

SUPPLEMENT

TO

“ LAKE ST. LOUIS ”

&c., &c.

From Many Unpublished Documents

BY

DÉSIRÉ GIROUARD

One of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Canada

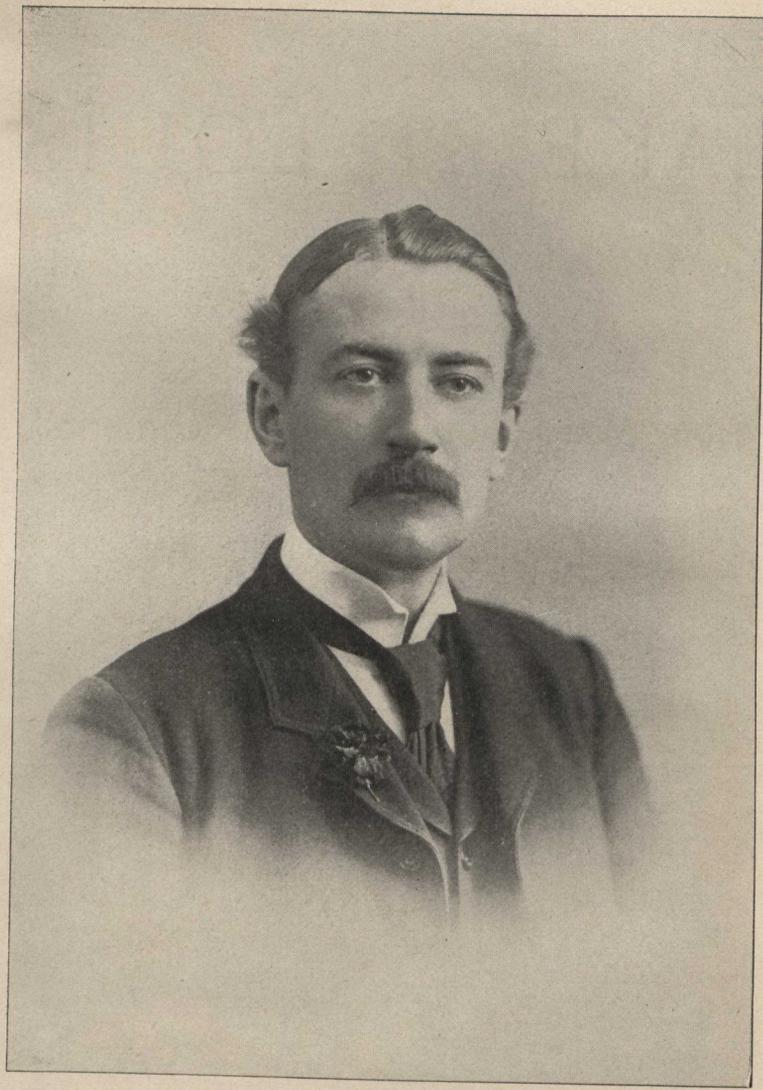
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D. H. Girouard

To the Memory

OF

MY SON DÉsirÉ

Whose fine translation

CONTRIBUTED IN A GREAT MEASURE

TO THE SUCCESS OF

“LAKE ST. LOUIS”

Honorable mention should be made of the admirable translation by Mr. Désiré H. Girouard.

EDWARD G. MASON.

The translation is admirably done; the English rigorous and idiomatic.

N. F. DAVIN.

PREFACE

At the date of the publication, in 1893, of "*Lake St. Louis, old and new, illustrated, and Cavalier de La Salle, translated from the French, by Désiré H. Girouard*", the Canadian Archives still lacked several volumes of the *Correspondance Générale*, especially those of the close of the seventeenth century covering the period of the Iroquois War. The *Correspondance Générale* is part of the National Archives at Paris and comprises several series. Those relating to Canada are known as "Série C II", containing documents received at Paris from Canada, and "Série B", composed of despatches sent from Paris to the Colonies. The first named series, forming 110 large volumes, has been copied and is now in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa. "Série B", with the thousands of documents preserved in the Parisian Archives and in those of the great cities of Europe, still remains unexplored, with the exception of a few volumes which have been intelligently analysed by Mr. Edouard Richard, assistant archivist, in his report for 1899. In 1897, the first volume of the Moreau Saint-Méry collection reached Ottawa and since that time five more have been sent. Mr. Richard has just published a comprehensive summary of the whole series. When all these documents are available to Canadian seekers, it will probably become necessary to re-write several pages, if not chapters, of Canadian History. In the meantime, I hastened to communicate to my old friends of Jacques-Cartier County — for whom these historical researches were begun in 1889 — what these volumes impart. I am happy to say that they do not in anywise contradict what I wrote in *Lake St. Louis*; on the contrary, they confirm it as to several hitherto more or less doubtful points. My first thought was to make known these new sources of information by publishing a second revised and enlarged edition of the work, but I soon

became convinced that the spare time at my disposal would not suffice for the task, and that it was besides necessary to preserve the very text of many documents of more or less length and all written in French. I concluded therefore to publish first a supplement to *Lake St. Louis* in French, which appeared in 1900, and I venture to hope it will be a completion of what was my main object at the outset, viz. : to make known Lachine and the posts of Lake St. Louis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The numerous photographs, published in *Lake St. Louis* and the *Supplement*, will be sufficient, I hope, to convey some idea of what they are to-day.

This English edition contains first an exact translation of the French, kindly done by Mr. Augustus Power, K.C., with many additions by the author, which will be found especially in footnotes and at the end of this volume. It will form the last touch of a work embodying the research of years, pleasant it is true, but all the same slow and laborious. When in thirty or forty years, sooner or later, some industrious student will undertake to revise or continue it, he will find more documents in the Canadian Archives. He will also see that the drive along the western shores of the Island of Montreal down to the Lachine rapids, with all its villas, clubs, hotels and parks, will be not only one of the most picturesque and historical, but also one of the prettiest and best finished spots of the continent of America.

D. G.

Ottawa, February, 1903.

CAVELIER de La SALLE

A correspondent, signing "Racine", writes in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. 2, p. 154: "Several historians " have asserted that La Salle arrived in Canada in the summer " of 1666. They are evidently mistaken, as Cavalier de La " Salle only received the dispensation from his vows (as a " Jesuit) and left the College of La Flèche on the 28 March, " 1667." And this correspondent concludes that La Salle only arrived in Canada in the summer of 1667. It matters little whether La Salle arrived in 1666 or 1667; either year suffices for the explanation of the documents which have reached us in relation to the first colonists of Lachine. It would be otherwise with the year 1668; the fief was established at that date, had known settlers or *censitaires*, and La Salle could not have been its first seigneur. It is therefore only from the point of view of historical accuracy that the date of his arrival deserves the attention of historians or seekers. But where is the evidence that La Salle only left the College of La Flèche on the 28 March, 1667? "Racine" offers none, and his assertion is contradicted by contemporary documents. In 1677, La Salle himself presented a memorial to the King, in which he states that he "went to Canada in 1666, and began in the same year the "Village of la Chine". In 1678, a contemporary writer says that La Salle has been travelling in North America for twelve years, which brings us back to 1666. In the *Histoire de M. de La Salle*, written in the same year, we read that he left France at the age of 21 or 22 years, which again brings us back to 1666, as he was born 21 November, 1643.⁽¹⁾ Finally, the *livre terrier* (rent-roll) of the *Seigneurs* of the Isle of Montreal shows that

(1) Margry, I, 330, 346, 376.

he obtained the grant of his land at Lachine *en roture* "towards 1666". "Racine's" simple assertion is not sufficient to outweigh these testimonies. These very documents may however have led several historians into error. If "Racine" offers no evidence, P. de Rochemonteix gives several incontestable proofs in his history *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, vol. 3, pp. 47 and 48, ed. 1895-96, which "Racine" has evidently read. In the first place, in a letter, dated La Flèche, 1st December, 1666, La Salle asks the Rev. Father General of the Company of Jesus to be allowed to go to Portugal to follow the theological course; which permission was refused, 18 January, 1667. He thereupon requested to be relieved from his religious vows, and this request, examined by his superiors, was forwarded to Rome in January, 1667, and was approved on the 1st March following. La Salle left the College of La Flèche on the 28th March, 1667. All this is established beyond doubt by the Archives of the Society of Jesus. Père de Rochemonteix cites the text of the catalogue or journal of the house: *Exivit Mag. Robertus Ignatius Cavalier à collegio Flexiensi die 28 Martii 1667*. La Salle can therefore not have reached Canada before May or June, 1667, with the first ships, and he is himself mistaken when he says that he founded the Village of Lachine in the year 1666. He should have said 1667.⁽¹⁾ He was certainly at Montreal on the 7th November, 1667, as he was present on that day at the wedding of Sidrac Dugué, with the rest of the aristocracy of the town.

As early as December, 1667, we find transfers of land situate at Lachine; there is even one dated 29 August, and this would hardly be possible before there were some acres cleared, that is to say before the spring or summer of 1667. This is probably the date of the verbal grant of fief Lachine, which La Salle called St. Sulpice. In 1669, he obtained a written title to a portion, viz.: 420 arpents, which he sold the same year with the rest of his property to raise the funds necessary for his discoveries.

(1) *Lake St. Louis* must be corrected in this respect.

On the 6th July, 1669, he embarked at Lachine where, says a memoir of the day, people take boat to go up the River St. Lawrence, "*l'on s'embarque pour remonter plus haut le long de la Grande Rivière*".⁽¹⁾ La Salle, accompanied by Messrs. Dollier and de Gallinée and some Indians who had wintered at his house of Saint-Sulpice, set out for the west with a view to discover a passage which it was expected would give communication with Japan and China, "*A dessein d'aller reconnoistre un passage qu'ils estiment trouver qui donnerait communication avec le Japon et la Chine*".⁽²⁾ In 1673, M. de Frontenac still supposed that the Mississippi discharged into the Sea of California, and it was only on the return of Jolliet and of Père Marquette, in 1674, that he learned that it falls into the Gulf of Mexico.⁽³⁾ It was then that La Salle changed his plan, and resolved to go down the great river to its mouth, and to take possession of the immense country it waters in the name of the King, his master. The better to carry out his vast enterprise, he founded, with the protection of the French Court, several seigniories and trading posts on the great lakes of the West and as far as the interior of Illinois, choosing Cataracoui as the base of his operations. During twelve long years of toil and misery, he never ceased pushing forward his discoveries, and this was done almost entirely at his own cost, in the midst of the greatest dangers and in spite of difficulties without number raised up by his enemies, but due perhaps even more to his faults of temperament.⁽⁴⁾ Finally, on the 19th March, 1687, he died a martyr to his devotion to France, assassinated by some of his own soldiers, on the Gulf of Mexico. Rouen, his birth-place, and Chicago (originally Chicagou), witness of his voyages and his establishments in Illinois, have erected monuments to his memory. The day shall come when Canadians will do the same on the site of his first establishment in America, at Lachine, at the

(1) Margry, I, 436. — (2) Corr. gén., IX, 348; Margry, I, 114. — (3) *Ibid.*, 255, 257, 258, 267. — (4) After fifteen years residence in Canada, he confesses that he had not a single friend there and that he mistrusted every body, even his brother, the Abbé Cavelier. (Margry, II, 213, 234.)

very spot crossed by the only Canadian railway which leads to Japan and China.⁽¹⁾

La Salle's tragic end was only known in Canada several years after it occurred. His brother, the abbé Cavalier, a priest of St. Sulpice, who accompanied him and who returned to Villemarie on the 14th July, 1688, with Joutel and a few companions, had kept the matter a profound secret, without ever giving the slightest explanation of conduct so strange. They all said that La Salle was not dead and that he was happily carrying out his plans.⁽²⁾ On the 20th August, 1688, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier writes to the Minister that he was agreeably surprised to receive M. de La Salle's brother "who has come back from his great discoveries. He is an excellent ecclesiastic of M. Tronson's congregation and goes to France to give you an account of all the adventures he has encountered."⁽³⁾

The Court knew absolutely nothing of La Salle's fate. On the 8th March, 1688, the Minister wrote to the Governor and the Intendant: "His Majesty is surprised that there is no news from the Sieur de La Salle."⁽⁴⁾ As his creditors threaten to sue, the Minister enjoins them meanwhile to prevent the making of unnecessary costs against him. On the 6th November, 1688, they answer: "We have nothing about M. de La Salle; M. Cavalier, his brother, has gone to give news to Your Lordship... No costs are being made against the Sieur de La Salle though there is a great number of creditors."⁽⁵⁾ M. de Champigny had previously, 8th August, 1688, informed the Minister that Abbé Cavalier had been back for three (?) months and that "he goes to France to give you an account of his discoveries."⁽⁶⁾

On his arrival in France, the Abbé Cavalier did not proceed to Saint-Sulpice, nor to Court; he went to Saumur where he wished first to fulfil a vow, and he was preparing to go to St.

(1) It is very much to be regretted that the illustrated guides of Montreal continue to show the ruins of the Cuillerier house, near the old Aqueduc, as those of the house of La Salle. See *Lake St. Louis*, p. 16-45. — (2) Margry, III, 524. — (3) *Ibid.*, 579. — (4) *Corr. gén.*, X, 28; Margry, III, 575. — (5) *Corr. gén.*, X, 12; Margry, III, 581. — (6) *Corr. gén.*, X, 204, 205, 394; Margry, III, 577.)

Michel for the same purpose, when M. Tronson, his superior, wrote him to go at once to Court where his arrival was anxiously expected to give an account "of all your discoveries".⁽¹⁾ He went, though precisely at what date does not appear, probably before the receipt of the letters of November, 1688, as we find the following note made by the Minister on the margin of the letter of 8th August: "Give them the news of his death and circumstances." And in effect, in the beginning of 1689, the Minister writes to Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny: "Although His Majesty has no doubt that they have heard of the misfortune which happened to the Sieur de La Salle, He deems it proper to acquaint them that the Sieur Cavelier, his brother, brought the news of his death, he having been assassinated by some of his soldiers." And they are ordered to make a full investigation.⁽²⁾ M. de Champigny replies, 16 November, 1689: "If anything be learnt of M. de La Salle's people, we will advise Your Lordship, and we will do what we can to get news through the Illinois. If M. Cavelier had not concealed his death, we could have sent and known the truth the next spring."⁽³⁾ In these days, when we get impatient at want of news of the war in South Africa for a day or two, it is hard to conceive that several years were required to obtain such important news. It was only the 10th May, 1691, that M. de Champigny sent a full report of La Salle's death. This report had been made by Couture at the Fort St. Louis des Illinois, on the 1st of March, 1690, and delivered to the Jesuit Fathers.⁽⁴⁾

As everybody expected, La Salle, entirely taken up with his discoveries, had neglected his private affairs and left an insolvent estate. Its sole asset was Fort Frontenac, which he had leased to his creditors, in 1686, the same year that he lost his store at the mouth of the Niagara river.⁽⁵⁾ Fort Frontenac was one of the finest properties in New France. Its first

(1) Margry, III, 581. — (2) Margry, III, 600. — (3) Margry, III, 601. — (4) Corr. gén., XI, 448; Margry, III, 601; See also "La Mort de La Salle" by Sulte, Mem. of Roy. Soc. N. S., IV, 3; Richard's Report for 1899, p. 21. — (5) Corr. gén., VIII, 37; *Ibid.*, IX, 208, 323.

construction, in 1673, had cost M. de Frontenac 10,000 livres or \$1,666.66. La Salle not only reimbursed this sum, but spent besides on the works over 34,000 livres. Later, in 1677, he demolished the old wooden fort and built another much more considerable, with five regular bastions of cut stone, a house and other dependencies, nearly all of stone.⁽¹⁾ The enclosure was of stone, at least in part, for Catalogne tells us that on the arrival of M. de Denonville, in 1687, "the walls" were 16 feet in height;⁽²⁾ but none the less it is certain that they were partly of wood, since M. de Denonville writes to the Minister, 6 November, 1687, that he had first had "walls, *murailles*, built at Cataracouy".⁽³⁾ M. de Villeneuve was the engineer, probably assisted by M. de Catalogne.

As a crowning misfortune, this valuable property was destroyed, when the creditors learned the fate of their unhappy debtor. Following the massacre of Lachine, Fort Frontenac had been demolished in the fall of 1689 by order of the governor Denonville. He had at first decided "not to burn "the house and to only destroy the new masonry added by me, "so as to leave entire M. de La Salle's structures; but I fear "that the English may occupy this post, which leads me to "instruct you to spare nothing, if you can do so".⁽⁴⁾ On the 15 November, 1689, M. de Frontenac reports to the Minister that unfortunately M. de Valrennes, commandant of the fort, had faithfully carried out the instructions sent him, that "he had "placed mines under the bastions and walls of the fort, under "the towers, of which one served for a powder magazine, and "under all the buildings, so that he, being five leagues distant "from the fort, had heard such a great noise that he doubted "not the mines had made a great explosion and the fort was "entirely overthrown".⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless, the whole fort was not blown up. M. de Catalogne states that there were four bastions, each of which had a vaulted tower serving as a store-house.

(1) Margry, I, 215, 232 to 236, 293; Belmont, 31. — (2) Mss. coll., I, 561. — (3) Corr. gén., IX, 8; Margry, V, 67. — (4) Margry, V, 42; see also Corr. gén., X, 328. — (5) Margry, V, 47.

He adds that one of these towers was not blown up, the match not having taken.⁽¹⁾ These authentic details disprove the assertion recently made that La Salle's works at Cataracouy were insignificant.

In 1695, Fort Frontenac was rebuilt by M. de Frontenac "on the old foundations at the King's expense".⁽²⁾ Père de Bonnecamp, who saw it in 1749, says that "it is a square of "stone of sixty toises" and that "each angle is flanked by a "bastion".⁽³⁾ In 1758, it was taken and destroyed by the English, who rebuilt it on the old site. The principal gate bears the date "1672"; it should be "1673", the year M. de Frontenac built it of wood.⁽⁴⁾

THE ANCIENT FORTS OF THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL

The *Correspondance générale*, deposited in the Canadian Archives since the publication of *Lake St. Louis*, fixes exactly a number of important dates which without this source of information would have remained more or less doubtful.

At page 89 of *Lake St. Louis*, I stated that the Lachine forts were built about 1687. The *Correspondance générale* establishes this fact beyond doubt; it even shows that the wooden enclosure or palisade around Villemarie was only completed in that year. Until that time the town and nearly all the country of the Island of Montreal were open, which caused no alarm, as the peace with the Iroquois had remained undisturbed since 1666. There were indeed some enclosed places like La Montagne and La Présentation and also some windmills at Lachine, Senneville and elsewhere, which in case of need might serve as redoubts. The old wooden fort of Villemarie,

(1) Mss. coll., I, 572. — (2) Corr. gén., XIX, 4; Margry, V, 67. — (3) Roy. Soc., I, N. S., 44. — (4) See "Le Fort Frontenac", by Sulte; Mem. R. Soc., N. S., VII, 47.

built at Pointe-à-Callières in 1642, was falling into decay and afforded no protection to the town which was spreading far beyond, over the hillock where now stands the commercial part of Montreal. The wooden fort of the *Sauvages de la Montagne*, surrounded by a good palisade,⁽¹⁾ was likewise too distant and too limited to receive a population of more than 1,000 souls. As early as 1684, the Iroquois had become threatening and were making war against our allies in the west. M. de Denonville resolved to surprise them in their country to the south of Lake Ontario. This decision necessitated the construction of palisades and small wooden forts to protect especially Villemarie and all the upper portion of the Island of Montreal, where were the most exposed settlements, for past experience had shown that the Iroquois never attacked a palisaded place whence growled the cannon, the white man's thunder, as they called it.

M. de Callières writing to the Minister in 1685, says : " The town of Montreal has no enclosure, nor retreats. " He proposed to make the soldiers construct " an enclosure of " terraced palisades around Villemarie with redans in the most " necessary places ". All the inhabitants of the Island " could " retire thither with their best goods ".⁽²⁾

De Denonville, the Governor, writes to the Minister, 12 November, 1685 : " On the Island of Montreal there is no " appearance of a place of refuge, except that of the Indians at " the Mountain which M. de Belmont is having closed in with " much care and work. Thus it may be said that from Rivière- " du-Loup to the head of the Island of Montreal, a distance of " more than a hundred leagues (300 miles) in length, there is " not a single place in which to put anything whatsoever under " cover from the enemy. "⁽³⁾

On the 8th May, 1686, M. de Denonville writes : " No " retreats or enclosed places as yet on the Island of Montreal... " There should be some in each Seigneurie to afford surety to

(1) Margry, III, 523 De la Potherie gives a complete description of it as it stood about 1700, flanked with four stone towers, two of which still exist, fronting Montreal College, Sherbrooke Street. See under the chap. : " Massacre of Lachine " — (2) Corr. gén., VII, 107. —

(3) *Ibid.*, 205.

“ people, their grain and their cattle. Walls are needed for
 “ Villemarie to secure the safety of the stores and to afford a
 “ refuge to the whole island in which to withstand the enemy.”⁽¹⁾

On the 12th June, 1686, M. de Denonville represents to the Minister that the habitations are too distant and that there is as yet no fort or retreat.⁽²⁾

On the same year 1686, the Minister writes to M. de Denonville : “ Forts, retreats and entrenchments are only to
 “ be built at important passages... A magazine should be
 “ built at Villemarie for the powder which is in a chapel.”⁽³⁾

On the 10th November, 1686, M. de Denonville writes to the Minister : “ Having war, — and it is impossible to avoid
 “ it, — we must study and apply ourselves strictly to group the
 “ *habitants* more closely, which will not be accomplished without
 “ much difficulty and can only be dared to be undertaken when
 “ war is declared.”⁽⁴⁾

M. de Belmont says, in his *Histoire du Canada*, that in 1686 Villemarie was surrounded by a circumference of piles ; but the truth is that the work was begun in that year and only finished in the next. In 1687, M. de Denonville writing on this subject, says : “ I have had a quantity of large and long piles made, of
 “ which two-thirds or at least more than one-half are planted.”⁽⁵⁾

The forts at Lachine were built at the same epoch.

On his departure for the war, M. de Denonville writes, 8 June, 1687 : “ Palisades of piles made around Villemarie. I leave
 “ M. the Chevalier de Vaudreuil in the country in command of
 “ the troops and to keep an eye on the posts which require to
 “ be occupied or suppressed for their safety and that of the *habi-*
 “ *tants* ; he is working to have palisades made for them, while
 “ M. de Champigny is to go from seigneurie to seigneurie
 “ giving all necessary orders.”⁽⁶⁾

M. de Denonville modified his plan of campaign. M. de Vaudreuil accompanied him during the whole of the expedition, and M. de Champigny preceded him to Cataracoui ; but he

(1) Corr. gén., VIII, 9 ; Margry, V, 15 — (2) *Ibid*, VIII, 129 — (3) *Ibid*, 69, 84. —
 (4) *Ibid.*, 200. — (5) *Ibid*, IX, 38, 40 — (6) *Ibid.*, 40, 45.

returned to Montreal two days after his arrival to oversee the fortifications of the Government of Montreal and prepare for the transport of Iroquois prisoners. -

On the return of the expedition, which was certainly anything but glorious, M. de Denonville's first care was the fortifications. The Iroquois, furious at the perfidy of which they had been the victims at Cataracoui, had even attacked him on his way down, and he had good reason to look without delay after the defence of the out-posts of the upper portion of the Island of Montreal. Some days after his return to Villemarie, 20th August, 1687, he writes to the Minister: "We are going to oblige all the people to make places of refuge and to enclose themselves with palisades."⁽¹⁾ Later, on the 6th November of the same year, he adds: "Your Lordship is informed in another communication as to all the small retreats made by the *habitants* and soldiers for their security with palisades, without any expense to the King."⁽²⁾

The King, however, made some disbursements for the fortifications. The *Correspondance générale* shows that they amounted, in 1687, to 20,000 livres and, in 1688, to 19,900 livres.⁽³⁾

In a memoir, unsigned, dated 18 November, 1689, we find: "As far back as the year 1687, the habitations up the river were begun to be grouped and the posts fortified."⁽⁴⁾

On the 10th August, 1688, M. de Denonville writes: "The plan resolved upon to make forts in each seigneurie for the refuge of people and cattle is the only expedient which could be adopted to guard the people against assured ruin."⁽⁵⁾

In 1688, M. de Callières reports to the Minister "that he had started the work of making enclosures (*réduits*) in each seigneurie with piles from 13 to 14 feet long, so that the *habitants* and the troupes quartered there may defend themselves against the incursions of the Iroquois; they have come within the last few days to the head of this Island to the number of

(1) *Corr. gén.*, IX, 104. — (2) *Ibid.*, 9 — (3) *Ibid.*, X, 304, 311. — (4) *Ibid.*, X, 538 — (5) *Ibid.*, 105.

“ 200 and have burned five habitations and six of our *habitants*
 “ as well as some others at other places. They also have lost
 “ some men. These incursions of the enemy show our people
 “ how necessary it is to fortify.

“ I have had this town of Villemarie enclosed with good
 “ piles until such time as your Lordship may be pleased *to have*
 “ *it enclosed by walls or at least to have some fort built* where we
 “ may be secure ” . . .⁽¹⁾

M. de Callières only had a little fort of piles built at Villemarie in 1692-93, at the spot where the wind-mill stood, the Dalhousie Square or Eastern Station of the present day, long known as the Citadel.⁽²⁾

The fortifications were built under the direction of M. de Villeneuve, assisted by M. de Catalogne. Villeneuve was an engineer and a very good draftsman, according to M. de Denonville. He went back to France in the fall of 1693, “ where he can stay ”, adds M. de Champigny who did not like his manners. “ Captain de Beaucourt will look after the plans.” The geographer Franquelin returned to France the same year.⁽³⁾ About this time arrived Jacques le Vasseur de Néré who, with Beaucourt, for several years directed the work of the fortifications, till the arrival of Chaussegros de Léry.

M. de Catalogne, quoted at page 90 of *Lake St. Louis*, also tells us that on the return of M. de Denonville “ the troops
 “ were sent to winter quarters, some of them employed on the
 “ enclosure of the town, I being sent myself to Laprairie de la
 “ Magdeleine and St. Lambert to make two forts and an other
 “ at the Sault for the Indians where a garrison was placed.
 “ There were made besides twenty-eight forts in the Govern-
 “ ment of Montreal, and all the *habitants* were obliged to retire
 “ thereto and bring with them all their goods, there being a
 “ garrison in each ”.⁽⁴⁾ Unfortunately these orders were soon forgotten, which was the cause of the Lachine massacre and of so many others which followed it.

(1) Corr. gén., X, 241. — (2) *Ibid.*, XII, 392 ; XII, *his*, 425, 428 — (3) *Ibid.*, IX, 9, XII, 138 — (4) Mss. coll., I, 564.

The events of the autumn of 1687 proved that these measures of defence had been adopted none too soon. "The Iroquois" says Père de Lamberville, "as early as the end of 1687, had insulted our colony in divers places by the murder and capture of several Frenchmen."⁽¹⁾ On the 9th November, 1687, the Iroquois went down to Contrecoeur, where they killed a *habitant* named Pierre Caillonneau all of whose goods were "pillaged, burned and abandoned."⁽²⁾ In September and October of the same year, they made a descent on the upper part of the Island of Montreal (Baie d'Urfé or Bay View to-day) where they killed two soldiers of M. du Crusel and eight *habitants* above referred to by de Callières, whose names the reader will find at page 113 of *Lake St. Louis*. The place was however protected by M. LeBer's wind-mill or redoubt encircled by a good palisade; but it was at the very head of the Island, far from Baie d'Urfé where the mission and several habitations were grouped. The missionary, M. d'Urfé, and almost the whole population were forced to seek refuge at Lachine and Villemarie. It was probably during this flight that M. d'Urfé left the first register of his new parish at the presbytery of Lachine, where it is still, bound with those of the parish of which it became again simply a mission.⁽³⁾ Lachine was at the time in a state of defence, in the first place, by means of the Fort of La Présentation (Dorval), which was closed as early as 1685, when the Seminary exchanged it with Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny and where the first troops sent to Lachine in the fall of 1687 in command of Du Crusel were lodged; in the second place, by Fort Rolland and the Fort de *l'Eglise* or Rémy, where regular troops were certainly garrisoned in February, 1688;⁽⁴⁾ and finally by Fort Cuillerier at the lower end of Lachine, a few arpents above the Common (the old Aqueduct to-day), although the registers of Lachine make no mention of military being stationed there. Possibly this post was temporarily served by the missionary of the Indians of the Com-

(1) Rochemonteix, III, 618. — (2) Jug. et Dél., III, 865. — (3) See *Lake St. Louis*, 112.

(4) *Lake St. Louis*, 90 to 92, 98.

mon of Lachine, M. Louis de la Faye, a young Sulpician priest, whose register may have been lost. At any rate, Fort Cuillerier was certainly in existence in 1689, for Catalogne affirms in his account of the massacre of Lachine that he went there to get two barrels of powder. The registers of Lachine of 5 June, 1695 and 14 September, 1702, also make special mention of Fort Cuillerier.⁽¹⁾

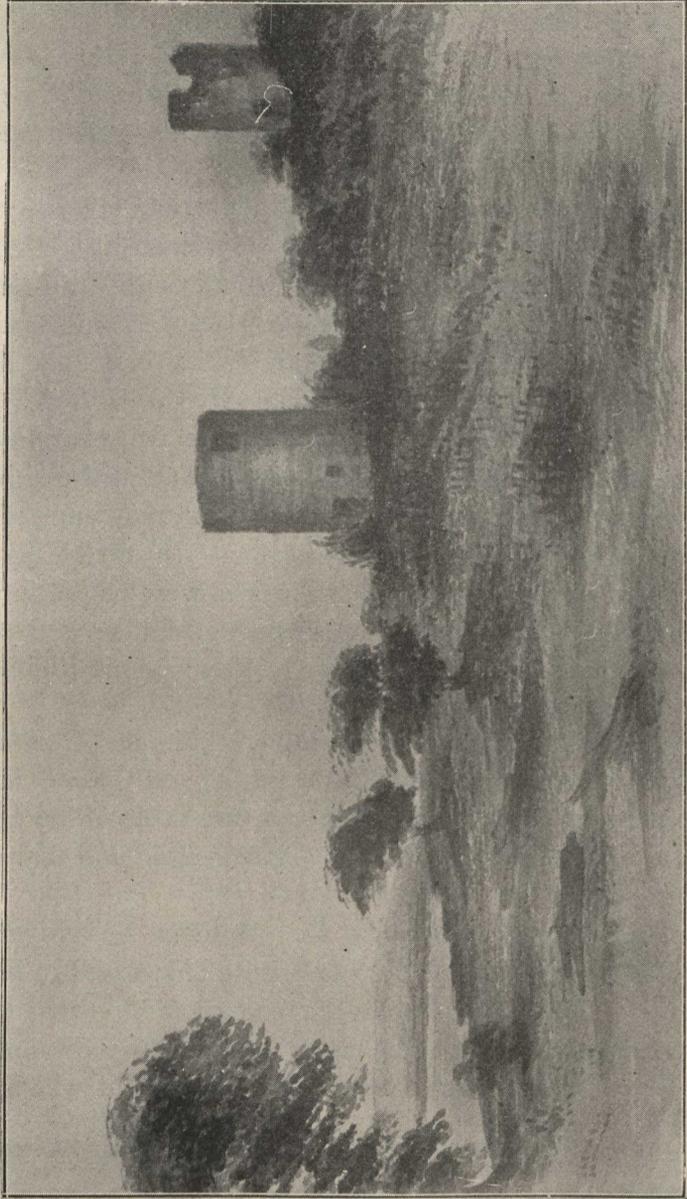
Chaussegros de Léry, engineer in chief, writes in 1721: "M. de Callières had the town of Montreal enclosed by a circuit of " great piles about 15 feet above the ground, with little sentry-boxes and platforms, so that the place is closed and guarded " as it ought to be like a town of war,"⁽²⁾ that is to say, like a town expecting only attacks from Indians.

As for the stone walls, they were only built several years afterwards at the request of Mr. de Ramesay and at the expense of the Seminary and other orders of Montreal and of the inhabitants, at least for the greater portion. In 1716 a tax was imposed to be levied annually.⁽³⁾ The works were begun in 1717 by Chaussegros de Léry and then suspended for several years. Resumed in 1722 and 1723, they were, after serious difficulties and delays, completed towards 1738.⁽⁴⁾

Regarding the post at Bout-de-l'Île, M. de Denonville writes, 8 November, 1686: "Consider if you please again, " Monseigneur, of what consequence are the posts of the end of " the Island of Montreal,⁽⁵⁾ that of Chasteaugué and that of la " Chesnaye and of Isle Jesus".⁽⁶⁾

M. de Denonville writes to the Minister, 10 November 1686: "The gentlemen of the Seminary of Montreal to favour the increase of establishments in the Island of Montreal, have, at my request, granted to the Sieur Le Bert, the privilege of building a stone mill, which I have seen begun and which will

(1) Coll. de mss., I, 569; *Lake St. Louis*, 75, 78, 92, 94, 96, 121, 165, 166. — (2) Corr. gén., XLIV, 116 — (3) *Ibid.*, XL, 274; XLI, 144 — (4) *Ibid.*, XLIV, 135, 224; LVIII, 112; Gosselin, *Québec en 1730*, p. 13. — (5) That post was considered so important that when, in 1709, it was decided to concentrate all the forces in Quebec to repulse the enemy, who was threatening that town by sea, and even remove the cannon from each fort of the Government of Montreal, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, Fort Senneville alone was excepted. Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, A. p. 437. — (6) Corr. gén., VIII, 176.



Moulin de Montigny,
1693.
Demolished about 40 years ago.

FIEF SENNEVILLE.
(Sketch by Miss Jane Durnford, 1854.)

Moulin Boïsbriant,
1686.
Restored by Mr. Clouston.

serve us as a redoubt *on a height*,⁽¹⁾ at the end of the Island
 “ of Montreal commanding a view of the river of the Ottawas,
 “ Lake of Two Mountains and Rivière-des-Prairies, bounding
 “ the Island on the North ; near the same they are working at
 “ a church to form a *cure* of which M. l'Abbé d'Urfé is to be
 “ the prelate.”⁽²⁾

On the 16th November, 1686, the Intendant, de Champigny, writes to the Minister : “ I have entertained here their
 “ Superior who appears to me a worthy man with sound views
 “ for the welfare and establishment of this Island, where a mill
 “ has been built this year and M. l'Abbé d'Urfé promises to
 “ have a Church built in a short time at the head of the Island.”⁽³⁾

In September and October, 1687, the Iroquois made several descents on Bay d'Urfé, killing several *habitants* and soldiers of M. du Crusel, as already remarked.⁽⁴⁾

On the 27 October, 1687, Champigny writes : “ Another
 “ party of sixty men (Iroquois) attacked the Sieur LeBert's
 “ house at the point of the Island. Some were rash enough to
 “ try to tear down the palisades ; they had five or six of their
 “ men killed and wounded and retired after killing only a poor
 “ old squaw and capturing an Indian.”⁽⁵⁾

Denonville adds, 28 October, 1687 : “ I have posted M. le
 “ Chevalier de Vaudreuil at the head of the Island of Montreal,
 “ with six score Canadians, so as to be ready to fall abruptly on
 “ the enemy.”⁽⁶⁾ These Canadians were sent on the 15th September, 1687, with four lieutenants and an adjutant.⁽⁷⁾

Mgr de Saint-Vallier, in his memoir, “ *Estat présent de l'Eglise*,” written and published in France, in 1688, says at page 59 : “ M. l'Abbé d'Urfé desired to be placed in the number of
 “ those serving parishes *and he takes charge of one of the most*

(1) Evidently the knoll where may still be seen the ruins of a wind mill (*Lake St. Louis*, 176), recently restored by Mr. Clouston, the present proprietor. The second mill was built at the foot of the hill and was yet in operation during the early part of the XIXth century. It was demolished by Mr. Abbott, so say the oldest inhabitants. The sketch opposite, by Miss Durnford, shows the position of the two mills as they stood in 1854. The sketch supposed to have been made by an English officer, as stated in the French edition, never had any existence. — (2) *Corr. gén.*, VIII, 200. — (3) *Ibid.*, 322. — (4) *Register D'Urfé*, at Lachine. — (5) *Corr. gén.*, IX, 220. — (6) *Ibid.*, 227. — (7) *Ibid.*, 254.

“*exposed*, with all the devotion and ardour of his zeal.” The prelate alludes to a state of things existing before 1687, as he left Canada on the 18th November, 1686. M. D’Urfé’s register shows that he became *curé* of the parish of St. Louis du Bout-de-l’Ile, in 1686, and that he ceased officiating as such in the fall of 1687. He frequently visited the locality before as missionary from La Présentation. He must have fled in the fall of 1687⁽¹⁾ before the Iroquois who attacked his parish unceasingly, and from that time to the end of the war Bout-de-l’Ile became again a mission of Lachine. This is the explanation of M. de Beauharnois’ remark to the Minister, 3 November, 1702, that in that year there had to be established five new *cures*, amongst others, one at the upper end of the Island of Montreal and another at St. Laurent.⁽²⁾

It might be thought that the effective force of the army employed in the defence of all these forts, as well as of those of Three Rivers, Quebec and the Upper Country, must have been considerable. Far from it; it comprised, first of all, the Canadian militia, admitted by the authorities to be most effective, but which cannot have exceeded 1,000 or 1,200 men, and secondly, the troops from France.⁽³⁾ From 1668, the year when the Regiment of Carignan-Salières was disbanded, to 1684, not a single soldier was sent from France and the defence of the colony was left to the militia-men and to the officers and soldiers of the Carignan regiment established in the country.⁽⁴⁾

In 1685, M. de Denonville arrived with a few companies of Marines.⁽⁵⁾ In 1686, M. de Champigny also brought a few companies.

In 1687, just as M. de Denonville was leaving for Cataracoui, M. de Vaudreuil arrived with 800 recruits, forming 16 companies of 50 men each. In 1688, M. M. de Gallifet landed at Quebec with 300 recruits, which raised the total of the troops

(1) Mgr Tanguay states that, in 1687, Frs Saturnin Lascaris d’Urfé, marquis de Beauzé, returned to France where he died on the 30 h June, 1701. *Rép. du Clergé Canadien*, 57. — (2) *Corr. gén.*, XX, 24; *Lake St. Louis*, 156, 157. — (3) *Can. Arch.*, Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176 A, p. 328. — (4) *Corr. gén.*, XL, 211. — (5) That is troops in the service of the Colonial Office. Lahontan, I, 83.

to 32 companies.⁽¹⁾ On the 4th July, 1689, 22 companies were encamped near Villemarie without counting the garrisons of the several posts.⁽²⁾ In 1690, one year after the Lachine massacre, there remained only 1,300 soldiers.⁽³⁾ From 1687 to 1690, the colony had lost in war 500 soldiers and officers and "a quantity of the best Canadians."⁽⁴⁾ In 1687, the measles made terrible ravages. On the 27th October of that year, M. de Denonville writes: "Many people of all ages and both sexes have died. " Many Indians of our missions have died. In the village of Sil-
" lery alone there are over 130 dead."⁽⁵⁾ In 1691, M. de Frontenac asked for 100 recruits who, he remarks, will be barely sufficient to make up 23 companies.⁽⁶⁾ In 1692, there remained only 987 soldiers, including officers; next year, however, 400 recruits arrived.⁽⁷⁾

Among the officers and notable persons killed during the Iroquois war, I notice the following names:

De La Rabeyre.	1689, at Lachine.
Le sieur de Monténon.	1690, Pte-aux-Tremblés.
" de Coulombe.	" "
" Le Moyne de Ste-Hélène, (died from his wounds)	" at the Siege of Quebec.
" de Clermont.	" "
" de La Touche Champlain	" "
" Dommerque.	1691, at or near Laprairie de la Madeleine.
" Dhosta.	" "
" Varlet.	" "
" Péré.	" "
" Des Iles.	" "
" de Verchères.	" "
" D'Escayrac.	" "
" de St-Cirque.	" "

(1) *Corr. gén.*, IX, pp. 10, 13, 144, 243, 374. — (2) *Coll. de Mss*, I, 567, 568; *Corr gén.*, IX, 374, 385. — (3) *Ibid.*, XI, 255. — (4) *Ibid.*, XII, 267, 272, 312. — (5) *Coll. de Mss*, I, 405. — (6) *Corr. gén.*, XI, 368, 526. — (7) *Ibid.*, XII, *bis*, 470.

Le sieur Le Ber du Chesne.	1691, at or near Laprairie de la Madeleine.
“ de Repentigny.	“ at Repentigny.
Le Moyne de Bienville.	“ “
Le sieur de Blainville.	“ “
“ de Lusignan.	1692, at Richelieu Islands.
“ De la Brosse de Beau- cage.	at Long-Sault, Ottawa.
Joachim de Boucherville.	“ “
Pierre Nicholas Jetté, son of Ur- bain, ancestor of the Lieute- nant-Governor.	“ “
Le Gardeur de Montesson.	“ “
Le sieur de Hertel, jr.	“ “
“ de La Potterie.	“ “
“ de La Valtrie, jr.	1693, at St. Anne's Rapid.
“ Du Lac.	“ “

Among the officers, I mentioned, at page 99 of *Lake St. Louis*, Jacques de Malleray de Noiré, sieur de La Mollerie, ensign in command at Lachine, in 1690 and 1701. He belonged to an illustrious family, being the son of the Duchess de La Mollerie, for which reason, he had the less difficulty in obtaining pardon for several murders and homicides committed by him as well in France as in Canada. On the 10th October, 1695, he asked the registration by the *Conseil Supérieur* of letters of pardon by the King for the homicide, in France, of Jean Guillot, sieur de La Forest, in which His Majesty sets forth that La Mollerie “has distinguished himself on all occasions which “offered against the English and the Iroquois, as well as in the “command of the forts entrusted to him”. Later he killed, with a blow of his sword, in full daylight in a street of Quebec, one Charles Justel de Soissons, who had reviled him, but had apologized. He obtained his pardon from the *Conseil Supérieur* of Quebec. A life of crime, so unworthy of his lineage, was to have a tragic ending. In 1715, he was killed in a duel by D'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil, also an ensign belonging to an

ancient and noble family of German origin, which had a commercial post at St. Ann's. His ancestor had been physician to Francis I.⁽¹⁾ The d'Ailleboust family still has representatives in the District of Three Rivers.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE MARQUIS de DENONVILLE⁽²⁾

A great grand-son of the Marquis de Denonville, Governor General of Canada from 1685 to 1689, wrote me the other day that he was preparing a history of his ancestor's administration and asked me to send him a copy of *Lake St. Louis*. In looking over some volumes of the *Correspondance générale* deposited in the Canadian Archives since the publication of the book, I came across several unpublished documents which throw a new light upon this dark page of our history. I shall be happy if he is able to interpret these new documents otherwise than I have done.

