871: Census of Canada, 1870-71, v.3, Table xxv, the figures it gives are for Dorchester West.

Frampton is roughly one-fifth;

1881: Census of Canada, 1880-81, v.I, Table xxvi. The figures it gives are for Dorchester County.
Frampton is roughly one-tenth.

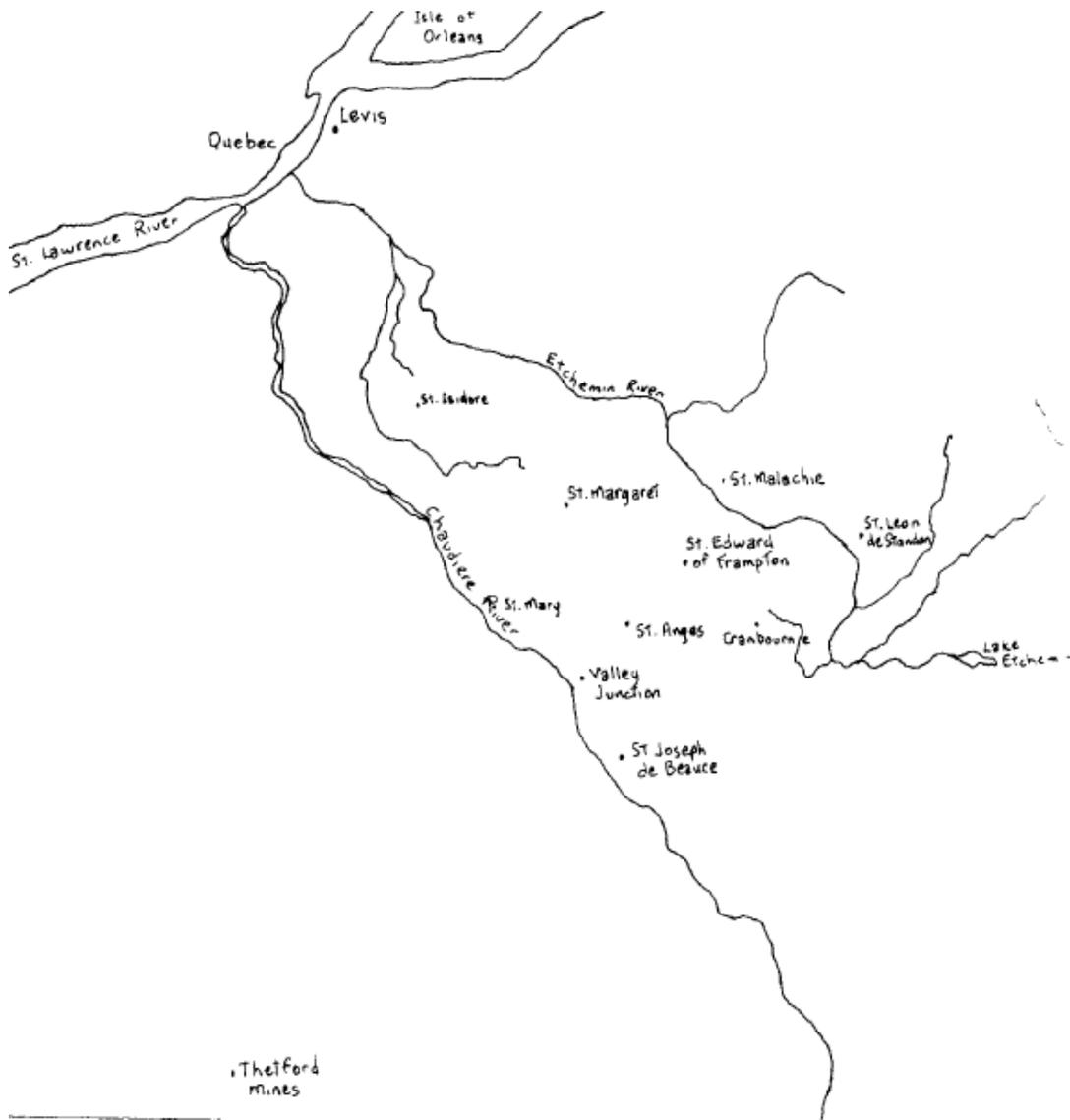
Appendix 10

Population - Age Breakdown 1851

age	number			
	male		female	
	married	unmarried	married	unmarried
0-1		22		22
1-2		32		32
2-3		17		26
3-4		46		38
4-5		30		24
5-10		165		156
10-15		157		145
15-20		129	6	165
20-30	46	97	68	62
30-40	69	10	68	1
40-50	62	2	63	1
50-60	59	2	46	1
60-70	17	3	15	1
70-80	14	1	5	1
80-90	3		1	

Source: Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, v,I,p.116.

MAP I



Appendix 11

Priests of the Parish of St. Edward of Frampton

Bernard Maddon	1829-30
William McHarron	1830-31
Hugh Robson	1831-32
John O'Grady	1832-40
William Dunn	1840-51
Michael Kerrigan	1851-56
Odilon Paradis	1856-65
Hyacinth Gagnon	1865-68
Patrick Kelly	1868-76
John McGuire	1876-83
John O'Farrell	1883-1916
Emile Giroux	1916-23
Patrick Boyd	1923-38
Edward Humphrey	1938-66

Source: Enright, op cit.

Map 2

FRAMPTON 1884

FRAMPTON

No 5 lots 1-15

Thomas Kelly Michael Duff James Quigley William Quigley	Miles Quigley	Ferdinand Lacasse	Miles Quigley	Patrick Kelly Jean Laflamme Leon Landry A. Raymond	Jean Laflamme Andrew Murphy	Michael Murphy	Andrew Bradley	George Wilson	James Wilson
Ferdinand Lacasse	John Kelly	Francis Brennan John Brennan	John Kelly	Patrick Sheehan Robert Ross	Francis Brennan John Brennan James McCowan John Brennan	John Bartholomew	James Bradley	William Morrow	Hugh Morrow
Phily Turcotte	John Kelly	Andrew Ross Robert Ross	John Kelly	Patrick Sheehan Robert Ross	Patrick Sheehan Robert Ross	John Bartholomew	James Bradley	William Morrow	Hugh Morrow
Thomas Carrier Francis Giroux Louis Roy William White		Michael Moran	Michael Moran	Michael Moran	James Hughes	John Bradley	James Clarke	William Donahue	William Donahue
William White Charles White Peter Turmen John Stynes James McBean		Michael Moran Bridget Butler	Michael Moran Bridget Butler	James Hughes Bridget Butler John Kelly	James Hughes Bridget Butler John Kelly	John Bradley	Patrick Donahue	William Donahue	William Donahue
Joseph White		James Conroy Michael Brennan	James Conroy Michael Brennan	Thomas Brennan Robert Manns William Magher	Thomas Brennan Robert Manns William Magher	John Bradley		Walter Donahue	Walter Donahue
William White		James Conroy	James Conroy	John Devereux John Duff	John Devereux John Duff	John Bradley		Hugh McGuffey Robert Pittman	Hugh McGuffey Robert Pittman
John Champagne	John Champagne	Joseph Reed	Joseph Reed	Joseph Reed	Henry Hudson	John Bradley		G. Allaire F. Allaire	F. Allaire
Adolphe LeGrange	Jean Gosselin + Francis Provost Severe Lapointe	John Ross	John Ross	George G. Ross	George G. Ross	John Bradley		F. Allaire	F. Allaire
Abraham Pomerle Charles Paul	Zepherin Marquette + Edward Lacasse	Dudley Baxter	Dudley Baxter	Jas. Jacques Brook	Jas. Jacques Brook	John Bradley		E. Allaire	E. Allaire
Anthony	White	James Hennessey	James Hennessey	Thomas Duff	Thomas Duff	John Bradley		F. Allaire Jos. Allaire	F. Allaire Jos. Allaire
John	Byrns	Denis Hennessey	Denis Hennessey	William Duff	William Duff	John Bradley		John Doyle	John Doyle
Daniel	Byrns	Andrew Hennessey	Andrew Hennessey	M. Roy J. Lapointe D. Falls	M. Roy J. Lapointe D. Falls	John Bradley		Cyren Cluche	Patrick Doyle
William	Brennan	Bernard Falls	Bernard Falls	B. Falls	B. Falls	John Bradley		Thomas Hudson	Patrick Doyle
Cyren	Leclerc	Michael Hughes	Michael Hughes			John Bradley		Patrick Doyle	Patrick Doyle
James	Falls	Etienne Paradis Octave Paradis Matthew Wells	Etienne Paradis Octave Paradis Matthew Wells			John Bradley		Patrick Doyle	Patrick Doyle
James	Falls					John Bradley		Patrick Doyle	Patrick Doyle
James Etienne	Gayle Dutil	Etienne Dutil	Etienne Dutil			John Bradley		Patrick Doyle	Patrick Doyle