On the evidence of Gédéon de Catalogne,⁽³⁾ an eye-witness, I stated in *Lake St. Louis*, p. 115, that the Marquis de Denonville was guilty of infamous treachery towards the Iroquois, whom he had caused to be invited to a great feast at Fort Frontenac at Cataracoui (now Kingston), during the summer of 1687, with a view to conclude a general peace. I do not know if the feast took place, but certain it is that a number of the invited guests went to the fort, expecting M. de Denonville and de Champigny, the Intendant, who was sent in advance to

(1) Jug. et Dél., III, 1058, 1060, 1063; Corr. gén., IV, 56; XLI, 144. — (2) Read before the Royal Society of Canada, May, 1899. — (3) He used to sign simply "Catalogne", *Greffe de Bourguine*, 7 November, 1685; *Greffe d'Adhémar*, 23 February, 1699; Plan of St. Ann's, 31 July, 1713, published below; *Vieux La hinc.* 25; *Lake St. Louis*, 66; *Mémoire sur les Seigneuries*, Moreau de Saint-Méry collection, Canadian Archives, p. 173. Nearly all the memoirs of the period and his descendants write "Gé'téon De (or de) Catalogne". M.m. of Royal Society, 1st series, II, 7; Jug. et Dél., IV, 370, 375, 471; *Ibid.*, VI, 1015.

execute his orders with an escort of thirty men. "On the way," says Catalogne, "he invited all the Iroquois he met to a feast which he was to give at the said fort. Those who encamped around the post were also invited. During this time, carpenters were employed setting up wooden tables etc., for the accommodation of the guests."

"On the day fixed for the feast, all the guests were arrested, and, as there was no lodging which would serve as a prison, they were placed, to the number of 95 men, with fetters on their feet," etc. That is to say, they were all made prisoners.⁽¹⁾

Having accomplished this stroke, the Intendant returned to Montreal. On his way, above the rapids, he met the Governor General who was ascending at the head of an army of over two thousand men,⁽²⁾ formed of 832 regulars, 930 militia men, 300 Indians, and 100 men for the service of 200 flat boats and a like number of bark canoes.⁽³⁾ He was accompanied by a brilliant staff and several seigneurs and notables of the country; amongst others the Chevalier Hector de Callières, Governor of Montreal, the Chevalier Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, commanding the King's troops and recently arrived from France,⁽⁴⁾ afterwards Marquis and Governor General, Baron Lahontan, Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, later first Baron de Longueuil, Le Moyne de Ste-Hélène, Portneuf, son of the Baron de Bécancour, Fleutelot de Romprey, Saint-Cirq, the chevalier de Troyes, the chevalier de Baugy, aide-de-camp, Valrennes, the Abbé de Belmont, Berthier, Desmeloizes, La Valtrie, Granville, Claude de Ramesay, commanding the militia, afterwards Governor of Three Rivers, and later of Montreal, Le Gardeur de Repentigny, Aubert de La Chesnaye, de Louvigny, Le Ber

(1) Collection de mss., I, 559. Published under the auspices of the Legislature of Quebec in 1883. The Moreau Saint-Méry collection, Canadian Archives, contains this memoir. — (2) A memoir raises this figure to 3,000 men. — (3) Corr. gén., IX, 52; *Ibid.*, XI, 153; Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, p. 225. — (4) He arrived in Canada in May, 1687, with 800 recruits who were left behind to protect the posts. Margry and Belmont say "1,500 men". (Vol. V, Introd., p. xxxv, Hist. du Canada, 20); Parkman: 800 regulars (Frontenac, ed. 1893, p. 144). M. de Denonville writes to the Minister that he has received 800 recruits (Corr. gén., IX, 166). In January, 1687, he had asked for 1,500 veterans (*Ibid.*, p. 311). M. de Vaudreuil made the crossing in 33 days, the shortest passage then known. Lahontan, always prone to

de Saint-Paul, Dupuy, Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriant and Gédéon de Catalogne. Later this army was increased by nearly 170 Frenchmen and 400 Indian allies, who came down expressly from the upper country, under the command of Olivier Morel de la Durantaye, de La Forest, Greysolon du Lhut, chevalier Henri de Tonty, Jacques Bourdon d'Autray and Nicolas Perrot.⁽¹⁾

Catalogne, continuing his narrative, adds: "The army thus ordered left Montreal at last, arriving at La Galette⁽²⁾ which is the head of the rapids. There we met M. de Champigny who gave an account to monsieur the Marquis de Denonville of the expedition which he had first made and continued his journey to Montreal, and we arrived three days later at Fort Frontenac. As soon as we arrived, we made a detachment which, with the canoes which conveyed the victuals, took the Iroquois to the prisons of Quebec."⁽³⁾

Forty of them were sent to the galleys in France, where several perished miserably, in spite of the care and attention of the authorities. In the fall of 1689, the survivors to the number of about twenty⁽⁴⁾ and notably the great chief Oréaoué — the same who afterwards became the friend of the French — were sent back to Canada with Count de Frontenac, who came to replace the Marquis de Denonville.

On the 16th November, 1689, M. de Champigny writes to the Minister that three galley prisoners are in their country, and that others have also arrived in Canada⁽⁵⁾

The testimony of M. de Catalogne — unsigned and transmitted more than twenty-five years after the event, probably to avoid the displeasure of high personages — establishes that the first arrest of the Iroquois encamped around Fort Frontenac

exaggeration, affirms that it was done in 28 days. — (1) Coll. de mss., I, 560; Corr. gén., IX, 42, 53, 57, 87, 88, 97, 112, 179; Jug. et Dél., III, 249. — (2) Now Prescott. — (3) Coll. de mss., I, 559, 560. — (4) Catalogne says "three" and P. de Lamberville "thirteen". The roll of Iroquois sent to Rochefort in 1689, evidently to cross over, gives the names of twenty-one Iroquois. (Coll. de mss., I, 454, 572; Rochemonteix, III, 615.) — (5) These three Iroquois, one of whom was Oréaoué, landed from the *St. François Xavier* at Quebec, 12 October, 1689, with Count de Frontenac. The others arrived some days after. (Margry, V, p. XLIX; Corr. gén., X, 393.)

was made by Champigny, the Intendant. But did he so act on his account or under the orders of the Governor?

Margry and Parkman both suppose that Champigny was the great culprit, and that the Governor is to be blamed only for ratifying the perfidious act and profiting by it. Speaking of the expedition of M. de Denonville, Margry says in his Introduction to vol. V of his *Mémoires et Documents*, p. xxxvi: "M. de Champigny, in order that the march of the troops should not be known, had recourse to a sorry expedient. Preceding the army to Montreal and then to Fort Cataracouy, he had on his road invited all the Iroquois whom he met to a feast which he was to give at the fort. He also invited the Indians who were encamped around the post." The eminent historian then cites the testimony (given above) of an eyewitness, whom he does not name, but who is now known to be Gédéon de Catalogne; and he adds: "After this fine prank, M. de Champigny returned to Montreal whence he sent to France, to the galleys, the unfortunates who had thought they could trust his word."

Catalogne does not say that it was M. de Champigny who shipped the prisoners to Quebec and thence to the galleys in France; on the contrary, he affirms that the transport was made by M. de Denonville after his arrival at Fort Frontenac. Apparently he did not find the number sufficient for, according to Catalogne⁽¹⁾ he sent a detachment of voyageurs, in command of sieur Péré, to seize, on the north of Lake Ontario, all the Iroquois whom they should meet within 25 leagues of the fort.⁽²⁾ These were brought there prisoners, and thence shipped to the galleys in France, during the stay of the Governor at the Fort.⁽³⁾

In 1688, Mgr de Saint-Vallier published at Paris a memoir *sur l'Estat présent de l'Eglise en la Nouvelle-France*, etc., in

(1) Coll. de mss., I, 560. — (2) Lahontan says nothing about the seizure of the Iroquois encamped around the fort awaiting the arrival of M. de Denonville, and he affirms that the seizure of Iroquois in their villages north of Lake Ontario was made by Champigny. He is mistaken as is shown not only by Catalogne's narrative, but by all the memoirs of the period, even those of M. de Denonville, as we shall see further on. — (3) Coll. de mss., I, 560; Corr. gén., IX, 99.

which he says that M. de Denonville "made sure without any trouble at Kataracouy of nearly two hundred persons of the same nation (Iroquois), who might have re-inforced the enemy if they had been at liberty to go and join him, and who in the future may serve as hostages for the safety of the prisoners they may take from us". Mgr. de Saint-Vallier does not even suspect that at the very moment he was writing these lines, the greater number of the Iroquois prisoners, seized at Cataracoui, were in the galleys of France. It should also be added that the prelate based his account of the expedition of M. de Denonville on letters received during his sojourn in Paris. He had left Canada on the 18th November, 1686, arriving in France on the 1st January, 1687, "after a very stormy crossing". He was back in Quebec, on the 8th August, 1688.

These atrocities were committed before the eyes of the high officials, nobles and notables accompanying M. de Denonville, without apparently moving them. They had probably reason to believe that his action was authorized by his superiors, as we shall see presently.

The Abbé de Belmont says: "In truth it was pitiful that Indians, who were as it were under our protection, should be thus taken, plundered and chained and caught by the bait of a feast. What was worse was: 1° that the men were sent at the end of the campaign to the galleys in France; 2° that most of the women and children died of grief and of the pestilential malady which broke out in the habitation."⁽¹⁾ But this very natural sympathy did not reach the point of public or general disapproval.

Lahontan is the only eye-witness who speaks of open intervention in favour of these unfortunates, but, according to his own account, it did not extend beyond his individual action. He begins by stating "that they deserved nothing less than the treatment they received"; then he says that he shuddered at the sight "of the young Indians of our party burning their fingers by slow fire in lighted pipes", to such a point "that

(1) Hist. du Canada, 20.

“ he had a mind to beat them severely with his stick ”. He adds that he first missed being shot on the spot by the Indian allies who ran to arms. He escaped “ with a reprimand and four or “ five days arrest in his tent ”. It seems that on this occasion, as on so many others, unfortunately, Lahontan⁽¹⁾ is writing romance rather than history. He was too well acquainted with the Indian nature and customs to risk his skin in such a defiant manner. It is even surprising that the allies did not devour some of their enemies, as was seen on more than one like occasion in the face of Europeans, French or English, who were unable to prevent these atrocities.

The testimony of Monseignat⁽²⁾ secretary to M. de Frontenac, written in 1690, is as positive as that of Catalogne. Speaking of the Great Chief Oréaoué,⁽³⁾ he says : “ He enjoyed “ much consideration among his people, and ’twas on pretext “ of peace and of a feast of alliance (which is the way of treating “ affairs with them) that they were enticed to Fort Frontenac “ and taken prisoners with forty others of his people, by order of “ Monsieur de Denonville. He shipped them to France, *as you “ are aware*, and they would still be in the galleys had not the “ King deemed proper to send them back here with Monsieur “ the Count, *the treachery practised on them being in nowise to “ his taste.*”⁽⁴⁾

Monseignat does not say by what means the news of this act of perfidy reached France. In any event, this prompt repatriation of the Iroquois does honour to old France, guilty or otherwise. The Acadians deported, whether with or without the participation of Great Britain,—we do not desire to examine this contested point in the history of Acadia⁽⁵⁾—were not treated

(1) Lemaire, a missionary to Louisiana, writes, 15 January, 1714 : “ What we read in “ Baron La Hontan about this western part of Louisiana is regarded in this country as pure “ invention (*contes faits à plaisir*).” Margry, VI, 185. — (2) Monseignat had been in the country for several years. In 1680 he was clerk to La Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac. Jug. et Dél., II, 368. — (3) “ Oréaoué ”, according to Margry, V, p. XLIX ; “ Ouréhouaré ”, according to Bibaud, *Panthéon*, 210, and “ Ouréhaoué ”, according to Parkman, *Frontenac*, ed. 1893, p. 195 ; probably the same who appears in the Roll of Iroquois as “ Jean-Baptiste Ariouez ”. (Coll. de mss., I, 454.) — (4) (Coll. de mss., I, 485. The italics here as elsewhere are ours.) — (5) See The Story of the Acadian Deportation, by John O’Hagan, Le Courier

with the same justice. Their repatriation is still awaited. It will come, and it will come from Nova Scotia which not only pronounced and executed the decree of their dispersion, but profited by the numerous confiscations of their goods and lands which followed.

Has Monseignat told the whole truth? Was the French court aware of the principal circumstances connected with the arrest and deportation of the Iroquois? Had M. de Denonville received any instructions from his superiors in that regard?

Note, in the first place, that when sending the Iroquois back to Canada, the King expresses no disapproval of M. de Denonville's conduct. His Majesty states, on the 9th of February, 1689, that he acts "on the request to that effect of M. de Denonville."⁽¹⁾ On the 1st May, 1689, M. M. de Denonville and de Champigny are informed by the Minister, without comment, that the King will have the Iroquois brought back from Marseilles, will give them decent clothing and send them back to their own people.⁽²⁾ Finally, when, on the 31st May, 1689, the King recalls the Governor, it is not to humiliate him, as Parkman insinuates, but "to give you employment in my armies, where "I am convinced you will serve me with the same devotion, "the same zeal and the same success as you have done in the "past".⁽³⁾

One of M. de Denonville's first steps on his arrival at Quebec was to send for Father Jean de Lamberville, S. J., who had been a missionary to the Iroquois for eighteen years. The latter relates in a letter dated 23 January, 1695, unpublished till within the last few years, the instructions given him by the new Governor: "He deputed me towards the Iroquois to invite "them all, in the person of their chief, to be next spring (1687) "at an appointed meeting place to treat of the continuation of "peace and the means of well maintaining it with them and "they with him. I was told to pledge the faith and word which

du Livre, II, 275, 318; Col. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, II, 131, 149 and fol. — (1) Coll. de mss., I, 447. — (2) Richard's Rep. for 1899, 284. — (3) Coll. de mss., I, 451. War had just broken out between France and England.

“ was given them for liberty and surety to come to the *rendez-vous* and to return home.”

On his return to the Iroquois, P. de Lamberville assembled forty of the principal chiefs of all the villages of the confederation; he conveyed to them the Governor's message, adding “ that he (the Governor) was a man incapable of breaking his word or of deceiving contrary to the law of nations.”⁽¹⁾

M. de Denonville wrote a journal of his expedition which was sent to France in October, 1687, and may be found in tome IX of the *Correspondance générale*, pp. 112 *et seq.*⁽²⁾ It does not say a word as to the treachery practised at Fort Frontenac. We read, however: “ Thus all last summer passed in negotiations⁽³⁾ which were concluded by a resolution taken *that they and we* should assemble at Fort Cataracoui to take measures so as to arrive at a general peace.”

M. de Denonville continues: “ Towards evening (25 June above the Rapids) we had advice from Cataracoui, by a canoe sent by Monsieur the Intendant, that he had arrested all the Indians so as to prevent any of them from carrying to the enemy news of our march, and that he had invited the Indians who were at Otoniata to come and meet him at Cataracoui, where they would be arrested like the others. . . . M. the Intendant arrived at this camp (La Galette) on his way back from Cataracoui. . . ; he informed us of the manner in which he had arrested all the Iroquois Indians from around the fort, who were there to the number of six score, of whom thirty were men, the rest women and children. . . .

“ On the 29th June, we had the joy of witnessing the arrival of the Reverend P. de Lamberville, of the Company of Jesus, missionary to the village of the Onontaguez, whom I had sent for on pretext of bringing the leaders of the Iroquois to negotiate with us as to the means of pacifying our differences.”⁽⁴⁾

(1) Rochemonteix, III, 614. — (2) This volume only reached the Canadian Archives in 1896. A copy of this journal has been in the Archives at Quebec for a number of years. Marshall published a translation in his *Historical Writings*, p. 144, and it may also be found in vol. IX, *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, p. 358. — (3) Through the medium of P. Jean de Lamberville. (4) *Corr. gén.*, IX, 163, 174.

Finally, M. de Denonville recounts the expedition of Péré, who, assisted by a detachment of forty Canadians in command of De Repentigny and Portneuf, fell suddenly on the Iroquois villages situate on the north of Lake Ontario, and informs the Minister that he has taken eighteen men and sixty-two women and children, "making in all fifty-one good men and a hundred and fifty women and children".⁽¹⁾ M. de Champigny writes to the Minister, on the 16 July, 1687, that M. de Denonville has arrested 50 Indians at Catarakoui and that they are being sent to France as prisoners by the King's ship "Le Fourgon". On the 3rd July, 1687, M. de Denonville had written to M. de Champigny that he was sending him 50 Iroquois for the galleys of France.⁽²⁾

Père de Lamberville says that he found two hundred prisoners, men, as well as women and children. They protested against the treatment which they were made to undergo, and some, who had been in France, said they would demand justice and protection.

On the 8th March, 1688, the King writes to M. de Denonville: "His Majesty has sent the Iroquois whom you shipped to France to the galleys, where I have given the necessary orders so that they shall want for nothing, and you must, *in the continuation of this war*, endeavour to make the greatest number of prisoners you can, being certain that these people who are vigorous and accustomed to hardship can serve on His Majesty's galleys."⁽³⁾

In the same year 1688, the Minister writes to the Intendant of the Galleys at Marseilles: "The King has had regard to what has been represented to him that these Iroquois require stronger food than the ordinary, and His Majesty is willing

(1) *Corr. gén.*, 176-179.—(2) Moreau de Saint-Méry, *F.* 176, p. 176; *Can. Arch.*, Richard's R. p. for 1899, 43. The first register of Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Indian Mission, at the Mountain of Montreal, which will be found at Oka, under date 28th December, 1687, gives the names of several Indians who were baptised by Father Millet at Katarakoui "dans le temps qu'on arrêta tous les Sauvages de Ganeoui et Katarokoui", that is to say at the time of the arrest of all the Indians who were found near Fort Frontenac and north of Lake Ontario.—(3) *Coll. de mss.*, I, 418.

“ that you should treat them in the same manner as the negroes
“ of Senegal.”⁽¹⁾

These documents, to nearly all of which I have referred elsewhere,⁽²⁾ simply go to prove that the French court knew that Canada had deported Iroquois to the French galleys, but nothing shows that it was cognizant of the deceit and fraud committed at Fort Frontenac.

Judging by these documents, one may suppose that the French court had reason to believe that the Iroquois shipped by M. de Denonville were prisoners of war; and this is the opinion of Parkman, who does not even mention the documents cited below.⁽³⁾

As early as 27 February, 1688, Dongan, Governor of New-York, demanded of the Marquis the return of the Indians who were prisoners on the galleys of France.⁽⁴⁾

On the 24 September, 1689, M. de Denonville wrote that the sending of the prisoners to France had greatly contributed to irritate the Iroquois against the French.⁽⁵⁾ He knew whereof he spoke, having before his eyes the massacre of Lachine and all the ravages of the Iroquois over the whole Government of Montreal. It is probable that the French court was aware of all the particulars of the expedition of M. de Denonville in the fall of 1687, on the return of the vessels with the Iroquois prisoners, for, from the moment of their arrest, they had declared that they would appeal to the King. But previous to this, in 1687 and even in 1686, was the court entirely ignorant of what was taking place or planning in Canada? Did not its conduct and instructions to the Governor make it in some sort privy to the crime?

The *Correspondance générale*, which I have just gone through, is more precise and more conclusive.⁽⁶⁾

On the 31st July, 1684, the King wrote to M. de La Barre, Denonville's predecessor: “ I wish you to do all that is possible

(1) Coll. de mss., 426. — (2) *Lake St. Louis*, p. 116. — (3) *Frontenac*, ed. 1893, p. 140. — (4) *Corr. gén.*, X, 52. — (5) *Ibid.*, 331. — (6) It has been almost entirely translated into English and published in vol. III and IX of the *N. Y. Colonial Documents*.

“to make the greatest number of prisoners of war of them (the Iroquois) and that you have them embarked on all occasions which shall offer and sent to France for the galleys.”⁽¹⁾

The Intendant de Meulles wrote the Minister, 28 September, 1685: “M. de Denonville is making ready to carry the war to the Iroquois in the year 1687 and to that end he is taking his precautions in good time.”⁽²⁾

On the 12th November, 1685, M. de Denonville sends a Memoir to the King “concerning the present state of Canada and the measures which ought to be taken for the security of the country”, in which he represents that it is necessary to exterminate the Iroquois; that it is impossible to trust their word; that Fort Frontenac ought to be strengthened and another built at the strait (*détroit*) of Lake Erie; that it is indispensable that the Illinois and the Allies of the upper country should join the French; that he cannot, before next summer, notify this to the Chevalier de Tonty, who represents La Salle at Fort Saint-Louis-des-Illinois, nor to La Durantaye or du Lhut, who are also in the west; that war should only be declared when everything is ready, and that he is making his preparations secretly, without arousing the suspicions of the Iroquois.⁽³⁾

On the 8th May, 1686, M. de Denonville insisted with the Minister on the necessity of fortifying Niagara.⁽⁴⁾

Volume VIII of *Correspondance générale*, pp. 66 *et seq.*, contains an “extract” (not a simple analysis) “from answers to letters received from Canada during the present year 1686”. It is dated 20 May, 1686, and these answers must have been received by M. de Denonville not later than by the last vessels in the fall of the same year. We find the following: “To M. de Denonville—His Majesty⁽⁵⁾ has seen the memoir⁽⁶⁾ which he

(1) (Corr. gén., VI, 444.) It was doubtless as a result of these instructions that, long previous to the Cataracoui stroke, Iroquois prisoners had been shipped to the galleys in France. — (2) *Ibid.*, VII, 159. — (3) This memoir is to be found in the Canadian Archives and in the *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, p. 280. An extract has been published by Margry, vol. V, p. 8, and also in the Coll. de mss., t. I, p. 348. — (4) *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IX, 289. — (5) Louis XIV was reigning and the Marquis de Seignelay was Minister of Marine charged with the direction of Colonial affairs. — (6) Doubtless the memoir of 12 November 1685.

“ sent concerning the present state of Canada and the measures which may be taken for the security of the country. He finds it very useful and very sensible. . .

“ In case he cannot avoid making war on the Iroquois, he will begin apparently at that post (Cataracoui) which affords by its situation a mean of soon bringing it to an end, inasmuch as the Indians pass within reach of this fort on their way back from hunting. He can easily take advantage of a favourable conjuncture to attack them unawares, as they have several times done to the French.

“ His Majesty leaves it to him to do in this matter what he deems most expedient, observing what has been explained to him, that it is necessary, for the good of the colony, to avoid war in so far as may be compatible with security and the maintenance of the Iroquois in the dread which they should have of the French ; but if war must be waged, it is necessary to take good measures *to promptly exterminate that nation* and avoid prolonging the war.”⁽¹⁾

On the 12th June, 1686, M. de Denonville writes to the Minister : “ The only thing which I think I can do at present is to seek to temporise and spin out as well as can be done, seeking to negotiate until next year, in the hope that perhaps the Illinois *whom I have sent to warn* will be willing to assemble and approach the enemy by Lake Erié.”⁽²⁾

On the 8th November, 1686, M. de Denonville sends to the court a memoir⁽³⁾ (“ joined to the letter of 8 November, 1686 ”) “ upon the present state of affairs in Canada and the necessity for making war next year against the Iroquois ”. This memoir must have left by the last ships and been received at Paris the

(1) Corr. gén., VII, 69, 73, 74. The complete text of these answers must form part of *Série B* which remains to be copied. The “ extract ” is not in the *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, nor in Margry, Parkman or Richard. — (2) Margry, V, 13. La Potherie, almost a contemporary, t. II p. 188, says that in 1686 M. de Denonville had all the allies of the upper country warned to join him against the Iroquois. Mgr de St. Vallier, p. 240, mentions the same fact. He adds, p. 241, that “ all the preparations for war were “ made in the most secret manner, and meanwhile the Iroquois were “ amused by different negotiations. . . . When everything was ready, war was declared at Quebec “ with extraordinary solemnities ”. — (3) This memoir is translated and published in *N. Y. Colonial Documents*.

same year.⁽¹⁾ It is to be found in the papers of that year. M. de Denonville says in it: "Father de Lamberville returned with "an order from me to convoke all the Iroquois nations to discuss "our affairs next spring at Cataracoui. I am convinced that "very few will come, but my chief aim is to entice them there,— "the Jesuit father alone remaining, for from this year he is to "send back his younger brother,⁽²⁾ so that he himself may have "less trouble in retiring alone. The poor father meanwhile "knows nothing of our designs."⁽³⁾

And he concludes: "You do not require more, Monseigneur, "to convince you that there should be no more hesitation and "that the colony must be looked upon as lost, if we do not make "war next year. . .

"The copy which I send you of the orders which I have "given for our enterprise of next year will inform you of all the "measures I have taken for the succes of our designs."⁽⁴⁾

On the 10th November, 1686, M. de Denonville again writes to the Minister: "Having war,—and it is impossible to avoid "it,—we must study and apply ourselves strictly to group the "habitants more closely, which will not be accomplished without "much difficulty and can only be dared to be undertaken when "war is commenced."⁽⁵⁾

If M. de Denonville was able to keep his enterprise secret in the old government of Canada, he was not equally lucky in the upper country. After informing the Minister, 16 November, 1685, that he could not get warning to Tonty, LaDurantaye and duLhut before the summer following, he came across a hardy fur trader and *coureur des bois*, François Lenoir dit Rolland, proprietor of Fort Rolland at Lachine, who undertook to carry his despatches to the posts of the west. He was accompanied by Paul Bouchard dit Dorval, trader of Bout-de-l'Isle.⁽⁶⁾ The text of this despatch is not to be found in the Archives, but Tonty himself gives its tenour. On the 13th April, 1686, reporting his voyage to the mouth of the Misissippi

(1) Crossing the Atlantic took from forty to sixty days. — (2) Jacques de Lamberville S. J. — (3) *Corr. gén.*, VIII, 172.—(4) *Ibid.*, 173, 174.—(5) *Ibid.*, 200.—(6) *Lake St-Louis*, 212.

in search of Cavalier de La Salle, Tonty narrates that on the 27th February, he visited the village of the Illinois, "having made "them some presents to induce them to march to war against "the Iroquois next year, when the French in Canada will go to "war with the said nation, according to what M. the Marquis de "Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the King in "Canada, writes me".⁽¹⁾

In a letter written at Montreal, 24 August, 1686, to Cobart de Villermont in France, Tonty relates how this decision reached him. He went to the post of Michillimakinac on the 15th January, 1686, in search of the sieur Rolan, "who was bringing "me M. the Marquis' letter". He adds: "I leave to-morrow "to go to the Illinois so as to lead that nation against the "Iroquois according to the orders of M. the Marquis. I shall "march with them, and it is a journey of three hundred leagues "by land, on which my fortune depends, if God gives me the "grace to succeed and to succour the French, who will march "against that barbarous nation next spring."⁽²⁾

M. de Denonville does not mention these orders in his despatches; those which he refers to in his memoir of the 8th November, 1686, are of the 8th June, 1686, and were transmitted, one to LaDurantaye, and the other to Greysolon du Lhut by the sieur Juchereau, ordering them to fortify two posts, one at the narrows of Lake Erie and the other at the portage of Toronto.⁽³⁾ Père Enjalran, then at Montreal, was to carry them their last instructions. They were sent, probably by Tonty, in a memoir dated August 26, 1686, and entitled: *Memoir explanatory, "instructif", showing the measures taken by me in the war resolved on against the Iroquois in the next year (1687) for Messrs de Tonty, LaDurantaye and du Lhut, charged with assembling the French who are in the woods to march with the friendly Indians who can be gathered together.* This memoir is missing from our Archives, as well as the proclamation of 8 September, 1686,

(1) Margry, III, 556, 560. — (2) Margry III, 560, 562. — (3) Toronto or *le Portage de Toronto* was even at that remote period a commercial post of some importance. No fort was however built at that spot before 1751. See *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. 5, p. 137.

addressed to the commandants of posts, traders and Indian allies. M. Richard was kind enough to furnish me the above abstract. The documents are in the Moreau de Saint-Méry collection.⁽¹⁾

It will be noted in the "extract" of answers, that the king grants permission to the Governor to fortify two posts at Niagara and at Detroit, "however he is to be careful "not to incur any great expense".⁽²⁾ This was no doubt the reason why his project of fortifying Toronto was abandoned.⁽³⁾

On the 10th November, 1686, M. de Denonville writes to the Minister: "I send your Lordship a private memoir on the "state of affairs, and what I think necessary for the war and for "the security of the country."⁽⁴⁾

On the 16th November, 1686, M. de Champigny writes to the Minister: "M. the Marquis de Denonville sends you, "Monseigneur, a memoir containing the indispensable reasons "he has for making war against the Iroquois next year."⁽⁵⁾

These two letters evidently refer to the memoir of the 8th November, 1686.

On the 30th March, 1687, the King sends to Mssrs de Denonville and de Champigny a despatch of which the text is not in the *Correspondance Générale* in the Canadian Archives for the reason above given.⁽⁶⁾ The *N. Y. Colonial Documents* have published some extracts from with I detach the following passages: "His Majesty has approved the conduct observed "by said sieur de Denonville towards the Iroquois, and the "measures he has commenced adopting in order to place him- "self in a position to wage war against them with advantage. . .

"His Majesty has approved of Sieur de Denonville's calling "the Iroquois nations at Cataracouy, so as to effect the with- "drawal of Father Lamberville, and in case this has not been

(1) Since the publication in 1900 of the Supplement in French, the collection Moreau de Saint-Méry, containing these documents, has reached the Canadian Archives. They will be found in volume F. 176, p. 279-295; Richard's rep. 43. — (2) *Corr. gén.*, VIII, 76. — (3) *Ibid.*, IX, 42. Fort Niagara alone was built on the northern side of the entrance of the river, near Lake Ontario. — (4) *Ibid.*, VIII, 200. — (5) *Ibid.*, 326. Extracts of this memoir are published in the *Coll. de Mss.*, vol. I, p. 271. — (6) The Quebec Archives seem to have some extracts of it. Mr.

“accomplished, it is necessary to adopt measures to prevent his
“remaining exposed to the fury of the Savages. . .”⁽¹⁾

“His Majesty has seen the memoir sent by the said sieur
“de Denonville respecting the measures he has adopted and
“the orders he has issued, for the next campaign, of which He
“has approved, and doubts not but success commensurate to
“his expectations will follow. . . He expects to learn, at the
“close of this year, of the entire destruction of the greatest part
“of those savages. And as a number of prisoners may be
“made, who His Majesty thinks can be employed in the galleys,
“He desires him to manage so as to retain them until there be
“vessels going to France. Any who will have been captured
“before the sailing of those vessels, can even be sent by
“the return of His Majesty’s ships which will convey the
“troops.”⁽²⁾

On the 8th June, 1687, a few days before his departure for
Cataracoui, M. de Denonville writes to the Minister that he has
received the despatches of 30 March, 1687; that the troops have
arrived from France and that he is engaged on the organization
of the expedition. “I advanced”, he continues, “to arrange
“everything for our march and to expedite the answers I was
“expecting from the Iroquois through the DeLamberville
“Fathers; the younger has arrived alone with the letters from
“his elder brother. . . All this leads me to fear that the poor
“father may have had hard work to get out of the hands
“of these barbarians, which causes me much anxiety.”⁽³⁾

Speaking of a manifesto to the people in which he sets forth
the reasons which led him to wage war, he says that the
ecclesiastical *mandement* accompanying it was only published
“at the time it was necessary to assemble all the people. . . I am
“very glad to do nothing without your knowledge, either before
“or after doing it. . .”⁽⁴⁾ By the last letters which I had the honour

Langelier’s first Report, p. 75; *Coll. de Mss.* I, 394. Mr. Edouard Richard gives a summary of it in his report, p. 277. — (1) This recommendation with regard to Père de Lamberville evidently has reference to the memoir of 8th November, 1686, which is approved in this despatch. — (2) *N. Y. Col. Doc.* IX, 322, 323, 324. — (3) *Corr. gén.*, IX 32. — (4) *Ibid.*, 32

“to write you in the month of November last, I gave you a
“pretty accurate report of the affairs of the country.”⁽¹⁾

Further on he adds: “I always gave out that I was only
“going to the general assembly at Cataracoui, where I did not
“wish to be insulted or mocked. I always spoke to that effect
“until the time of marching, when I thought I ought to publish
“the manifesto, accompanied by the *mandement*.”⁽²⁾

War against the Iroquois was declared on the 3rd of May,
1687.⁽³⁾

It must be remarked that in that despatch, as in the others,
not a word is said about a feast to be given to the Iroquois at
Cataracoui. He however informs the court that he has sum-
moned these Indians to conclude a general peace, and it was
known at court that the settlement of such affairs was always
crowned by a feast. Only a small number took the invitation
seriously, for Governor Dongan kept telling them, during the
winter 1687, that it was a snare. That was the account which
several Frenchmen had given him of it, amongst others probably
Berthé de Chailly.⁽⁴⁾

On the 16th July, 1687, M. de Champigny writes to the
Minister that the army had left Montreal on the 11th June
under M. de Denonville, and that he had accompanied it for
three days; then, he had gone ahead with an escort of thirty
men and he had made straight for Fort Frontenac, where there
was a strong garrison in command of d'Orvilliers.⁽⁵⁾ “While
“I was there”, he says, “a good number of Indians who were
“in the environs were arrested, lest they should give notice of
“the march and (also) *to weaken our enemies to that extent*.”⁽⁶⁾

M. de Champigny remained only two days at the fort and
then left for Quebec where he wished to arrive before the de-
parture of the King's ships who had brought the troops.

On his way down, he met M. de Denonville at La Galette,

(1) Corr. gén., IX, 33. — (2) *Ibid.*, 36. Th's mandement was issued on the 24 April, 1687, and will be found in Moreau de Saint-Méry (Richard's rep. 85). — (3) Richard's report, 85. — (4) Rochemonteix, III, 615; Co r. gén., VIII, 18. — (5) M. de Denonville wrote to the Minister, November, 1687, that “he had walls built at Cataracouy”. Corr. Gén., IX, 8. — (6) Corr. Gén., IX, 53.

25 leagues below Cataracoui; he does not say what he reported.⁽¹⁾

He continues: "I received yesterday a letter from M. de Denonville from Cataracouy, dated the 3rd of this month, giving me notice that he is sending me fifty Iroquois taken near that place, to be shipped to France in the King's ships conformably to your orders. . ."⁽²⁾

"We have all the more reason to hope for a successful issue to our enterprize that up to the present the Iroquois do not appear to us to have been warned, all their suspicions having been allayed by Père Lamberville staying with them."⁽³⁾

On the 25th August, 1687, M. de Denonville writes to the Minister: "You ordered me to send you the prisoners we should take." He adds that he has only been able to send those whom he took at Cataracoui.⁽⁴⁾

Finally, on the 8th March, 1688, the Minister writes to M. de Denonville that the King is pleased with his conduct during the war.⁽⁵⁾

In examining this page of history, I pass over the exploits of M. de Denonville and his army after his departure from Cataracoui at the Iroquois villages to the south of Lake Ontario, as perhaps being permitted by the laws of war as then understood in America.

It is impossible to read these pages of the official correspondence without reaching the sad conclusion that the stroke at Cataracoui, conceived by the Marquis de Denonville and executed by himself or by his orders, had received a sort of preliminary sanction on the part of the court of France, not indeed in all its details, but in its principal features and results. In his letters and memoirs, M. de Denonville does not, it is true, speak of a feast; probably the idea came to him later on, when M. de Champigny left for Cataracoui with his soldiers, as being the surest way of enticing the Indians to the *rendez-vous* given by Père de Lamberville; he even fears that they will come only in small numbers.

(1) Corr. gén., IX, 54. — (2) *Ibid.*, 56. — (3) *Ibid.*, 58. — (4) *Ibid.*, 99. — (5) Richard's report. 282.

He represents to the Minister that he has summoned, through the intermediary of this missionary in whom they had unlimited confidence, "all the Iroquois nations, to treat of our affairs next spring at Cataracouy"; that his chief aim is to entice them. Was it for the purpose of "concluding a general peace", as he told Père de Lamberville and as he repeats in his journal of the month of October, 1687, and other documents? No, it was to annihilate them. He tells the Minister unceasingly that war must be waged next spring; but it was his secret, and that of his superiors and his intendants and commanding officers. Poor Père de Lamberville himself knows nothing "of our designs"; he would indeed refuse to be the guilty tool of the Governor. He had his younger brother sent away so as to facilitate his escape. Subsequent events, however, showed that he did not flee and that he narrowly escaped being burnt alive. He owed his life only to the great esteem these savages had for him. More humane than the civilised Europeans, they were content with driving him out of their village, without doing him any hurt.

Again, the court of France, which, without any generosity towards the perfidious Iroquois, ought at least to have been just, approves the Governor's memoir in time for him to know what he could rely on before adventuring on this expedition, as awkwardly executed, as it was ill conceived. The court leaves the details to him, but he is to avail himself of every thing to assure the extermination of these savages. His Majesty, instead of forbidding him to turn a peaceful meeting into an act of war, in contempt not only of his word given, but of the law of nations and the customs of these barbarians, declares that he "leaves it to him to do in this matter what he deems most expedient". And He concludes that "he can easily take advantage of a favorable conjuncture to attack them unawares as they had several times done to the French... It is necessary to take good measures to promptly exterminate that nation... He expects to learn, at the close of this year, of the entire destruction of the greater part of those savages." And in his

instructions to Duluth and others of the 26 August, 1686, de Denonville naturally orders them to spare no one, not even the women, children and old men. And finally on the 8th March, 1688, when the court was in possession of all the facts, the King informs M. de Denonville that he is pleased with his conduct during this war.⁽¹⁾

It was probably on the receipt of these royal instructions that M. de Denonville and M. de Champigny conceived the idea of a feast, not doubting but that plan would succeed best. The fate of the prisoners was not left to their discretion; their oft repeated instructions were to send them to France, to the galleys; and they tell us they followed them faithfully. It was only when they could be useful to them that a few prisoners were kept in the country.⁽²⁾

These proposals of peace, this "general assembly", to use M. de Denonville's expression, were only natural, inasmuch as war between the Iroquois and the French, with the exception of a few attacks in the Upper Country upon the Illinois and the Miamis, their allies, had not yet begun. No act of hostility was committed within the limits of the government of Canada, properly so called, before the end of the summer of 1687, after the famous incident at Cataracoui. M. de Denonville repeats unceasingly that he will only begin the war against the Iroquois in 1687. He began it by a crime. The result was an atrocious war of ten years' duration, the massacre of hundreds of soldiers and *habitants*, and the destruction of nearly all the parishes of the Island of Montreal and the environs. To crown misfortune, war broke out in the meantime between France and England on account of the invasion of England by William, Prince of Orange. As early as the 14th July, 1689, the news had spread all over America. The Iroquois, allies of the English, and

(1) Sir James Le Moine is of opinion that amongst the saddest tragedies of history are: the projected dispersion of the inhabitants of New-York in 1689, the massacre of Glencoe 1692, and the dispersion of the Acadians 1755. (*Mem. Royal Soc.*, IV, 71). Two of these examples bear some resemblance to the Cataracoui stroke 1687, viz.: the massacre of Glencoe and the dispersion of the Acadians, because both were the result of fraud and artifice. The treachery of Cataracoui is still more odious, because it was committed in time of peace.—(2) *Corr. gén.*, IX, 100.

furnished with arms and munitions, became bolder. In short, in the fall of 1689, all, not excepting honour, seemed lost to the colony of New France, which now becomes an object of contempt even to the savages her allies. Her saviour was the Count de Frontenac. In 1693, he was proclaimed "father of the people," "preserver of the fatherland, *père du peuple, conservateur de la patrie*".⁽¹⁾

THE MASSACRE OF LACHINE⁽²⁾

When *Lake St. Louis* was written, the only documentary evidence I possessed was M. de Catalogne's narrative, M. de Frontenac's letter of 15 November, 1689, and the registers of Lachine, from which I drew largely. The volumes of the *Correspondance générale*, since sent to Ottawa, contain several other vouchers which have never been published. I think it well to present a few of them, as well as some contemporary memoirs. They show to what extent those present at the time differ in their testimony.

M. DE CHAMPIGNY, 1689 :

" Monseigneur, I leave to M. de Denonville⁽³⁾ to inform you " how the head of the Island of Montreal was attacked on the " fifth of the month of August by a party of fifteen hundred " Iroquois, who not daring to attack the forts, laid waste the " country, setting fire everywhere, and killed and took away " captive men, women and children on many of whom they " wreaked unheard of cruelties, the mere thought of which fills " one with horror. Since that time, they have attacked us in " small bands at several places and killed and taken some men " and some women. We did not fail to pursue them in the

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XII, 411). — (2) *Lake St. Louis*, 111 to 135. — (3) He was returning to France.

“beginning of October. The Sieurs Dulhut and Mantet, with
 “twenty-eight Canadian Cadets, having been attacked by the
 “enemy on a lake,⁽¹⁾ repulsed them so happily, that without any
 “loss, they killed eighteen of them and took three captives who
 “were burned by our Indians.”⁽²⁾

M. DE CALLIÈRES, 1690 :

“The Iroquois must be reduced by force, otherwise they
 “will starve the *habitants* by preventing them from sowing and
 “harvesting and by burning their grain with their houses, as
 “they did in the month of August last, when they killed a
 “hundred and fifty French, after inflicting on them horrible
 “tortures and burning all the habitations from the point of the
 “Island of Montreal to within a league of Villemarie.”⁽³⁾

M. DE CHAMPIGNY, 1691 :

“We have just learned from a canoe sent by M. de Cal-
 “lières that the eight hundred Iroquois by whom we were
 “threatened had appeared and dispersed in several bands in
 “the environs of Montreal north and south ; that three or four
 “hundred had entered at the lower end of the Island of Montreal
 “and had burned twenty-five houses ; there were luckily there
 “only one man and two women, who were killed or taken
 “prisoners. The precautions taken by M. de Callières secured
 “a considerable number of persons who were in those places,
 “as well as their grain, their furniture and their cattle which
 “were gathered into the forts. We do not know yet where
 “the others will turn up, as they are in the woods and free
 “to attack where they please. It is hardly possible with the few
 “troops we have in this country to defend the three principal
 “towns and the forts and to march forth against them in the
 “open. The most annoying thing is the difficulty of doing the
 “sowing in the upper country above Three Rivers, where
 “they were only first beginning, and the fact that we have here

(1) Lake Two Mountains. — (2) Corr. gén., X, 389, 566. — (3) Corr. gén., XI, 255.