Francis Girard	Peter O'Neil	William O'Neil	Louis Perron
Ottave Girard	John O'Neil	Pierre Dulac	ens Guen
Urbain Ferland	Ottave Parady Leon Rucie	"	Ulrien Parady
Damase Champagne Jean Rucie	Berrick Brennan	Joseph Dulac	Dennis Guen
Michael Lawlor	Peter Sheehan	B. Drouin	Thomas Nugent
Bonnie Picard	Mrs John Sheehan	Demers	James Nugent William Redmond
George Louis Bisson Drouin	" "	Louis Bedard	Logare Couture John Heiligen
Damase Plante	Cyrille Trepanier	Antoine Bedard	James Jordan
Maise Drouin	Honore Dulac	" "	Moses Jordan
Thomas Dulac	Joseph Dulac	Joseph Audibert	Nap Couture Alfred Couture
Cyrille Degan	Benjamin Thomas	Nazaire Bedard	Jctor Audibert Felix Audibert
Marte Drouin	Daniel Sheehan	Joseph Riote	Michael Maher
James James	O'Brien James Bisson	Thomas Bruch	Pierre Fournier
Paul Giguere	Michael O'Neil	Patrick Enright	E. Fleung J. Gote
Patrick Thomas	Lannegan	J.B. Beaudoin	J. Fournier F. Fournier
James James	O'Grady John O'Grady Elizabeth O'Grady	James Farrell	J. Carrioteau
Jean Dulac	Louis Tangway Roger Leclerc	David Couture	J.D. Fortier
L. Drouin E. Hadeau F. Degan D. Lessard	Jean Dulac	George Roy	John Farrell
"	J.E. Rouleau	" "	Antoine Roy
E. Vachon E. Brimeau	Augustin Lessard	Francis Audette	Jean Morin
"	" "	Charles Allaire	Jacques LaFlamme Nap. Latulippe
E. Poullet E. Vachon R. Cloutier	George Gagne Giguere Jean Poullet	J.B. Vallere	Jacques LaF. etc
"	Benjamin Destie Francis Degan John Dawson	Thomas Barry Jean Poullet Michel Labente J.B. Boutin	Jean Poullet
G. Vital P. Tardif G. Gagne H. Poullet P. Boulet J. Cloutier	Patrick Kelly Jeremiah Kelly John Kelly	William Free Andrew Staples	John Agner
"	E. Paulin G. Gagne	Michael Hannan	Basile Roy
"	Robert Mitchell	Thomas Courtney	J.B. Vallere
"	Jeremiah Kelly		Cranbourne