“only a small quantity of munitions of war. You can judge, Monseigneur, of what importance it is to us to receive succour in troops, provisions and munitions. I am reduced to having the gutters of houses and leaden weights melted to make bullets. M. Gallard, who is embarking, will explain to you all you desire to know with full knowledge of the state of this country. I have charged him with a memoir which I have made upon all matters, so that he may have the honour of interesting you by showing it to you ; he is as well informed as I am as to all it contains, and you can have entire confidence in all he tells you, he being full of integrity and honour.”⁽¹⁾

M. DE GLANDELET, 1689 :

a priest of the Seminary of Quebec, writes, 15 November, 1689, respecting the massacre of Lachine, that the Iroquois have “killed, taken captive, burned and inflicted unheard of cruelties on more than three hundred French, having swooped down some fifteen hundred in number, on the extremity of the Island of Montreal where the Gentlemen of Saint-Sulpice have their seminary, and thence spread themselves all along the road without being perceived.”⁽²⁾

M. DE LA POTHERIE, 1698 :

almost a contemporary, says : “The Gentlemen of Saint-Sulpice, who are the original *curés*, have a large church of cut-stone. Messieurs d’Urfé et de Quelas,⁽³⁾ of illustrious family, laid the first foundations of the establishment of this community, which was afterwards governed by persons of quality. The revenue they derive from the Island is pretty considerable ; it would be more so, had not the locality of la Chine, which forms its finest coast or concession, been ruined suddenly by twelve or fifteen hundred Iroquois who made an incursion in 1689, at the time it was thought they were coming to sue for peace. Nothing

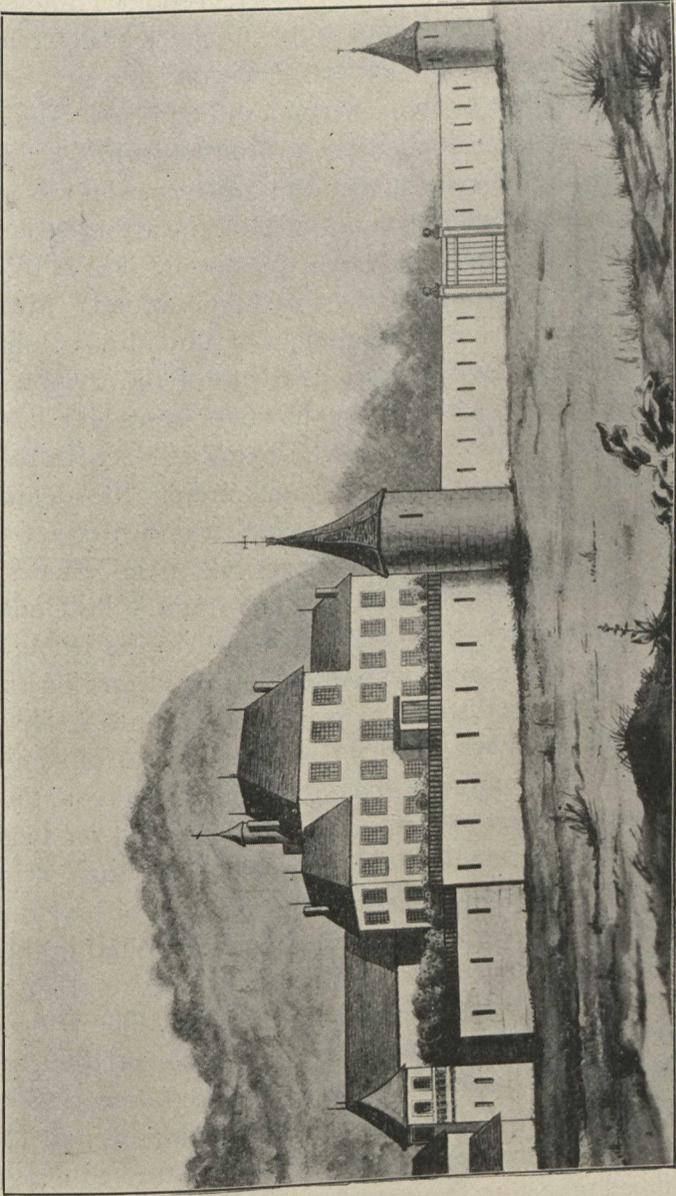
(1) *Corr. gén.*, XI, 400. — (2) *Henri de Bernières* by Abbé Gosselin, 126. — (3) De Queylus.

“ could be more affecting ; they burned five leagues of country
 “ and put to the sword all they found. We lost over a thousand
 “ of men ; they ripped open pregnant women whose children
 “ they ate and they blew up others with powder.”⁽¹⁾

Further on at page 343 :

“ M. the Abbé de Bellemont’s establishment, of the house of
 “ St. Andé in Dauphiné, which is about a quarter of a league
 “ from town, is one of the finest spots in the country. He belongs
 “ to the community of Saint-Sulpice. He spent over a hundred
 “ thousand francs to form a mission for the Iroquois who left
 “ their country to worship the true God: He is their father and
 “ their support ; his house is a stone fort with four bastions ; he
 “ has a chapel fifty feet long by twenty-five in width, the walls of
 “ which are covered with a wainscoting decorated with ornaments,
 “ as urns, niches, pilasters and pedestals, of red marble veined with
 “ white. The cabins of the Indians, in number more than a
 “ hundred and twenty, join the fort and are surrounded by
 “ palisades. M. de Bellemont, who knows their language
 “ perfectly, instructs them himself : he holds a catechism on
 “ working days, after they have heard mass early in the morning.
 “ In the evening they go to the chapel, where they have prayers
 “ in common : on feast-days, they sing High Mass and Vespers
 “ in their own tongue. He applies all his means to the mainte-
 “ nance of this mission, which he has divided in two. The other
 “ half, which comprises a hundred and sixty persons, is four
 “ leagues from town on the north side. The chiefs perceiving
 “ that licentiousness was beginning to corrupt the morals of the
 “ young warriors on account of their proximity to the town,
 “ where they amused themselves drinking to excess, begged M.
 “ de Bellemont to start another mission at Sault-au-Récollet
 “ where the most licentious live under the care of an eccle-
 “ siastic.”⁽²⁾

(1) *Hist. de l'Am. Sept.*, 1, 340. — (2) *Ibid.*, 340. The removal to Sault-au-Récollet must have been made about the winter of 1697. The first entry in the register of the mission at the Sault is of May of that year.



From a photograph taken in 1854.

LE FORT DE LA MONTAGNE.

BARON DE LAHONTAN, 1689 :

a contemporary, writes 28 September, 1689 : " They landed
 " at the extremity of the Island to the number of twelve hundred
 " warriors, who burned and sacked all the dwellings. They made
 " a terrible slaughter of men, women and children. Madame de
 " Denonville, who was at the time at Montreal with her husband,
 " did not feel in too great safety ; the consternation was general,
 " for they much feared the approach of these barbarians, who
 " were only three leagues from Montreal. They blockaded
 " two forts, after burning all the dwellings around. Meanwhile
 " M. de Denonville sent a detachment of a hundred soldiers with
 " fifty Indians,⁽¹⁾ not wishing to send out of the town a greater
 " number of fighting men ; these, however, were all taken or cut
 " to pieces, the only persons saved being a dozen Indians, one
 " soldier and M. de Longueuil, commanding the detachment,
 " who, after having his thigh fractured, was carried off by this
 " dozen of allies ; the other officers, viz : the Sieurs de la
 " Raberre, Saint-Pierre, Denis, la Plante and Ville-Denté were
 " taken. These barbarians laid waste nearly the whole Island,
 " and only lost three men, who after getting drunk on the wine
 " they found in the dwellings were enticed into a fort⁽²⁾ by a
 " Canadian cow-boy whom they had kept a slave for some years.
 " As soon as these unlucky Iroquois were in the fort they were
 " thrown into a cellar to sleep off their wine, but on awakening
 " they repented, no doubt, of having drunk so much of it. They
 " began at once to sing and when they came to be tied and taken
 " to Montreal, seizing some sticks which they found in the cellar,
 " they defended themselves with such vigour and intrepidity
 " that they had to be shot dead in the place. . . The Iroquois had
 " burnt all the plantations and cut the throats of thousands⁽¹⁾ of
 " Frenchmen ; the husbandman was knocked down in his field ;
 " the *voyageur* was carried away in his excursions and the mer-
 " chant ruined for want of trade ; famine distressed everybody ;
 " war caused people to leave the country ; in a word, New France

(1) Catalogne says 50 soldiers and 30 Indians.—(2) Fort La Présentation.—(1) " Hundreds" would be nearer the truth.

“ was about to perish inevitably had not the Governor made peace with these barbarians, as I have explained at the close of my fifth letter.”⁽¹⁾

THE ABBÉ DE BELMONT,⁽²⁾ also a contemporary :

“ Finally on the 24th August, in the middle of the night, fourteen hundred Iroquois crossed Lake St. Louis in a storm of rain and hail. They placed themselves in groups as guards at all the houses for a distance of seven leagues and began a general massacre of men, women and households.”

“ (Here follows a list of names for the most part undecipherable.)

“ On receiving news of this extraordinary massacre, M. le Marquis despatched M. de Vaudreuil with 300 men to the head of the Island where they found them ” (the Indians) “ almost all drunk. This would have been a good opportunity to kill five or six hundred of them and to get back the prisoners, but taking a course of action which I leave others to judge, he forbade any killing, saying that he had orders to the contrary. Nevertheless, three of them were taken at Fort La Presentation and done to death in the cellar.

“ A surgeon escaped from Iroquois Lake, who said that Father Milet was taken, having been allured by the Iroquois to hear the confession of a dying Christian.

“ The Count led the party back to Fort Roland. On the next day, 5th August, a large party of Indians came down from their camp at the head of the Island and posted themselves between Fort Roland and Lachine Church, partly in the woods, partly beside the corn which was high, sending help according as needed by means of sentries posted in the trees.

“ L'Arabelle, a half-pay captain, was ordered to bring a reinforcement of 40 men to M. de Vaudreuil, M. le Marquis remaining to guard the town where were his wife and family. A party from the Sault and la Montagne ” (Indians) “ joined L'Arabelle ; but the Iroquois leaving the Indians alone, fired

(1) Vol. I, p. 193. — (2) His signature “ F. Debelmont ” can be seen in the first register of the mission of La Montagne at Oka.

“ on the main body of soldiers, of whom they laid low the
 “ greater number, and falling on L'Arabelle took him and
 “ LaPlante and Villedonné captives. Seven Indians of the Sault,
 “ witnessing this disaster, tried to gain the “ Fort de l'Eglise ”
 “ where M. d'Ollier (Dollier de Casson) was, but as they were
 “ old and weary, they were killed at the ascent to the mill
 “ *montée* ;⁽¹⁾ Lahaie received sabre-cuts in the face and he was
 “ destroyed.

“ After this complete victory, the unfortunate troop of captives
 “ endured all the fury with which the most cruel vengeance can
 “ inspire savages. They were taken beyond Lake St. Louis by
 “ the victors who, as they passed the lake, gave 90 yells to mark
 “ the number of prisoners they had, saying : ‘ You deceived us,
 “ Ononthio ; we deceive you likewise.’ On landing, they at once
 “ lighted fires, planted posts and burnt five Frenchmen, roasted
 “ six children, grilled others in the ashes and ate them. They
 “ carried off the others, to be sacrificed according to the inclina-
 “ tion of their vengeance, to Onontagué, where they were made
 “ to walk a long time on a road of burning coals.

“ A short time afterwards, fear having taken possession of
 “ the Indians, all the village of the Sault was brought to live
 “ in town, together with their corn which was placed in the
 “ vaults of the church.

“ Orders were sent to Katarakouy, which the garrison
 “ abandoned ; the bastions and curtains were blown up, and in
 “ the beginning of October, M. de Frontenac came to resume
 “ the government.

“ Messrs DuLuth and Mantet made the finest fight of the war.
 “ Twenty-seven Sounontouans, against about a like number of
 “ French, were discovered and met at Lake of Two Mountains.
 “ M. DuLuth put his canoes in single file and was skilful enough
 “ to get the sun in the eyes of the Iroquois ; he then commanded

(1) This *montée* or by-road which served the inhabitants of Côte St. Paul as a road to church, was closed a few years ago, when the Federal Government opened up a new road of communication on the south bank of Lachine Canal, which was transferred to the municipality the parish of Lachine who named it the “ Girouard Road.”

“his men to receive the enemy's fire. Nobody was wounded ; then M. DuLuth ordered each to tackle his man, placing themselves sideways and in flank, which was so happily carried out that all fell wounded into the Lake, with the exception of two, one of whom was at once burned by the Algonquins, and the other at the Mountain by order of M. de Denonville.

“On the 15th November, the Iroquois made another horrible massacre during a snow storm at Lachenaie, where they killed during the night twenty French whose limbs and bowels they dispersed over the snow.”⁽¹⁾

NAMES OF THE VICTIMS.

The Abbé de Belmont, priest of Saint-Sulpice at Montreal from 1681 to 1732, and Superior for several years, gives a list of the victims of the Lachine massacre of 1689 in his *Histoire du Canada*, the manuscript of which is deposited in the Colonial Archives at Paris. The Historical Society of Quebec had a copy made, which was published in 1840 ; but the list of victims was omitted, the copyist finding it undecipherable ; he contented himself with writing what the reader has read above : “Here follows a list of names for the most part undecipherable.” I took advantage of the presence of M. Edouard Richard in Paris, where he is pursuing his historical researches for the bureau of Canadian Archives, to ask him to see the manuscript and transcribe it as faithfully as possible, which he was kind enough to do in November 1899. He found it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in vol. 13,516 (1265). “The result of my researches” he writes me, “will probably not give you the satisfaction you expect from them, in the first place because this portion of the manuscript, written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript, is almost undecipherable, and in the second place because the list of names is far from complete. With a *fac-simile* of the list, it may be possible to you to restore all.”⁽²⁾

(1) Hist. du Canada, 29 to 31. — (2) Since the publication of the Supplement in French, I have been able to obtain a photograph of this list which is reproduced on the next page.

le 6 aout
R

Enfin au milieu de la nuit les 100 croquiers passèrent
le lac et lours d'un temps de tempestes de quelle et plus
ils se placèrent par peloton en corps de garde
à toutes les maisons d'avant 7 l'écue et comme
on maria en general d'hommes debetes et -
de maron

Jan par son enfant de 5 ans
Jan son fils de 2 ans
Le fae de Jan perusse
Jan fourmier martin
Jan saquin massacré
Jan d'abane sae neuf esfae
Noel pleff brule
Noel safae menimuy
canaple safae tebecoupe
jean t'esper safae 7 enfants
michel sa fae sa fille 9 ans
simond alic sa femme les mamillaudes

vincent elix safae cent
michel prest sa femme
aucun te cuantre
Judeu saquin fille de maron
matras chatouto safae sa
vint charmer tebe coupe
sa fae fils et fille vint
Jan rino
alex andre

la nouvelle dicit change on a sacn arrive m
le marquis se partir m de d'ad d'ad au 30 ho
qui arriva a leur camp au bout de l'isle ou lon
les trouva tous parique sont cetot la vne
belle occasion de les tuer 500 croquiers ebrauor les
prononier mais par vne conduite dont il
laisse le jugement a d'autres il deffand d'obee
d'isau q'il avoit des ordres contraires on en prit
quantum 3 dans le fort de la presentee qu'on
abandonna dans la cause

30 personnes 30 maisons
toute les debetes

This is in effect what I succeeded in doing, without too much difficulty, with the help of the *fac-simile*, hand-made, which he sent me and thanks to the full knowledge I had acquired of the population of Lachine at the period. Most of the names are quite clearly legible; others are more or less complete or obscure, followed in some cases by words abridged or badly spelled; others, three or four only in number, are absolutely incomprehensible. Out of twenty-seven lines of this list, I have been able to clear up about twenty-three. The following is the result of my reading. The list begins by the following note, which is quite legible: "On the 6th August, at last, in the middle of the night, the 1400 Iroquois crossed Lake St. Louis during a storm of hail and rain; they placed themselves by groups as guards to all the houses for a space of seven leagues, and began a general massacre of men, animals and households." This note is to be found in the printed text, but the date of the massacre is 24 August. Then follow the names, one in a line and in the following order:

1. "Jean Paré,⁽¹⁾ his child of 3 years", very legible.
2. "Jean Roy, his daughter of 2 years", legible.
3. A line containing some illegible letters and syllables at the end of which is discovered the name of "Péruisso", probably the wife of Jean Péruisso.
4. "Jean Fournier", distinct, followed by a word unintelligible.
5. "Jean Faguret, massacred", very legible.
6. "Jean" probably "Barbari", his wife and nine children", somewhat confused.
7. "Noël Plessis, burned", very legible.
8. "Noël (family name omitted) his wife", the rest undecipherable.
9. "Canaple, his wife, head cut off", very legible.
10. "Pierre" family name uncertain, then "his wife and seven children".
11. Name uncertain, probably Jean Michel, "his wife, a daughter, 8 children", legible.

(1) Ancestor of the Parés of Lachine.

12. "Simon Davo, his wife, breasts cut off, 3 children", pretty clear.

13. "Vincent Alix, his wife, two children", very legible.

14. "Michel Presso, his wife pregnant ripped open", very legible.

15. A line obscure, in the middle of which can be read "Huguet", probably the wife of René Huguet and a daughter of twelve years.

16. "Mathias Chatauto, his wife, two children", very legible.

17. "René Chartier, head cut off, his wife, son and daughter burned", very legible.

18. "Jean Reno", very legible.

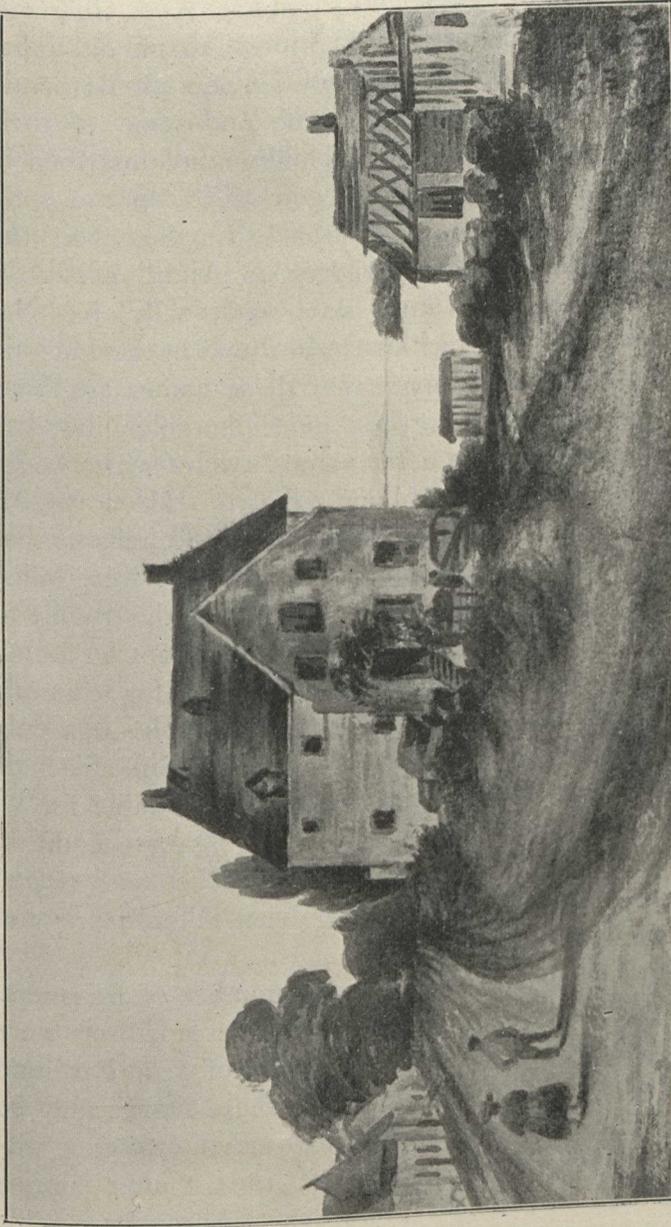
19. "Alexandre" simply, but very legible. Then follows, at the bottom of the sheet, the following note, distinctly written :

"80 persons, 30 houses, all the cattle." This number "80 persons" differs from that given in the text, where M. de Belmont fixes the total number of persons carried off at 90, including doubtless the prisoners of Lachenaie and those of La Rabeyre. The number 80 must comprise all the victims of Lachine, even the prisoners who escaped.

This list, written in a strange hand, must have been made out the year of the massacre, and long before the composition of the *Histoire du Canada*, about 1713, by M. de Belmont, for I find in it names of persons who figured in Lachine as early as the year 1690. Thus, we find Jean Fournier bringing suit at Ville-Marie in 1690 and 1691 against Jean Millot, owner of Fort Rémy.⁽¹⁾ In 1690 and after, Jean Paré and Mathias Chatauto appear as fathers to new-born infants at the Lachine church.

This list comprises therefore not only those killed on the spot, but also the prisoners delivered or massacred. It conforms, in many respects, to that which the registers of Lachine have transmitted to us and which I reproduced at page 126 of *Lake St Louis*. I find also the names of several massacred prisoners

(1) Jug. et dél., III, 529 and 1024.



Near this spot, Madeleine Boursier dit Lavigne was killed by the Iroquois.

MOULINS LACHAPELLE.

(*Lake St. Louis, 95.*)

Lower Lachine Road, at the head of the Lachine rapids, near the very spot where the Lachine Rapids Electric Company has its works. This view is from a crayon sketch by Miss Jane Durnford taken about 1854. This mill and other mills were built about the beginning of the last century and were destroyed or abandoned many years ago.

whom I have mentioned at page 134 and even some new names.

The names of Jean Fagueret dit Petitbois, Noël Charmois dit Duplessis, Marie Cadieu, wife of André Canaple dit Valtagne, Périnne Filastreau, wife of Simon Davaux dit Bouterain and two children, Vincent Alix, his wife and some of their children, and René Chartier and two children, are inscribed in the registers of Lachine as having been killed on the spot. There are missing from M. de Belmont's list, however, the names of Jean Michau and his children, of André Danis dit Larpenty, of René Chartier's Panis slave and finally of Madeleine Boursier dit Lavigne, which are to be found in the Lachine registers. We cannot even suppose that these names are those written on three or four lines partly "undecipherable", because what remains legible points to other names, two of which begin with the christian names of "Noël" and "Pierre". Moreover, M. Rémy, who officiated at Lachine parish from 1680, tells us that "the solemn inhumation of the bones of those who were killed "on that occasion took place in 1694." He takes the trouble to mention the names of those whose remains could not be found, "the fire having consumed flesh and bones", for example Vincent Alix and his family and René Chartier who was only buried on the 23rd May, 1701. We must therefore conclude from the testimony of M. Rémy, always so remarkable for its accuracy, that the wife of "Michel Presso" (Presseau dit la rivière Chambly), given on M. de Belmont's list as "ripped open", was only so treated after having been taken a prisoner and carried outside of Lachine.

M. de Belmont's list includes a good number of prisoners, as well those put to death as those who escaped or were ransomed. We pointed out, above, the names of Jean Paré and Mathias Chateauteau dit Massias; and to these names may be added that of René Huguet who, with two other *habitants*, was killed by the Iroquois on the 21st June, 1691, "after sunrise "going to hoe their wheat field", and that of Barbe Perrin, his wife, who on the 31st December, 1696, was married again to Jacques Arrivé dit De l'Isle. If they were made prisoners—

which is hard to deny in face of M. de Belmont's list⁽¹⁾—they must have escaped a short time after their capture.

But such was not the case of the prisoners Barbary sieur de Grandmaison, André Canaple dit Valtagagne, Simon Davaux dit Bouterain, Marie Marchesseau, wife of Jean Michau, Pierre Pérusseau and his wife Marie Le Roy ; Michel Presseau and his wife Marie Chauzy ; Marguerite de Lorme, wife of René Chartier ; Jean Renault and his wife Louise Garnier, and Alexandre Truial, the only inhabitant of Lachine bearing the name of "Alexandre" all of whom are inscribed in M. de Belmont's list. They must have met their death in captivity. We know certainly that Pérusseau's wife and Presseau's were massacred, and we may reasonably conclude that the others shared the same fate, for after the massacre of Lachine, their names dissappear from the registers. At the burial of Marie Madeleine Boursier, 31 October, 1694, the register of Lachine makes mention that she is the daughter of "Jean Boursier, defunct, and Marthe Thibodeau, defunct". At the marriage of Pierre Barbary or Barbarin, 18 October, 1701, the register declares him to be the son "of Pierre Barbary and Marthe Thibodeau, both "defunct". Our list of prisoners killed, pages 134 and 135 of *Lake St. Louis*, should be increased by the following names : André Canaple dit Valtagagne ; Marie Marchesseau, wife of Jean Michau ; Michel Presseau and his wife ; Marguerite de Lorme, Jean Renault and Alexandre Truial. This Jean Renault should take the place of Antoine Renault and his wife, who were alive in 1691. Mgr Tanguay however regards this family as having dissappeared, since he does not mention them after the massacre. The same remark applies to Jacques Morin whom he mentions in his book *A travers les Registres*, page 83, as living at Montreal in 1699.⁽²⁾ The number of Lachine prisoners who perished in captivity would therefore be 44 ; the total

(1) The register of Lachine, 27 July, 1694, establishes the fact that Barbe Perrin had been a prisoner. *Lake St. Louis*, 112, 133. — (2) These omissions induced the writer to go over the Lachine registers again, up to 1725 ; but he has not succeeded in finding a single other omission.

number cannot have exceeded 50 as mentioned at page 129 of *Lake St. Louis*.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Indians massacred all their captives. Their thirst for blood once appeased by the torture of, and by feasting on a few victims, the others were spared and adopted, living with them and like them. Mgr Tanguay gives the name of a score of English made captive by the the Indian allies of the French, and who were ransomed or exchanged.⁽¹⁾ The volumes of the *Correspondance générale* which I have gone through, show that a great number of French prisoners succeeded in returning to the country before the end of the war. Let us give a few examples apart from those referred to hereinabove and in *Lake St. Louis*, pp. 130 to 135.

As early as 1691, the Agniers sent back all the French prisoners.⁽²⁾

The year 1692 saw the return of some prisoners, soldiers, as well as that of three officers reputed dead, of three prisoners delivered near Cataracoui in a fight under Beaucourt, of twelve French prisoners delivered in a fight at Long Sault, and finally of six others who escaped.⁽³⁾

In 1693, Pierre Payet dit Saint-Amour, a corporal of M. de Lamothe, taken prisoner in 1690 at Pointe-aux-Trembles, obtained his liberty.⁽⁴⁾ And the sieur de St-Michel, taken at the Long-Sault in 1692, escaped from the Iroquois who were preparing to burn him.⁽⁵⁾ In the same year, a French prisoner, out hunting with seven Iroquois and two women, killed the Indians with an axe while they slept, and fled to the Ottawas accompanied by the two women.⁽⁶⁾

In 1694, Père Millet was brought back to Quebec with 15 French captives.⁽⁷⁾ Jacques Richaume, of Repentigny, captured in 1694, was ransomed afterwards.⁽⁸⁾

Finally a certain number of French children, captured with

(1) A travers les Registres, 98 to 108 ; Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, p. 345, 346, 449 ; Richard's rep., 98 — (2) Corr. gén., XI, 107 — (3) *Ibid.*, XII, 5, 75, 153, 160 — (4) Reg. of Pointe-aux-Trembles. — (5) Corr. gén., XII, 405, 542. — (6) *Ibid.*, XII bis, 543. — (7) Letter of P. de Lamberville, 23 January, 1695. Rochemonteix, III, 615. — (8) Reg. of Repentigny.

their parents, were brought up after the Indian fashion and preferred the life of the woods to civilization. We have pointed out some examples of this strange transformation of the human race, amongst others that of a child of Charles de Couagne, taken at the time of the Lachine massacre.⁽¹⁾ Dr. Withrow gives another instance, no less remarkable, in the case of a little girl, daughter of Pastor Williams, of Deerfield, who was adopted by the Caughnawaga Indians and became a catholic. He says: "She married an Indian Chief, and years after, clad "in Indian dress, she visited her kin at Deerfield; but not the "fasting, nor the prayers of the village congregation could win "her back to the faith of her fathers. She returned to her "wigwam in the forest and to the care of her dusky babes."⁽²⁾ Similarly, Johanna Kellogg, also of Deerfield, aged eleven years at the time of her capture, became the wife of a chief of the same village.⁽³⁾

La Potherie states that, when in 1701 there was question of exchanging French prisoners, several had been so well treated by the Indians, that they refused to leave them.⁽⁴⁾

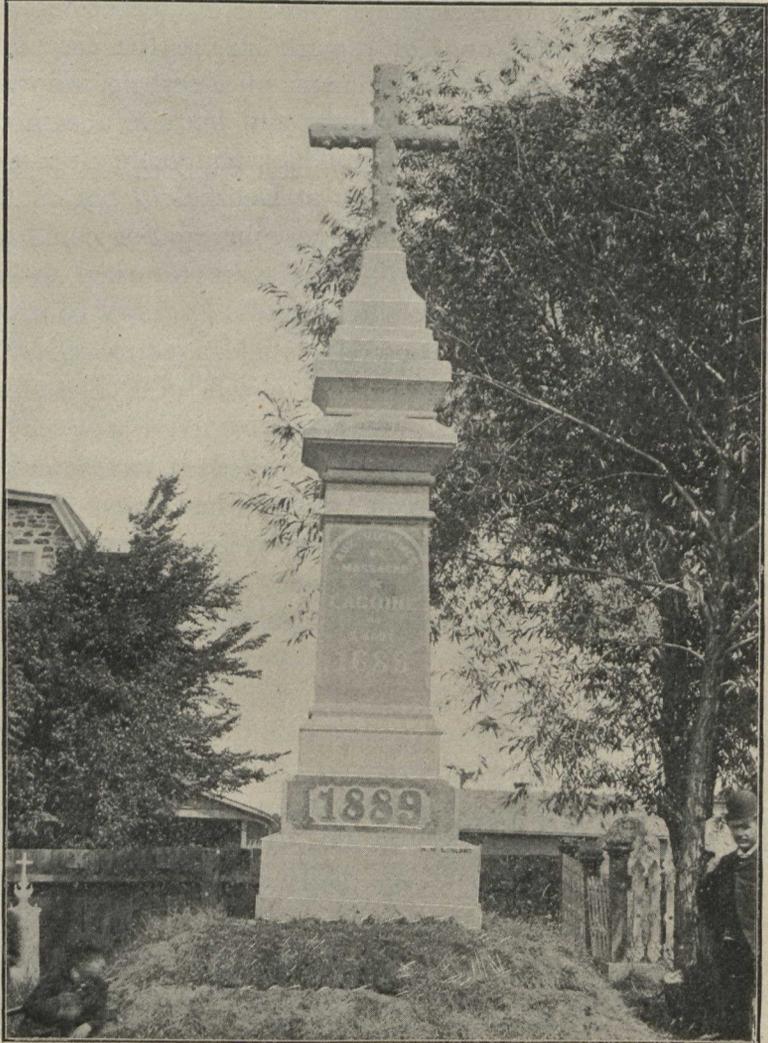
Mgr Tanguay cites several instances of English prisoners who likewise refused to leave the Indian tribe which had adopted them.⁽⁵⁾

THE BI-CENTENARY OF THE LACHINE MASSACRE⁽⁶⁾

His Grace Mgr Fabre, Archbishop of Montreal, proceeded yesterday to Lachine to bless the monument erected in the cemetery in memory of the victims of the Massacre of 1689...

(1) *Lake St. Louis*, 133. — (2) *Popular History of Canada*, 174. — (3) *Half-Century Con- flict*, by Parkman, 86. — (4) Moreau de Saint-Méry, F 176A, p. 348. — (5) *A travers les Regis- tres*, 103, 107, 108, 124 — (6) The following account is taken from *La Minerve*, 10th August, 1891.

MONUMENT TO THE VICTIMS OF THE
MASSACRE OF LACHINE.



BLESSED AT LACHINE ON THE 9th AUGUST, 1891.

The monument, raised by the citizens of Lachine, is of stone and surmounted by a cross. It bears this inscription :

AUX VICTIMES DU

MASSACRE DE LACHINE, 5 AOUT, 1689.

— R. I. P. — 1889.

After Vespers, the Abbé Proulx, Vice-Rector of the Laval University at Montreal, delivered the sermon of the occasion. This eloquent effort caused many a tear to flow. 'Tis the history of the brave colonist who leaves his home, his family, his parents and his country, crosses the sea, plunging into the depths of the forest, often falling a victim to the barbarity of the natives. We have reported this eloquent discourse in short hand, as faithfully as possible, and publish it further on, in the assurance that it will be of lively interest to our readers.

After the sermon, all present formed into procession and wended their way to the cemetery. At the head of the procession, the Lachine brass band played a funeral march, while the bells tolled a dirge.

In pious recollection, the procession circled round the cemetery, and then all knelt around the monument.

His Grace Mgr Fabre pronounced the blessing, and the procession resumed its way to the sound of mournful strains. During Vespers a collection was taken up in the church in aid of the Monument fund. The receipts were large. Who would not be generous on such an occasion ?

Here follow the names of the clergy present at this imposing religious and national demonstration. Besides His Grace the Archbishop of Montreal and Messire N. Piché, *curé* of Lachine, we noticed M. l'Abbé Colin, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal,⁽¹⁾ the abbés F. Perreault, J. B. Forget, F. X. Laberge, Fathers Boisramé, O. M. I., Burtin, O. M. I., C. Thérien, R. Lamarche, J. H. Leclerc, M. Carrière, *curé* of Point St. Charles,

(1) All three now deceased.

Brissette, Forbes, Bastien, the Brothers of the college and four ecclesiastics.

M. L'ABBÉ PROULX'S SERMON.

Quid sibi volunt lapides istæ? What mean these stones?
(Joshua IV, 21.)

When the Israelites had miraculously passed the Jordan, Joshua had twelve great stones brought out from the bed of the torrent, and with them he built a monument to perpetuate throughout succeeding generations the memory of that happy event. And he said to his people: "When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying: What mean these stones? Ye shall answer them: Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. . . . That all the people of the earth might know the hand of the Lord, that it is mighty; that ye might fear the Lord your God forever."

To-day these stones artistically chiseled, this superb cross proudly resting on a solid base, this monument which your Archbishop has just blessed, surrounded by a numerous clergy, commemorate not indeed a joyous event, but one, on the contrary, most mournful; one which has left a trace of blood on our history and whose far-away echoes, like plaintive voices, have stirred emotion in many a heart. Meanwhile our God, who can call back from hell, who often chastises the good to save the wicked, who can bring forth good from evil, has drawn from this disaster a most salutary lesson, a germ of regeneration and victory.

And if, in time to come, your children shall ask: what means this stone raised by you with a splendor at once patriotic and religious? You shall answer: It recalls both the mourning and the re-awakening of the fatherland; a great misfortune which was the dawn of a great triumph; the grief and the merit of expiation; the divine secrets of trial; the sufferings and the glory of martyrdom; the sinking and the uprising of national forces; the cry of a Christian people towards God: *In te speravi, Domine, non confundar in æternum.*

Oh you who now enjoy prosperity, do not forget the sacrifices made by your fathers ; learn to fear and bless the God who distributes, for our greater good, good and evil fortune ; and at all times extol the bounty of the Lord who never ceases to present you with his goodness and his gifts.

I

Yes, parishioners of Lachine, the corner of earth you inhabit is a privileged one, which God has been pleased to endow, to use the language of Scripture, with the grace of heaven and the fat of the land. A fertile soil, a site favoured by nature, a land of historic recollections which refresh the soul, a scene of those acts of devotion and enthusiasm which ennoble men's hearts, a spot protected by Religion which seems to have chosen it lovingly to implant there several of its strongest material foundations.

As a mark of his predilection, the Lord himself spoke to Israel in praise of the Promised Land in these terms : "*Intres in terram fluentem lacte et melle*, ye shall enter a land "flowing with milk and honey." I ask you were the mountains of Judea more fertile than your plains and your rich hillocks ? was the Jordan superior to the majestic St. Lawrence rolling on, large, deep, inexhaustible, in masses and waves of intense azure ? did the lake of Jericho surpass in beauty your little inland sea with its circular sheet of water dotted with coquettish islets, with its leafy banks whose distant outline melts into the blue of heaven, with its turbulent rapid murmuring powerfully, bubbling in its fall, and above whose waters human audacity launches its trains of wagons rushing by with giddy speed ; with its pure air, its balmy breezes, its luxurious groves where the jaded dwellers of a great city may seek health, repose and freshness, the *frigus opacum* of the poet !

The picturesqueness of this place had not escaped the notice of the first discoverers of New France. Cartier, when for the first time he made fast his vessels at the foot of your Rapid, surveying with astonished gaze from the summit of Mount Royal to

the far west, exclaimed : " It is the most beautiful land which it
" is possible to see, level and arable ; and in the middle of the land
" we can see the river beyond the spot where our barks were
" made fast towards which rushes a most impetuous fall of
" water."

Champlain on his side, wrote : " I made some eight leagues
" by land, coasting the great Sault by the woods, which are clear
" enough, to a lake to which a Savage guided me. . . . This lake
" is full of beautiful and large islands which indeed are nothing
" but meadows where it is pleasant to hunt the game, which is
" as abundant as the fish. The surrounding country is full of
" great forests."

Truly we might think that the founders of our country saw,
as in a cloud, the various charms of that bracing country life of
which your rural town is the focus.

Moreover, this corner of the earth was the starting point of
those adventurous expeditions whose object was to find the pas-
sage of the western ocean, as well as of those apostolic expedi-
tions which went forth to show to souls sitting in the shadow of
death the passage of the promised land of Eternity. It recalls
names famous in our history : Leber, as well known by his piety
as by his extensive commerce, in whose family was seen to flower,
like a hidden lily, that recluse who was the wonder of her age ;
a Lemoyne, whose house was a fertile nursery furnishing for
our struggles at that time warriors and heroes ; a La Salle, name
famed in old France, whose bold design gave its name to your
locality ; a Fenélon, nephew of the great bishop of Cambrai and
a member of that company of Saint-Sulpice whose benefactions
covered the colony of Montreal, a devoted priest whose zeal,
says an official document, led him to give up the position which
his birth and merit entitled him to in France in order to apply
himself to the conversion and education of the Indians, an idea
which he carried into execution in the foundation of an Indian
mission at the place called Gentilly or *La Présentation* opposite
the Courcelles Islands, now Dorval Islands, those pearls of
your lake.

II

But what more than anything else caused Lachine's fame to resound, and placed it forward before the whole colony was the sad event which you solemnly commemorate to-day ; that event termed by the chronicles of the time the *massacre*, the *sacking*, the *burning* or the *destruction* of Lachine parish. Every medal has its reverse side ; every advantage has some drawback, every favour is weighted by a trial ; 'tis the lot of humanity in this life of struggle and purification.

A grave and accurate contemporary historian does not hesitate to say that God used the Iroquois as a mean of chastisement, because the parish of Lachine had been the principal scene of Indian drunkenness. I will take the liberty of adding a qualification by way of explanation : I do not think that the guilty ones were those brave colonists, whose piety the same writer praises elsewhere, men living by hard work and economy, always in presence of their Maker, because they knew that the dangers of sudden and cruel death constantly hovered over them.

Yes, an expiation was needed. The arrival of the troops had brought to the colony vices hitherto unknown. The greed of the traders, in open rebellion against the orders of their sainted bishop, was undermining, by means of the miserable liquor traffic, the faith of the Indians assembled yearly at this place for the privilege of trading. Above all, there was a political crime crying to Heaven for vengeance. A narrow-minded Governor had laid a snare to unsuspecting ambassadors, and against the law of nations had made them prisoners and sent them to die aboard the galleys of France. The blood of Abel had fallen back upon the colony ; and as, from the first ages, and particularly from the great sacrifice of Calvary, 'tis always the blood of the just that washes away the sins of the wicked, so in this, 'twas the blood of these good and peaceful colonists which in the economy of God's inscrutable designs, was destined to atone for the faults of the Government, the army and the traders. And their memory is without stain. They are not culprits receiving

the penalty of their crime, but chosen victims whose martyrdom is an expiatory sacrifice. They deserve our piety and commiseration as well as our esteem, our respect and our filial admiration.

It is needless to tell the story of the massacre. Every one here present knows from infancy the tale of that night of horror, when storm and wave and hail, instead of protecting the inhabitants of Lachine, favoured the approach of their enemy. At a given signal, a terrible war-cry was heard along the coast in the darkness; meanwhile, bursting the doors of houses with their tomahawks, fiends in human shape dragged from their beds a people awakened suddenly and mad with terror. Men's throats were cut, women impaled, children roasted alive on the spit, houses in flames whose garish light illumined, midst groans and cruel laughter, the most frightful unheard of tortures.

The morrow saw the defeat and captivity of the troops. Carnage and terror reigned throughout the country; the spirit of wisdom seemed to have deserted the heads of the nation; the valiant seemed to have lost their strength and their valour. A long file of prisoners wended its way towards the Indian villages, and a veil of mourning seemed to overspread the country. What Holy Writ says of Bethlehem might have been applied to New France: *Vox in Ramâ audita est*. A voice of lamentation and weeping; the colony weeping for its children and would not be comforted because they were not. "How are the mighty fallen?" exclaimed David in a similar case. Ye Mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you. . . for there the shield of the mighty is cast away. "They were the choice and the glory of Israel. . . how are the mighty fallen!"

But hope and happier days returned with a Governor whom Victory followed. All the country was awakened, as it were, and possessed of a new energy, all the stronger for being steeped in misfortune. And five years later, after Frontenac had answered Phipps at the cannon's mouth: after Hertel and Portneuf on snowshoes had captured Forts Colar, Salmon falls and Casco; after Lemoyne d'Iberville had carried his conquering vessel over

all the northern seas ; after, in fine, the pride of the Iroquois had been humbled in their smouldering villages ; in 1694, the good curé of Lachine, as soon as the misfortune of the times allowed of it, took care to give the honours of Christian burial to these unfortunate members of his flock, going himself to gather their scattered bones and dispersed ashes in order to lay them with prayer in consecrated ground. Let us hear his own words : “ We went to receive them ”, he says, “ in surplice and black stole, to the sound of the great bell, accompanied by surpliced acolytes carrying cross, candles and holy water and singing the psalms prescribed by the Church in order to the burial next day in the cemetery, which was performed with great solemnity, after celebrating an anniversary mass over the remains together with the whole service and offertory of bread and wine.” This was the first public demonstration in honour of these interesting victims. The second took place two years ago when the citizens of Lachine, headed by their zealous and indefatigable pastor, celebrated splendidly the bi-centenary anniversary of the year of the massacre. There was a solemn mass with all the pomp of the Church and a sermon by His Grace the Archbishop, whose ingenious piety can always find in the gospel of the day considerations befitting each occasion ; there was a public entertainment and speeches by leading citizens full of eloquence and patriotism ; considerable research was made on the occasion in musty old archives and the result was given to the public in a very interesting book “ *Le Vieux Lachine* ”, which constitutes a monument more durable than stone, *cere perennius*.

The third is to-day’s demonstration, not the least touching of all. Honour be to you, citizens of Lachine, because you have the worship of old traditions, and faith in the virtues and example of your ancestors ! This is the memory of the heart.

“ But,” it may be said, “ why raise a monument to perpetuate the memory of a misfortune ? I understand celebrating a victory, but here I see no act of bravery, no splendid action.”

At this distance we do not, it is true, perceive any of those brilliant actions which strike with admiration at first sight. But

could we see, as in a mirror, the dreadful scenes of that lamentable night, could the darkness reveal what is shrouded in its bosom, could the echoes of the shores repeat what, astonished, they saw and heard! Ah what heroic resistance, what admirable words, what generous sentiments, what noble sacrifice would be revealed in the light of day, showing us that the martyrdom of the Macchabees had been repeated in our land!

Moreover when the good father of a family, after an obscure, peaceful, christian life, passes sweetly away in the midst of his own, if his son should raise a monument over his ashes in the sleeping place of Death, would not all agree that he had done well in honoring his father and thus giving him a share in the inheritance amassed with toil and sweat? Now, who were the victims of this catastrophe? Who were those stricken in that dreadful year by death or captivity? The Rapins, the Quesnels, the Gauthiers, Arnaults, Hurtubises, Boursiers, Le moines, Brunets, Vinets, Roys, Rollands, Cadieux, Morins, Parés, Godins, Prévosts, Cuilleriers, Dupuys, Tabeaus, Fortins, Cardinals, Lalondes, Fortiers. Are not these the ancestors, the fathers of this parish?

Does not the Scripture say: *Qui honorat patrem suum*, etc. He that honours his father, shall find his joy in his children and he shall be heard in the day of his prayer.

And were not these early colonists heroes? There is the courage of the soldier, who, under the excitement of the situation and urged on by the hope of glory, faces the dangers of the battle-field. But there is also the courage of the citizen, of the Christian, fulfilling calmly in obscurity, and always equal to himself, the duties of an existence, of a mission often difficult, though quiet. Truly, they did not lack courage the pioneers of our Canada who, mostly in order to work out their salvation under more favourable conditions, left their beautiful fields of France, bidding farewell forever to their country, braving the dangers and trials of a long passage, plunging into the unknown wilds and, axe in hand, cutting out domains from the virgin forest, peaceful conquerors, precursors of the faith, soldiers of

duty. And when, as in the present instance, these pioneers, having reached the limit of civilization, made of their bodies a living rampart for the colony, not being afraid even in the midst of continual danger, I have no hesitation in saying that this courage, displayed each day, each hour, amounted to heroism.

Obscure heroes who have slept for two hundred years in the graveyard of this parish, arise and hear our joyful acclaim, leave the sleep of tomb as you left your beds at the ferocious howl of the Iroquois. Cast your glance around and see the fruit of your work, see what an abundant harvest has come from the seed which you sowed in tears and in sacrifices. Green meadows and golden corn take the place of the trees and stumps of your desert; on the ruins of your burnt dwellings arise colleges, villas, princely residences surrounded by superb lawns and gardens; the bark canoe has been displaced by magnificent craft which move without the help of oar, paddle or sail.

A rising town has taken the place of your forts; industry raised her palaces in their place, and,—marvel unknown to your days,—electricity, stolen from the lightning, illuminates, writes, speaks. And at length the mystery of the discovery which possessed you has been solved! Each day carriages leave the little China (*la Petite Chine*) drawn by horses of fire, Leviathans with limbs of steel, belching, from their black mouth, steam, fire and smoke, waking the sleeping echoes with their strident neighing, and passing like the wind over plains, forests, mountains, prairies, insuperable barriers, to stop on the Pacific coast, opposite the great China.

I hear them answer: Bless God for all this progress. Especially be blessed yourselves for that you have kept untouched the faith of your fathers. Our keenest pleasure is to behold in your town, rising amidst profane buildings, the domes of churches and the cross of steeples. The spot where each Sunday we were wont to pray is now occupied by a populous noviciate, one of those Christian gardens where apostolic devotion is cultivated; your daughters are taught by one of those flourishing communities planted in your midst whose zeal and services over-

flow the country ; the descendants of another La Salle,— a discoverer, in the fields of education—, care for the truthful instruction of your sons. Remain always obedient to the precepts of Holy Church, and do not weary of hearing the word of your loving pastor. *Au revoir* in heaven, and do not forget us.

No, souls of our fathers, we will forget you never, never. Return to your silent tomb. Sleep the sleep of the just under the shadow of that cross which made your life fruitful, which comforted you in death. Your names are written on History's page, your legend is told, of evenings, at the fire-side. This monument has in charge to perpetuate your memory to your remotest posterity. And if, peradventure, you still need prayers, see : what gratitude has written deep in our hearts, we have inscribed in letters of gold upon this stone :

Pray for them.

AGRICULTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In stating at page 204, *Lake St. Louis*, that everybody in the colony engaged in the fur trade, I did not mean to convey that agriculture was entirely neglected. It cannot be denied that the trading in the upper country was hurtful to agriculture by creating that class of young men known as *coureurs des bois*. In 1679, Intendant Duchesneau complained that the clearings were slow and that the farmers, encouraged by the Governor-General Frontenac, preferred the chase.⁽¹⁾ The memoirs of the period, as well as the census, show that the progress of colonization, though very slow in the beginning, was remarkable during the few years of peace which the colony enjoyed from 1666 to 1687. "In the beginning", writes the chronicler of M. de Courcelles'

(1) Can. Arch., Richard's Rep., 41.

voyage to Lake Ontario in 1670, "the French were only here for the beaver trade and did not care to make any establishment or to clear any land."⁽¹⁾ On several occasions the Court of France recommended the clearing of lands. On the 5th June, 1672, strong recommendations were made against the practice of those who leave their farms to go away a long distance hunting or trading.⁽²⁾ On the 17th May, 1674, the King urged on Count de Frontenac the importance of restricting the number of enterprises of discovery and trade, and on the 12th November of the same year, that Governor acknowledged the wisdom of such a policy, which, according to him, had succeeded so well with the English and the Dutch.⁽³⁾ On the 22nd April, 1675, the King instructs him to "group the dwellings as closely together as he can".⁽⁴⁾ Later he writes to the Intendant Champigny: "Be well impressed with this maxim: It is better to occupy less land and to populate it than to spread without limit and put the colonies at the mercy of the slightest accident." On the 10th May, 1682, he informs M. de Meulles that he does not approve of discovery and "that it is better to apply themselves to the cultivation of the soil in the cleared homesteads."⁽⁵⁾

On the 12th November, 1685, M. de Denonville reports that there are eight leagues of land unconceded on the north of the Island of Montreal and two on the west.⁽⁶⁾ On the 20th May, 1686, the Court suggested the construction of two churches and two or three mills on the Island of Montreal "to attract the colonists and persons who take concessions on the Island and begin clearing land."⁽⁷⁾

Unfortunately, these wise instructions left the Governors great latitude, thus leaving the door open for voyages and discovery and adventure. It could be exercised in two cases, first "if the places of which you take possession are necessary to the commerce and treaties of the French", and second, "if the countries you discover can bring you nearer to France through

(1) Margry, I, 174. — (2) Can. Arch., Richard's Report, 58. — (3) Margry, I, 256, 276. — (4) *Ibid.*, 278. — (5) *Id.*, II, 309. — (6) Corr. gén., VII, 178; N.Y. Col. Doc., IX, 281. — (7) Corr. gén., VIII, 71.

“communication with some sea more meridian than the estuary
“of the River St. Lawrence”.⁽¹⁾

The Government of Canada only thought seriously of colonizing on the conclusion of peace with the Iroquois in 1666. To promote it, the Carignan-Sallières regiment was disbanded in 1668. Seigniories were granted to the officers and the men who took up land were offered help in money and provisions. Altogether 403 settled in the colony.⁽²⁾ In 1669, the French government sent 500 persons of both sexes, 12 mares, 2 stallions and 500 sheep. In 1670, twelve more mares and stallions were sent.⁽³⁾ In 1675, privileges designed to favour colonization were granted to the *habitants*, that is to say to those who took up land, tilled it and had their homestead on it, amongst others that of obtaining permits or licenses to hunt and to trade in their own homesteads the produce of their lands with the Indians.⁽⁴⁾

This policy produced excellent results. Talon writes Colbert :
“There are from Cape Tourmente, which is eight leagues below
“Quebec, to eight leagues above Montreal, *habitants* all along
“the river. There are from 9 to 10,000 souls. Each *habitant* has
“his barn and a frontage of two arpents.”⁽⁵⁾ In 1689, several farmers had made up their minds to bring negroes to work on their farms.⁽⁶⁾ On the 10th May, 1691, M. de Champigny says
“that all lands on the border of the St. Lawrence are conceded
“to a distance of 30 leagues below Quebec and 10 leagues above
“Montreal.”⁽⁷⁾ On the 15th October, 1692, Messrs. de Frontenac and de Champigny write the Minister that “there are no more

(1) Margry, I, 257. — (2) Richard's rep., 31. — (3) *Ibid*, 55, 56. The result was so great that in 1710, the Minister gave orders “to buckle the mares and castrate the stallions”. Richard's rep., 435. Again in 1712, the intendant Bégon is instructed to see to the reduction of the number of horses. “The settlers”, adds the Minister, “have no need of them except to till their land, and haul their wood and their grain. It is not natural for the settlers to use them in winter to travel from place to place, instead of going on snow-shoes, as they should all do. Cannot do better than induce all the settlers to practice the use of the snow-shoes, which they have nearly all lost the habit of using, and prevent them, as far as possible, from leading a life of effeminacy as regards all such matters, which tends to diminish bodily strength and wholly destroys manliness and courage.” (Richard's rep., 452, 469.) In 1709, the Intendant had requested all the inhabitants of the Island of Montreal to sell their horses, except two and a colt or to kill them. (2 Ed. et Ord., 273.) The exportation of horses to West Indies islands was recommended in 1739. (Richard's rep., 147. — (4) Jug. et Dél., I, 923. — (5) Corr. gén., III, 23, 250. — (6) Can. Arch., Richard's rep., 86. — (7) Corr. gén., XI, 468.

“unconceded lands along the river from the beginning of the habitations to the upper end of the Island of Montreal.”⁽¹⁾

Joutel saw fruit trees and vines planted by M. de Belmont at la Montagne before 1688.⁽²⁾ M. Le Ber had cultivated apple trees with such success, probably on his Fief Senneville, that in ten years' time, there would be an abundance of cider.⁽³⁾

A memoir of 1701 mentions that since the peace with the Iroquois (in 1698) “the population has increased one fourth, as well as culture and trade”.⁽⁴⁾ Already the *habitants* had large families, “de grandes familles”.⁽⁵⁾

In 1709-1711, Gédéon de Catalogne drew up plans of the seigniories of New France, with explanations written towards 1713-1714, which may be found in the first volume of the Moreau de Saint-Méry collection in the Canadian Archives.⁽⁶⁾ The following details relating to the parishes of Lake St. Louis, at pages 198-215, are particularly interesting to us :

“The parish of la Chine is served by one of the priests of the Montreal Seminary,⁽⁷⁾ who has contributed to the establishment of the daughters of the Congregation for the education of young girls ; the situation of the river-side is very fine, being exposed to the south and west, the land fertile in all sorts of grain and vegetables ; the forests contain all kinds of timber ; the *habitants* were formerly well-to-do on account of the traffic in produce which they carried on with the Indians who touched there on their way down to Montreal : but since the desolation

(1) Corr. gén., XII, 18. — (2) Margry, III, 523. — (3) Richard's rep., 27. — (4) Corr., XIX, 155. — (5) Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 239-245 ; F. 176, Ap. 332 ; Faillon, I, 219. — (6) The report of M. Richard for 1899 shows that in 1708, the Minister requested M. de Catalogne to prepare a plan of the Island of Montreal and do the same work for the other seigniories (pages 414, 418). On the 7th July, 1711, he is informed that the King is pleased with the maps he has made of the district included in the governments of Quebec and Three Rivers. The originals, adds the Minister, were lost, but M. Raudot has forwarded copies. Expects a copy of his manuscript, describing the various qualities of the land in the several seigniories. (*Ibid.*, 449.) On the 14th July, 1712, the Catalogne was requested to send the plans he had made (p. 456). The plans of the two governments of Three Rivers and Quebec are on file in the Paris archives, and copies have been deposited in the library of the Canadian Parliament. But the plan of the Government of Montreal, although first done, cannot be found any where. The explanations alone remain. It is astonishing that these explanations have not been yet published. — (7) M. Pierre Rémy, *curé* of Lachine from 1680 to 1706, who for several years continued to be generous to his former parish.

“ which the Iroquois carried there in 1689, burning the houses
 “ and taking captive most of the *habitants*, it has degenerated
 “ in every way ; the land has remained untilled for several years,
 “ besides which the *habitants* have much difficulty in carrying
 “ their produce to Montreal on account of the Sault St. Louis,
 “ a rapid impracticable, or at least very dangerous, wherein a
 “ great number of people have perished with their boats and
 “ merchandise ; during many years of the war with the Iroquois,
 “ on account of this rapid, transportation alone has cost the King
 “ more than a thousand crowns (*écus*) a year . . .

“ The parish of St. Anne's,⁽¹⁾ established at the high point
 “ in 1713, is served by one of the priests of the Seminary ; the
 “ *habitants*, during the war with the Iroquois, shared the same
 “ fate as those of la Chine, the land and the woods are like those
 “ of la Chine, that is to say very fertile. There is a wind-mill.

“ The parish of the upper portion of the Island, under the
 “ title of St. Louis, is served by M. de Breslay, a priest of the
 “ Seminary and formerly one of the gentlemen of the King's
 “ household. This gentleman also has charge of a mission to the
 “ Indians known as Nepissings, who are established on an Island,⁽²⁾
 “ a league above the parish, which in 1689 met with the same
 “ fate as la Chine ; the land throughout is rocky though plough-
 “ able and producing good grain in abundance ; the woods are
 “ mixed, of all sorts of wood ; the avenues are good for fishing
 “ and hunting and still more so for trade with the Indians who
 “ abound in these quarters. There is a wind-mill . . .

“ I come back here to Isle Perrot which is to the south of
 “ the upper end of the Island of Montreal ; it belongs to the
 “ *Sieur des Ruisseaux*, *voyageur* among the Ottawas, who
 “ acquired it from Messrs. Le Moyne, who held it of Monsieur
 “ Perrot, formerly Governor of Montreal ; there is only the
 “ *domaine* of the Seigneur, though there are portions of the
 “ country whose soil is good to produce grain ; there is even a

(1) Catalogne means here the parish of Pointe-Claire, erected in 1713, which up to that time had a wind-mill and presbytère, but no church. — (2) Ile-aux-Tourtes. Catalogne makes no mention of the seigniory of Vaudreuil, granted a few years before.

“ good extent of meadow land for the pasture of cattle, fine
 “ wood for building houses and fuel and abundant fishing and
 “ hunting ; in front of this island fishing is done under the ice
 “ in winter by means of nets attached to ropes passed through
 “ holes made through the ice at certain distances ; these ropes are
 “ attached to a pole of sufficient length which floats opposite the
 “ holes and is worked by means of a fork till the last hole,
 “ generally fifty fathoms, is reached.⁽¹⁾ The Seigneur has had a
 “ wind-mill built. . .

“ The Seigniorship of Chateauguay belongs to the Sieur
 “ La Noue, lieutenant in the troops, who acquired it from the
 “ Sieurs Le Moyne. The land is good only in places ; and indeed
 “ there are few *habitants*, more because of the proximity of the
 “ Iroquois in case of war than of the difficulty in finding a
 “ market for their produce which they cannot bring to Montreal
 “ on account of the St. Louis rapids and the crossing of the lake.
 “ What land is cultivated yields good grain ; and there is a large
 “ extent of pasture for cattle. There is hunting and fishing in
 “ abundance particularly at the Isles de la Paix ; the rivers du
 “ Loup and St. Louis (near Beauharnois to-day⁽²⁾) which dis-
 “ charge in the lake, coming from the depth of the seigniorship,
 “ abound in fish, particularly salmon. There is also a quantity
 “ of building timber, which cannot be transported to Montreal.
 “ There is a wind-mill. The inhabitants form a parish with those
 “ of St. Anns,⁽³⁾ not being able to support a *cure*.

“ The mission known by the name of St. Francis Xavier
 “ (Caughnawaga) established below Chateauguay, opposite la
 “ Chine, has a frontage of about three leagues, though the
 “ Indians occupy but a small portion of it, changing their village

(1) This mode of fishing is still used. — (2) Beauharnois and all the parishes situated within the limits of the seigniorship are rather of recent date, although the larger portion of it was granted in 1729 to Sieur Claude de Beauharnois de Beaumont. No settlement of any consequence was attempted before the end of the XVIIIth century and the beginning of the last, when the seigniorship passed to the heirs of Alex. Ellis. The first village was built where stands to-day the town of Beauharnois. Corn and saw-mills existed in 1815. A R. C. church was built about that time. The first entry in the parish registers is dated 2nd January, 1819. See Bouchette's Des. of L.C., III. In 1838, the village was the scene of a terrible conflagration during the rebellion. (Buckingham, Canada, p. 90.) — (3) That is Pointe Claire.

"or fort from time to time. It is composed of Iroquois of the
 "Five Nations, governed by three Jesuit fathers; also of a
 "garrison of soldiers⁽¹⁾ commanded by an ensign, more for show
 "than anything else, having no authority over these nations,
 "who are incapable of subordination. They are extremely proud;
 "although they have chiefs, they follow for the most part their
 "own opinions; the women are devout, although they get drunk
 "as well as the men when they come to Montreal, that is to say,
 "some of them. In this mission a pilgrimage has been established
 "by the frequently expressed wishes of Catherine Tekakouita,
 "who died in the odour of sanctity in 1690. As they have
 "changed the site of their village thrice since that time, they
 "transfer her body wherever they make their residence.⁽²⁾ The
 "land throughout the extent of this mission is very good for all
 "sorts of grain, although the natives only sow Indian corn,
 "haricot beans, pumpkins, melons and sunflowers for making
 "oil; they carry the superabundance of their grain to Montreal,
 "and in the season they sell maple sugar, like those of Sault-au-
 "Récoplet, of which they make a great quantity; all these
 "people leave in the fall for the chase and only return in the
 "month of May, some at Christmastide; they do a great trade
 "with the English at Orange, where they bring beaver, bring-
 "ing back the finest scarlet stuffs, cheaper by nearly one half
 "than those from France, which is the subject of fraud."

The census of 1681, published by M. Sulte,⁽³⁾ gives us an
 idea of colonization of the period. The French population of
 the colony was 9,710 persons having 24,427 arpents of land
 under cultivation, 6,936 horned cattle, 78 horses, 16 asses, 600

(1) Caughnawaga was then protected by a stockade, which was finally replaced by a
 strong fort, with bastions and walls, all of solid masonry. Both the chapel and presbytère were
 within the precincts. A plan of this fort is in the Library of Parliament. The ruins can yet be
 seen. (Richard's rep., 121). — (2) In 1890, a monument was raised to her memory at the spot
 where she was buried at the first Indian village, côte St. Catherine de la Prairie de la Mag-
 deleine. See "Le Diocèse de Montréal à la fin du XIXe siècle", p. 472, which gives an
 interesting historical sketch of Caughnawaga from its origin in 1667. After moving thrice
 along the Sault, they finally settled where they are in 1716, and that very year built the presby-
 tery which we see to-day. It was in it that P. de Charlevoix wrote one of his letters to the
 Duchess de Les Diguères in 1721. The present church is modern. — (3) Can. F., V, 53.

sheep and 18 goats. Nearly every inhabitant of either town or country, labourer as well as trader or professional, had at least 5, 10, 20 or 30 arpents under culture and some cattle. Clearing was much more advanced on the north side of the St. Lawrence than on the south, probably because it was less



PRESBYTÈRE OF CAUGHNAWAGA, 1716.
(*Still occupied.*)

exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois. Many *habitants* must have had nice homesteads. At Quebec, Jacques Larchevêque had 40 arpents under cultivation, Thierry Delestre 50 and Sébastien Liénard 65. The Island of Orleans and Beauport were the finest parishes in the country. At St. Anne de Batis-can, Jean Le Moyne, the ancestor of Sir James Le Moine, had 40 arpents under culture and 20 horned cattle, and at Rivière-

Ouelle, Joseph Renault had 50 arpents and 16 heads of cattle. At Champlain, plain farmers like Antoine DesRosiers, Vincent Montbeuf and Guillaume de LaRue had 30, 40 and 50 arpents under culture and several horned cattle. At Three Rivers, we find two *habitants* having 30 arpents under cultivation, two having 40 and 45 and two 80 and 100 respectively. At Montreal, the point of the country most particularly interesting to us, the work of colonization had certainly progressed remarkably.

Extract the following names, among others :

TOWN OF MONTREAL

Pierre Chauvin	had 55 arpents and	8	horned cattle.
Jean Vincent, the younger	" 60	" 9	"
Urbain Tessier	" 36	" 11	"
Bénigne Basset (notary)	" 20	" 3	"
Jean Gervaise, <i>procureur</i> <i>fiscal</i> of the Seigniors of the Island of Montreal	" 70	" 8	"
Jacques Le Moyne, mer- chant, brother of Charles	" 30	" 12	"
Jacques Le Ber, merchant	" 150	" 30	"
Charles Le Moyne	" 60	" 2	"
Jacques de la Marque	" 60	" 3	"
Robert Cavelier	" 50	" 6	"
Pierre Gadois	" 30	" 5	"
Mme Barbe Poisson	" 40	" 8	"
Hugues Picard (ancestor of Picards of Island of Montreal)	" 30	" 9	"
Jean Descaris (ancestor of Décarys of Island of Montréal)	" 25	" 9	"
Jean Le Duc	" 50	" 12	"
Jean Le Roy	" 30	" 4	"
Honoré Dany	" 30	" 4	"
Jean Gasteau	" 40	" 5	"

Nicholas Godé	had	30 arpents and	6	horned cattle.
Antoine Primot	"	60	"	6 "
Nicholas Boyer	"	30	"	8 "
Etienne Campeau	"	25	"	7 "
Jean Gadois	"	30	"	7 "

VERDUN, LACHINE AND HEAD OF THE ISLAND

Mathurin Thibodeau	had	16 arpents and	2	horned cattle.
Jean Roy	"	10	"	"
Jean Boursier	"	4	"	"
René Cuillerier, merchant, (Fort Cuillerier)	"	32	"	6 "
Jean Chevalier	"	18	"	8 "
Pierre Pérusseau	"	7	"	4 "
Jean Millot, merchant, (Fort Rémy)	"	170	"	26 "
Robert Fournier	"	50	"	14 "
Pierre Gauthier	"	26	"	5 "
Barthélémy Vinet	"	36	"	18 "
André Rapin, surgeon	"	20	"	11 "
Frs. Lenoir dit Rolland, merchant, (Fort Rolland)	"	45	"	2 "
Michel André	"	16	"	11 "
Jean Guenet, merchant, (Bout de l'Isle)	"	15	"	2 "
Antoine de La Fresnaye, merch., (Bout de l'Isle)				3 "
Jean de La Londe, (Baie d'Urfé)	"	12	"	4 "
Cibard Coureau, (Baie d'Urfé)	"	12	"	5 "
Pierre Claude Robutel de St-André, (Isle St-Paul)	"	30	"	24 "

All these farmers, whether labouring men or *bourgeois*, enjoyed a certain easiness of circumstances, if we may judge by the report of Gédéon de Catalogne in his *Explications du plan des*

Seigneuries et Habitations, pages 278 to 280: "The labourer," he says "*bourgeois* or mechanic as well as the gentleman, eats "wheaten bread; the smallest *habitant* in the country kills two "or three fat pigs for his household; milk and fowls are not "wanting; fish and game are there for those who wish to fish "and hunt. All this proves the goodness of the country."

One might believe himself among our farmers of the present day at the New Year's feast or the junketings of the Jours-Gras. I seem to hear the best singer of the company diverting the guests and the fiddler opening the dance.

Let it not be imagined that M. de Catalogne's recital attests a new era; it shows the state of things during nearly half of the 17th century, for the war which ravaged the colony from 1687 to 1698 had not allowed of any considerable betterment in the condition of our peasantry. During the winter of 1687-88, distress was general. In 1689 and 1690 there were two "bad harvests", says Champigny. In 1691 so great was the scarcity that M. de Vaudreuil, sent to help the head of the Island of Montreal, went "after the fashions of beggars from door to door "asking for cake, pork or any other thing for their supply". In 1692, the crop was eaten by caterpillars. During each year from 1687 to 1698 sowing and harvesting were only half done "a quantity of homesteads and land which were under cultivation" having been even abandoned. Famine also prevailed in 1700 and 1701, so much so that some of the inhabitants died from starvation.⁽¹⁾

M. de Frontenac wrote to the King in 1691 that scarcity was such that up to that time the colony had to be content with opposing the powerful efforts made by its enemies to prevent sowing and harvesting; and he adds: "We have prevailed, "Sire, over both, but always at the point of the sword and the "muzzle of the gun."⁽²⁾

Catalogne's report can therefore be considered as covering all the beginning of the XVIIIth century and a good portion

(1) Moreau de Saint Méry, F. 176 A, p. 337; *Corr. gén.*, X, 33; *Ibid.*, XI, 468, 552, 553; XII, 3, 45; XIX, 155, 156.—(2) *Ibid.*, XI, 363; *Phips devant Québec*, by Myrand, 405.

of the preceding century. We know from him that even at that distant period the *habitant* lived comfortably. This is moreover settled by several memoirs of the time. On the 10th November, 1686, the marquis de Denonville remarked that "the peasant who works well can acquire in two years where-withal to live at ease".⁽¹⁾ M. de Champigny said in 1691: "Those who have devoted themselves to making the most of the land are rich or at least live very comfortably, having their fields and fisheries close to their houses and a considerable number of cattle."⁽²⁾ We read in a decree (*arrêt*) of the Council of State dated 12 July, 1707, "that it is a matter of public notoriety that ordinarily there are no *habitants* who cannot live on their land, by taking some trouble; they find there all the necessaries of life, generally pretty abundantly; clothes are the only thing which cost them much, but they have even now begun to reap flax from which they make a quantity of linen which is a great help to them, as well as to raise sheep from whose wool they make stuffs."⁽³⁾ Sixty years later General Murray and Governor Carleton both said that the *seigneurs*, who were nearly all noble, were poor while their *cent-sitaires* were at their ease and lived well.⁽⁴⁾ This fact explains why after the conquest the latter remained in the country, whereas a number of the former class, particularly the officials, returned to France. True it is that some large land owners, like Le Ber de Senneville, of Ste Anne du Bout-de-l'Ile, and Robutel de La Noue, of Chateauguay, sacrificed their property rather than live under the shadow of a flag against which they had fought all their lives; but the greater number of those *seigneurs* who had improved their domains remained in Canada. Quite a few came back to Canada after years of absence. In 1763, 22 returned from France.⁽⁵⁾ On the 21st August, 1764, General Murray writes Lord Halifax that not more than 270 persons, men, women and children, will leave the country on

(1) Corr. gén., VIII, 231. — (2) *Ibid.*, XI, 468, 469; XII, 18. — (3) Ed. et Ord., I, 306. — (4) Sulte, VII, 91; Can. Archives' Report for 1888, p. 49. — (5) Can. Arch., Richard's rep., 31.

account of the treaty⁽¹⁾; "most of these", he adds, "are officers, "their wives, children and servants and there is no want of ships "for six times the number".⁽²⁾ In 1767, Governor Carleton gave the names of a hundred and eleven nobles who had remained in the country, and of a hundred, particularly military and officials, who had left it.⁽³⁾

Some modern historians, like M. Rameau, maintain that it was the *gentilhommes*, the *seigneurs* and military, who accomplished the agricultural development of New France. Others, like M. Léon Gérin, declare that they failed all along the line, that they were too poor, that they were lacking in practical training and that they sought only office and trading.⁽⁴⁾ This reproach, though deserved by many, is perhaps too sweeping. In looking over the census of 1681, it is impossible not to recognize the vigorous direction of the *seigneurs* and even of several of the officials.

M. de Villeray, councillor in the *Conseil Supérieur*, had 150 arpents of land under cultivation, 50 horned cattle, 75 sheep and 6 horses. Charles Le Gardeur de Tilly, also a councillor, had 90 arpents under cultivation and 20 heads of cattle. Nicholas Dupont de Neuville, another councillor, had 50 arpents under cultivation, 3 horses and 26 horned cattle. Charles Denys de Vitré, another councillor, had 20 arpents and 4 horned cattle and J. Bte Depeiras 40 arpents and 5 head of cattle. The Clerk of the Council, Peuvret, had 30 arpents under cultivation and 5 horned cattle. So much for the members of the Council; only two did not farm, de La Martinière and the Attorney General d'Auteuil.⁽⁵⁾ This is the reverse of what took place with respect to the officers of the *Prevoté royale* of Quebec and that of the *Maréchaux*. Of 17 official employees only three engaged in farming, Jean and Noël Lévasseur and Paul Denys de St. Simon.

Let us see what was done by the *seigneurs* and by the mili-

(1) See on this subject a remarkable study by Mr. Justice Baby, *L'exode des Classes Dirigées*, 1899; also Can. Arch. Richard's report, 29, 30. — (2) Can. Arch Report for 1890, State Papers, 10. — (3) *Ibid.*, for 1888, p. 42-48. — (4) Royal Soc., N. S., II, 65. — (5) Probably an omission. According to the census of 1667 d'Auteuil had 18 head of cattle and 100 arpents under cultivation at Cap Rouge. Sulte IV, 66; *Hist. de Ste-Foy* by Abbé Scott, p. 264 and fol.

tary, nearly all officers of one of the finest regiments of France, the regiment of Carignan-Salières. Robineau Bécancour, *seigneur* in right of his wife of Portneuf, has 60 arpents under cultivation and 22 horned cattle ; Fleury d'Eschambault, *seigneur* of Chavigny, 20 arpents, 19 head of cattle ; Madame Thomas Tarieu de La Naudière, widow of the *seigneur* of St. Anne, 14 horned cattle and 26 arpents under culture ; Antoine Trottier des Ruisseaux, *seigneur* of Batiscan, 100 arpents, 30 horned cattle ; Etienne Pezard de La Touche, *seigneur* of Champlain, 100 arpents and 18 horned cattle ; J. Bte Deschamps, sieur de la Bouteillerie, *seigneur* of Rivière Ouelle, 15 arpents and 12 horned cattle ; Jacques Babie, ancestor of Judge Baby, an officer in the Carignan Regiment, 40 arpents, 8 head of cattle ; Jacques Brisset, *seigneur* of Ile du Pads, 50 arpents, 9 head of cattle ; Pierre Dandonneau de Sablé, also a *seigneur*, 60 arpents under culture, 10 head of cattle ; M. de Varennes, Governor of Three Rivers, 40 arpents and 20 horned cattle ; the widow of Louis Godfroy de Normanville, King's attorney, 60 arpents and 10 head of cattle ; the sieur de Berthier, *seigneur*, 30 arpents and 10 head of cattle ; the sieur de la Valtrie, *seigneur*, 20 arpents and 10 head of cattle ; J. Bte LeGardeur de Repentigny, another *seigneur*, 100 arpents and 30 head of cattle ; M. Perrot, Governor of Montreal, 40 arpents under culture ; Charles d'Ailleboust des Musseaux, a noble and judge at Montreal, 130 arpents and 9 head of cattle ; J. Bte Migeon de Bransac, lieutenant general, 100 arpents and 8 head of cattle ; Charles LeMoyne de Longueuil, 60 arpents ; Antoine de la Fresnaye, sieur de Bruçy, an officer, 60 arpents and 9 head of cattle ; he had two fine places at the end of the Island, one on the Island of Montreal and one almost opposite on Ile Perrot, which the Indians burned in 1687 ;⁽¹⁾ Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriant, *seigneur* of Ile Ste Thérèse, 40 arpents and 16 head of cattle ; Pierre Boucher, *seigneur* of Boucherville, 100 arpents and 30 head of cattle ; the sieur de Verchères, 20 arpents and 13 horned cattle ; Antoine de Pecaudy, *seigneur* of Contreccœur, 80 arpents and 20 head of cattle ; the sieur de St.

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XXI, 92.

Ours, an officer and *seigneur*, 40 arpents and 20 head of cattle ; Pierre de Saurel, 150 arpents, 43 horned cattle, 62 sheep and 18 goats ; Jean Crevier, *seigneur* of St. François, 40 arpents and 20 head of cattle ; the *seigneur* Godefroy de Linctot, 20 arpents, 4 head of cattle ; Michel Pelletier de la Prade, *seigneur* of Gentilly, 30 arpents, 13 head of cattle ; the *seigneur* Joseph Giffard, of Beauport, 125 arpents and 24 head of cattle ; Nicholas Juchereau de St. Denis, also *seigneur* of Beauport, 250 arpents, 37 horned cattle, 2 horses and 22 sheep. Cavalier de La Salle does not appear in the census ; he was at his seigniories of Cataracoui and the Illinois where he had spent enormous sums and established "several *habitants*" as he tells us in his concession to Michel Dizy.⁽¹⁾

That is what the census of 1681 establishes. Yet four years afterwards M. de Denonville, whose testimony is appealed to by M. Gérin, wrote to the Minister : "Our nobles and councillors are all very poor and loaded with debt ; they could not get credit for a sou."⁽²⁾ Lahontan in the same year says that the attire alone of a gentleman's daughter is enough to ruin him.⁽³⁾ In a despatch dated 10th November, 1686, Denonville begins by repeating the same censures ; then he tells how the sieur de St. Ours, a noble of Dauphiné, is on the point of returning to France with his family, despairing of getting out of poverty. "Nevertheless", he adds, "his children do not spare themselves, for I have seen his two grown-up daughters harvesting corn and holding the plough." He mentions by name three other *seigneurs* who are in want, "very needy", the sieur Godfroy de Linctot, Charles D'Ailleboust des Musseaux and Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriant. On the other hand, he has nothing but praise for Pierre Boucher, sieur de Grosbois, *seigneur* of Boucherville, for several years Governor of Three Rivers, who, he says, is not a French nobleman, but deserves to be one, and who became one

(1) *Lake St. Louis*, 24 ; Margry, I, 298 ; Ed. et Ord., I, 262, 263 ; Jug. et Dél., III, 552.
 — (2) Corr. gén., VII, 54. If we are permitted to judge from a letter of Adam Lymburner to Nepean, of the 2nd September, 1789, their position had not much improved. "The greater part", he says, "is extremely poor. A few of them are in respectable circumstances. In general, they claim their rank." — (3) I, 82.

later on.⁽¹⁾ "His seigniory is one of the finest in this country."⁽²⁾ Nevertheless, judging by the census of 1681, Boucher's position does not appear much better than that of St. Ours, Dugué or D'Ailleboust. However that may be, one needs but small acquaintance with the military character, accustomed to abundance of every description, not to perceive how prone it is to grumble and ask for advancement. Four or five *seigneurs* ask for the Governor General's influence, and he at once concludes that the noblesse are poor and without credit. But in this he went too far. As in all new countries, distant from the motherland, living was very dear and necessarily full of privations. Gédéon de Catalogne, officer, architect and surveyor, perhaps the most veracious of the chroniclers, says towards 1714, in his memoir on the *Seigneuries et Habitations* that "the goods which "come from Europe are exorbitant in price;⁽³⁾ what used to sell "for four livres now sells for twelve or fifteen and often more; "iron as high as twenty *sous* a pound. In short, the weight of "this revolution falls on the body of the troops, the merchant, "the mechanic, the laborer vieing with each other (*se renvoyant* " *la balle*) who shall sell dearest; some of these, who not long "ago were dependent on the charity of their friends, and a "burden to them sometimes, now find themselves, in four or five "years, worth sixty thousand livres; at least there are some who "pass for such. Meanwhile one hears complaints every day "against the card-money by means of which they made their "fortunes.

"In short, Canada appears to be a scene of brigandage; there "is neither good faith any more, nor subordination; the officers "can no longer subsist; only those who trade become opulent. "The King has established such good order in his troops in

(1) In 1661. M. Boucher was the first Canadian ennobled by M. de Feuquières, Viceroy of French America. In 1694, M. de Champigny asked the King himself for letters of *noblesse* for him, but his request was not granted. In 1704, M. de Beauharnois renewed the request in favour of "this venerable old man of 83 years". They were issued on the 17th June, 1707, countersigned by the Sieur d'Hozier, "juge général des Armes et Blasons de France" on the 26th April, 1708, and registered by the *Conseil Supérieur* of Quebec on the 6th October, 1710. The original parchment was burnt in the fire of the Quebec Seminary, where one of his sons, a priest, was copying the same. Jug. et dél, VI, 115; Corr. gén., XXII, 31. — (2) Corr. gén., VIII, 231; see also XXII, 31. — (3) Jug. et dél, I, 93, 94.

“ France by means of the canteens, that down to the drummer
 “ every one can drink wine, while here the first captains are
 “ reduced to drinking water daily, the average price of a barrel
 “ of wine being five hundred livres and of brandy twelve or
 “ thirteen hundred, an ell of *tailles de Rouan* (a cloth tissue
 “ manufactured at Rouen) as high as twelve livres, and so with
 “ the rest, a pair of St. Mezaut hose sixteen livres.”⁽¹⁾

Opulent were the traders, says Catalogne. Yes, perhaps, but it was at their creditors' expense. Those who made fortunes were not numerous; they may almost be reckoned on the fingers of one hand: Berthé de Chailly, Councillor de Lino, Baron de Saint-Castin, Charles and Jacques Le Moyne, Jean Guenet, René Cuillierier, Jacques LeBer who was perhaps the ablest administrator of his time. And how many of them employed their riches in developing the country? Perhaps two or three, the Le Moynes, LeBer, Cuillierier. The chevalier de Callières writing in 1700 says correctly that the merchants who have made their fortune return to France “by reason of which the the colony remains poor”.⁽²⁾

Beside these fortunes what ruin and disasters! Cavelier de La Salle, Tonty, La Forest, Governor Perrot, Youville de la Découverte, Juchereau de Saint-Denis, Aubert de la Chesnaye, Lamothe-Cadillac, Lenoir-Rolland, Charles de Couagne, Coulonges, Hazeur, Péré, Lesueur, LaVérendrie and how many others! M. de Beauharnois said, 27 April, 1703, that “the merchants nearly all die insolvent”.⁽³⁾ Despite all the disadvantages and drawbacks of Canadian life, the *seigneurs*, not engaged in trade, who lived on their domains and cleared them, did not quit the country. Even those who went moaning to the Marquis de Denonville founded families whose descendants still exist in the country. Captain de Saint-Ours, in particular, was the founder of one of the most opulent seigniories and the father of one of the most distinguished families in Canada.

If any doubt be allowable as to the influence of the lay

(1) Can. Arch., Moreau de Saint-Méry coll., 278. — (2) Margry, V, 174. — (3) Corr. gén., XXIX, 154; see XI, 433, XX, 22, 40, XXI, 19, 22, 26, 73, XXII, 25, 342, XL, 42; XLIII, 103. *Édits et Ord.*, III, 155, *Jug. et Dél.*, VI, 1187.

seigneur, noble or *roturier*, on the agricultural movement, there can be none as to that of the *seigneurs* ecclesiastical or religious. Not only were they powerful agents of colonization by their zeal in sending missionaries wherever there was a beginning of a village or parish, but they were also the greatest agriculturists of the country. According to the census of 1681, so full of interesting information, the Seminary of Quebec had 60 arpents under cultivation, 4 cows, 2 horses and 1 ass; the Récollets had 30 arpents, 4 oxen, 4 cows and 1 mare; the Ursulines, 200 arpents under cultivation, 40 horned cattle, 3 horses, 13 sheep; the Hospital Nuns of Quebec, 150 arpents, 30 horned cattle, 40 sheep; the Seminary of Montreal, 500 arpents under cultivation, 71 horned cattle, 150 sheep, 3 horses; the Montreal Hospital, 100 arpents, 31 horned cattle and 30 sheep; the Ladies of the Congregation, 150 arpents under cultivation, 22 horned cattle, 5 horses, 20 sheep.

The Jesuits, frequently enough ill-used by the officials, do not appear in the census of 1681 as having made clearings. Is this a mistake or is it an omission due to bad faith? It is certain that, from the beginning, they devoted themselves to agriculture at the same time as to education and missions. Champlain bears testimony that "as vigilant and laborious people, all "marching with one will and without discord, it has happened "that they have been able from their lands to maintain themselves "and to send produce to France, and would to God that for the "last 23 or 24 years, the Societies had been as united and "working as harmoniously as these good Fathers; there are "now several homesteads and households in the country who "would not have been subject to the terrors and apprehension "they have been in".⁽¹⁾

It is absolutely impossible that the Jesuits, who in 1681 possessed considerable seigniories, granted several years previous, should not have had several arpents under cultivation. The Edict of amortizement in favour of the Jesuit Fathers, 12 May, 1678, of all lands possessed by them, was only granted on

(1) Champlain's works IIII and IIII2.

condition "that they shall put all the said lands under cultivation and improvement in the four consecutive years following".⁽¹⁾ M. Sulte says that during the period from 1633 to 1664 the Jesuits were efficient *seigneurs* (*des seigneurs effectifs*).⁽²⁾ According to the census of 1667, they had 100 arpents under cultivation and 30 head of cattle.⁽³⁾ At the date of the conquest, General Murray says that they held 891,845 arpents of land and had an annual income of 30,000 livres.⁽⁴⁾ Frontenac said in 1675 that the Jesuits had made clearings as far as their western missions.⁽⁵⁾ Pénicant wrote in 1711 that more than sixty years previous, the Illinois of Kaskakia had learned from the Reverend Jesuit Fathers the art of agriculture with such success that they had as fine corn as in France, and all sorts of fruit, vegetables, fowls and cattle, so that, he adds, they lack nothing necessary or comfortable in life.⁽⁶⁾

The ecclesiastical and religious *seigneurs* remained in the country and even became very wealthy on account of the increase in value which time gave their lands and seigniories, enabling them to protect and educate the French group and to lead it to that degree of influence which it now enjoys in British Canada.⁽⁷⁾ Among the Montreal ecclesiastics were numbered ex-military men like M. Dollier de Casson, a captain of cavalry under Turenne, noblemen like M. d'Urfé, son of the Marquis d'Urfé, M. de Fenélon, son of the Marquis de Fenélon. The founders of Saint-Sulpice in Canada, amongst others Messrs. de Queylus, de Belmont and de Breslay, belonged to the first families of France and possessed private means; some were even rich. They all employed their private resources in the development of the country.