Footnotes

- (1) C.-A. Fontaine, "Les sols de Quebec", in E.Minville ed., *L'Agriculture*, (Montreal:Fides, 1943),pp.48-9.
- (2) Mason Wade, *The ' French Canadians, 1760-1945*, (Toronto:Macmillan, 1955); Ernest M.Taylor, *History of Brome County, Quebec*, (Montreal:Loveli,Ig08), v.1.
- (3) Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire Economique et Sociale du Quebec 1760-1850*, (Montreal, 1966), p.286.
- (4) Rev.J.Kirouac, *Histoire de la Paroisse de Saint-Malachie*, (Quebec: Proulx, 1909).
- (5) I.C.Chapais in A.Shortt and A.G.Doughty, *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), v. XVI, Ptil, P.510.
- (6) Kirouac, op cit.
- (7) Ernest Hawkins, *Annals of the Diocese of Quebec*, (London, 1849), p.292.
- (8) Anonymous, *La Petite Histoire de la Federation des Cercles de Fermieres du District Regional V. Comtes: Levis, Bellechase, Dorchester, Lotbiniere*, (Quebec, 1950).
- (9) Rev. Fr.W.J.Enright, "Framptonology". The writer is grateful to Elizabeth C.Kelly for showing him a copy of this manuscript. See also *Canadian Illustrated News*, supp. issue, November 1970 re. Desbarats
- (10) Enright, op cit, p.4; Kirouac, op cit, P.30.
- (11) Hormidas Magnan, *Dictionnaire Historique et Geographic des Paroisses...*, (Arthabaska, 1925), 329
- (12) New known by the French spelling St.Edouard.
- (13) Eugene Rouillard, *La Colonization dans les Comtes de Dorchester* (Quebec, 1901), p.11.
- (14) Magnan, op cit, P.30.
- (15) Kirouac, op cit, P.11.
- (16) *La Petite Histoire*.
- (17) Ibid.
- (18) J.Godkin, *The Land War in Ireland*, (London: Macmillan, 1870), p.274.
- (19) Kirouac, op cit, P-71.
- (20) C.R.Roy, "The first immigrant train to traverse the entire state of Nevada enroute to California". I am grateful to Louis Morin for showing me a copy of this paper.
- (21) Ouellet, op cit, p.274.
- (22) Mary Morin to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (23) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (24) Kirouac, op cit, p.42.
- (25) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (26) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (27) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (28) *Census of the Canadas, 1850-51*, v.2, pp.82-7.
- (29) *Census of Canada, 1870-71*, v-3. Table xxi, P.78; 1880-81, v.3, Table xxii; 1890-91, v.2, Table xvi, P-320.
- (30) Louis Morin papers, *Census, 1831, Lower Canada*.
- (31) Kirouac, op cit, p.28.
- (32) *Report of the Commissioner for Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for 1868*, P.36.
- (33) Rouillard, op cit, P.7.
- (34) Taylor, op cit, P.31.
- (35) Louis Morin papers, *Anglican Archdiocese Archives, Quebec City, Rev. Knight to Lord Bishop*, 2.11.1841.
- (36) Louis Morin papers, *P. O'Neill land treaty*.
- (37) Louis Morin papers.
- (38) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976; Minville, op cit P-500 has statistics on Quebec land prices.
- (39) Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec (henceforth AAQ), Frampton (henceforth F.), (file) 1-

6a.