(1) Ed. et Ord., I, 102. — (2) Pages d'Histoire, 217. — (3) *Can. Fr.* by Sulte, IV, 65, 67. — (4) From an official return furnished by their superior, P. de Glapion, in 1768, their total income was then 15,158 liv., that is 6,908 from ground rents and 8,250 from mill and lands. (Smith, *Hist. of Can.*, I, Ap. 14; *Canadian Arch. report* for 1892, p. 14.) — (5) Margry, I, 307. — (6) *Id.*, V, 489, 490. — (7) See *Canadian Magazine*, February 1900.

TRADE AT LAKE ST. LOUIS ⁽¹⁾

If we may believe de Catalogne and other chroniclers, trading was forced on the colonist as a necessity of the situation.⁽²⁾ The Abbé Cavelier wrote in 1689 that "the cultivation of land alone is not able to supply its owners with food and clothing". In the year following, another missionary remarked that up to that time "all the inhabitants of Acadie as well as those of Canada have thought more of the beaver trade and the liquor traffic than of the establishing of fisheries". Aubert de la Chesnaye and Le Ber — one of the few merchants who observed the regulations, according to M. de Denonville — attest that the *habitants* support their families only by means of the trade in furs.⁽³⁾ In a despatch dated the 12th November, 1685, M. de Denonville states "that the principal reason for the separation of settlements comes from the wish of each to be ahead of the others so as to get more furs".⁽⁴⁾ On the 10th August, 1688, he wrote: "The chief evil, Monseigneur, comes from the beaver trade which all private individuals have regarded as the only good thing in the country, neglecting their lands, struggling jealously to put their homesteads one in advance of the other, so as to be ahead of their neighbours, overlooking thus the necessity for strengthening the country by gathering them close together".⁽⁵⁾ Elsewhere, M. de Denonville asserts that he sees an underhand trade established with the English and that there were more than 600 *coureurs des bois* who did not dare to come back, notwithstanding the amnesty. The 25 permits (*congés*) which the Governor was authorized to issue only justified the sending of about 100 men to the upper country.⁽⁶⁾ These permits were so sought after that in 1691, in the height of the war, they were sold at 1,000 livres each, in addition to the large gratuities which had to be given to Monseigneur, M. de Frontenac's secretary.⁽⁷⁾

(1) *Lake St. Louis*, 204-214. — (2) Corr. gén., III, 264; Mss. coll., II, 4; Margry, I, 174; *Id.*, III, 588. — (3) Corr. gén., VIII, 406; *Id.*, VII, 66. — (4) *Id.*, VII, 201. — (5) *Id.*, X, 100. — (6) *Id.*, VII, 16, 20, 30, 31, 42 to 48. — (7) *Id.*, XI, 472.

An Edict of the King of the 15th April, 1676, confirmed by *arrêt* of the Conseil Supérieur of the 5th October, 1676, forbade trading in furs in private posts and only allowed it in the towns of Villemarie, Three Rivers and Quebec. M. de Denonville remarks, on the 12th November, 1685, that this Edict was not observed.⁽¹⁾ Finally, another edict of the King, dated 30 March, 1687, forbade Frenchmen to go amongst the neighbouring nations, without permission from the Governor General, on pain of their lives.⁽²⁾ So great was the greed of the traders that the Court of France was apprehensive on account of "the uneasiness of our people who are greatly prone to turn in the direction of the English, who do all they can to attract them".⁽³⁾ What attracted them to American towns was the superiority and cheapness of English goods.⁽⁴⁾ In 1701, the population of Manhattan (New-York of the present time), was composed one third of French fugitives.

At this epoch, trade was carried on without scruple and without regard to the prohibitions of the law. Governors, intendants, commandants, judges and officials generally had in their houses stores where they sold, wholesale and retail, all manner of goods.⁽⁵⁾ In 1680, the domestics of M. de Frontenac and the officers and soldiers of the garrison in Quebec were openly trafficking with the Indians in their camp.⁽⁶⁾ Perrot was doing the same thing in Montreal.⁽⁷⁾ In 1684, M. de la Barre, associated with La Chesnaye, Duluth and Champagne, took possession of Fort Frontenac to carry on trade with the English.⁽⁸⁾ Messrs. de Callières and de Champigny state that "all the trade of the distant countries is for the sole benefit of LeSueur, the *coureurs des bois* and the Sieurs de la Forest and de Tonty." In 1690, Intendant de Champigny objected to Sr. de Louvigny as a commandant of an expedition to the west "because he was a trader and would not fail to trade on his own account and to harrass other traders".⁽⁹⁾ Councillor de Lino "has gained so

(1) *Id.*, VII, 207, 236. — (2) *Id.*, IX, 277. — (3) *Id.*, VIII, 136. — (4) Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, p. 126. — (5) *Corr. gén.*, XIX, 146, 155, 209. — (6) *Can. Arch.*, Richard's rep., 41. — (7) *Id.* — (8) Margry, II, 337; Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, p. 199. — (9) Richard's rep., 88.

much money at the expense of the colony, "says M. de Ramesay in 1704."⁽¹⁾ The directors of the company in the colony, adds M. de Ramesay, "alonnè profit by it".⁽²⁾ De Vincennes and de Louvigny were trading openly, one at the Miami post and the other at Michilimakinac. Arnaud, de Lotbinière's son in law, was doing the same thing with the Outauais.⁽³⁾ M. de Champigny writes in 1696 that the post of Cataracoui is only precious to M. de Frontenac "because he has trade carried on there".⁽⁴⁾ La Potherie mentions the same fact in 1700.⁽⁵⁾ On the other hand, M. de Champigny himself is charged with being in half-partnership with the commandant of Fort Chambly and with trading in Quebec under the name of Hazeur.⁽⁶⁾ In 1687, Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny declare to the Minister that "Your Lordship may rest assured that the higher "officials do not and shall not carry on any trade in this coun-try".⁽⁷⁾ At the same time, M. de Denonville was closing his eyes to the trade which his wife carried on in one of the rooms of the Château St. Louis.⁽⁸⁾ In 1685, Gauthier de Varennes, governor of Three Rivers, was carrying on at la Gabelle, Shawenigan Falls, a big trade with the Indians who came down the St. Maurice River. Juchereau de Saint-Denys, lieutenant-general for Montreal, obtained the permission to build a tannery at Ouabache, but this was done in order the better to conceal his intention of trading.⁽⁹⁾ Sansoucy and LaDécouverte, two famous traders of Bout de l'Île, are in the west, having each two canoes loaded with goods and *eau-de-vie*.⁽¹⁰⁾ La Mothe-Cadillac was making his fortune at Detroit, even trading with the English.⁽¹¹⁾ De Tonty also carried on an extensive trade, first at Detroit and next at Cataracouy.⁽¹²⁾ It is said that about the same time M. de Beauharnois carried on a traffic with the

(1) Corr. gén., XXII, 116, 303. — (2) Corr. gén., XII, 128. — (3) Richard's rep., 388, 389, 401. — (4) Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, p. 211. — (5) Margry, V, CXV; Royal Soc., N. S., III, 18. — (6) Corr. gén., XX, 113; *Mgr de Saint-Vallier* by Gosselin, 107. — (7) *Id.*, IX, 20. — (8) *Id.*, X, 161. — (9) *Id.*, 9; XX, 22; XXI, 19; Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176 A, p. 343. — (10) Corr. gén., XXXIII, 26, 27, 111, 116; Richard's rep., 401. — (11) *Id.*, XXVIII, 18. La Mothe-Cadillac founded Fort Pontchartrain du Détroit, not in 1700 as stated by some historians, but in 1701. Corr. gén., XIX, 25 to 28, 50 to 57. — (12) Richard's rep., 401.

supplies sent by the Court of France for the public service.⁽¹⁾ In 1715, intendant Bégon controlled the whole commerce of the country by land and by sea.⁽²⁾

The volumes of the *Correspondance générale*, recently received from Paris, show beyond doubt that the merchants of Lake St. Louis, then called sometimes Haut de l'Isle, sometimes la Chine, enjoyed the privilege of trading outside of Villemarie and their private homesteads and that, frequently enough, especially after the massacre of Lachine, the authorities shut their eyes to their trading in the woods. In 1681, Perrot, formerly governor of Montreal, did a trade of 50,000 livres a year at Isle Perrot, opposite Bout de l'Île, in spite of his previous contentions with the Governor General.⁽³⁾

M. de Denonville writes, 14 November, 1685, that the Sieur de Chailly (Louis de Berthé, Sieur de Chailly, formerly a subaltern in the Carignan-Salières Regiment) had sold his store at Bout de l'Île and was returning to France, bringing with him a fortune of 40,000 livres. "I must inform Your Lordship," continues M. de Denonville in his letter to the Minister, "that the Sieur de Chailly having come to this country without means obtained a concession at the end of the Island of Montreal, where he did a good business by the trading he carried on there in spite of the prohibitions against trading outside of Villemarie; during the last days of my stay, he was detected in a fraud, having retained at his place at the end of the Island a part of the furs which came by canoe from the Outaouacs and which were all consigned to the merchant who outfitted him."⁽⁴⁾

M. de Denonville adds, 8 May, 1686: . . . "Your Lordship will be surprised to learn that the Sieur de Chailly, about whom I had the honour of writing last autumn, having failed to obtain from me his leave to return to France with all his goods, which he sent last year before my arrival, has stolen away and fled the country to go to Orange (Albany), and

(1) Mgr de Saint-Vallier by Gösselin, 107. — (2) Richard's rep., 498, 122. — (3) Cor. gén., VI, 189. — (4) *Id.*, VII, 66; VIII, 18, 96, 200; IX, 38.

“thence no doubt to France by way of England. I thought
 “that after I had represented to him that he was bound in
 “honour to serve a country which had been the making of his
 “fortune, inasmuch as from being simply a subaltern in the
 “Carignan regiment, without a *sou* of private fortune, he had
 “managed to amass here 40,000 livres, he might well have
 “awaited the occasion of rendering some service to the colony
 “at this juncture. He had bought a homestead at the upper end
 “of the Island of Montreal, where he made all those profits, not
 “without much fraud and cheating, as I had the honour to
 “state to you in my letters of the 14th 9ber last. When I
 “arrived in the country, he had sold his homestead, though I
 “am assured he has not yet been paid for it.

“It is of the greatest consequence, Monseigneur, that this
 “desertion should not go unpunished. He enticed away with
 “him an Indian of the Sault. What is disagreeable is that he
 “will have told Governor Dongan all he knows about our
 “enterprises in the direction of North Bay, and all he knows
 “about the interests of the country and our designs.⁽¹⁾ I hum-
 “bly beg Your Lordship to grant the confiscation of any of his
 “goods which may be found here in favour of the two hospitals
 “of the colony.

“There is no doubt he will go to La Rochelle whither he
 “has sent all his goods on Dombourg’s ship, from whom news
 “of him may be had, as also from most of the merchants of
 “that town who trade here.

“His father is a noble, I am told, very poor, living at
 “Amboise, having had a property in that neighbourhood; he
 “has a brother adjudant to Brisac. If he is not punished,
 “Monseigneur, it will be, I assure you, a very bad example
 “for the whole country, where light-headedness causes much
 “evil amongst our youth.”⁽²⁾

The King answered :

“His Majesty had granted permission to the person named
 “Chailly to return to France, but in view of what has been

(1) See above page 341. — (2) Corr. gén., VIII, 18.

“written concerning him, His Majesty thinks fit to revoke such permission. Let him therefore be prevented from embarking and let him be made to remain and continue his trade and the cultivation of his homestead.”⁽¹⁾

On the 10th November, 1686, de Denonville adds: “There is nothing to be added to what I already had the honour of writing Your Lordship with respect to the Sieur de Chailly who has fled the country and returned to France by way of New England; ’twere very dangerous were no example made in this case; he has gained enough in this country to deserve a fine of a thousand crowns which would come very opportunely to aid our hospital nuns of Villemarie in building on the Island of Montreal, where the poor nuns and the sick are very ill lodged. He has bought a property near LaRochelle where he can be easily found.”⁽²⁾

On the 8th June, 1687, M. de Denonville represents to the Court that the fact of “the Sieur de Chailly’s impunity brings my prohibitions into great discredit.”⁽³⁾

On the 14th November, 1685, Denonville again complains to the Minister of “private individuals who in summer put up shanties” (on the Island of Montreal) “for the purpose of selling all sorts of goods by retail, retiring on the approach of winter”. The Minister had vainly enjoined upon M. de La Barre, 18 February, 1685, “to prevent the trade which was being carried on at the head of the Island” and “to re-establish the fair at Montreal”. On the 20th August, 1685, M. de Denonville informs the Minister that if the *coureurs des bois* are forced to return to Villemarie, “all our merchants will be ruined on account of the goods they have advanced to them.”⁽⁴⁾ In the following year, 1686, the largest merchants of Villemarie, amongst others Aubert de la Chesnaye and LeBer, besought the Marquis to allow the *habitants* of Canada to continue trading. They attest that the *habitants* can only maintain their families by means of the fur trade.⁽⁵⁾ As late as 1712, the merchants and habitants of

(1) *Corr. gén.*, VIII, 96. — (2) *Ibid.*, VIII, 241. — (3) *Ibid.*, IX, 38. — (4) *Ibid.*, VII, 16, 99, 236. — (5) *Ibid.*, VIII, 406.

Montreal were representing to the Superior Council that commerce was the very foundation of the colony.⁽¹⁾

Immediately after the war, Callières and Champigny made efforts to enforce the old prohibitory laws with regard to trading outside of the three towns of Villemarie, Three Rivers and Quebec ; they even demanded the repeal of the trade licenses or *congés*, which was done in 1697 by the King.⁽²⁾ “ We cannot deny, “ Monseigneur ”, they write to the Minister 24 November, 1701, “ that the sieur Quenet’s homestead was burned once by the “ Indians as well as those of the other neighbouring *habitants*, “ but we do not believe that to be a good reason for allowing “ him to trade to the exclusion of others, since His Majesty “ having forbidden trading elsewhere than in the towns of “ Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, the *Conseil Souverain* “ of this country published an *arrêt* wherein all *habitants* are “ forbidden to trade with the Indians at their homesteads, except “ in the produce of their land, that is to say corn, flower, bread, “ pork, vegetables and other produce, because if they were “ allowed to trade in drinks and goods, they would make the “ Indians drunk every day, thus securing the greater part of the “ trade, as they are on the highway of all the nations coming “ from the distant countries, who, finding what they require “ there, would not take the trouble of going down to Montreal, “ which has caused the inhabitants of that place to complain and “ to ask that they also be allowed to establish themselves at the “ upper end of the Island of Montreal, which would inevitably “ cause everybody to desert the town, and so the sieur Quenet “ and the others would not have enjoyed the profits of the trade “ which they are allowed to carry on in the produce of their “ lands, besides defeating His Majesty’s designs for keeping up “ the towns as a defence against the enemy.

“ The Sieur Quenet⁽³⁾ has permission the same as the other “ *habitants* to come to Montreal for purposes of trade and com- “ merce when they desire it ; besides which, we do not think he “ is much to be pitied as he has enjoyed for a long time a comp-

(1) Jug. et Dél., VI, 457. — (2) Jug. et Dél., VI, 457. — (3) Generally spelled *Guenet*.

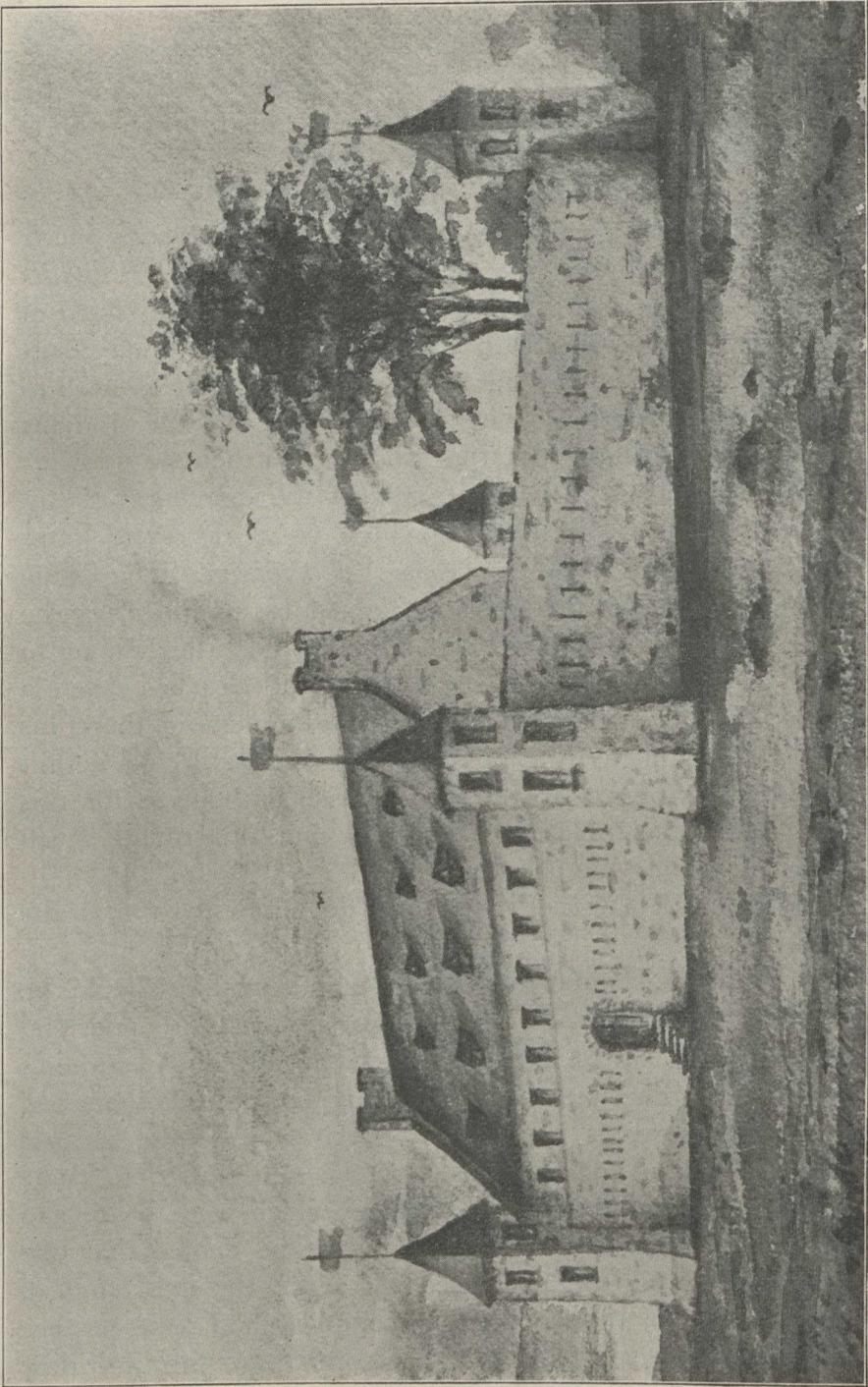
“troller’s commission of 1,200 livres which the Company of the Colony continued to him out of regard for his brother, who is a very honest man and highly esteemed.”⁽¹⁾

On the 3rd November, 1702, Messrs. de Callières and de Beauharnois wrote to the Minister: “All the reasons which we represented to you last year for forbidding the *habitants* of Lachine (that is to say of the upper part of the Island of Montreal) from trading with the Indians in their homesteads are still in force to-day, for if these *habitants* are allowed to trade above Montreal, they will intercept all the Indians coming from distant countries who are on their way down.” Nothing however could be done against the merchants of Lachine and Bout de l’Isle, for they tell us in the same letter “that His Majesty wishes to favour the *habitants* of la Chine in consideration of the losses sustained by them during the war... Your Lordship will see what we had the honour to write together relative to the *habitants* of the place called la Chine, and as the Sieur Quenet has his homestead there, his case is the same as the others’; nevertheless I will permit him, conformably to His Majesty’s wishes, to trade for this year; but I feel obliged to tell you that this causes much complaint among the people.”⁽²⁾

On the 12th October, 1705, M. de Ramesay writes the Minister:

“I thought it important that Your Lordship should be informed that the trade which is carried on at the upper end of the Island of Montreal, as well by M. de Vaudreuil’s farmer as by other merchants who have homesteads there and keep large stores, is notably prejudicial to this town, because they intercept all the trade from above which used to come here, so that out of ninety-two canoes which were coming to this town for purposes of trade, it cannot be denied that one half that number did not reach the place, the merchants of which waited on me to make their complaint and remonstrance whereby they aver that, if things continue as they are, they

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XIX, 31. — (2) *Ibid.*, XX, 37, 38, 86.



CHATEAU SENNEVILLE, 1703.
As sketched in 1890 by Roswell C. Lyman.
See note on next page.

“intend to abandon the town as there is no business to be done. As the matter was not within my province, I referred them to M. de Beauharnois who told them that he would speak to M. de Vaudreuil about the matter, but without any other remedy having been granted.”⁽¹⁾

The only remedy which M. de Vaudreuil suggested was to prevent non resident traders, *voyageurs-vagabonds*, from carrying goods and liquors at Lachine or Bout-de-l'Isle, without leave from the Governor. Nothing was done to stop the large commerce carried on at Isle-aux-Tourtes, Fort Senneville and other stores on the upper end of the Island.⁽²⁾ In 1719, M. Raimbault, Royal Attorney for Montreal, reported that nearly all the inhabitants of that locality were trading and selling alcohol to the Indians.⁽³⁾

On the 28th October, 1708, the Messieurs Raudot write the Minister “that they will prevent the Sieur de Senneville from doing any other trade than that which is permitted to him”.⁽⁴⁾

The value of the privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of Lachine and Bout-de-l'Isle was not of long duration. Not only were new posts established, as at Detroit, Long Sault and Temiscamingue, in the upper country where the Indians came to trade without going down to Montreal; but owing to the abuse of permits (*congés*) granted by the Governor on the slightest pretexts and without regard to the limits or even prohibitions imposed by law, an enormous trade was carried on each year in the depths of woods and even into the Indian villages to the west and as far as Lake Superior. The volumes of the *Correspondance générale*, which I have just gone through,

(1) Corr. gén., XXII, 319. — (2) Jug. et Dél., VI, 456, 633, 1045. — (3) Moreau de Saint-Méry, F. 176, A. p. 373. — (4) (Corr. gén., XVIII, 201). This Sieur de Senneville was Jacques Le Ber, second son of the first Jacques Le Ber. He became in possession of Fief Senneville by virtue of the renunciation of his senior brother Louis to his *droit d'aînesse*, which was subsequently attacked by his children. (*Lake St. Louis*, 176; Jug. et Dél., VI, 671.) The full view of Fort Senneville reproduced on the opposite page corresponds strikingly with the bird's eye view in *Lake St. Louis*, p. 170, made by architect Michaud, of St. Anns, from the ruins and datas in official documents. The wind-mill should have had no roof, nor sails, and the sketch should have shown the second wind-mill demolished about forty years ago, which was used as a redoubt. I am indebted for the above full view to Mr. George Durnford who

establish that nearly the whole colony was carrying on trade in spite of Royal Edicts and *arrêts* of the Conseil Supérieur, and that those who derived the most profit from it were chiefly officers of the army, commandants of forts, public officials and even governors.

The abuses of trade were at all times a great source of weakness for the French colony and led finally to its loss. Trade it was that deprived the Government of Canada of the best part of its young men to turn them into vagabonds in the woods and Indian villages. It was trade that demoralized a notable portion of the noblesse of the country and exterminated, by means of *eau-de-vie*, the race, valiant nevertheless, of North American Indians. It was the chief cause of corruption in the Government of Canada and of all those quarrels and scandals between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, deplorable in any well organized society, but disastrous in a new-born colony. It was, of necessity, the most powerful enemy of colonization and agriculture. It caused the erection of all those posts distant from the Gulf and the navigable part of the river St. Lawrence, from Cataracoui, Niagara, Detroit to Fort Miami, Fort Crève-cœur, Fort St. Louis and the establishments of the Mississippi region, the defence of which in time of war — which was almost the normal state of the country, either with Europeans or Iroquois, and often enough with both, — became almost an impossibility, when we take into account the feeble population of the colony and the little help it received or could expect from the mother country.

To establish an empire, as vast as that founded by France

believed it was reproduced from an old magazine, now lost. I have found that magazine ; it was the *Dominion Illustrated* of the 25th October, 1890, vol. 5, p. 286. It appears there that the view is not authentic, but was a copy of the sketch of an intelligent amateur artist, Mr. Roswell C. Lyman, who remarks that "judging by existing buildings of that period and the ruins remaining, the general appearance of the chateau must have been pretty much as represented in the sketch". This is quite true, except that there was only one front wall, which had a few windows on each side of the door and that the roof of the house was not so high. The house was in appearance very much like the Cuillerier house, *Lake St. Louis*, p. 76. The view of the chateau in Mr. T. H. Ross' collection, 1901, now in the Chateau de Ramesay, is a copy of Mr. Lyman's sketch.

would have required men and resources twenty times more considerable ; and for attempting too much, France in the end lost all to her rival England, which had been satisfied with grouping colonists and founding towns along the sea coast. The American seldom dared venture into the interior of the country, and he is only met with, on two or three occasions towards the end of the seventeenth century, on some commercial or military expeditions on Lake Ontario or Lake Erie. He did not seek to establish posts in the midst of the nations of the west ; he did not go after furs into the depths of the forest ; he enticed the Indian, the trader, the French *coureurs des bois* to his towns on the Atlantic seaboard and there did a trade profitable to himself and not dangerous to the colony. It is not astonishing that, with such a policy, the population of New England went on increasing until, when the treaty of Cession was signed in 1763, it amounted to over a million, whereas New France had barely sixty thousand inhabitants.

DID THE JESUITS ENGAGE IN TRADE IN CANADA?⁽¹⁾

This question, of political importance under the French *régime*, divided contemporaries and still divides historians. It may be approached from two points of view, from that of the canon law or from that of the civil law which forbade ecclesiastics, officials and military men to engage in trade ; but in either case, the solution must depend entirely on facts.

The Rév. Père de Rochemonteix, S.J., has just published (1895-96) *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, a work in three volumes remarkable for its style and erudition and bristling with documentary evidence, in part hitherto unpublished. Familiar

(1) First published in the *Semaine Religieuse*, Montreal 7th April, 1900, XXXV, 220. See *Lake St. Louis*, 205.

with the history of French Canada in its smallest details, he begins by defining the business operations of the Jesuits in their missions ; and relying on the canon law, he concludes that the reproach made against them of having engaged in trade was without foundation.

The Reverend Father is not especially tender towards those historians who have repeated the charge ; he looks upon nearly all of them as enemies of the Company of Jesus. After reading his statement of the facts, the dispassionate reader may not perhaps fully share that opinion.

THE FACTS.

The learned historian lays down as follows the situation *de facto* of the Jesuits in relation to the fur trade : “ Money”, he says, “ not being current at that time among the Hurons and “ being very scarce at Quebec, sales and purchases were made “ by way of exchange. The savages had no use for money ; “ they preferred useful or fancy articles, European goods ; and “ in exchange for what the missionaries procured for them, they “ furnished to the latter mats, snow shoes, canoes, the produce “ of their lands, fishing and hunting, in a word, what was requi- “ site for the needs of the mission, the food, maintenance and “ voyages of the Fathers. . . . Articles of consumption and prime “ necessity were bought from the Indians and the French “ traders, the former of whom were paid with European goods, “ the latter with the skins of beasts which served as money in “ the country. These skins were generally given to the mission- “ aries in recognition of services rendered in the exercise of their “ apostolic ministry. . . .⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless, in these several trans- “ actions, the priest did not buy to sell again, but to use or “ consume. If in exchange of certain goods he gave the produce “ of his garden or a few beaver or deer-skins, such produce and “ skins were the currency of the country, the only one in use. “ The canons of the church do not forbid priests or religious

(1) In 1697, the Jesuits were ordered to declare before M. de Champigny the furs received by them as presents from the Indians. (Margry, V, CXVI).

“engaging in such transactions, ‘for’, says Cardinal de Lugo, “it is one thing to buy in order to sell again, which is the characteristic of trade, another to buy in order to use or consume or to sell the produce of one’s land or of one’s work’ ”⁽¹⁾ “Most frequently”, adds P. de Rochemonteix after telling with approval the method of proceeding of a missionary in Detroit, “Father Potier paid what he bought from one or another, as well as journeymen’s labour, with grain, powder, shot, deer and beaver skins, kettles, china, blankets, barrels of *eau-de-vie* and masses.”⁽²⁾

REASONS OF THE SUSPICIONS ENTERTAINED AGAINST
THE FATHERS.

Père de Rochemonteix assures us that the state of things above described does not constitute trade according to the canon law—it may be added perhaps even according to the civil law—but it must be admitted that it was of a nature to give rise to suspicions against the Jesuits. Private individuals and even officials, not being doctors of the Sorbonne or advocates of the Parlement de Paris,⁽³⁾ seeing the departure each year of one, two, three or four Jesuit canoes⁽⁴⁾ laden with European goods and not being aware of the inner details of their household or of the measure of their wants, might easily confound the trader buying and selling again to get rich with the missionary doing the same to maintain himself. What contributed not a little to increase these suspicions was the fact that a portion of these goods belonged to the canoemen. Governor de Ramesay complains of the abuse in this respect of the licenses granted to the Fathers. Very hostile to the Jesuits whom he represents as wishing to govern the country (forgetting that their Superior and the Bishop were members of the Conseil Supérieur), he does not charge

(1) I, 343, 344, 346. — (2) (p. 346, note 1.) Rich is the juxtaposition of barrels of *eau-de-vie* and masses; it is apparently merely an accident of style. — (3) The Superior Council of Quebec declared in 1678 that “there was no advocate, attorney or solicitor in the colony, not being to its advantage to admit any”. — (4) In 1692, four trade licenses or *congés* were granted to the Jesuits, probably because war with the Iroquois was raging and it was not prudent to rely upon the future to supply the missions with provisions. (Cor. gén., XII bis, 450.)

them with engaging in trade, but observes, 4 November, 1704, that the individuals Despins and des Ruisseaux, under pretence of carrying up a hundred livres worth of goods *which are required for the Mission of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers*, made up three canoes with Indians which were laden with goods and *eau-de-vie* and sold to the rebels (the *coureurs des bois*), which contributed towards preventing them from taking advantage of the amnesty.⁽¹⁾

On the 17th October, 1705 Ruette d'Auteuil jr., the Attorney General, and certainly no friend of the Jesuits, adds that "it is "since the prohibition against going to the woods that their "canoes have furnished traders and *voyageurs* the means of "reaching Missilimakinag in order to do a very big trade; each "year one can see these canoes of the Jesuits returning laden "with beaver. Can it be thought that this traffic is carried on "by any one but themselves, while it is forbidden to every "one?"⁽²⁾

On the 19th October, 1705, Raudot, the Intendant, writes to the Minister: "I am informed, Monseigneur, of the grounds "which caused the Jesuit Fathers to be suspected of being in "the beaver trade, as charged against them. What gave occasion to it is the necessity in which they are of making use of "valets or hired men to bring up the canoes *carrying their "victuals and the other things needful for their missions*: it is "impossible, with every caution one can take, to prevent these "valets or hired men from bringing some goods on their own "account which they trade themselves, and because this goes on "in the canoes of the Fathers, they are supposed to be engaged "in this trade."⁽³⁾

In a joint letter of the 3rd November, 1706, quoted with approval by P. de Rochemonteix, Messrs. de Vaudreuil⁽⁴⁾ and Raudot use language more precise and perhaps more conformable to the facts: "The Jesuit Fathers", they inform the Minister, "never engaged in trade in the upper country and "must assuredly be exempted from that suspicion, but the people

(1) Corr. gén., XXII, 116. — (2) *Ibid.*, 382. — (3) *Ibid.*, 292. — (4) D'Auteuil says that in 1714 the Jesuits' canoe was taken up by M. de Vaudreuil's men (Corr. gén., XXXIV, 543)

“ who go up with them do so. Thus when the Jesuit Fathers
 “ told you that what gave rise to the current rumour was the fact
 “ that des Ruisseaux and Despins had carried goods without
 “ their knowledge for purposes of trade, they should rather have
 “ said that these men did so by their permission and that the
 “ goods which they allow the men to carry serve to pay for the
 “ hire of the canoe and their wages during the trip. It has
 “ always been the custom here, Monseigneur, in the time of
 “ Messrs. de Denonville, de Frontenac and de Callières, for
 “ those who go up for the missionaries, Jesuits and others, to
 “ carry enough to pay themselves for their trip, and we are bound
 “ to represent to you that what the King has had the goodness
 “ to give for their Missions *is not even sufficient for the support*
 “ *of the missionaries*, and that if it cost them anything for the
 “ *transportation of their goods and the conveyance of the mission-*
 “ *aries, they could never bear the expense*, as there is not a canoe
 “ there which would not cost them a hundred pistoles.”⁽¹⁾

JUDICIAL VALUE OF THE SUSPICIONS ENTERTAINED
 AGAINST THE REVEREND FATHERS

The testimonies which I have cited are important, especially those by Messrs. de Ramesay, Raudot and d'Auteuil, who do not appear to have been mixed up in any trading. They agree in condemning the trading done by the employees of the Jesuits, but none of them charges the latter with engaging in trade themselves, and they all admit that the goods sent to the Jesuit missions in the upper country were necessary for their maintenance. The civil authorities might have put a stop to the abuses to which the transportation of these goods and supplies gave rise; they did not do so, in view of the poverty of the missions.⁽²⁾ It is evident that the operations of the missionaries,

(1) Cor. gén., XXIV, 51. — (2) It was only after the seigniories and lands of the Jesuits had become valuable that they found themselves, not rich, but in easy circumstances. General Murray estimates their annual revenue at the date of the Conquest at 30,000 livres or \$5,000, but undoubtedly this included the 15,300 livres gratuity from the King. (Smith, Ap. I, 58, 59.) In 1781, Cugnet estimated the Jesuits' revenue from land at 28,648 livres, not including *droits de quint and lods et ventes*. (Can. Archives B. 224, Report for 1889, p. 112.) In 1663 the royal allowance to the Jesuits was 5,000 livres: \$833.33. (Jug. et dél., I, 56.)

minutely described by P. de Rochemonteix, were not commercial operations according to the French civil law. They lacked two essential elements, profit and profession. The Jesuits did not engage in traffic as an avocation; their profession was teaching and evangelizing the Savages. This is the testimony of the British general Murray; he does not even suggest the fact of trading. "Their particular province," he says, "is the instructing of youth and the missions of the Savages."⁽¹⁾ It was to fulfil that mission that the Jesuits sold the goods sent them from Europe; they sold them or bartered them, the word is of little importance, not with the design of becoming rich, but simply in order to live, which is not the end of trade, *Finis mercatorum est lucrum*. This is taught by the canon law, says P. de Rochemonteix, and it was also the rule of the French civil law in force in Canada. The *Ordonnance de Commerce* of 1673, tit. 12, art. 6, enacts that the *tribunaux de commerce* (commercial courts), presided over by judges and consuls "shall not take cognizance of suits for food, maintenance and furnishing, even between traders, unless such be their profession" because, as Bornier the annotator remarks, these suits *sunt extra negotium mercaturæ*. Sir John Abbott, one of the greatest lights of the Montreal bar, wrote in 1864 that in order to be a trader, a man must engage in commercial transactions and make of them his habitual occupation, with the intention of making profit and not simply in the course of his private affairs. He cites a great number of authorities to that effect, which may be found in his commentary on the *Insolvent Act of 1864*, p.p. 1 to 10.

ANSWER TO THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THE
REVEREND FATHERS.

The above was the class of business, the alleged trading which the Jesuits carried on in the Missions of the west. As I said before, it was of a nature to give rise to suspicion, outcry and protest, but not to justify the charges of Count de Frontenac, de La Salle and La Mothe-Cadillac. Hatred, and perhaps

(1) Smith Ap., I, 58.

even more self-interest, can alone explain the language used by them. The Jesuits were the most inveterate enemies of the trade in *eau-de-vie* with the Indians, and that fact alone made them odious in the eyes of those who were eager to get rich, no matter by what means.

The *arrêt* of the *Conseil Supérieur* of Quebec of 28 September, 1663, forbidding any person to give intoxicating liquor to Indians "not even a drink, *pas même un coup*", was issued only "after taking the advice of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, missionaries to the said Indians, summoned for that purpose". Let it be said to their glory that the liquor traffic in Canada has not had more fearless opponents. In the struggle which arose between the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities on the question of selling intoxicating liquor to the Indians, the Jesuits, and with them the Sulpicians and the whole clergy, boldly took sides with the Bishop and, at his request, refused traders the sacraments.⁽¹⁾ We read in a memoir of 1689: "There "is always an implacable animosity, *un acharnement passionné*, "on the part of the ecclesiastics against the traffic in *eau-de-vie*, "notwithstanding what was allowed by the *ordonnance* of 1679."⁽²⁾ Their excuse was that the traffic concerned the spiritual more than the temporal.

In spite of these extreme measures, disorders continued to exist in the posts of the west and particularly at the important mission of Michillimackinac. M. de Ramesay narrates that in 1704 "the sieur La Découverte, (Pierre Youville sieur de La "Découverte, ensign, and afterwards trader at Bout de l'Isle de "Montreal and Ile-aux-Tourtes), sent by M. de Vaudreuil, has "caused inconceivable disorder by keeping with impunity a "tavern at Michillimackinac and doing a scandalous trade".⁽³⁾ It was at that time, in 1705, that the Jesuits, thinking to do away with the evil by destroying the post, unhesitatingly set fire to their church and mission. It was nevertheless the capital of the upper country, according to La Mothe-Cadillac and Lahontan.⁽⁴⁾

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XI, 358. — (2) *Ibid.*, X, 54. — (3) *Ibid.*, XXII, 116. — (4) Margry, V, 75, 76 and *Lahontan*, I, 155.

It was "a good and strong establishment" says Joutel who stopped there in 1688, on his return from La Salle's last expedition to the mouths of the Mississippi. It was at this time "the highway of almost all the fur trade... the *rendez-vous* of several other posts" adds the same *voyageur*. Although an intimate friend of La Salle, he does not make the slightest insinuation with respect to the alleged trading of the Missionaries. He remarks finally: "There were at the said place Missilimackinac, four Jesuit Fathers and some French *voyageurs* for the trade. The said Jesuit Fathers have a good house and a fine enough church built of blocks of wood after the Canadian fashion, the whole enclosed with piles and palisades. There were at the said place two nations, viz: the Ontaouas and the Hurons."⁽¹⁾ This was the fine establishment which the Jesuits destroyed to put a stop to these disorders, to save the Indians from the ravages of drunkenness and to reclaim to their country the *coureurs des bois*. This is attested by D'Auteuil jr., the Attorney General.⁽²⁾ In vol. 34 he says that "the disorders caused by the excessive quantity of *eau-de-vie* which the first-named" (that is to say La Découverte and others) "carried there, compelled the Jesuits to burn their church and abandon the place". On the 19th October, 1705, Messrs. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois wrote to the Minister that "the missionaries at Missilimackinac are leaving their mission after having burned their house and chapel to force the *coureurs de bois* to come down".⁽³⁾

This conduct of the Jesuits was very different from that of Count of Frontenac who, if we are to believe La Potherie and M. de Champigny, restored in 1695, at the cost of the King, Fort Frontenac, dear to him "only because he had trade carried on there".⁽⁴⁾ It speaks with more eloquence than the complaints of self-seeking officials. It proves the malignity of that expression of Frontenac, which Margry so complacently reproduces: *The Jesuits are as devoted to the conversion of the beaver as to the*

(1) Margry, III, 513, 514.—(2) Margry, V, 345; Corr. gén., XXII, 383; *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 543 —(3) Corr. gén., XXII, 193; Margry, V, 345.—(4) Margry, V, CXV; Royal Soc., N. S., III, 18.

conversion of souls. This is what he had in effect written to Colbert on the 2nd November, 1672;⁽¹⁾ but it is quite evident that he was not believed. On the 17th May, 1674, in answer to "the request which the Jesuits have made to you to be allowed "to continue their missions in the far-off countries", Colbert instructs him that "the King does not consider that these "good "Fathers should be hampered (*gesnez*) in their functions".⁽²⁾ Later, in 1681, Colbert tells him frankly that he cannot credit his representations *when I see clearly that everything yields before your enmities.*⁽³⁾

The case was the same with La Mothe-Cadillac.⁽⁴⁾ Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Raudot write regarding him, 14 November, 1708: "He tries to make as much money as he can. . . . He is "extremely unbridled against the Jesuit Fathers."⁽⁵⁾ La Potherie adds: "it is well-known that he made a great deal, when he was "at Missilimakinac, by a trade in brandy for which the mission- "aries blamed him".⁽⁶⁾

"Unbridled against the Jesuit Fathers, *déchaîné contre les Pères Jésuites*", the expression is a moderate one if we judge by his letter to the Court of 13 August, 1703: "All impiety "apart," he says, "it were better to sin against God than against "them, for on the one side one may receive pardon, while on the "other an offence, even alleged, is never remitted in this world "and would not be in the next, if their credit were as great there "as it is in this country."⁽⁷⁾

Then poor La Salle, so completely at one with Frontenac, was prejudiced against the Jesuits to the extent of believing them capable of any crime, even brigandage and murder. He charges them with hiding his deserters, who had robbed him, and conspiring to have him massacred by the Indians. One day having eaten a salad poisoned by one of his servants, he swallowed whole, at first, the story told by the latter that he had acted at the instigation of the Jesuits. "I had some pleasure",

(1) Margry, I, 248. — (2) *Ibid.*, 249. — (3) Rochemonteix, III, 142 — (4) La Mothe-Cadillac had a rival post at Détroit-Pontchartrain, where he spent enormous sums, although he had promised not to carry on any trading there. Margry, V, 187, 346. — (5) Corr. gén., XXVIII, 18. — (6) Margry, V, 185; Moreau de Saint-Méry, F 176, A p. 340. — (7) Margry, V, 339.

he says "in getting this evidence of their ill-will"; and it was only after *having seriously examined the affair*, that he discovered "manifestly the falsehood of the accusation formulated against them by that scoundrel."⁽¹⁾

The *modus vivendi*, such as above described, was sanctioned at all times by the colonial and home governments, before as well as after the prohibition against fur trading in the depth of the woods and the upper country which was first decreed in 1676. It gives us the key to the following passage at page 13 of the *Journal des Jésuites*: "On the 15th November, 1645, the rumour "being that the prohibition was to be published here which had "been published at Three Rivers against any person trading "with the Indians, Father Vimont enquired of Mons. de Chastelets, chief clerk, if we should be in a worse condition under "them than under the gentlemen of the Company. The conclusion "was that we should not, and things would go on for us as "heretofore, *à l'ordinaire*; but that we should act quietly." At this time, and several years before and after, the fur trade was the exclusive monopoly of a company chartered by the King, and it was lawful for its directors to grant such permits as they might deem necessary or useful, even to carry on trade ordinarily. This is clearly explained by Père le Jeune in 1636: "The "Company of New France", he says, "does not forbid this use "of furs either as money or as garments; it prohibits only their "sale beyond the limits of the colony, desiring that the skins "should come back at last to its stores and not cross the ocean "except on its ships. It alone has the right of trading and alone "exercises it. Such is the profit we derive from furs and other "rareties in the country and such all the use we make of them."⁽²⁾ In effect the Company of New France had no hesitation in stating in 1643 that "the said Jesuit Fathers are not associated "with the Company of New France, either directly or indirectly "and have no part in the traffic of goods which is carried on "there".⁽³⁾

(1) Margry, I, 388 to 393, 400; *Ibid.*, II, 119, 144, 145, 215 to 226, 234, 235. — (2) Relation of 1636, p. 49 — (3) Charlevoix, I, 257.

Finally, we find in the deliberations of the *Conseil Supérieur*, 26 November, 1664, a still more important statement, which would certainly not have been accepted had it been false or unfounded: "Upon the declaration made in this Council by " Martin Boutet, on behalf of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers that " the said Reverend Fathers have never made any avocation of " selling and have never sold, but that the goods which they give " to individuals *are only to obtain their necessities and that nothing " remains to them at present, except enough to make a few alms " and for the necessities of their house*, and that if they should " have any work to be executed, they will have to pay for it in " wine and brandy and produce of the country, or in silver or " drafts on the merchants."⁽¹⁾

Pierre Margry, the panegyrist of Messrs. de Frontenac, Cavalier de La Salle and de La Mothe-Cadillac, cites an anonymous document, bearing no date of time or place, which he found among the papers of the Récollets, and which he estimates as belonging to 1690. It contains this statement: "The profit " which can be made on goods causes the endowed communities " to bring them from France and each has its store. The Semi- " narists and the Jesuits are the luckiest and the richest. . . The " Jesuit Fathers, who have abandoned the care of parishes to " the ecclesiastics, have reserved to themselves that of the " Indians, which brings them a greater temporal profit, inasmuch " as by giving a few articles to these barbarians, they amass a " quantity of beaver skins. They carry on this little trade easily, " as they are alone among them."⁽²⁾

This document contains an evident falsehood. Everybody knows that, in all times and places, the Jesuits have never sought to serve parishes, but only to teach in colleges and universities and to evangelize barbarous nations in New France, India and elsewhere.

That each community had its store is quite probable. The Jesuits certainly had theirs. Martin Boutet implies as much in his declaration before the Council. Equally, the Attorney General

(1) Jug. et Dél., 1, 300. — (2) Margry, V, CIX.

d'Auteuil speaks of the "open commerce" which they carry on in Quebec, but which "does no hurt to any one, the merchants "not complaining of it."⁽¹⁾ Why did they not complain? Evidently because the store was only kept for the needs of the house. The excessive prices charged by the merchants for their goods made the existence of such stores almost indispensable to a religious order, not for the sake of trade, but in order to live. And since the Jesuits had an open store in 1690, how comes it that the Intendant Champigny, on the 16th November, 1686, wrote the Minister that "it does not appear to me that the Jesuits meddle with "anything else but what is proper to their Institute".⁽²⁾ And how again are we to explain this passage of Baron de Lahontan, who was at Quebec at this period and who certainly was endowed with keen eyes and no great tenderness for ecclesiastics: "Several persons", he writes, 16 March, 1684, "have assured "me that the Jesuits carried on a great trade in European goods "and Canadian furs; but I have difficulty in believing it, or if it "be so, they must have correspondents, clerks and factors as "clever as themselves, which cannot be the case." (Vol. 2, p. 76.) M. Sulte, quoting this passage, remarks: "We cannot however "hide from ourselves the fact that the Jesuits carried on trading "in more than one mission. La Hontan is the only person who "doubts it."⁽³⁾ A few pages farther on, however, M. Sulte cites the testimony of the calvinist Kalm, who travelled in this country about the time of the Cession, to the same effect: "The Jesuits", says this traveller, "do not traffic either in pelts or in furs, leaving "the care of such entirely to the merchants."

CONCLUSION.

Such is also my opinion upon this important subject of the the alleged trading of the Jesuits, a subject which I sketched on another occasion⁽⁴⁾ and which I develop to-day after going over the fifteen volumes of the *Correspondance Générale* of the end of the 17th century, which recently reached the Canadian Archives.

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XXII, 382. — (2) *Ibid.*, VIII, 321. — (3) *Hist. Jes Can. Fr.*, VII, 55.
— (4) *Lake St. Louis*, 205.

I have not reached this conclusion without an amount of serious work. The despatches, memoirs, letters, almost all the documents touching this delicate matter are so full of contradictions, accusations and recriminations, through which unfortunately pierce too often self-interest, cupidity, hatred and jealousy, that it has not always been easy task to discern truth from falsehood, or even simple error. I was painfully surprised at having to note that at the commencement of our history, — which Lord Elgin termed the *heroic epoch* — while we behold so great a number of heroes and martyrs, men and women, ecclesiastics and laymen, there are also so many worthless rascals. But it must be admitted that this *canaille* is not to be sought for among the clergy and religious communities, nor in the body of the *habitants*, that is to say the owners and clearers of the soil, whether *seigneurs* or *censitaires*, but among the nobles, the officials, the judges, the commanders, the governors, the officers of all ranks, brave in war indeed, but in the country simply for the purpose of making their fortunes, and who, thank God, did not remain here. The Marquis de Denonville was not far from the truth when he said that “the nobility of this new country is all that is most beggarly, *“tout ce qu’il y a de plus gueux”*.”⁽¹⁾ Frontenac, La Salle and La Mothe-Cadillac continually write to Court that the country is full of back biters and calumniators and that it is almost impossible to see clear through so many cabals, intrigues, calumnies, hatreds and opposing interests. Mother Marie de l’Incarnation asserts that “back biting and calumny reign in Canada beyond “all that can be imagined”. Sister Duplessis adds that one hears only of “bad faith, calumny, lawsuits and divisions”. Governor de Beauharnois cannot refrain from exclaiming that “calumny “appears to reign in excess”.”⁽²⁾ The task of trying to discover truth in such a world it not an easy one. I have done my best. I do not know if my work will afford any light. I certainly do not expect it will close the discussion. I flatter myself, however,

(1) Corr. gén., VII, 54. — (2) Marigny, I, 310, 324 to 402; *Ibid.*, II, 223, 224, 226, 232 to 235; *Ibid.*, V, 165, 167; Parkman, *La Salle*, 311 Ed. of 1893; Quebec in 1730, Royal Society, N. S. V., 27.

that it is free from either prejudice or sympathy. I have not even the honour of personal acquaintance with the Jesuits. I received my education among the Sulpicians whom P. de Rochemonteix does not always spare ; but I should consider myself unworthy of my *Alma Mater*, if I failed to give judgment in favour of the party entitled to it.

THE INDIAN FORT AT ISLE AUX TOURTES

This post was the occasion of many complaints and contests during the administration of M. de Vaudreuil, who was its proprietor. He had obtained the concession 23 October 1702. On the 11th November of the same year, M. de Beauharnois wrote the Minister that twelve arpents of land had been reserved to build a fort when the Governor General should deem proper.⁽¹⁾

At page 99 of vol. 22 of the *Correspondance Générale*, we find a speech sent to the King in 1704 by the "Nepissengue" and Algonquin Indians of the New Mission of St. Louis "established in New France, above the Island of Montreal and "environs" probably written by M. de Breslay, their missionary, and couched in the following language :

"Our great Father, our great Father. Behold two of your
"children sent by all their nations who are the farthest off beyond
"the great lake that they may see their Father whom they do
"not know and to whom they are almost unknown. They have
"been told wonderful things about him, but they are anxious to
"know something of themselves so that they may tell it to their
"people, to their neighbours and to the most distant nations. We
"beseech our great Father to vouchsafe to listen to us. We are the
"eldest of his children beyond the great lake, we venture to say
"the most faithful, and we have always been so ; we have
"fallen into misery by straying from our Father, wandering in

(1) Corr. gén., XX, 40, 113.

“ the woods, and in short we have been reduced to the greatest
 “ extremity, several of us having died through forgetting the
 “ great Spirit who created all, governs all, disposes of all ; but
 “ that great Spirit took pity on us ; he gave us back our wits
 “ and we reflected : ‘ We must embrace prayer ; we see that
 “ ‘ those who pray do not perish ; let us go to Our Father, he
 “ ‘ will have compassion on us.’ We first addressed ourselves to
 “ M. de Vaudreuil, he who governs for our Great Father beyond
 “ the great lake. He gave us land which we have begun to sow
 “ and he also gave us other things from Our Great Father for
 “ which we come to thank him as well as for the black robe
 “ whom he sent to instruct us.”

As early as 15 November, 1703, the Minister objected to the concession which will only serve, he says, to facilitate trading with Indians. “ If M. de Vaudreuil were not Governor of the
 “ country⁽¹⁾, there would be no danger in ratifying this conces-
 “ sion as well as that of the Sieur Soulanges, his brother-in-law,
 “ but as they are at the head of the homesteads and on the way
 “ down of all the Iroquois, the public will not fail to take
 “ umbrage and complain, as has already happened, as shown by
 “ a letter received by me. It is certain that these concessions
 “ are only valued on account of the trade with Indians, and so
 “ much is this case that the man St-Germain” (Pierre Lamoureux
 sieur de St-Germain, of Bout de l’Isle) “ the most famous trader
 “ of the country, has already received this concession to farm,
 “ as I am advised. This may even excite the hatred of the
 “ people towards M. de Vaudreuil whom they ought to regard
 “ as a father. The same is not the case with that of Fezeret⁽²⁾
 “ which may be ratified.”⁽³⁾

In 1706, the Minister writes to M. de Vaudreuil that the conveying of his land to De Breslay was sufficient to justify the charge that he was trading through the intervention of St-Germain.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Appointed 1st August, 1703. *Jug. et Dél.*, V, 151. — (2) René Fezeret, seigneur or St. Charles d’Yamaska, granted 14 August, 1701. — (3) *Corr. gén.*, XXI, 53. — (4) Richard’s rep., p. 389.

On the 25th June, 1712, the Minister requested M. Bégon to consider whether it is expedient to ratify the land grants to M. de Vaudreuil and to the late M. de Soulanges, his brother-in-law, which ratification is applied for by Mme de Vaudreuil (who was then in France). The delay in granting ratification is due to the fact that these seigniories are situated outside of the settlements of the colony, and that it is to be feared that those who settle them may prevent the Indians from trading in Montreal.⁽¹⁾

We need not therefore be surprised that M. de Vaudreuil's title was only confirmed by the King, 5 May, 1716.⁽²⁾ He had been made a Commander of the Order of St. Louis without pension, an unprecedented honour writes the Minister to La Marquise de Vaudreuil.⁽³⁾ Her influence at Court had at last triumphed over the charges preferred first by M. de Ramesay, Governor of Montreal, and repeated by M. de Breslay and the Attorney General, d'Auteuil, jr. It is true that M. de Ramesay admitted he was "on bad terms" with M. de Vaudreuil, of whom he was jealous⁽⁴⁾; but on this occasion M. de Ramesay was in the right. M. de Vaudreuil indeed finally avowed his guilt.

On the 14th November, 1704, M. de Ramesay writes to the Minister: "Last fall on the return of the man Sansoucy,⁽⁵⁾ of whom I have already had the honour of speaking to you, the man St Germain, farmer of the land of M. de Vaudreuil who makes out of him an income of nearly two thousand livres, (besides the buildings he has put up, though there is not a tree cut down), by favouring him for trading to the detriment of the inhabitants of Montreal, went to Orange with one Toussaint la Verdure, who had returned with the said Sansoucy, saying that they were carrying thither the beaver bartered for by them in their voyages; they were accompanied by one François le Bermaquani and others, and traded those beaver-skins or others for twelve to thirteen thousand livres, which caused a

(1) Richard's rep., 457. — (2) Jug. et dél., VI, 1217. — (3) Richard's rep., 453. — (4) Corr. gén., XXII, 133. — (5) Antoine Blignaux dit Sansoucy, another famous trader of Bout de l'Île in the service of Jean Guenet.

“ great deal of rumour, not only because it defrauds the revenue
 “ of the right of *quart*, but also because they only bring them
 “ the pick of the beaver skins which help in the sale of the
 “ inferior or female skins, while those of the Company remain at
 “ a loss in our stores, which caused it to fail through the mal-
 “ practices daily committed there, without those whom the King
 “ has placed at the head of affairs to keep every one in order,
 “ taking the trouble to see to it. It is a shameful thing to see
 “ how this matter is managed. I speak from having seen it for
 “ several consecutive days when I had the honour of accompany-
 “ ing M. de Beauharnois, who *requisitioned* me for that purpose
 “ finding me in command at Quebec.”⁽¹⁾

On the 19th October, 1705, M. de Vaudreuil and M. de
 “ Beauharnois write to the Minister : “ The sieur de Vaudreuil
 “ has followed, without being aware of it, His Majesty’s wishes
 “ with regard to the land conceded to him by Messrs de Callières
 “ and de Beauharnois. It is true that he had placed one St
 “ Germain there as a *habitant*, but having learned that the said
 “ sieur de St Germain was suspected of trading, he withdrew
 “ him at once and to-day the sieur de Breslay has established
 “ there an Algonquin Mission, for which the King grants him a
 “ pension of 400 livres.⁽²⁾ This mission is of very great impor-
 “ tance ; if the colony unfortunately had war with the Iroquois,
 “ it would protect in part the Island of Montreal.”⁽³⁾

On the same day, 19 October, 1705, M. de Vaudreuil wrote
 personally to the Minister : “ I will only tell you, Monseigneur,
 “ that I am not surprised now at what was written against St
 “ Germain and the alleged trade I made him carry on. It is true
 “ that Messrs. the Chevalier de Callières and de Beauharnois
 “ having given me a concession, I had farmed my land to the
 “ said St Germain, who being long since established at the end
 “ of the Island of Montreal where he lives with his family, was
 “ in a better position than another to improve it ; but it is also
 “ a fact that a year or eighteen months ago, I took it from him,

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XXII, 113. — (2) This gratuity was granted in 1705. Richard’s rep., 383.
 — (3) *Cor. gén.*, 206

“because it came to my ears that he had traded there ; and the
 “proof that my intention never was that he should do so, is in
 “the fact that, without having received your orders, I ceded it
 “to the sieur de Breslay, who has established there an Algon-
 “quin Mission.”⁽¹⁾

Messrs. Raudot, the Intendants, write to the Minister 23
 October, 1708 : “The sieur de Breslay’s Indians are not well
 “domesticated Indians ; all winter they are off hunting with
 “their wives and children ; there remain in the village only a
 “few old men who cannot walk ; in the summer they return to
 “the Mission ; in the future they will perhaps be domiciled like
 “the others.

“If these Nipicisicien Indians are made to go down to
 “Montreal, this is done to prevent them from trading their furs
 “at the end of the Island and from bartering their beaver-skins
 “with those of the Sault, which by that means would all go to
 “the English. With regard to the Sieur de Breslay’s proposal
 “to establish a house near these Indians for the purpose of
 “selling them what they require, this would be a means of
 “enriching an individual and doing considerable injury to
 “Montreal which would lose their trade. As the Sieurs Raudot
 “believe, Monseigneur, it is best to leave things as they are ;
 “because, according to circumstances, what orders may be
 “necessary can always be given.

“The Sieurs Raudot have caused to be given to the Indians
 “of the said Sieur de Breslay a little powder and shot, and they
 “help them from time to time . . .

The Sieur de Breslay has established a house and a chapel,
 “as he had the honour of advising you, in the midst of the
 “Indians of the Mission of which he has charge ; this establish-
 “ment cost him at the least the amount he reports to you and
 “he will be very much obliged to you if you will order that he be
 “re-imbursed ; it will be necessary to enlarge the chapel and he
 “prays you to grant him something for such enlargement.

“The Sieurs Raudot thank you, Monseigneur, for the gratuity

(1) Corr. gén., 242. The mission was established partly with Mr. de Breslay’s own funds.

“ which you have been pleased to grant him and for the ornaments which you advise you are sending ;⁽¹⁾ they can assure you that he will always put to good use the favours you are pleased to obtain for him from His Majesty. With regard to the ornaments, they did not come to hand this year and the said sieurs Raudot are writing to M. Bégon to have them put aboard the King’s ship next year.”⁽²⁾

In 1712, the merchants and habitants of Montreal complained to the Superior Council of the immense trade which the sieur de Linctot, commandant at the fort at Isle aux Tourtes, was openly carrying on with the Nepissings settled at that post and also other Indians coming down from the west, which, if continued, will soon ruin the merchants and habitants of Villemarie. They testify also that De Linctot⁽³⁾ was boasting that he was well protected and that he would not stop his trade, “ *qu’il étoit bien appuyé et qu’il pouvoit continuer son commerce* ”. This protector was M. de Vaudreuil himself, the Governor General. It would therefore not be surprising to hear that the Council, presided by the Governor, declared that they could not do anything in the matter, “ *sauf à eux à se pourvoir ainsy que bon leur semblerait* ”.⁽⁴⁾ It became evident that no redress could be obtained except at the Colonial Office in France.

In 1714, the Attorney General d’Auteuil wrote the Minister : “ All the misfortunes from which the country suffers and with which it is threatened are the result of Monsieur de Vaudreuil’s trading, which he will continue more than ever through the Sieur de Tonty at Fort Frontenac, Jonquière with the Hirroquois, little Renaud and others at Missilimakinaq and La Découverte and others at the upper end of the Island of Montreal.”⁽⁵⁾ D’Auteuil adds that the same year M. de Vau-

(1) On several occasions, the Minister refers to the church ornaments and vestments and more particularly in 1708, 1712 and 1713. On the 2nd July, 1713, the Minister finally writes to Père de Breslay that the vestments asked for will be sent to him, so soon as the state of finances enables him to do so. (Richard’s rep., 416, 456, 472). — (2) Cor. gén., XXVIII, 250. — (3) On the 7th November, 1699, Joseph Godefroy, sieur de Linctot, was stationed at Fort Frontenac under de Louvigny. The following year, they were both arrested and imprisoned by M. de Callières, for having traded at that post. (Richard’s report, 100.) — (4) Jug. et dél., VI, 457, 458. — (5) Pierre You or Youville, Sieur de La Découverte, an ensign in a company of the detach-

dreuil had Cuillerier and St-Germain imprisoned and that they were not allowed to speak "for fear they should discover what they know of M. de Vaudreuil's indirect trading in which they were formerly employed, they and their confederates".⁽¹⁾

M. de Breslay was personally and favorably known at Court. He had been one of the gentlemen of the King's household. His conduct and missionary work at Isle-aux-Tourtes had always given satisfaction and expressions of approbation from the King had often been conveyed to him. In 1711, the Minister tells him that the King is pleased with his zeal and with the works he has carried out in his mission. In 1712, he again says that he is pleased with the good conduct of the Indians in his mission.⁽²⁾

M. de Breslay sailed for France probably in the fall of 1713. He was certainly there in 1714, for, on the 7th of May of that year, the King wrote to Canada that M. de Breslay had presented a *collier* or collar on behalf of his Indians; that a gratuity of 500 liv. had been granted to him to buy ornaments wanted for his chapel and a like sum to provide for his assistant

ment of Marine, La Salle's companion in his expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi and father-in-law of the foundress of the General Hospital of Montreal (Grey Nuns), had become lessee of Isle-aux-Tourtes. He had a homestead at the upper end of the Island of Montreal, No. 18 of the present *cadastre* of St. Anne's now in possession of Eusèbe Robillard, and adjoining Fort Senneville on the north, where he carried on trade before becoming farmer of Ile aux Tourtes. He signs "De Ladescouverte" as witness to a deed of sale *sous seing privé*, dated 19 April, 1693, at Illinois, by which La Forest transfers to Michel Aco a part of the seigniorship of Illinois, and "Pierre You" in the register of the christening of his daughter Louise, 21 March, 1706. He was better known under the name of "Youville" and is thus designated in almost all the memoirs. His son, François, who married Mlle de la Jemmeraye, 13 August, 1722, signs the marriage register "François Youville". On the 5th August, 1718, he had likewise signed at St. Anne's the register of birth of François Fortin, "François Youville". On the 16th December, 1726, he signs the baptismal register of his daughter Louise "F. Youville". In a deed of the 6th June, 1727, mentioned in Mr. Richard's report, p. 132, he is called "Youville". For the first time, 19 July, 1729, a year before his death, he is described in the baptismal *acte* of his son Charles, as "François You, Sr Dyouville de la Découverte" and he signs "François d'Youville". This is a discovery (*découverte*), for in the documents I have seen before and after, the "d'" does not figure. On the 2nd February, 1745, his widow signs the original articles of the community founded by her as "Veuve Youville" and she is several times mentioned in the *Edits et Ordonnances* by the name of "Dame Veuve Youville". (Registers of Montreal and St. Anns; Jug. et dél., V, 180; Ed et Ord., I, 616; *Ibid*, II, 391, 404, 406, 407.) Corr. gén., XXXIV, 548. — (1) *Ibid.*, 536. — (2) Richard's report, 202, 416, 417, 449, 456, 516, 521.

(M. Déperet). Finally His Majesty orders him to return to his mission.⁽¹⁾

The *Correspondance Générale* is full of documents which show that a stubborn and bitter struggle was yet going on before the Colonial Office between M. de Vaudreuil on the one side and M. de Breslay backed by M. de Ramesay and other public officials. M. de Vaudreuil claimed to have the right of trading at Isle aux Tourtes and to farm the same without restriction, as he had done before to Frs. Des Gagniers, afterwards to Pierre Lamoureux, Sieur de St. Germain, to the Sieurs de La Découverte, father and son, to Joseph Trottier, Sieur des Ruisseaux, father and son, seigneur of Isle Perrot⁽²⁾ and finally to Mathurin Guillet, his son Paul and J. Bte Cuillerier, all merchants of Bout de l'Isle.⁽³⁾ M. de Breslay complained bitterly of the scandalous sale of intoxicating liquors among the Indians, and he even claimed as his property the fort of the mission which, he said, needed considerable repairs. He made several journeys to France about 1714 and 1719 to assert his rights at Court. Vol. 42, at pages 3 and the following, gives a summary of the respective claims of the parties before the Council of Marine which was charged with Colonial affairs. M. de Breslay alleged that M. de Vaudreuil had conveyed to him the ownership of Isle aux Tourtes; but the latter, forgetting what he had written on the 19th October, 1705, replied that "he admitted having allowed the "Nipissian Indians to settle at Isle aux Tourtes, but that he had "never conveyed the ownership to any person whatsoever. This "island adjoins the land which was conceded to him and the first "clearing made on it was only so made by his orders and at the "King's expense to allow of its being cultivated by the Indians. "They never had, any more than the sieur de Breslay, any title "to the island or the use thereof, but the will and pleasure of "the sieur de Vaudreuil, who admits also having promised a "half-league in front on his concession to be taken opposite the

(1) Moreau de St Méry, F. 176 A. p. 460; see *ante*, p. 377. — (2) Forty years later, in 1744, we find M. de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, Governor of Louisiana, granting to Des Ruisseaux, the younger, immense trading privileges. (*Illinois and Louisiana*, by Wallace. p. 311.) — (3) *Corr. gén.*, XLV, 125.

“the said island, when they shall need it in future to make fields.” Further on, M. de Vaudreuil remarks that the first establishment of Isle aux Tourtes was made “when the question arose of “the Indians there”, that is to say towards 1703. Finally M. de Vaudreuil concluded: “The sieur de Breslay misleads the “Council when he asserts that the sieur de Vaudreuil turned “him out of a part of the house to lodge his garrison; far from “turning him out, the sieur de Vaudreuil, on the contrary, gave “him a house which he had on an Island above Isle aux Tourtes “from which the sieur de Breslay had it removed at the time “and subsequently disposed of it in favour of dame de Linctot, “who had it taken away last year.⁽¹⁾ For the rest, the sieur de “Breslay is of so extraordinary a character that he has never “been able to agree either with his Superior at Montreal, or with “Monsieur the Bishop, or with the Sieurs de Vaudreuil, Bégon “and de Ramezay, which is the reason why M. L’Eschassier “would not send him back to Canada; it is much to be wished “that he should not return. At least such is the feeling of those “with whom he could not agree.

“The priest⁽²⁾ whom the sieur de Breslay had with him at “his mission continues to take charge of it, which he does most “worthily and in such a manner as to win esteem and honour “from all those with whom he has to do.”

In 1719, M. de Breslay went again to France. We read in Mr. Richard’s report, p. 533, that he had informed the Council that he had arrived with a young Indian and a bark canoe, intended as presents for the King. He was at once informed that the Council desired to be notified of his departure for Paris and of his progress, and that he was to stop and await orders four leagues from the City.

M. de Breslay’s claim to the ownership of Isle aux Tourtes was rejected as well as that of Mme Des Ruisseaux who pre-

(1) In 1712, M. de Vaudreuil claimed from the Home Government the value of this house which was used as a residence by de Linctot and his family and also by M. de Breslay, notwithstanding his scruples of conscience, writes the Minister, which are perhaps exaggerated, although most creditable. (Richard’s rep., 456, 457, 472.)—(2) Elie Déperet, not Dufresne, as it appears by a typographical error in *Lake St. Louis*, p. 168.

tended that it was part of the seigniori of Isle Perrot. In a memoir of the 8th June, 1721, the King said: "Isle-aux-Tourtes seems to belong to M. de Vaudreuil".⁽¹⁾

M. de Vaudreuil succeeded in ridding himself of an inconvenient eye-witness. M. de Breslay was sent to the Missions of Acadia. He was *curé* of Ile St. Jean, now Prince Edward Island, on the 17th April, 1721. In 1723, he went to Beau-bassin where he built a church the same year. In 1724, he was *curé* of Port Royal, where he remained until 1731. It was while ministering there in 1730, that he had contentions with his brother clergymen, who, strange to say, complained to Governor Armstrong. The certificates of good conduct given him by Phillips and Cosby did not avail to save him.⁽²⁾ He was recalled to France where he died in 1735. Mgr Tanguay tells us that in 1723 he was at Isle aux Tourtes and that in the following year, M. de Vaudreuil gave him a letter of recommendation to the Minister. This should be in 1713 and 1714.⁽³⁾

But M. de Vaudreuil's trial was not over. The accusations made against him and often repeated trammelled the march of his trading. On the 15th October, 1722, he again writes to the Minister, this time without reticence, relative to the trade with the Indians. He admits that the sieurs Des Ruisseaux, father and son, have carried on the trade up to 1719 at their homestead at Bout de l'Isle. "The son", he continues, "afterwards did so on my land "above Bout de l'Isle which I had let to farm to his father, and "he carried it on this year with his cousin the sieur de Cuisy, "son of Mde. Dargenteuil on the land which that lady obtained "permission to settle above the Long Sault, though she has no "title of concession. . . He to whom I let Isle aux Tourtes to farm "trades publicly there with the Indians who are settled there "and others who go there for what they need. . . When he trades "with them, he does so in consequence of the right of trading "with the Indians which was granted to me throughout the

(1) Richard's rep., 126, 544. — (2) *Lake St. Louis*, page 167. — (3) See *Seconde Acadie*, by Abbé Casgrain, 26-42; *Un Pèlerinage au Pays d'Évangéline*, by the same, 78-79; *Acadia*, by Richard, I, 170-174; *Une Colonie Féodale*, by Rameau, I, 64; *A Travers les Registres*, 77.

“ whole extent of the concession which was made to me by
 “ Messrs. de Callières and de Beauharnois, Governor General
 “ and Intendant of New France, on the twelfth October, 1707⁽¹⁾
 “ and ratified and confirmed by a brevet which the Council was
 “ good enough to obtain for me from His Majesty on the 5th
 “ May, 1716.

“ As to the trade which is carried on at the head of the
 “ Island of Montreal by the French established there, I leave to
 “ M. Bégon and the officers of justice at Montreal to do with
 “ regard to it what belongs to their office.”⁽²⁾

On the 29th September, 1723, M. de Vaudreuil returns to the
 charge, but judging from the Minister's notes on the margin of
 the letter, he had lost his case in 1722. “ Although ” he says,
 “ my farmer at Isle aux Tourtes has carried on trade publicly,
 “ it does not therefore follow that the complaint of the inhabi-
 “ tants of Montreal is well founded. The concession, which His
 “ Majesty made me of that land, authorizes me to trade with
 “ the Indians who habitually resort there, and there are only
 “ two persons in this country who have this right, the other
 “ concessions granting only the right of hunting and fishing.
 “ I should have refrained from going to considerable expense if
 “ I had not been satisfied as to the liberty which the King
 “ granted me of trading without restriction with the Indians
 “ domiciled there. I flatter myself, Monseigneur, that all the
 “ above reasons will incline you to do me that justice which is
 “ due me relative to the question of trading in that place.”

(Note by the Minister in the margin : “ It is a bad example
 “ that his farmer should carry on trade, this should be reserved
 “ for the 3 towns ; the King only intended to give him the
 “ produce of the land, Council wrote him the same thing.”)

“ To comply with your orders, I shall prevent my farmer
 “ from doing any trading this year, but I hope, Monseigneur,
 “ that you will give the necessary orders so that I may in future
 “ enjoy the privileges granted to me by the brevet of confirmation

(1) The correct date is 23rd October, 1702, and the ratification by the King 5th May, 1716.
 —(2) *Corr gén.*, XLIV, 163.

“of my concession of which I have the honour to send a copy.”

(Note by the Minister : “ You had received as early as 1722 “ the orders of the Council of Marine on this subject, which you “ should have carried out.”)

“ I had cancelled the permission granted by me to the sieur “ Guillet to go to Temiscamingue on the complaints received as “ to his conduct, but having ascertained that these complaints “ were groundless, I thought it best to send him back there to “ prevent these Indians from going to the English.”

(Note by the Minister : “ Guillet must be removed from that “ post ; he came back apparently to pay his accounts and bring “ back goods.”)

“ As your Lordship is already aware, it is of extreme conse- “ quence to keep with the Indians that peace and union so “ necessary to the colony. You may thence easily perceive that “ this union can only be preserved by giving them the necessary “ help to enable them to maintain their families, and these are “ the only reasons which determined me not to abandon this “ post. It is certain moreover that the furs which come from it “ are better than those from any other part of the country, and “ that in the event of the King giving up this post, all these “ furs would infallibly pass to England, which would be most “ prejudicial to the colony.”

(Note by the Minister : “ Memorandum for M. le Duc. It “ should be farmed and the proceeds applied to the fortifications “ of Montréal. Decision 8th February, 1724, approved ; he says “ keep this post ; let it be farmed for the King’s account and “ applied to the fortifications of Montreal.”)⁽¹⁾

On the 15th October, 1723, M. de Ramesay sent to the Court a last protest⁽²⁾ from which I extract the following passages :

“ I have the honour, Monseigneur, to inform you that when “ I was in France four years ago, M. de Breslay, a priest of the “ Seminary of St. Sulpice, presented a memoir to the Council of “ Marine, without the participation of M. Leschassier or M. “ l’Abbé de St. Aubin, setting forth the disorders which were

(1) *Corr. gén.*, XLV, 89, 134 — (2) He died in the year following.

"committed in his Mission of the Nepissingues at Isle aux
 "Tourtes. Mme la Marquise de Vaudreuil was at the time in
 "Languedoc ; when she returned to Paris, she spoke of the
 "matter to M. Leschassier and M. l'Abbé de St. Aubin who
 "told her they had no part in it. Monseigneur le Comte de
 "Toulouse and M. le Maréchal Destrée did me the honour of
 "speaking to me about it, to which I had that of replying, in
 "order to exculpate myself with them, that I was not aware of
 "the circumstances accurately enough to give them any
 "testimony in regard to the matter, it being disagreeable to bring
 "charges against one's general, and I thinking that on being
 "informed of the affair he would change his line of conduct ; but
 "instead of that, I see, with a grief beyond all expression, that
 "disorders continue and increase from year to year to the detri-
 "ment of Religion, of the King's orders which are not carried
 "out in this country and with evil results for the inhabitants of
 "this colony. The sieur Youville⁽¹⁾, who farmed the trade of Ile
 "aux Tourtes, commits fearful disorders by making drunk not
 "only those Indians, but also the Outaouas and the other land
 "Indians⁽²⁾ who come to trade at Montreal, whom he has so
 "despoiled that on the return of these Indians to their country,
 "the others seeing that they had neither shirts nor clothes to
 "their backs, nor ammunition for hunting, have been unwilling
 "to deal with the French who are at the Outaouas and have
 "made up their minds to go to the English rather than come to
 "Montreal."

(Note by the Minister in the margin : "Write M. de Vau-
 "dreuil to keep his eye on his farmer who makes the Indians
 "drunk.")

"I have the honour to represent to Your Lordship that
 "before M. de Vaudreuil leased to farm his trading privilege at
 "Ile aux Tourtes, there used to come here every year a hundred,
 "or at the least eighty canoes to trade ; it was a sort of fair.

(1) François Youville, sieur de La Découverte. Had his scandalous conduct any influence
 on the religious vocation of his widow, the venerable foundress of the Montreal Hôpital Général
 or Grey Nuns? — (2) That is Indians from the upper country. (Corr. gén., XII, 171.)

“The merchants sold their goods, the *habitants* their produce ;
“so that each found it to his advantage. There have not come
“down to Montreal four canoes this year, the sieur Youville
“having retained them all at the upper end of the Island, having
“for that purpose a sergeant and six soldiers who are employed
“examining all the canoes that descend and forcing them to go
“to Isle aux Tourtes, where only wine and brandy are traded
“to them, as he did the preceding years, and of which the mer-
“chants have complained to the Council of Marine, which
“produced no effect, as no one had written about it to the Court.”

(Note by the Minister : “Inform him that M. de Vaudreuil
“has stated that his farmer shall not trade ; let him see if this
“man carried it out, because he might well do it, unknown to
“M. de Vaudreuil.”)

“These Nepissingue Indians domiciled at Ile aux Tourtes
“came about the tenth of July to present a belt to M. the
“Marquis de Vaudreuil, by which they said to him : Father we
“come to tell you that we can no longer pray to God, because
“Youville, who farms the trade of Ile aux Tourtes, has made
“us drunk every day and has made us drink away all our furs,
“so that we are become an object of pity, being naked and
“having neither shirts, nor clothes to cover us, nor ammunition
“to hunt with. He comes every morning to our cabins with
“wine and brandy, saying to us ‘you have a good father’
“meaning M. de Vaudreuil ; ‘he wants you to drink of his milk’
“and he has always made us drunk as long as we had any furs,
“so that the missionary who taught us to pray to God always
“finding us deprived of reason has taken away the bell and told
“us that he would teach us no longer. So we come to give you
“this belt, father, and to tell you that we wish to pray to God,
“and that if you will not turn Youville away from Ile aux
“Tourtes, we will not go back there.

“Some days later, M. de La Gondalie who is grand vicar of
“M. the Bishop, came to see me with M. Déperet, the mission-
“ary to these Indians, to talk over these matters with me, to
“whom I said that he should speak to M. de Vaudreuil about it

“ as I had the honour of informing him of it several times, without his having any regard to my remonstrances. He went, with M. Priat, curé of Montreal to whom he ” (Vaudreuil) “ said that he would find a remedy, that he ” (Déperet) “ had been wrong not to have told him sooner. These missionaries came to see me after their visit, and M. De Peret said that he had not dared to maintain what he had written to him ” (Vaudreuil) “ on the subject and that he had spoken several times to his ” (Vaudreuil’s) son, M. de Cavaignal, to let him know. As this affair has had a good deal of notoriety, it is to be presumed that he will not permit the sieur Youville to sell liquor any longer at Ile aux Tourtes.

“ But he has had recourse to other means which, it is greatly to be feared, may produce as bad effects for the merchants of Montreal as those which he adopted in former years.

“ Although forbidden by the King’s order to give trade permits, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has given one to the sieur Guillet, senior, for several canoes, under pretext of going to Themiskamingues to trade with the Indians who go to Hudson’s Bay from which he drew a remuneration of ten or twelve thousand francs in former years.”

Note by the Minister : “ To give orders to farm Temisca-
“ mingue.”⁽¹⁾

Finally, on the 2nd March, 1725, the Marquis de Vaudreuil presented before Bégon, the Intendant, the enumeration of the fief “ commonly called de Vaudreuil ” comprising Ile aux Tourtes in which he claims “ the right of hunting, fishing and trading “ with the Indians”, and declared that he has reserved, not half a league in front of his seigniory of Vaudreuil, as he stated in 1720, but “ seven arpents front by a league and a half in depth “ reserved for the Nepissingue Indians”. He gives the following “ description of the post at Ile aux Tourtes : “ That above the “ said islets going up the Grand River ” (Ottawa) “ is an “ island called Ile aux Tourtes containing about three quarters “ of a league in circumference which Monsieur the said sieur

(1) Corr. gén.. XLV, 124, 125, 215, 219.

“ Marquis de Vaudreuil has reserved for the Nepissingue Indians
 “ as long as they shall wish to inhabit the same, and on which
 “ said island is a fort surrounded by piles in which is a stone
 “ church, a presbytery built of logs done over inside and outside,
 “ fifty feet in length by twenty-five in depth, a guard-room, also
 “ of logs, twenty-five feet long by fifteen in depth to lodge the
 “ garrison which comes every summer to the island, and a house
 “ beside the said guard-room, also built of logs, thirty feet in
 “ length by twenty - five in depth, for the officers, and about
 “ forty arpents of waste land which is for the use of the said
 “ Nepissingue Indians, the remainder of the island being covered
 “ with standing wood.”

Historians have lamented the cupidity of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, although nearly all are pleased to recognize the immense services rendered by him to the country, first as commander of the troops and afterwards as Governor General. This is the principal fault they have to find with him, but it must be admitted that it is a grave one in a colony which needed all its resources. Pierre Margry is very severe on him ; he says that
 “ coming to Canada without the means of giving a camp break-
 “ fast, the first Marquis de Vaudreuil, when he succeeded the
 “ Chevalier de Callières, did not care to have any interest in the
 “ colony except furs in which he traded, himself and by his
 “ agents, with an avidity surpassing anything ever seen. So that
 “ the Indians, out of whom he drew all he could in exchange for
 “ the permission of selling what they brought to Montreal, had
 “ nick-named him ‘ the great cry-baby ’, (*le grand pleurard*)”.⁽¹⁾

The death of M. de Vaudreuil in 1725 and the final removal of the Indians from Ile aux Tourtes to the new fort of Lake of Two Mountains, in 1726, put an end to the ceaseless troubles to which the trade with Indians had given rise at Ile aux Tourtes for nearly a quarter of century. As far back as 1716, the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which had the direction of the Indians of Sault-au-Récollet and Ile aux Tourtes, had decided to found a mission at Oka. In November, 1719, M. de Belmont sub-

(1) VI, p. XVII.

mitted to the Governor the plan of the stone fort which by his title of concession he had undertaken to build, but M. de Léry rejected it as too narrow. The Seminary had to enlarge it, and in 1721 the Indians were duly installed. The moving cost 20,000 livres, old currency. On the 17th October, 1722, M. Gay, their missionary, reported that they were sowing more fields than at the Sault.⁽¹⁾

M. Elie Dépéret must have accompanied his Indians and resided with them at least for some years. Mgr. Tanguay tells us that he ceased officiating at Pointe Claire in 1721 and that he was at Longue Pointe in 1735 and 1736. Where was he between 1721 and 1735? Probably with the Indians of Ile aux Tourtes, of whom he was commissary, charged by the King with accompanying them in all their expeditions,⁽²⁾ He returned at last to St. Anne's where he was curé during some years. He died there 17 April, 1757, aged 66 years.⁽³⁾

Finally, the *Correspondance Générale* establishes that Godefroy de Linctot gave up the command of the fort at Ile aux Tourtes about 1718, to serve at Shawenigan under Le Gardeur de St. Pierre. In 1720, M. de Breslay asked to have him "re-established in command of the fort of the mission (of Ile aux Tourtes), and that he be made lieutenant to help to support him". M. de Vaudreuil objected to the promotion, not because M. de Linctot did not deserve it, but because since he left it, there is in the fort only "a sergeant and six soldiers". This is also stated by M. de Ramesay. The sergeant was Daniel Amiot, sieur de Villeneuve. He was there in 1719 and 1723 and probably up to 1726.⁽⁴⁾ De Linctot nevertheless received the promotion so often solicited since 1714, for in the register of his marriage at St. Anne's, 9 November, 1728, he takes the style of lieutenant of the Marine detachment, without resuming the command of the fort of Ile aux Tourtes, which had been evacuated by the little garrison in 1726⁽⁵⁾. The new posts of

(1) Corr. gén, XLIII, 81; XLIV, 126. — (2) I have just ascertained from the registers at Oka that M. Dépéret was one of the first missionaries of the mission of Two Mountains from 1727 to 1747. — (3) *Répertoire du Clergé Canadien* by Mgr. Tanguay p. 93. — (4) Corr. gén, XLII, 3; XLV, 219; Bulletin des Rech. His., II, 117; *Lake St. Louis*, 171, 179. — (5) *Ibid.*, 172.

Lake of Two Mountains, Long-Sault, Lake Temiscamingue and the Upper Country had considerably diminished the importance of those of Ile aux Tourtes and the upper end of the Island of Montreal.

LACHINE CANAL⁽¹⁾

The project of binding together Lachine and Montreal, so as to avoid Sault St. Louis, dates back to the beginnings of the colony. A missionary writes in 1692 that the first French establishment in the St. Lawrence is la Chine and that it would be easy to make a canal there by means of the River St. Pierre. "There would be", he says, "very little ground to cut in order to make a passage from the Lake to River St. Pierre on the said Island, and by removing the fallen trees, its bed would be very fine and deep enough to float lighters (*bateaux*) coming down from above."⁽²⁾

In 1700, the Seminary of Montreal began the canal, the work on which was shortly afterwards suspended, then resumed in 1714, and finally abandoned entirely on account of the too great expense necessitated by the rock excavation.⁽³⁾

In 1703, Messrs. de Beauharnois and de Vaudreuil wrote the Minister: "The project of the sieur de Breslé" (appointed curé of St. Louis du Bout de l'Isle the same year) "to make a canal to Montreal would be of very great utility to the colony, if carried out as it is begun. We beg Your Lordship to help him to bring this work to perfection."⁽⁴⁾ The Minister replied in the same year: "This canal is most necessary for the service of the King and the public. It begins at a place 5 leagues above Montreal whence one cannot come down without passing very dangerous rapids, where men and goods frequently perish,

(1) *Lake St. Louis*, 39. — (2) *Corr. gén.*, III, 248. — (3) *Lake St. Louis*, 39 — (4) *Corr. gén.*, XXI, 22.