- (40) Taylor, op cit, P-30.
- (41) Fr. Humphrey to Redmond, 18.9.1976.
- (42) AAQ, F.1- -77, Parishioners to Bishop, 11.1856.
- (43) AAQ, F.1-106, Parishioners to Bishop, 10.2.1858.
- (44) Louis Morin to Redmond, 16.9.1976.
- (45) Kirouac, op cit, P.50.
- (46) Henry Redmond to Redmond- I@.8.1975.
- (47) Gene O'Grady to Redmond, 28.7.1975.
- (48) Kirouac, op cit, P.13.
- (49) Armine W. Mountain, A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Late Bishop of Quebec, (Montreal, 1866), 128.
- (50) Hawkins, op cit, p.291.
- (51) Mountain, op cit, p.199.
- (52) Census of the Canadas, 1850-51, v.2, p.440.
- (53) Census of Canada, 1890-9i, v.], Table 11, p.84.
- (54) Mary Morin to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (55) Fr. Humphrey to Redmond, 18.9.1976.
- (56) Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, v.2,pp.82-7; Census of Canada, 1870-71, v.3,Tablexxi, p. 78; 1890-91, v.2, table xvi, PP.320-1. The food was grown on the area identified as "under crops"
- (57) Fr. Humphrey to Redmond, 18.9.1976.
- (58) Potatoes are a productive vegetable. Ouellet, op cit, p.253 notes their yield is seven times higher than oats
- (59) Louis Morin Papers, census, 1831, Lower Canada.
- (60) Henry Redmond to Redmond, 28.7.1975; Mary Morin to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (61) Fr. Humphrey to Redmond, 18.9.1976.
- (62) AAQ, F.1-8, Fr. Robson to Bishop, 14.3.1832.
- (63) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975; Mary Morin to Redmond, 14.8.1975 had comments on diet.
- (64) Louis Morin papers, Fr. Dunn to Bishop, 1850.
- (65) Kirouac, op cit, p.40.
- (66) Mary Morin to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (67) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (68) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (69) John Maher to Redmond, 16.8.1975.
- (70) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (71) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (72) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (73) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (74) Ibid.
- (75) Kirouac, op cit, p.63.
- (76) Tom O'Grady to Redmond, 1.8.1975.
- (77) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (78) AAQ, F.1-54, 1853 report; F.1-124, 1868 report.
- (79) Kirouac, op cit, P-57; Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, v.2, p.293; Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (80) This is made clear in contracts of land purchase, e.g., that of Patrick O'Neil 1844, in the Louis Morin papers.
- (81) Taylor, op cit, P.30.
- (82) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1975.
- (83) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (84) There were sawmills in the township right from the early years of settlement. Two are noted in most censuses.
- (85) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (86) Lime was used as a disinfectant in outhouses, Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976. It does

not seem to have been used as a fertilizer.

- (87) Roland Baillargeon to Redmond, 30.8.1976.
- (88) Denis O'Leary to Redmond. 15.8.1975.
- (89) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975; Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975,
- (90) Fr. Humphrey to Redmond, 18.9.1976. -
- (91) Ouellet, op cit, p.459.
- (92) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (93) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (94) Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (95) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (96) Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (97) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (98) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (99) Lucy O'Grady to Redmond, 1.8.1973.
- (100) Louis Morin papers, Anglican Archives, Quebec, Parish to Bishop, 30.9.1830 notes a protest against a suggestion that people pay a contractor.
- (101) Information on royal roads is found in John Hare and Honorius Provost, *Voirie et Peuplement au Canada Francais - La Nouvelle Beauce*, Pub. n.5, La Societe historique de la Chaudiere,(Quebec,1965) PP.5-6.
- (102) Louis Morin papers, P.Cassidy to priest,28.12.59
- (103) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1975.
- (104) Hawkins, op cit, p.273.
- (105) AAQ, F.1-10, Fr.J. O'Grady to Bishop, 1833.
- (106) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (107) Ibid.
- (108) S.D.Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-.1835*, (Stanford, 1957), P-174.
- (109) J.E.Roy, *Histoire de la Lauzon*, (Quebec,1904) p. 83.
- (110) Ouellet, op cit, p.262.
- (111) Ouellet, op cit, pp-502-4.
- (112) Ibid., p.284 notes the decline of the wood industry.
- (113) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (114) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 31.7.1973; Joseph Hennessey to Redmond, i4.8.1975.
- (115) AAQ, F.1-128, parish report 1869.
- (116) Henry Redmond to Redmond, 28.8.1975.
- (117) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (118) Joseph O'Leary to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (119) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (120) Joseph Hennessey to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (121) Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (122) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (123) Louis Morin papers, Fr.W.Dunn to Bishop, 30.3.1844.
- (124) Enright, op cit, p.8.
- (125) Ouellet, op cit,pp.413,454; Mountain, op cit, P,158 notes that there was cholera in Quebec in 1832, and p.198, famine in 1837; W. Sutherland, *On the Present Conditions of United Canada as Regards to Aqriculture, Trade and Commerce*, (1849), P.7.
- (125) *Le Canadien*, 26.5.1837, quoted in Ouellet, op cit, p.421.
- (126) Kirouac, op cit, p.43.
- (127) AAQ, F.1-106, Parishioners to Bishop, 7.2.1858.
- (128) *The Weekly Graphic*, New York, 22.11.1887.
- (129) *Independent*
- (130) Kirouac, op cit, p.111.
- (131) Louis Morin papers.
- (132) Ibid.
- (133) The paragraph is based on an article written by E. Allison Marchand for *The Weekly*