“ which would not happen if this canal were made, by means of
 “ which wood even could be brought down to Montreal, which
 “ is beginning to be in want of it ; soldiers could be employed
 “ by giving them pay, tools and some powder, and the Gentlemen
 “ of the Seminary would furnish the balance of the expense and
 “ pay the soldiers for their day-work over and above their pay.”⁽¹⁾

In 1704, the Minister asked for more information respecting the canal near la Chine suggested by Père de Breslay.⁽²⁾

Towards 1714, Gédéon de Catalogne writes, in his explanations of the Plans of the Seigniories : “ The late M. Dollier, “ Superior of the Seminary of Montreal in 1701, wished to “ prevent these accidents by making a canal communicating “ between la Chine and Montreal, on which he intended to build “ mills which are only too much needed in town and country. “ His death in October of the same year prevented his seeing “ the end of the work, which was two thirds done ; and without “ excessive expense large *bateaux* laden might be passed over it, “ the shipping to be done at the port of the town. M. the Abbé “ de Belmont is having the design continued, but only for the “ purpose of getting water for their mills.”⁽³⁾

In March, 1714, the King writes to Bégon, the intendant, that M. de Breslay’s proposal to complete the Lachine canal for transportation is not practicable, owing to the cost.⁽⁴⁾

Bégon writes 12 November, 1714 : “ The Gentlemen of the “ Seminary intend finishing the canal of la Chine not so as to “ render it navigable, but only in order to furnish water for their “ mill at Montreal, which is in want of it for three fourths of the “ year, only having it in the spring-time ; only the difficulty of “ getting labourers will delay the completion. I will have the “ honour of reporting what shall have been done in this matter “ next year.”⁽⁵⁾

According to Garneau. II, 158, “ in 1725, a Lazarist priest “ recommended digging the projected canal between Lachine “ and Montreal ”.

(1) Corr. gén., XXI, 64. — (2) Richard’s rep., 376. — (3) *Canadian Archives*, Moreau St-Méry, vol. I, p. 199. — (4) Richard’s rep., 478. — (5) Corr. gén., XXXIV, 396.

The Lachine canal for navigation purposes was never made by the French. So we read in Bougainville and in Knox, who were both in the country at the time of the conquest. This important enterprise was only executed under the British regime. It is surprising that in 1779-83, when the Imperial Government was making a canal at the Cascades, the Cedars and Coteau du Lac, a canal at Lachine should not have been thought of by the authorities. From 1791, commerce demanded this improvement in navigation and found in W. Adam Lymburner an enthusiastic and influential advocate. On the other hand, Colonel By, of the Royal Engineers, the founder of Bytown, to-day Ottawa, proposed later to make the trade of the west pass by the Welland canal, the Rideau, the Ottawa River and Rivière des Prairies to Bout de l'Isle de Montréal *en Bas*. It was only however in 1815 that the project of making the Lachine canal was taken up seriously. The idea of the original promoters was to carry it to the Foot of the Current by the little St. Martin River (Craig street) with a branch at Pointe à Callières; but unfortunately for Montreal's future prosperity, discord intervened, causing the greater plan to fail and to be replaced by the present canal. The first Lachine canal was partially opened in 1824, and vessels were passing through it freely in the year following.⁽¹⁾

BUILDING LACHINE CANAL.

(From the *Reminiscences of M. T. S. Dorwin.*)

“The great increase of trade with the west and the enormous
 “labor and expense in carting everything to and from Lachine,
 “led to the digging of the Lachine Canal. The attention of
 “the government had been directed to the importance of this
 “work by the difficulty of transporting the army stores for Upper
 “Canada during the war, and in March 1815, £25,000 was
 “voted towards its construction, but peace came, and beyond a
 “few levels being taken, nothing was done. But trade increased
 “and many Montreal merchants, chief among whom was the

(1) See report of Commissioner of Public Works for 1867 by J. C. Taché, pp. I, 568; Reports of M. Brymner for 1886, p. XII; 1889, p. XLI; for 1890, pp. 67-96; for 1897, p. 57; *Lake St. Louis*, 233-236.

“ Hon. John Richardson, strongly agitated the undertaking. In
“ April, 1819, a bill passed the Legislature, incorporating a joint
“ stock company to dig the canal with a capital of £ 150,000, but it
“ was afterwards broken up and the work undertaken by the Prov-
“ ince on the conditions that the subscribers to the stock of the
“ Company should relinquish all their rights on receiving back
“ the money they had advanced on shares, and that on the con-
“ tribution of £ 10,000 towards the work by the English Govern-
“ ment, all stores and effects belonging to His Majesty should
“ pass through the canal free. The route originally proposed
“ for the canal was along the River at Lachine to the commen-
“ cement of the turnpike road, then by the foot of Côte St. Paul
“ and on until it arrived at a point between the Upper Lachine
“ and St. Antoine suburbs, then along the creek through Craig
“ street, across the Quebec suburbs and into the river below the
“ current.

“ The Hon. John Richardson, the chairman of the Com-
“ mittee of Management of the Canal, owned a farm near Ho-
“ chelaga and the French party in the House cried out that his
“ purpose was to greatly enhance its value by running the canal
“ through it, and opposed the whole scheme on the ground that
“ it would ruin the carters who carried the merchandise to and
“ from Lachine. Besides, the French proprietors of lands along
“ the lower part of this route objected to the passing of the canal
“ through them. Richardson was, of course, strongly in favor of
“ putting it through to its proper ending at the foot of the cur-
“ rent, but seeing that false motives were imputed to him if he
“ persisted, he said that the city should have the canal anyway,
“ and ran it through to the river at its present terminus at Wind
“ Mill point. On July 18, 1821, he turned the first sod and
“ made a great speech, describing the benefits which the city
“ would derive from its construction. Thomas Burnett was the
“ engineer ; the contractors were Mackay and Redpath, Philips
“ White, and Bagg and Wait. It was opened in August, 1824,
“ and vessels passed through it in 1825.”

POINTE CLAIRE

The lamented Messire Bourgeault, vicar general and afterwards administrator of the diocese of Montreal, and formerly curé of Pointe Claire, undoubtedly the best authority on the history of the parish, wrote me in 1894 that I was in error in saying at page 194 of *Lake St. Louis*, that in 1706 there was a wooden chapel in the Fort. "There never was", he says, "any chapel, either of wood or stone, in the Fort." I evidently misunderstood the notes which M. Bourgeault had courteously placed at my disposal, and which I returned to him. I see, however, in the summary I made of them at that time, that the land conceded to Pierre Barbary 15 February, 1706, was "above the church of Pointe Claire". The deed of concession, of which M. Bourgeault speaks in his notes, was perhaps prepared after the building of the first church in 1713;⁽¹⁾ if it was prepared before, it is possible that the parties wished simply to indicate that Barbary's land, to-day belonging to the Pilon estate, was adjacent on the west to that of the Fabrique, which is perfectly correct. An entry in the registers of Pointe Claire confirms the latter interpretation. Judith Claire, daughter of Pierre Barbary was christened 29 June, 1711, at the presbytery of Pointe Claire, "the church not being yet made", adds the register. The christening would have not taken place at the presbytery had there been a chapel in the Fort. This entry is to be found on the last leaf of the register of Pointe Claire for the year 1715, "because the baptismal entry (*acte baptistaire*) has been lost"; it was probably written on a flying sheet. The registers of Lachine and St. Anne's from 1698 to 1713 contain several entries of civil status of the first inhabitants of Pointe Claire which I have pointed out in *Lake St. Louis*, pages 191 and 192. They establish that the registers of Pointe Claire date from the erection of the parish and the building of the church in 1713. Up to that time, a part of the locality belonged to St. Anne's,

(1) *Lake St. Louis*, p. 160 has "1714" by error.

and the other was served, as a mission, by the curé of Lachine, and a room in the presbytery, built in 1705, must have served to celebrate mass and to perform some baptisms in. The registers or sheets of paper upon which the latter were entered have probably been lost like the *acte baptistaire* of Judith Claire Barbary. We know that M. Vilermaula, curé of Lachine during a good part of this period, was not always very careful about his registers.⁽¹⁾

ISLE PERROT

Isle Perrot lies off the south-west end of the island of Montreal in Lake St. Louis. It was granted by Intendant Talon to Sieur François-Marie Perrot, captain in the regiment d'Auvergne and governor of Montreal, on the 29th October, 1672. For more than a century and a half, this beautiful island, about seven miles in length and nearly three in breadth at its widest part, has formed a separate parish under the name of Ste. Jeanne de Chantal de l'Isle Perrot. Of two *arrière fiefs* within the seigniority⁽²⁾, one is called Brucy, ten arpents in front by thirty in depth; the other, Laframboise, contains 378 arpents in superficies according to the seigniorial cadastre of 1857, and 180 only, according to Bouchette. Both fiefs are situated on the north-western part of the island and are to-day traversed by the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canadian Pacific.

Fief Brucy was granted on the 1st January, 1676, by Governor Perrot to a lieutenant of his company, Antoine de La Fresnaye, sieur de Brucy, but he had been in possession of it since 1671, where he was carrying an immense trade in secret partnership with the Governor himself. As early as 1671, this traffic was the cause of many scandalous conflicts in the colony, and it was no doubt with the view of removing the objections

(1) *Lake St. Louis*, 193. — (2) *Arrière fief* means a seigniority within the seigniority, granted by the original grantee.

made against his post that Perrot gave a title of the land to Brucy. He was finally summoned to answer before the French Court, condemned and imprisoned in the Bastille. He was however soon pardoned and allowed to return to Canada, where he continued his trade with Brucy. Chroniclers report that his commerce amounted to 50,000 livres a year, but I believe that this statement is much exaggerated. In 1684, when about to leave the country and take a new office in Acadia, he sold his seigniority to Charles LeMoyne de Longueuil de Chateauguay. The Brucy post formed a fine establishment, if we are to believe the memoirs of that period. According to the inventory of his estate made on the 15th December, 1684, before Bosset, notary, Brucy called it "La Fresnaye"; but after his death in November, 1684, it took the name of "Brucy", which it has kept to the present day. The buildings consisted of a house, a store, *magasin*, barn and stable, all of wood, covered with shingles and sods, *herbes*. He had four cows, five pigs, four sheep and young cattle. In the store, a variety of goods and wares suitable to the Indian trade, are detailed, porcelains, linens, muslins, tweeds or *draps de Morly*, over coats, hardware, powder and of course a few barrels, *barriques*, of wine and *eau de vie*. The house was already old, in fact in a state of ruination, *menace ruine*. All the buildings are valued at 2500 livres or \$416.66. At the time of his death, Brucy had only six arpents of cleared land, of little value, *de peu de valeur*; it was here however that he had his domicile with his wife, H  l  ne Picott   de Bellestre, who in 1686 was wedded to C  loron de Blainville, also an officer and a merchant of Bout de l'Isle, at Fief Blainville.⁽¹⁾

The deed of *Aveux et D  nombrements*, made by the Seigneur of Isle Perrot, in 1724, contains the statement that about one league, or three miles above the then existing seigniorial

(1) A fief in St. Anns was granted to Brucy by M. Dollier on the 9th November, 1683, and he called it "Brucy", but after the marriage of his widow to de Blainville, it became known by the name of the latter. It was bounded by Jean de LaLonde dit L'esp  rance and Cibard Coureau dit Lacoste, near Baie d'Urf  . In 1684, it had 125 arpents under cultivation, a house of wood, 22 ft. x 18, two cabins, barn and stable 70 ft. x 25. The crops of that year produced 120 bushels of wheat, valued at 50 sous a bushel and 20 bushels of peas. The whole fief was valued at

domain, there is an old domain, *un ancien domaine*, which had been settled, *étably*, by the late sieur Perrot, upon which there was no building, but about thirty arpents of land under cultivation. This domain, still known, was near the Brucy post and must form to-day the Laframboise Fief. It is mentioned as *un désert* in the Brucy inventory and as being next to it.⁽¹⁾

For many years, very little effort was made to settle the island and cultivate the soil, the spot being too much exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois. Deshaies' map of 1686 shows nothing, even at Brucy. There were, however, some fields under cultivation. We read in *La Collection de Manuscrits*, vol. 2, p. 150, that in August, 1693, a squad of soldiers and Indians, under M. de Callières, went to Isle Perrot to protect the harvesting, "*pour soustenir les récoltes contre les invasions des ennemis*". These lands must have been cleared before 1684. As early as 1674, Perrot had a farmer on his habitation, who was also a *coureur des bois*.⁽²⁾

There is no doubt that the position of Isle Perrot, like that of Chateaugnay and St. Anns, interfered very largely with its settlement. Impossible to dream of colonization in those remote places during the Iroquois war, and in fact they never were free from attacks from these savages till after the American Revolutionary War, 1775-83. In 1746, a party of Agniers attacked several farmers of Soulanges, burned two houses and two barns, killed three persons and made three prisoners. In 1747, on the 26th of May, the Iroquois made a descent on Isle Perrot and carried away one habitant, named Desloges, and the whole of his family, nine persons altogether. A few days before, a habitant of Chateaugay was scalped without being killed (in fact he recovered), and had his wife killed and his son wounded. About

2000 livres. Brucy had a third fief, 2 arp. by 20, next to Senneville and Sr. de Coulonge, granted on the 5th January, 1684, which at the time of his death, in 1684, was yet in primitive forest. (See *Lake St. Louis*, 140, 210 : *Anté* p. Faillon, III, 341, 449, 451, 474-538 ; Sulte, *Le Régiment de Carignan*, Roy. Soc., N. S., VIII, 77 ; Ed. et Ord., II, 54 ; Cor. gén., VI, 189 ; *Id.*, XXI, 92 ; Jug. et Dél. I, 811 ; Deed of inventory of Sr de Brucy, 15 December, 1684, Basset, notary.) — (1) *Aveus et Dénombrements*, Can. Arch., vol. 2, p. 107. — (2) Letter of Frontenac quoted in Faillon, III, 488.

the same time, one de l'Isle (Arrivé dit de L'Isle), his son and the only surviving child of Montreuil, himself captured previously, all habitants of Cascades, were taken prisoners by the Agniers. In June of the same year, ten of these Indians and four Dutchmen disguised as Indians, were captured by the French, some of them near the Isle Perrot ferry and the others at Chateauguay. On the same occasion, three French women were rescued. In 1760, 700 Iroquois were again to be found on Isle Perrot, this time fortunately under the control of British generals, Johnson and Amherst.⁽¹⁾ In May, 1776, the yells of these savages were again heard in the immediate vicinity at Cedars and St. Anns and even at Brucy, when the Americans, after being defeated by Forster, de Montigny, of Senneville, and de Lorimier, of Lachine, were rescued by superior forces which came from Montreal under Arnold. It was during the course of their march that they burned Fort Senneville.⁽²⁾

Soon after the Iroquois war, about 1703, new settlers came to Isle Perrot and clearings must have been made to some extent. It was during that year that Joseph Trottier, sieur des Ruisseaux, of Lachine, son of Antoine, merchant and *seigneur* of Batiscan, purchased the seigniory of Isle Perrot from the heirs of Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil de Chateauguay for 3500 livres or \$583.⁽³⁾ Documents already quoted show that at that time he was dealing in the far west and that later on he and his son were trading first at Bout de l'Isle and last at Isle aux Tourtes⁽⁴⁾. De Catalogne, in his *Explications des plans*, 1713, says that the seigneur des Ruisseaux had his *domaine* and a wind mill, the ruins of which can be seen at the lower end of the island, called Pointe du Moulin; he conveys the idea that there was nothing else—*il n'y a que le Domaine du Seigneur*. It is

(1) Col. de Mss., III, 312, 336, 339, 344, 345 — (2) *The Massacre at Cedars*, by S. E. Dawson, Can. Monthly, V. 395. — (3) *Greffe de Montréal*. Deed before Adhémar, 27th April, 1703. Charles Le Moyne acquired from Perrot by deed before Basset, 2nd March, 1684, for \$200; I have not been able to find this deed in the minutes of Basset. Le Moyne called the seigniory "Fief Maricourt" and at the time of his death, in 1685, had buildings built of stakes. *Hist. de Longueuil*, 78. See also Foy et Hom. Can. Ar. vol. 2, p. 315. — (4) See above pages 406, 407, 424, 426 and Richard's rep., p. 101; Brymner's rep., 1884, p. 12.

impossible to conceive that a wind mill had been erected, when no settler could be found. I think De Catalogne means that there was no church or *presbytère*. The *Aveux et Dénombrements* made a few years afterwards, in 1724, by Françoise Cuillierier, widow of Joseph Trottier des Ruisseaux, establish that point beyond doubt. There were then at least thirty settlers in the seigniory. The *Domaine* above mentioned was of 10 by 40 arpents, on the north of the island right through to the south of it, with a stone house of 45 ft. by 26, stone barns and stables of 75 by 30, a wind mill, also of stone, apparently on the domain, and 140 arpents of land under cultivation, and 30 arpents of prairie, that is, I presume, hay fields.⁽¹⁾ Quite a number of concessions were settled, each with a house, barn and stable and at least 20 or 30 arpents under cultivation, some having even 50 and 60 arpents. Very few proprietors had no building. There were however two leagues or six miles of land, to the west, not yet taken up. There was only one *arrière fief* not named, undoubtedly Fief Brucy, owned by Sieur Rainbault, without any building or clearing. The following inhabitants had settled to the south of the island, west of the *Domaine*, each having a house, barn and stable built of wood. I follow the order given in the *Aveux*:—Louis Larocque, Pierre Deschamps, Noël Laciseraye, J.-Bte. Lalonde, Charles Deau (probably Daoust), François Lalonde, René Fortin, Pierre Leduc, J.-Bte. Sabourin, Jacques Sabourin, Jean Motard, Joseph Fortier, and the following without any building, but with a few acres of clearing: Sieur Deschaillons, Antoine Deschamps and Louis Larocque. To the north of the island and west to the *Domaine*: Jean Neveu, Louis Neveu, Joseph Laciseraye, Joseph Leduc, Lafleur⁽²⁾, Guillaume Lalonde, and the following, near the old domain of M. Perrot, without any building, but with 8 or 10 arpents of cleared land: J.-Bte. Desloges, Edouard Lalonde, Joseph Lalonde and Jacques Laplante. Next was the old

(1) This domain has been divided up and the manor house has been turned into a barn by the proprietor Bruno Daoust. — (2) This Lafleur must be Pierre Poirier dit Lafleur, mentioned in the *arrêt* of 1722, as the western limit of the lower end of Isle Perrot, which became part of the parish of La Pointe Claire. (Ed. et Ord., I, 459)

Perrot domain. Then a large number of islands are described, nearly all ungranted and covered with primeval forest. Among the islands granted, I notice the following : l'Isle Ste. Geneviève, granted to René Décary, who had fifteen arpents under cultivation without any building ; l'isle Valiquet, of 60 arpents, granted to sieur Valiquet who had a house, barn and stables and 30 arpents under cultivation ; the islands of Jean Guenet, Paul Guillet, J.-Bte. Guillerier, J.-Bte. Sabourin ; l'isle aux Cascades granted to Joseph Montreuil, all without any building and with only few acres of clearing⁽¹⁾.

Bellin, map of 1744,⁽²⁾ shows two settlements, one at Brucy, and the other on the south of the island which is called Brideloup, probably the site where the church is now.

It is likely that till the re-organisation of St. Anns in 1703, the few inhabitants of Isle Perrot, at least before the Iroquois war, were attending the chapel of M. D'Urfé, at Baie d'Urfé. During the war, the island was practically abandoned, like St. Anns. From 1703 to 1713, they continued to attend the old stone church of St. Anns, near the railway bridges of to-day.⁽³⁾ In 1713, when Pointe Claire was erected as a parish, the lower end of Isle Perrot was annexed to that parish, and the upper part continued to go to St. Anns. The island remained so divided till about 1743.⁽⁴⁾ Two notarial deeds, passed before Dauzé-de-Blanzly on the 3rd May, 1743, establish that a church and parsonage were already built upon a piece of land, situated near Pointe du Moulin, verbally given as early as 1740 by the *Seigneuresse*, Françoise Cuillerier, widow by her first marriage of Trottier des Ruisseaux, and who, having become a widow a second time of Jean Guenet, a merchant of Montreal, occasionally resided in her manor house on the *Domaine*, near Pointe du Moulin.⁽⁵⁾ The deeds show that the parish was completely

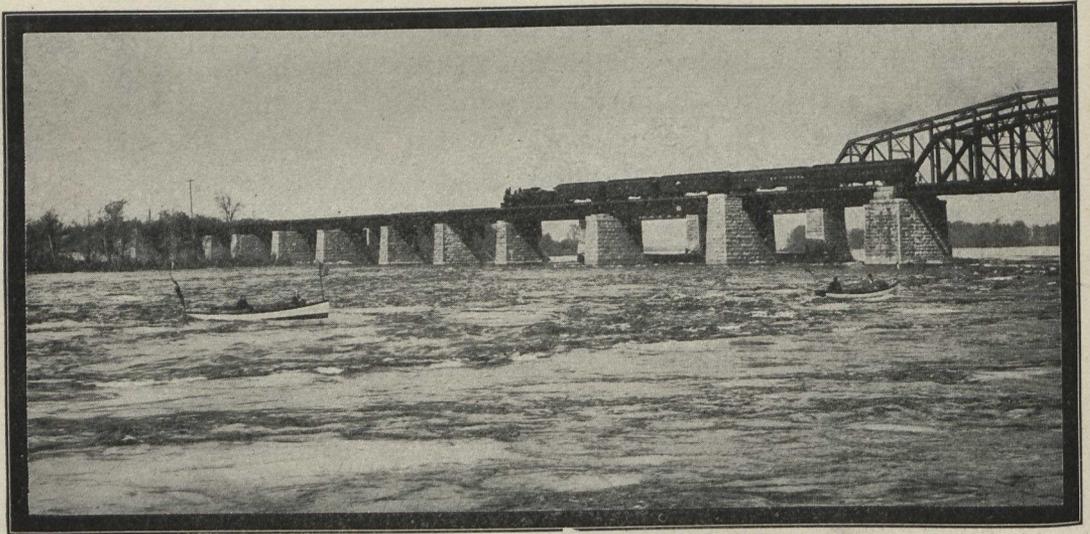
(1) *Arveux et Dénombrements*, Can. Ar., vol. 2, p. 107. Frs. LeNoir dit Rollan 1, of Lachine, obtained from Perrot a free grant of an island called "Petit Guay", by deed before Basset, 16th February, 1684 — (2) *Lake St. Louis*, 92. — (3) It is to be regretted that this old church, reproduced in *Lake St. Louis*, p. 154, was demolished in 1900 to make room for the construction of a convent for the education of young girls. — (4) Ed. et Ord., I, 459 ; *Lake St. Louis*, 161. — (5) *Ibid.*, 303, and above deeds.

organised in 1743, churchwardens having even been elected. The *Carte générale des Paroisses* drawn up after 1750⁽¹⁾ shows a church on Isle Perrot, near Pointe du Domaine and to the north of Pointe du Moulin. But the parish was too small to support a resident *curé* and at that date had none. The camping of General Amherst at Isle Perrot in the early days of September, 1760, at the head of an invading army of 10,000 men and 700 Indians was not of a nature to improve its position.⁽²⁾ In 1765, it had only a population of 294.⁽³⁾ Besides, the inhabitants of the west of the island were contending that the church was too far down. In 1753, a solution of the difficulty as to the location was reached. The Seigneur, who was J. Bte. Leduc, by his marriage to Françoise Trottier des Ruisseaux, daughter of Joseph, was allowed to take back the land with the church and *presbytère* (which probably had been built principally at the expense of Mme. Guenet), on giving another site, the very one where the church stands to-day.⁽⁴⁾ The inhabitants set to work to build a new church with a good deal of enthusiasm. Stones and materials were soon on the premises, but the construction had to be suspended in consequence of the war which was then raging between France and England and culminated in the treaty of Paris of 1763. It was not till several years after that the church and parsonage could be finished, and in the meantime the unfortunate islanders had to be administered *par voie de mission*, partly by the *curé* or missionary of St. Anns or Cedars,⁽⁵⁾ and partly by Pointe Claire which was becoming important. The end of their misery did not come till about the year 1786, which is the date of their first register. In 1789 at least, they were favoured with a resident *curé*, for the registers of St. Anns show that the latter parish was then administered as a mission by the *curé* of Isle Perrot.⁽⁶⁾ In 1790, its population had increased to 586, being larger than that

(1) See page 454.—(2) Richard's rep. for 1899, p. 185.—(3) Sulte, VII, 121.—(4) *Greffe de Dauzé-de-Blanzay*, 9th January, 1753.—(5) In 1757, Cedar, also called Soulanges, was constituted a *bourg* or commercial post, generally protected by at least a staked enclosure. (Ed. et Ord., II, 419)—(6) *Lake St. Louis*, 162; Tanguay, *Rep. du Clergé*, 153.

of St. Anns.⁽¹⁾ In 1784, Isle Perrot had 200 communicants, ministered by M. Denaut, *curé* of Soulanges.⁽²⁾

The parish of Isle Perrot, till recently, has been rather poor. Bouchette said in 1815 that of 143 concessions, a little more than one half were settled upon and tolerably well cultivated. This would suppose about six or seven hundred souls. A considerable quantity of the land had been purchased by farmers



GRAND TRUNK "INTERNATIONAL LIMITED" CROSSING THE BRIDGE OVER
THE OTTAWA AT STE. ANNE DE BELLEVUE.

of St. Anns, Pointe Claire and Lachine for the timber which for generations they used for building and fuel purposes. The population has not increased, the main cause being that for several years many residents emigrated from Isle Perrot to settle upon more accessible lands in the seigniories of Soulanges and of Beauharnois. From the official census, we find that the population was 891 in 1851; 940 in 1861; 935 in 1871; 924 in 1881, 858 in 1891, and 828 in 1901. The number of farmers is 70 and of proprietors of small emplacements, 84, situate generally opposite St. Anns. The trains of the two railways which cross

(1) Sulte, VII. 149. — (2) Brymmer's rep. for 1889, p. 41.

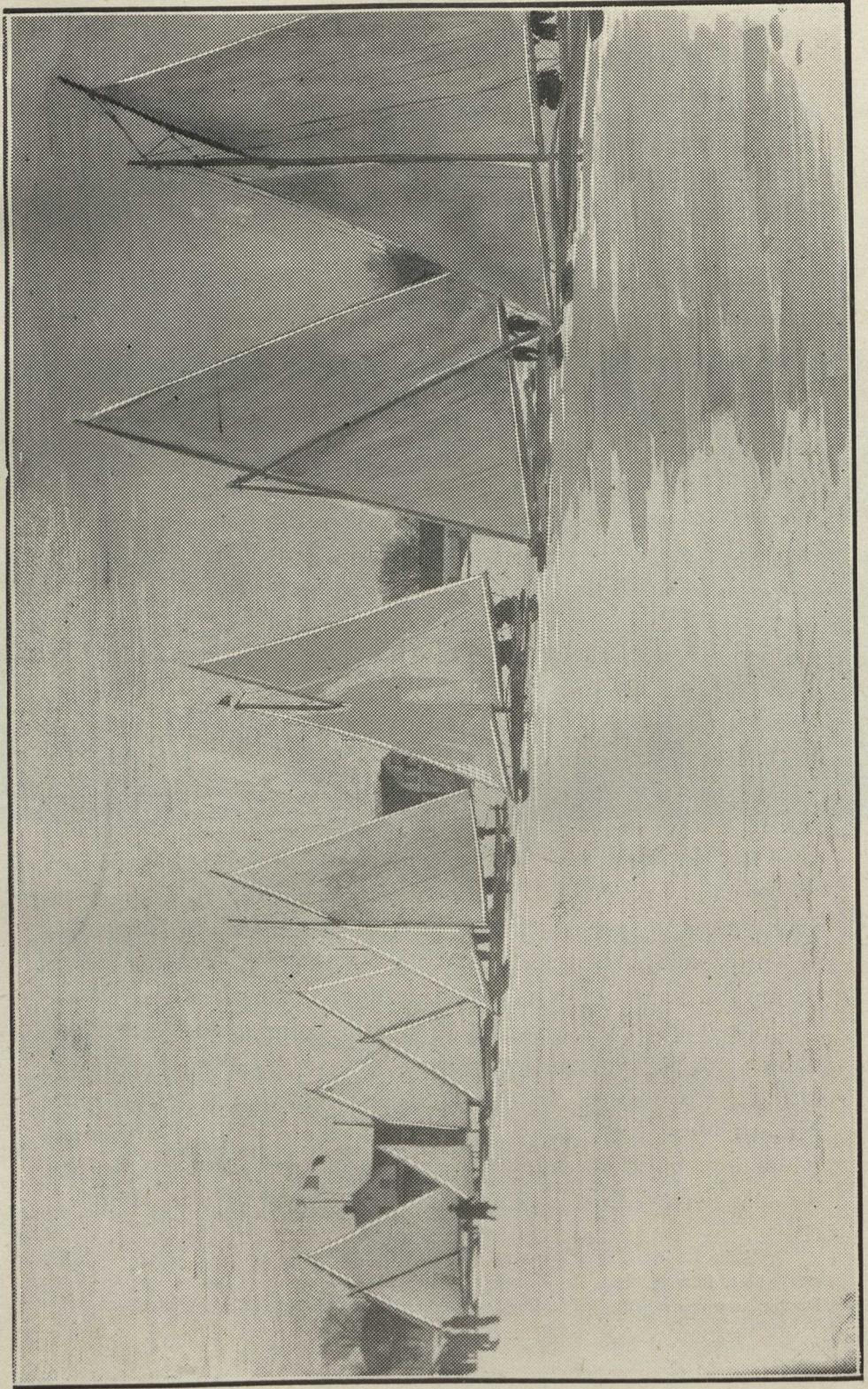
the western end of the island do not stop there, and it is only within the last fifteen or twenty years that the Dominion government has built an extensive wharf on the southern shore of the Island. Private enterprise has provided for another landing on the northern side, opposite St. Anns.

The position of the farmers has, however, improved within the last few years, owing to the means which the New York Central R.R. passing through the town of Beaunarnois, offers them of shipping, during the winter, large crops of hay to the American markets. There is no village, no notary or doctor. Illness or death seldom happens. Local tradition has it that during the whole history of Isle Perrot only once has a license been granted to sell spirituous liquors, in 1799, in favour of one Pierre Poirier dit Lafleur. This fact does not mean that Isle Perrot is more temperate than the other parishes of the province. Undoubtedly, liquor was sold at Pointe du Moulin when the wind mill was in operation about 30 or 40 years ago, or when in the days of no railway, the travellers from Beauharnois were accustomed to reach the island of Montreal by *la Traverse* or ice over Lake St. Louis.⁽¹⁾

For some years past, Isle Perrot has become a small summer resort. It has a park, Sheringham, where picnics are frequently held by Montrealers. There are also a few summer houses. "Our Club" is located on one of the northern points of the island, near Pointe du Domaine, and Mr. Leslie Dowker has recently built a large house on Ste. Geneviève Island, which is within the seigniory of Isle Perrot, almost opposite Beaufort.

The following are some of the missionaries and *curés* from 1786: M.M. Deneau, later Mgr. Deneau, bishop of Quebec, Brunet, Cazeneuve, (who bought from Abbé Desjardins some remarkable oil paintings saved from the French Revolution, which for about a century have adorned the walls of the church), Toupin, Ricard, Giroux, Lamarre, Huot, Groulx, Aubry, Turcotte

(1) Lake St. Louis, being about 17 miles in length by 8 at its largest width, navigable everywhere, freezing from shore to shore from Dorval Island to Cascades and St Anns. During the winter months, ice boating is one of the favourite sports. See next page.



ICE BOAT RACES ON LAKE ST. LOUIS.

From sketch of "La Presse", March 2nd, 1903.

and Duhamel. M. Duhamel has recently (1901) restored and re-decorated the old church according to the old plans, without any material alteration except as to the front wall, and it must be said that it is a little gem, full of local historical souvenirs.

Among the inhabitants, I have noted in the first registers the following, many being descendants of the early pioneers, whose names are still familiar on the island and in the seigniories of Soulanges and Beauharnois: Lefebvre, Laciseraye, Deschaillons, Daoust, Montpetit, Dandurand, Bourbonnais, Leduc, Hainault dit Deschamps, Lalonde, Léger dit Parisien, Boyer, Bissonnette, Denis, Poirier dit Lafleur, Chénier, Boursier dit Lavigne, Ranger, Delorme, Desloges, Leclair, St. Amand, Proulx, Delisle, Lepage, Mathieu, Préjean, Grenier, Galarneau, Houle, de Repentigny, Hurteau, Larente.

The seigniors were among others: Perrot, Le Moyne, Trottier des Ruisseaux, Leduc, Clément, Denis, Déséry, Mongrain, Laflamme, Daoust, Brazeau, Toupin, Letourneux, Lalonde and Ryder.

See list of the inhabitants or *censitaires* in 1857 in the Appendix.

CHATEAUGUAY

De Catalogne, quoted at page 378, does not say anything as to the existence of a chapel or church at Chateauguay at the time he wrote his explanations of the Plans and Seigniories, about 1713. He remarks that there are a few *habitants*. No mention is made of a *Domaine*, as he is accustomed to do. The wind-mill he noticed was on the St. Bernard, now Nuns' Island, below the big hill, *la Butte des Sœurs*, near Lake St. Louis and was no doubt the first one built in the seigniorie. It was granted to Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil on the 29th September, 1673. Soon after, he built on the St. Bernard Island, situate at the mouth of the river, then called Rivière du Loup, a post which

for many years was occupied as a protection in time of war against the Iroquois coming down the river, and for trade purposes in time of peace. In 1677, Le Moyne had already cleared 50 arpents and built a house and a barn of wood. He had four or five *cen-sitaires* or settlers, among others Pierre Prudhomme, Louis Juillet and Le Gascon. A manor house of stone was soon built, being of 45 ft. front by 22, surrounded by a staked palisade and protected by a wind-mill or redoubt, and at the time of Le Moyne's death in 1685 was valued at 10,000 liv., a large sum for those days, as land was worth almost nothing. It was here and at St. Anns that Le Moyne had his principal country stores. The inventory of his estate establishes that there was a chapel in his house, where mass was celebrated.⁽¹⁾ The Deshaies' map of 1686 shows Chateauguay, "fort dans l'Isle"; nothing else. On the 8th November, 1686, Governor de Denonville calls the attention of the Minister to the importance of the Chateauguay post.⁽²⁾ The register of Lachine of the 19th September, 1690, recording the burial of the commandant at Fort Chateauguay, Capt. Des Marets, or Des Marais, "killed by the Iroquois near the mill of the said Chateau", establishes the fact that the fort had at that time a garrison and a wind-mill outside the fort. De Monseignat states in his memoirs that before the presence of three Indians had been discovered, Des Marais, who had gone out of the fort for a walk with a soldier and his valet, all unarmed, was caught by them and killed *à coups de hache*.⁽³⁾ Likewise on the 10th of May, 1696, Laurent Le Sept Amplade, one of M. Le Verrier's soldiers at Fort Chateauguay, "was killed at sunrise, on the opening of the gate, near the lime oven, the Iroquois leaving a tomahawk near his dead body".⁽⁴⁾

On the 6th August, 1706, Zacharie Robutel de La Noue bought from the heirs Le Moyne the seigniory of Chateauguay, "et les bâtiments et moulins sur le dit fief", for 7,000 livres, and it remained in his family till 1764, when it became the property

(1) See *Aveux et Dénombrements* before Basset, 27 August, 1677 and *Histoire de Longueuil*, pp. 43, 77, 79. — (2) See *Suprà*, page 319. — (3) *Col. de Mss.*, I, 514. — (4) *Registre de Lachine; Lake St. Louis*, 84.

of the Grey Nuns for a little over the price of the inventory assessed at the time of the death of Le Moyne.⁽¹⁾

In 1724, Robutel de La Noue made his *Aveux et Dénombrements* which will be found in Vol. 1, pp. 460-466⁽²⁾. At page 461, he declares that his *Domaine* is on the island of St. Bernard, having about 400 arpents in superficies⁽³⁾, upon which he has a house 50 feet long by 20 in width, a barn of 60 by 30, two stables, 40 by 20 and 30 by 12, all of wood, piece over piece, "*sur laquelle le dit Sr comparant a une maison de pièces sur pièces, de 50 pieds de long sur 20 de large, une grange de même de 60 pieds par 30, étable de 40 x 20, écurie de 30 x 12*". He adds that he has on his *Domaine* 80 arpents under cultivation and 12 arpents of prairie. Evidently, the stone manor house and the wind mill had disappeared, whether by fire or otherwise I have not been able to ascertain.

The manor-house and wind mill were rebuilt of stone, on the old site, where they can be seen to-day, but whether by M. de La Noue or by his purchasers, the Grey Nuns, I cannot say. Mme Jetté tells us, in her interesting biography of Mme Youville⁽⁴⁾, that the wind-mill was in operation when the Grey Nuns purchased the seigniori in 1764 and that soon after, she built a new barn of stone, stables and other outbuildings and also a hydraulic mill⁽⁵⁾ on the River Chateauguay, about three miles distant from the old wind-mill, in the thick forest, a short distance south of the present R. C. church, but says nothing of the manor house. We may presume that both had been rebuilt by M. de La Noue or his heirs.

The *censitaires* of Robutel de La Noue are thus enumerated by him in his *Aveux et Dénombrements*, commencing at the mouth of River Chateauguay, first on the northern side :

(1) Brymner's rep. for 1884, p. 5; *Foy et Hommage*, Can. Ar., vol. 2, p. 283. — (2) A deed of *Aveux et Dénombrements* was made by LeMoyne on the 20th August, 1677, before Basset, notary, *Hist. de Longueuil*, 80. It is not to be found in the collection deposited in the Canadian Archives, but it is in the *greffe* of Basset, where I made a few notes published above. Le Moyne makes no mention of a church or chapel or presbytère. — (3) The seigniorial cadastre of 1858 gives 690 arpents. — (4) *Vie de la Mère d'Youville*, 132, 143. See note p. 421, 422. — (5) This mill has been abandoned years ago and another built farther west on the river.

1. L'arrière fief du Sieur de Lignery, jr., without building or clearing, opposite the western shores of St. Bernard Island.

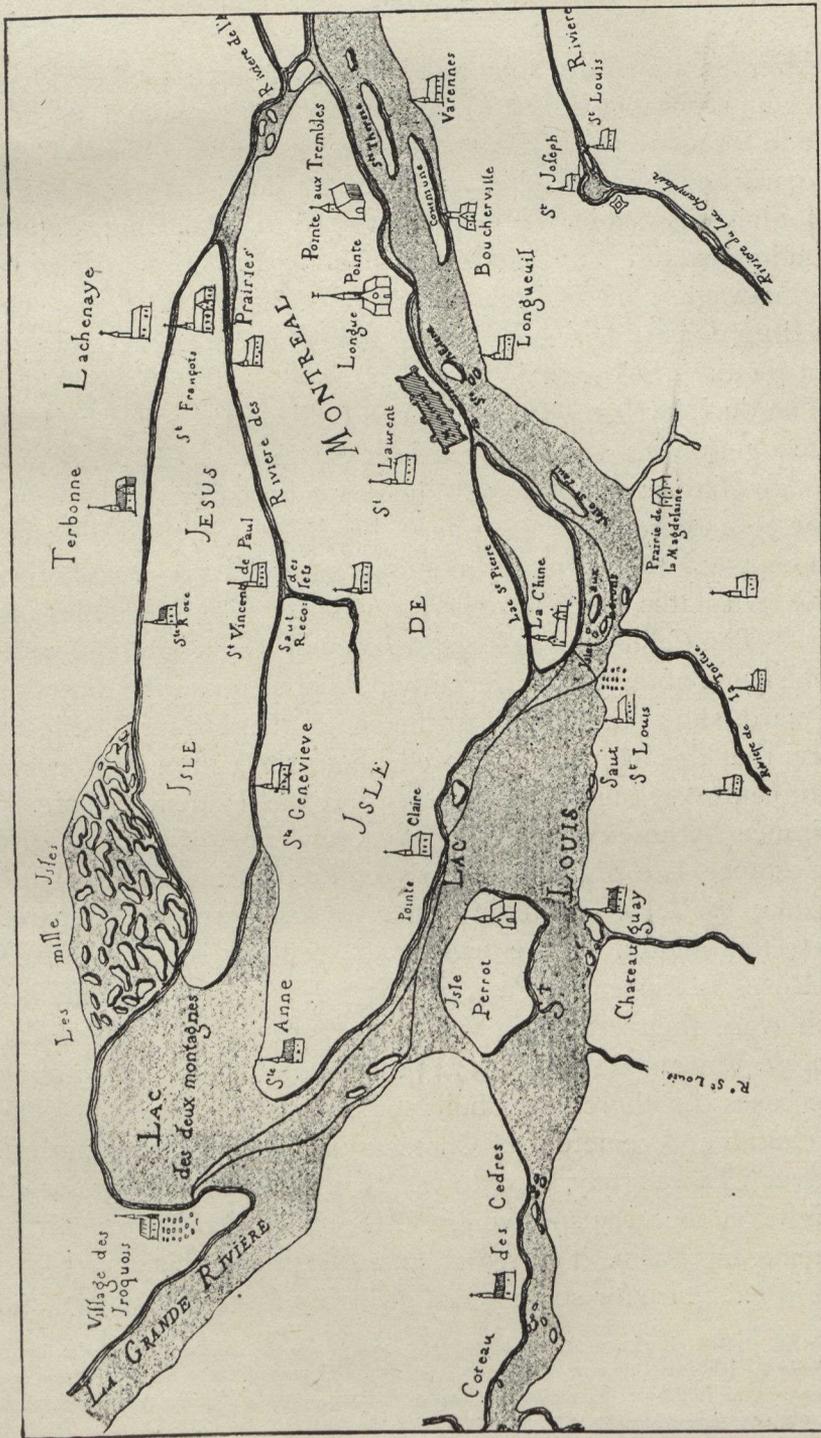
	<i>Arpents under cultivation.</i>
Lafleur, barn only,	10
Jacques Foubert, barn and stable,	15
Raphael Descent, house, barn and stable,	6
Jean Cardinal, " " "	20
St. Germain Lamoureux, without building,	4
Jean Tessier, " "	3
Paul Primot, " "	2
Pierre Herlain, " "	3
Aymard, house, barn and stable,	4
J. Bte. Deniau, " " "	2
Frs. Laviolette, without building, nor clearing.	
<i>To the south of the River, commencing near the Common (20 arp. x 9) at the mouth of the River :</i>	
Charles Primot, house, barn and stable,	8
Laviolette, " " "	15
Paul Texier, " " "	12
Frs. Primot, " " "	8
Hilaire Girardy, " " "	20
Jean Roy dit Lapensée, " " "	4
Molneuf, " " "	15
Claude Primot, " " "	12
Nicholas Pomainville, without building, nor clearing.	
J. Bte. Pomainville, " " "	"
Ve. Couillard, " " "	"
J. Bte. Gendron, " " "	"

Altogether twenty-four grants of land had been made in fifty years, and out of this small number, about one half were actually in possession of the grantees. The settlements had not yet reached the site of the present R. C. church. This slow progress is the best evidence of the fear of the Iroquois which caused the new colonists to hesitate before taking homesteads on one of their roads to the St. Lawrence.