Graphic, New York, 22.11.1887. Much other work has been done on this migration. Charles R. Roy has good information in "The first immigrant train to traverse the entire state of Nevada enroute to California", an article submitted to the Nevada Historical Society Quarter] for publication. He cites numerous other sources. I am grateful to Louis Morin for showing me copies of these papers.

(134) La Petite Paroisse notes priests visiting each month; Mary Lawlor's translation of notes on Frampton, P.3 notes they came from St. Mary's, Beauce and Quebec; Louis Morin papers, has references to visits by Fr.H.McKeagny in 1822.

(135) Mary Morin to Redmond, 14.8.1975.

(136) See list of pastors in Appendix 11.

(137) Louis Morin papers, Irish in St. Malachie to Bishop, 3.1830.

(138) Louis Morin papers, J.Fitzpatrick, J.Toole, J.Conner, P.Walsh, M.Conner, S.Conner, W. Sample, M.St.John to Bishop, 28.11.1833.

(139) E.Kelly, "St. Edward of Frampton".

(140) Kirouac, op cit, P-39.

(141) H. Provost, Sainte Marie de la Nouvelle Beauce, (Quebec, 1967), P.288. Frampton was one of the few places in the county to have such a school.

(142) Louis Morin Papers, Bishop to Fr.Robson,16.7.32.

(143) Louis Morin papers, Vicar General to Fr. Kerrigan, 6.7.1852.

(144) AAQ, F.1-54, 1853 parish report.

(145) AAQ, F.1-120, parish report 1862.

(146) Louis Morin papers, Report of the Church Society, Diocese of Quebec, 1859.

(147) Louis Morin papers, parishioners to Bishop, 17. 3.1837; Inc. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1838,n.162, p.141.

(148) Anglican Archives, Montreal, Journal of the Synod, 4th Session, (Quebec, 1862), J.H.Jenkins report.

(149) AAQ, F.1-54, parish report 1853 criticizes one.

(150) AAQ, F.1-54, parish report, 1853.

(151) AAQ, F.1-59, parish report, 1856, praised four who renounced selling liquor that year.

(152) AAQ, F.1-10, Fr. J. O'Grady to Bishop, 1.9.1833.

(153) AAQ, F.1-23, Fr. John O'Grady to Bishop, 6.4.1840.

(154) AAQ, F.1-9, Fr. John O'Grady to Bishop, 1.10.1833.

(155) Louis Morin papers, Fr.W.Dunn to Bishop, 30.3.1844.

(156) AAQ, F.1-59, parish report, 1856.

(157) "The History of Frampton"; Magnan, p.329.

(158) Ann Redmond to Redmond, 26.7.1975.

(159) Enright, op cit.

(160) AAQ, F.1-124, parish report, 1868.

(161) Enright, op cit.

(162) Enright, op cit, P.52.

(163) Ibid, p.57.

(164) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 31.7.1973.

(165) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.

(166) AAQ F.1-54, parish report, 1853.

(167) AAQ, F.1-54, Parish report, 1853.

(168) AAQ, F.1-118, parish report,1861;F.1-120, 1862.

(169) Anglican Archives, Montreal, Journal of the Synod, 4th Session, (Quebec, 1862), J.H.Jenkins report, P.37

(170) AAQ, F.1-124, parish report, 1868.

(171) General Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works of the Province of Quebec, 6.1881, Quebec, 1882, (henceforth Agricultural Report), p.414.

(172) Ibid., pp.415-7.

(173) Agricultural Report, 1882, p.415; see also H.A. Innis, The Dairy Industry in Canada, (New Haven, 1937);

V.C.Fowke, Canadian Agricultural Policy- The Historical Pattern, (Toronto, 1946).

(174) Eight Report of the Dairymen's Association of the Province of Quebec, 1889, Quebec,

- 1890, p.92.
- (175) Agricultural Report, 1881, p.428.
- (176) Agricultural Report, 1900, P.310.
- (177) Henry Redmond to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (178) For further information, see their annual reports.
- (179) Kirouac, op cit, p.184.
- (180) Nellie Miller to Redmond, 10.9.1975.
- (181) Agricultural Report, 1881, p.426.
- (182) Agricultural Report, 1881, p.426,429.
- (183) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (184) Agricultural Report, 1881, pp.423-4.
- (185) Denis O'Leary to Redmond, 14.8.1975.
- (186) Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (187) Fr. Humphrey to Redmond, 18.9.1976; among the machines bought were horse rakes, reapers and mowers. These evolved in time. For example, harrows first had wooden, then later, steel, spikes. Informants recalled when machines were bought and their price.
- (188) Henry Redmond to Redmond, 28.7.1975. Farmers carried cheese from the factories to railheads, the frequency depending on the size of farms.
- (189) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 31.7.1975.
- (190) Ibid.
- (191) Gene O'Grady to Redmond, 28.7.1975.
- (192) Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975
- (193) For comments on general poverty, see Ouellet, op cit, p-360; one on Frampton is in Hawkins, op cit, pp.292-3.
- (194) Kirouac, op cit, p.184.
- (195) Mike Redmond to Redmond, 9.9.1976.
- (196) Agricultural Report, 1881, pp.415,423-4.
- (197) Reports of the Commissioner for Agriculture and Public Works have information on roads.
- (198) Mary Morin to Redmond, 15.8.1975.
- (199) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 3.7.1973.
- (200) Nellie Miller to Redmond,10.9.1975.
- (201) Roland Baillargeon to Redmond, 30.9.1976.
- (202) Kirouac, op cit, P-56.
- (203) Kirouac, op cit, P.130.
- (204) History of Frampton.
- (205) Elizabeth C. Kelly to Redmond, 31.7.1973.
- (206) History of Frampton.
- (207) Margaret O'Leary to Redmond, 31.7.1973.
- (208) Reports of the Minister of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec for various years give good comparative lists of books and courses offered both.
- (209) E.g., in 1867, Education Report, Table C, 123 took writing, only 7 took geography.
- (210) Elizabeth C.Kelly to Redmond, 31.7.1973.
- (211) Enright, op cit.
- (212) Ann Redmond to Redmond, 26.7.1975.
- (213) The numbers and location of schools are given in the annual reports of the Superintendent of Public Education Numbers changed. There were 4 in 1879, 6 in 1884 and 4 in 1907.
- (214) Gene O'Grady to Redmond, 23.7.1975.
- (215) Louis Morin papers, Rev. Madden to C.Cazeau, 25.7.30.
- (216) Joseph O'Leary to Redmond 15.8.1975; Ann Redmond to Redmond, 26.7.1975.
- (217) Roland Baillargeon to Redmond, 30.9.1976.
- (218) Ibid.
- (219) Elizabeth C.Kelly to Redmond,31.7.1973.
- (220) Henry Redmond to Redmond, 8.8.1973.
- (221) Tom O'Grady to Redmond, 1.8.1973.