After St. Louis du Bout de l'Isle was re-organised in 1703, Chateauguay was annexed to that parish and remained in that position for some years, till 1713, when it became part of the new parish of Pointe-Claire, as stated by de Catalogne; but it did not long so remain. From about 1716 to 1779, Chateauguay was administered *par voie de mission* by the missionaries of Caughnawaga.⁽¹⁾ The Indian mission of Sault St. Louis was moved up during the year 1716, to a new site opposite Lachine, about six miles below Chateauguay.⁽²⁾

The de Léry map, 1727, and the Bellin map, 1744, indicate Chateauguay with a church, north of Rivière du Loup where it is to-day. This was a mistake. There was probably a church, but on the southern side of the river. During that period registers were kept and Mgr Tanguay mentions a few marriages and other acts of civil status which were performed in 1736 and the following years.⁽³⁾ The *Carte Générale des Paroisses*, without date, and without the name of the author, recently published under the direction of Pinard, shows the church to the south of the river.⁽⁴⁾ Pinard asserts that this map was prepared about the end of the seventeenth century, at least before 1731. It was evidently made up in France by an expert having no knowledge of the country. For instance, Isle Bizard is entirely omitted; St. Anns is placed on Lake of Two Mountains, etc. It was certainly prepared during the middle of the eighteenth century as it indicates Ste. Rose, St. Vincent de Paul, Ste. Geneviève and other parishes which were then erected. Ste. Geneviève was only erected in 1740, St. Vincent de Paul in 1743 and Ste. Rose in 1750, and in some cases the church was built some years afterwards.⁽⁵⁾ The first church and cemetery of Chateauguay were on the south of the river Chateauguay, next to the farm of Antoine Boursier dit Lavigne, at the very spot where O'Keefe has his homestead, at Chateauguay Basin. The registers establish that this church had been in existence for some years, probably from about 1727, and

(1) Ed. et Ord., I, 462. — (2) See pages 379, 380. — (3) See Dict. Généalogique, Vis. Boursier, Foubert, Gendron, Primeau. — (4) See page 454. Copies of these maps by Morin and Pinard are in the Library of Parliament of Canada, Ottawa. — (5) *Le Diocèse de Montréal à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle*, pp. 257, 578, 593.



CARTE GENERALE DES PAROISSES, ABOUT 1750.

continued to be used till the present church was finished in 1779, the missionaries being Revd. MM. Foucher, Cliche, de Lauzon, Breül, Millard, Maugé, Lefebvre, De La Bretonnière, Nau, Huguët, Well and Martel. The first resident *curé* was M. Bruguier. Among the settlers living during his administration, I notice the names of Primot or Primeau, Deslauriers, Leclerc, Duquet, Mallette, Boursier dit Lavigne, Picard, Emard, Laviolette, Gagnier, Gendron, Lebœuf, Lafleur, Foubert, Durançeau, Couillard, Caron, Deneau, Laberge and Joubert. Several have descendants in the parish to-day.

Chateauguay, along Lake St. Louis, is becoming a summer resort, reached by both railway and steamer.

The seigniorial cadastre of 1858 mentions an Episcopal church in Chateauguay. It had been in existence for some years and is still used as a place of worship.

THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL IN 1731

While preparing the chapters on Isle Perrot and Chateauguay, I perused several volumes of *Aveux et Dénombrements*, deposited in the Canadian Archives.⁽¹⁾ They are so called, because they contain the declaration of the *seigneur* and the enumeration by him of every inhabitant, the size of his estate or farm, generally 3 x 20 or 30 arpents, seldom more or less, the number and the quality of his building, if of stone, the ground-rent or *cens et rente*, merely nominal, and finally the acreage under cultivation. This inspection afforded me an opportunity of reading the *Aveux et Dénombrements* of the Island of Montreal made in 1731 and forming 355 pages of volumes 3 and 4⁽²⁾.

(1) These are copies of the originals in the Quebec archives. They form eleven large volumes of manuscripts, five devoted to the seigniories of the Jesuits and six to the other seigniories. They are almost as important as census and it is astonishing that a summary has not yet been published. They were made between 1723 and 1740. Ed. et Ord., III, 214, 229 and 247. Each volume has a good index prepared by the late Joseph Marmette. — (2) No other *dénombrement* was demanded after 1740, except from the Jesuits in 1781.

They comprise not only the city and *banlieue*, but all the parishes on the island, and more particularly Lachine, Pointe Claire and Ste Anne du Bout de l'Isle. It may be said that they form a complete topography of these localities, and with the data they contain, an artist can easily draw a sketch of them.

A most remarkable feature of the population of Lachine, compared with that of 1689, is that a little more than one-half is composed of new comers, who, in many instances, had relatives on the premises, and settled among them to replace the unfortunate victims of the massacre. For instance, André T. Kaganis was the adopted son of André Rapin, Jean Chesnié, his son-in-law, and Charles Lemer St Germain,⁽¹⁾ late of Bout de l'Isle, an other son-in-law. There were altogether about 60 settlers along from Verdun to Pointe Claire (Dorval to-day) and out of these, I have been able to recognise twenty-four of the survivors or their descendants. They were : Roy dit Lapensée, Dugas, Paré, Leroux, Roy, Gauthier, Bourbonnais, Brunet, Tabeau, Trottier, Cuillerier, Césire, Décary, Merlo, Fortin, Rapin, Quesnéville, Cardinal, Ozanne, Quesnel, Picard, Marin, Meloche, Rhéaume. The others were gone ; most of them had been killed on or about the spot by the Iroquois ; the others, in small number, had left the place, like Jacques Morin,⁽²⁾ Chateauteau, Boursier jr. and Fournier.

Another striking feature of the *dénombrement* is that it contains no name of the inhabitants supposed to have been massacred out of Lachine, and thus confirms the list published in *Lake St. Louis*, p. 134, as corrected in *Supplement* p. 353 and following.⁽³⁾

The *dénombrement* is also important for the description it gives of the villages or forts then standing on the Island of Montreal.

First stood the town of Ville-Marie or Montreal, covering

(1) Surnamed *l'Irlande*. In 1731, he had two lots in Ste Geneviève, without building or clearing. — (2) In 1677, Jacques Morin leased for three years from the Seminary of Montreal the farm called La Présentation, Dorval to-day. It was probably about that time that the Indian Mission of Gentilly was closed. See Basset, *Bail*, 2 April, 1677. — (3) I have omitted from the list Mathurin Thibeau, father-in-law of Jean Boursier, both prisoners and killed with their wives by the Iroquois in 1689. I was and am still under the impression that Thibeau belonged to Verdun. His name appears only in the registers of Montreal.

the ground comprised between River St. Lawrence and little river St. Martin, (Craig street to-day,) McGill street and the Eastern Station of the C.P.R. and enclosed partly by stone walls, "*la dite ville commencée a être fermée de murailles*".⁽¹⁾ The names of all the streets are given, about the same as now, with the names of each proprietor, the class of buildings erected, several of stone and with two stories, a few yet standing. Likewise, a full description of the public buildings is made, most of them on Notre Dame street; the Jesuits Fathers and their church, Chateau de Ramesay, the Nuns of the Congregation and their two chapels, the Parish Church, 180 feet by 40, the cemetery, all on a piece of land of two arpents in superficies, enclosed by a stone wall; the house of the Gentlemen of the Seminary, partly still in existence with its quaint old clock, and its garden, surrounded by a stone wall; a school house opposite, on Notre Dame street. On St. Paul street, we notice Bonsecours Church, the Palace of the Intendant, the Chateau de Vaudreuil, the Hotel Dieu and its church, the Frères Hospitaliers and their church, outside the walls, subsequently transferred to the Grey Nuns. Then follows the description of the suburbs, the seigniorial *domaines* and the parishes in the country.

The Seminary had several *domaines* or farms, one called St. Gabriel, 400 arpents in superficies, wholly under cultivation, with a two story stone house of 70 feet by 30, (still standing, although abandoned), roofed partly with shingles and partly with planks, a stone barn of 100 ft by 45, several stables for horses, cows and sheep, of stone, 150 ft by 30, also roofed with planks, all grouped on a piece of land four arpents in superficies, enclosed partly by a stone wall and partly by a staked fence. At each end of the *domaine*, stood two hydraulic corn mills, supplied by the water of the little River St. Pierre, which runs to-day under the Lachine Canal, in the city of St. Henri. With the view of increasing the volume of water of the river, the Seminary completed about the year 1714 a little canal from Lachine to River and Lake St. Pierre, situate a

(1) Vol. III, 258.

short distance above St. Gabriel, and undoubtedly constructed a few dams. This lake is referred to in the *Dénombrements*, as bordering the farms of Côte St. Paul and Coteau St. Pierre.⁽¹⁾ It undoubtedly became dry by irrigation and especially by the construction of the Lachine Canal about 1824 and through the recent drain work of the Dominion Government, it is now farmable.

Then comes the description of the domain of La Montagne, called "le fort de Belmont", on Sherbrooke street of to-day, 200 ft by 140, with four towers and walls, within which stands a church, 60 ft by 30, and two side chapels, in the form of a cross, a two story house⁽²⁾ of 100 ft by 30, in the centre of the fort, of solid masonry and roofed in slate. Another two story large stone building, *un grand corps de bâtiment*, formed the back of the fort, extending its entire width, that is 200 ft, and containing two presses, *pressoires*, on the first flat⁽³⁾ and two stores or *greniers* on the second.

Outside the walls of the fort, there was another stone house of 40 ft by 25, a barn of 50 x 30, stables partly of stone and partly of wood.

The domain consisted of 20 arpents by 30, the whole under cultivation, as far as practicable, *en autant que la situation des lieux l'a permis*, with the exception of an orchard of twelve arpents in superficies, enclosed by a stone wall and a vineyard, *vignoble*, of about three arpents, fenced partly with stakes and partly by a stone wall.⁽⁴⁾

Besides these large farms, equal to any now in old Canada, the Seigneurs had other domains at Cote St. Michel and Sault au Récollet. The latter comprised two farms, situated on Rivière des Prairies, with 230 arpents under cultivation, houses, barn and outbuilding on both farms and a hydraulic corn-mill and a saw-mill between the two. On the first farm, in the neighborhood of the present R. C. church, there was a two story manor house built of stakes, *pieux*, and, close by, a chapel of wood, piece over

(1) Vol. 3, p. 230, 410. — (2) In 1825, another story was added to the central part, as shown *ante* at page 349. — (3) Where cider and possibly wine were made. — (4) Vol. 3, p. 230.

piece, 50 ft. by 20 and also a stone house of 60 x 25, with a barn of 120 ft. by 30, all roofed with planks.⁽¹⁾ No mention is made of the Indians who had left for Lake of Two-Mountains about ten years before ; but there is no doubt that this farm was the site of their mission.

The rural parishes numbered seven : La Longue Pointe, la Pointe aux Trembles, la Rivière des Prairies, Lachine, Pointe Claire, Ste. Anne and St. Laurent. Those situated on the St. Lawrence were well settled, nearly every lot being occupied and farmed, each occupant having a house, barn and stable and from 25 to 50 arpents under cultivation. Each had its church and *presbytère* of stone, and a few of them a school under the charge of the Nuns of the Congregation. The village of la Pointe aux Trembles formed a rather important *bourg*, protected by a stockade fort and four bastions, the church, 90 ft. x 36, and the *presbytère* being within the precincts.

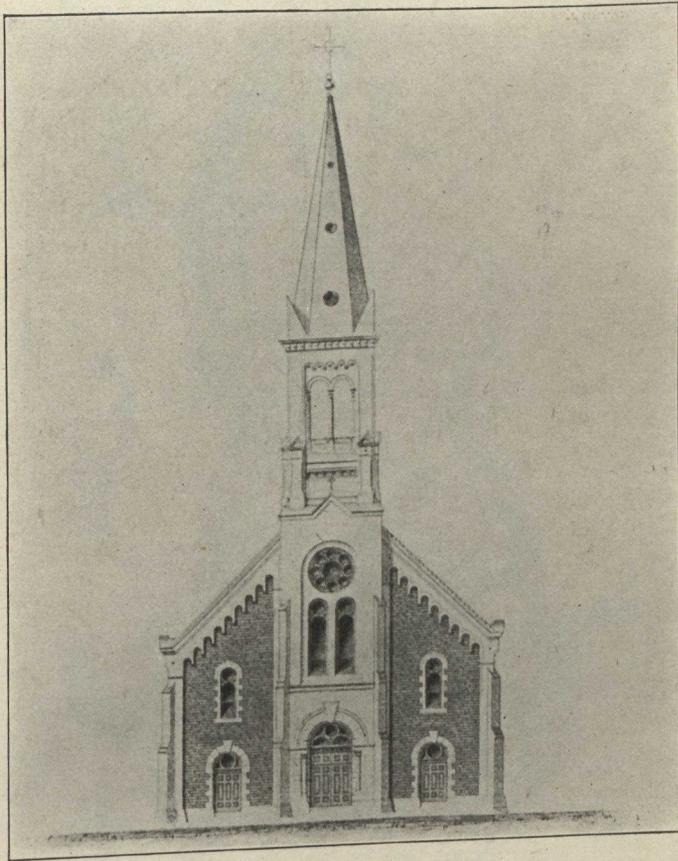
The Parish of Rivière des Prairies had settled limits only to the east, commencing at the lower point of the Island of Montreal and extending over six miles in a westerly direction on Rivière des Prairies, but as there was no church and no settlement of any consequence as far as the habitations of St. Anns, the Seigneurs included in the *dénombrements* of the parish of Rivière des Prairies all the settlers on the Back River as far as St. Anns. Thirty-two altogether were located east of the church, fifty above as far as the chapel of the Sault, eighteen west of this spot to the selected site of Ste. Geneviève village and twenty-six above. Below the church of Rivière des Prairies, clearings were considerable, generally from 20 to 50 arpents, very much the same as on the St. Lawrence, each proprietor having a house, barn and stable. The church was of stone, and a few arpents above, one Sicard had a wind-mill. The settlers west of the church were in the same position, but about one mile east of the Sault, from the stone house of one Sicard, to the proposed village of Ste. Geneviève, few buildings and little clearing are to be seen. Nearly all the lots however were taken.

(1) Vol. 3, p. 234.

The *dénombrement* of Lake St. Louis is of special interest to us, as it confirms many historical points more or less uncertain. Forts Cuillerier, Rolland and La Présentation are not mentioned.

FORT DE LACHINE

At page 3 of vol. 4, mention is made of an "*arrière fief*, 8 arpents in front by 30 in depth, belonging to the widow and

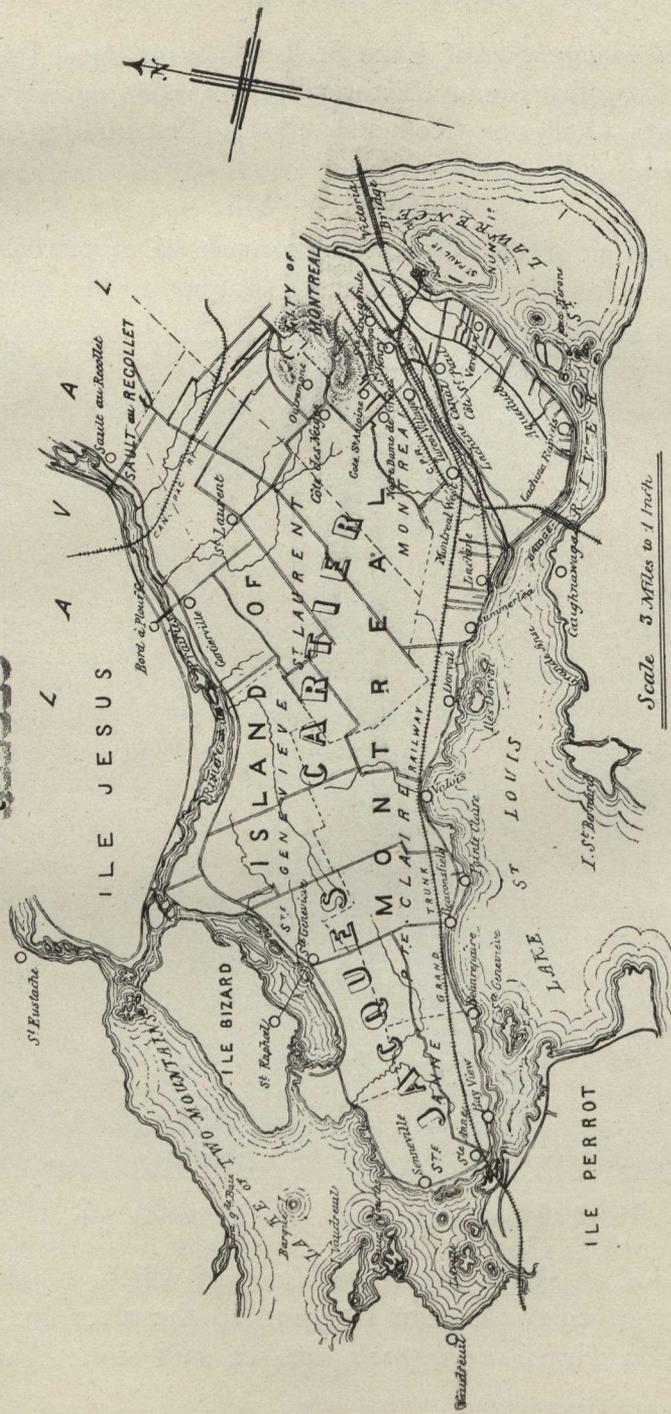


R. C. CHURCH OF LA PRÉSENTATION DE DORVAL, 1901.

heirs Millot, as above explained,⁽¹⁾ out of which the said late Millot has given two arpents in front on the river by two in depth, upon which, *sur lesquels*, are the said stone church des

(1) I have not been able to trace this explanation.

QUEBEC



From the Dominion Electoral Atlas, 1903.

JACQUES CARTIER COUNTY IN 1903.

Sts. Anges, the *presbytère* and the house of the Nuns, and the remainder of said piece of land forms the fort which has a staked enclosure and bastions, "*et le restant du dit terrain compose le fort qui est clos de pieux et bastionné*". Thus Fort de l'Eglise or Fort Rémy covered four arpents, 2 x 2 and was still in existence in 1731 ; but presumably Forts Cuillerier, Rolland and La Présentation were not. Two had been for years in the hands of creditors, and Fort Cuillerier was owned by heirs who were away in the west. Fief La Présentation since has been divided up and on it the R. C. church of the new parish of La Présentation de Dorval has been built.

A full list of the inhabitants of Lachine in 1731 and 1861 will be found in the Appendix.

FORT DE LA POINTE CLAIRE

At page 14 of vol. 4, we find the following description of Fort de la Pointe Claire :

"A concession of two arpents in front by thirty-five in depth, belonging to the said Seigneurs, upon the frontage, *devanture*, of which is the fort, enclosed with stakes, *pieux*, of about two arpents in superficies, within which, *dans lequel*, have been built of stone the church and *presbytère*, and in front of the said land, *d'icelle terre*, on a point projecting into the river, *qui avance dans le fleuve*, stand a wind mill of stone and a house of wood for the miller or *meunier*".⁽¹⁾ This Fort de la Pointe Claire was built on the first point, where the *presbytère* and church are to-day and covered a superficies of two arpents. It had a staked enclosure, but no bastion, and the wind mill stood as a redoubt in the front on the river outside the enclosure.

Settlers were just beginning to open up the three double ranges or *côtes* of St. Rémi, St. Jean and St. Charles. Each had a common of two arpents in front (which has since been united to each lot) with a road in the centre. St. Rémi, the oldest, had 24 habitants on each side, St. Jean, 25 and 18 and St. Charles

(1) The photography in *Lake St. Louis* p. 189, shows the chimney of the house, where the convent is to-day.

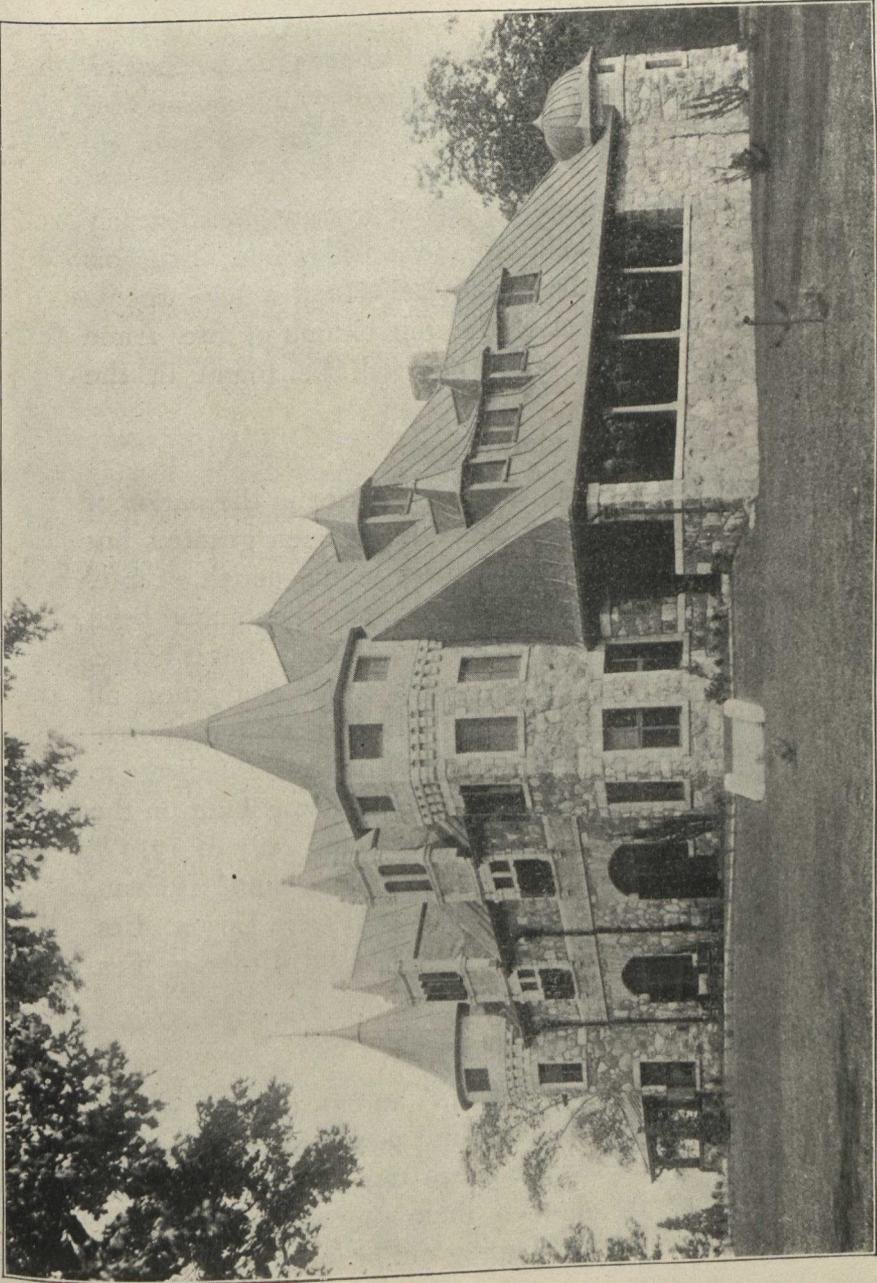
10 and 9. I have noticed in St. Rémi the names of Valois, Lemay, l'Étang, J. Bte Deslauriers, Choret. The full list of the inhabitants of Pointe Claire in 1731 and 1861 will be found in the Appendix.

STE. ANNE DU BOUT DE L'ISLE

In vol. 3, p. 234, we read that the Seigniors have reserved a piece of land of twelve arpents in superficie upon which has been constructed the stone church of Ste. Anne, the *presbytère*, partly of stone and partly of wood, the whole within a staked enclosure, the balance of the land being left for the use of the Curé, "sur lequel est construit en pierre la dite Eglise Ste. Anne, le presbytère, partie en pierre et partie en bois, le tout dans un petit fort de pieux, le surplus à l'usage du sieur Curé".⁽¹⁾

Several *arrière-fiefs* were yet in existence. 1st *Fief Blainville*, the property of Sieur Charbonnier, 8 arpents and 8 perches in front by 40 in depth, with a wooden house, barn and stables and fifty arpents under cultivation and 6 arpents of prairie, the balance in forest. 2. *Fief Bellevue*, the property of Germain-Lamoureux, 20 x 20 arpents, 14 arp. on the river, seven forming his *domaine*, bounded by Louis Mallet and widow and heirs Coulonge, and upon which stand a stone house, barn and stable, with 25 arpents under cultivation and 12 of prairie. The other seven arpents are held by sieur Millot, with a house, barn and stable and 12 arpents under cultivation. 3. *Fief Senneville*, 10 x 20 arpents, bounded by the widow and heirs Coulonge, upon which is a fort, with four bastions, and a house forming the face of said fort, the whole of solid masonry and on the river front stands a stone wind-mill, "sur lequel il y a un fort construit en pierre, flanqué de quatre bastions en pavillon, en mansarde et une maison faisant la face au sud-est du dit fort; sur la devanture est un moulin à vent, une grange, étable et écurie," with 80 arpents under cultivation and 15 in hay fields. There was therefore only one house, generally known by the name of *Château Senneville*,

(1) By deed before Papineau, notary, 4th February, 1792, the usufruct of this surplus land was given to the Curé in charge.



LE BOIS DE LA ROCHE.
The new residence of Senator L. J. Forgel at Sennerville.
See Lake St. Louis, pages 216, 217.

which was certainly built in 1703, as stated in *Lake St. Louis*, page 179.⁽¹⁾

Finally the piece of land purchased about 1721 by the Seigneurs from Lemaire St-Germain for the Indian Warehouse, now the site of Senator Forget's residence, had not yet been re-granted.⁽²⁾

Côte Ste. Marie had about twenty lots granted, but nearly all the grantees had no building and no clearing. François Préjean alone had a house, barn and stable and a few arpents under cultivation. A full list of the inhabitants of Ste. Anne du Bout de l'Isle in 1731 and 1861 will be found in the Appendix.

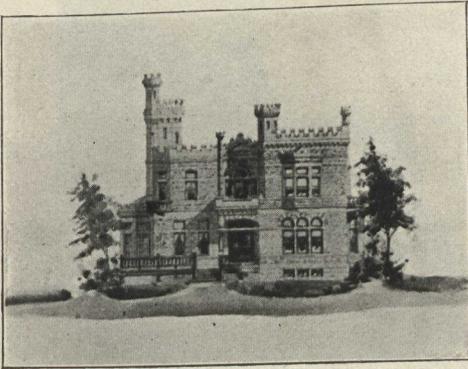
STE. GENEVIÈVE

The land between Guillet, the last grantee in the parish of Ste. Anne and Cap St. Jacques had not yet been granted, but nearly all the lots on Rivière des Prairies in the parish of Ste. Geneviève, measuring generally from 4 x 30 arpents, had been taken up. However, only twelve had a homestead, that is house, barn and stable and about twenty acres under cultivation, all situated between Cap St. Jacques and the site of the church, which the Seigneurs declare they intend to build and dedicate to Ste. Geneviève.⁽³⁾ In 1741, the first *presbytère* was built on the spot then selected, but the church was erected only in 1751.⁽⁴⁾ Those pioneers were le nommé Chartier, le nommé Boileau, J. Bte Demers, Frs. Lozon, Michel Lozon, Pierre Lozon, Frs. Demers, le nommé Cadieu, Louis Blais, Paul Brazeau, Frs. Brazeau and Joseph Biroleau.

ST. LAURENT

We now come to the parish of St. Laurent, then as to-day the most populous and the richest rural parish of the Island of Montreal, and I cannot resist the temptation of pleasing my old friends of St. Laurent, by showing them the wonderful beginnings of their parish, although going out of the scope of these

(1) See also *ante* pages 400, 401. — (2) See *Lake St. Louis*, pages 216, 217. — (3) Vol. 4, p. 65. — (4) *Le Diocèse de Montréal*, p. 578.



Residence of EDOUARD GOHIER, Esq.,
Mayor of St. Laurent, 1896.

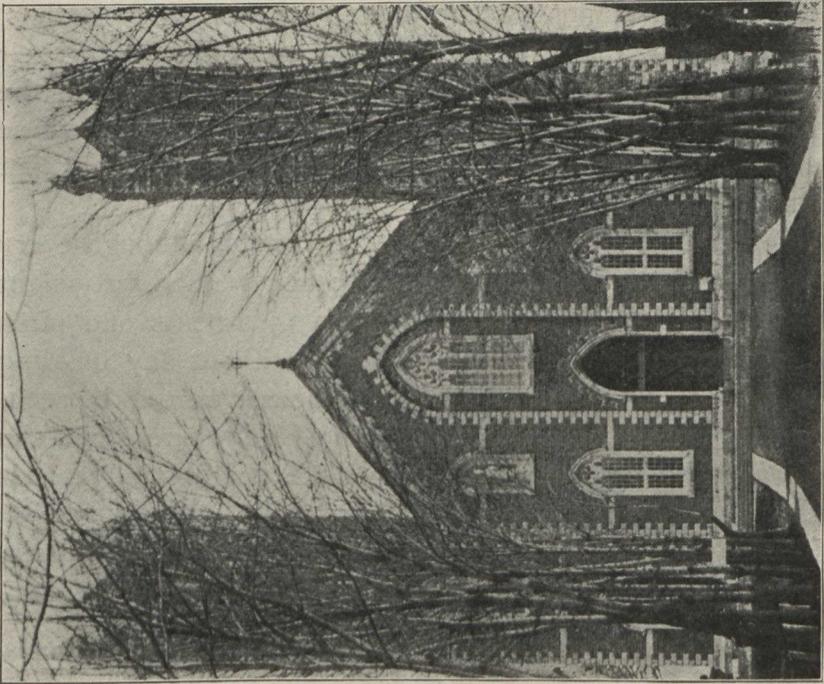
studies. It was composed of four double ranges or *côtes*, namely St. Michel, St. Laurent, Vertu and St. François, each having a common of two arpents in front and a road in the centre, like the other *côtes* of the island. Very few lots remained ungranted. Côte de Liessé is not mentioned⁽¹⁾; probably it

formed part of Côte de Vertu, for otherwise it is impossible to account for the large number of settlers in that concession. In Côte St. Michel which was entirely in the parish,⁽²⁾ there were about forty-two habitants, with a house, barn and stable, and about 20 arpents under cultivation, several having 30, 35, 39 and 50 arpents. Eleven settlers had only a barn and a few arpents of cleared land, 9, 15, 17 and 20 arpents. Two settlers, named Sarrau and Francheville had stone houses. Their example was soon to be followed by many, not only in the parish of St. Laurent, but on the whole island, where these old stone houses are yet to be seen, bearing the stamp of that period.

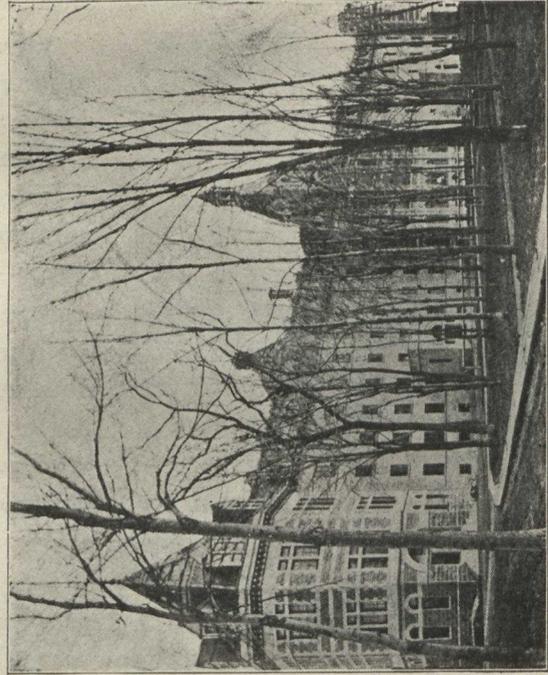
Côte St. Laurent was not so well advanced, although every lot seemed to have been taken. Altogether, we find forty-eight settlers, with clearings seldom less than 15 arpents and often more than twenty-five arpents, and nine without any building and seven with only a barn. Two stone houses were to be seen, one belonging to the Seigneurs on the land where stood the church and the other to their immediate neighbour, Jacques Boucher dit St Amour. This church was built by the Seigneurs on Côte St. Laurent, near the by-road leading to the Mountain, about the year 1706, according to "Le Diocèse de Montréal",

(1) Côte de Liessé is mentioned in the arrêt of 1722 as being served *par voie de mission*.

(2) The parish of Sault au Récollet was not yet in existence.



R. C. CHURCH OF ST. LAURENT,
1835 - 84.



COLLEGE OF ST. LAURENT,
Commercial and classical, 1837-96.

p. 507. It is thus described in the *Dénombrement*, which was made and signed on the 10th September, 1731, as situated between Boucher dit St. Amour and le sieur Laverdure : "A lot of land of three arpents in front belonging to the said Seigneurs, where is the church which shall forthwith be changed, it being built at the present time between Côte St. Laurent and Notre Dame de Vertu, as hereinafter explained, upon which there is also a stone house, barns and stables and thirty-six arpents under cultivation and six arpents of prairie. "Sur laquelle terre est l'Eglise," according to the text, "laquelle sera incessamment changée et s'édifie actuellement."⁽¹⁾ Further on, vol. 4, p. 90, after enumerating the last habitant of Côte St. Laurent, on the northern side, André Serre dit St Jean, we find the description of a lot of land of 150 arpents in superficies, belonging to the said Seigneurs, upon which is now being built of stone the said new church St. Laurent and also the presbytère, "sur lequel se construit actuellement en pierre la dite Eglise St-Laurent et le Presbytère."⁽²⁾

Côte de Vertu was all granted and had nearly one hundred settlers, thirty without any building, eight with a barn only and the remainder with a house, barn and stables, all of wood, for no stone building is mentioned, as is invariably done throughout the whole *Dénombrement* when stone buildings were to be found. Nine had no clearing. The côte is divided into three or four parts and must have comprised Côte Ste. Marguerite and Liesse. Nine owners had no clearing. The greatest number had from 25 to 50 arpents and even more under cultivation. The third part, away west and far from the site of the new church, had only small clearings, 10, 15 arpents and seldom more than 20. Nineteen had no building and three only a barn.

Côte St. François de Sales was in its infancy. Eighteen settlers had taken lots, but twelve had no buildings, five a barn and only one a house, barn and stable. The name of this

(1) According to the *Diocèse de Montréal*, this new church was built in 1728. — (2) *Le Diocèse de Montréal* asserts that this new church was erected on a lot of land of 3 arpents by 4, purchased from Pierre Paiement dit Larivière. His name is not even mentioned in the *Dénombrement*. The present parish church shewn next page was built on the same site.

brave pioneer was Caillet, probably Caillé dit Jasmin, who had twelve arpents under cultivation and two arpents of prairie. The others had only a few arpents, not exceeding, in any case, eight arpents. Nine arpents in front were yet ungranted or unoccupied like the rest of the parish in the back of Vertu.

The names of all the settlers or *censitaires* of the parish of St. Laurent in 1731 and 1861 will be found in the Appendix.

ISLE BIZARD

I cannot leave the Island of Montreal without taking a short look into Isle Bizard, lying in close proximity and separated from it by a narrow, although navigable river, called by the French "Rivière des Prairies" and by the English "Back River". It is not historical like Bout de l'Isle or Lachine, although its shores, if they could speak, would tell of thrilling encounters with the terrible Iroquois. It had its trials and long troubles. Its proprietors, however, never lost hope. Is it not more picturesque than Isle Perrot and almost as much as Senneville? Who has not admired, from the Domaine, the view of Lake des Deux Montagnes and the landscape all around? Is not the soil as rich as any in the country, producing all sorts of grain, vegetables and fruit? Can a more beautiful drive be found in the district of Montreal, with its gardens, secular elms, its bays and points and its neat and comfortable homes? Bouchette wrote, in 1815, in his "Topographical Description of Lower Canada", page 165: "The Isle Bizard is separated from the south-west end of Isle of Jesus by the river des Prairies; it is nearly of an oval form, rather more than four miles long by two broad. No records, relative to this property, have been preserved in the Secretariat of the Province; but when the present owner, Pierre Foretier, Esq.,⁽¹⁾ did fealty and homage, on the 3rd February,

(1) Variations: Forrétier, Forestier, Fortier.

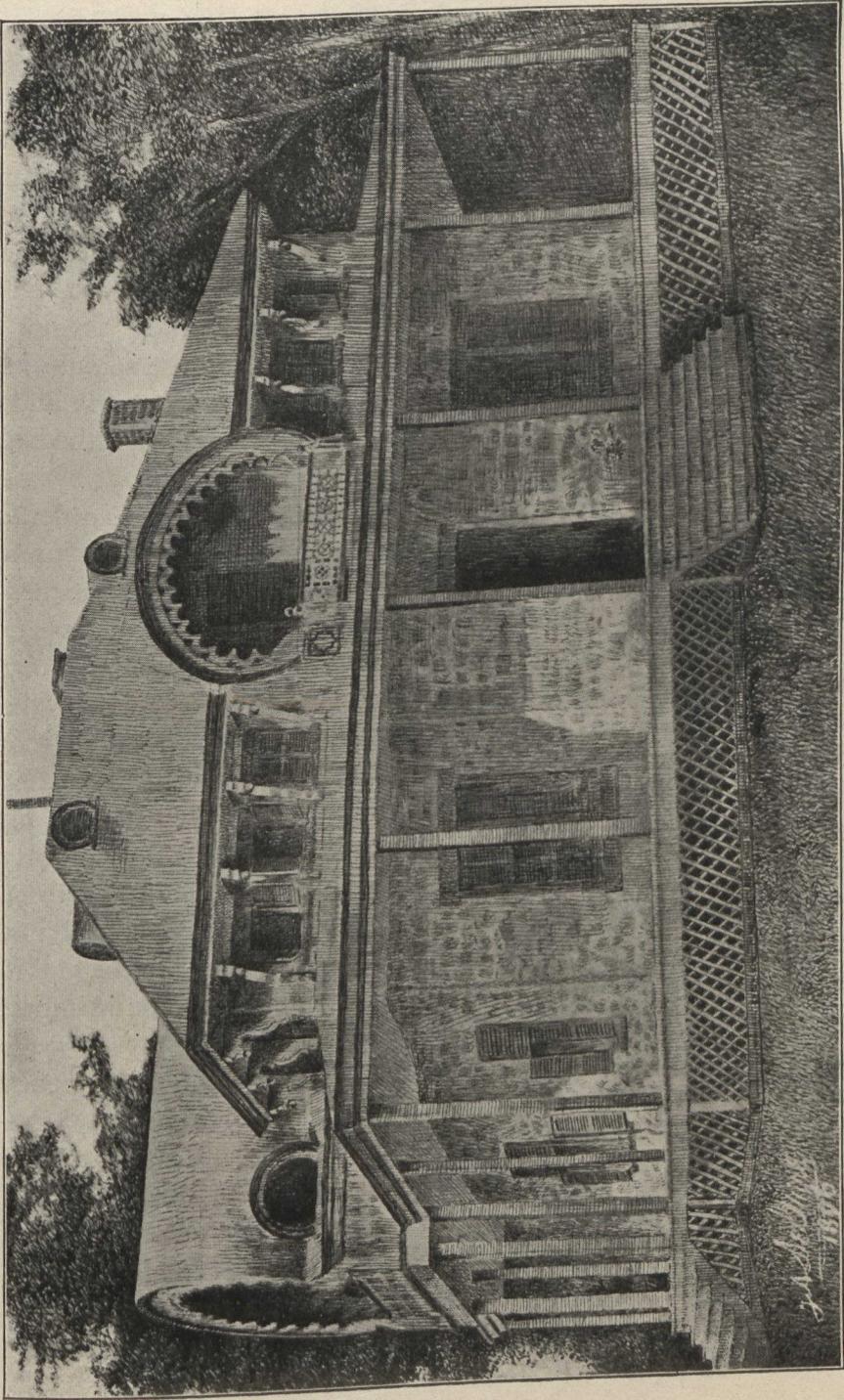
1781, he exhibited proof of its having been granted on the 24th and 25th of October, 1678, to the Sieur Bizard. It is a spot of great fertility, wholly cleared and cultivated. A good road passes all around it, near the river, and another crosses it about the middle; by the sides of these, the houses of the inhabitants are pretty numerous, but there is neither village, church, nor mill upon it."

It appears from the act of fealty and homage, referred to by Bouchette, that Isle Bizard was granted to Jacques Bizard, major of Montreal on the 24th October, 1678, by the Governor-General De Frontenac, confirmed the following day by the Intendant Duchesneau, and from that time, the Island, then called Bonaventure, took the name of Isle Major and finally that of Isle Bizard. Jacques Bizard had sided with De Frontenac in his conflicts with Perrot in 1674 and had even been imprisoned for executing his warrants of arrest.⁽¹⁾ Probably the grant of the seigniori was made to his faithful servant as a reward for his services, for Frontenac was well known for his loyalty to his friends, La Salle among others. It might have been his intention to divert the trade from Perrot, but Frontenac was soon recalled, and when he returned, in 1689, the country was engaged in a terrible war with the English and the Iroquois, which raged till near his death, in 1698. Bizard was also gone, having died in 1692. His heirs were too young, and perhaps also too poor, to think of a trade post. Even if undertaken, the success would have been very doubtful, as it would have been a little out of the course followed by the friendly Indians canoeing down the Ottawa River, and entirely out of the way of the Iroquois who always took the route of the St. Lawrence. At all events, the numerous stores of Bout de l'Isle and the post of Isle aux Tourtes, supported as it was by Governor-General de Vaudreuil, were too well established to think of competition at Isle Bizard; so it was allowed to remain primeval forest for years. Bizard left several children, sons and daughters. His oldest boy, born in 1684, sought fortune in Louisiana, where he died in 1721.

(1) Faillon, III, 476.



F. D. Monk, Esq., K.C., M.P.



MANOR HOUSE OF F. D. MONK, Esq., K.C., M.P., Pointe du Domaine, Isle Bizard.

Another, born in 1687, was ordained priest in 1713 and died on the 24th of March, 1724, curé of Château Richer.

On the 13th of May, 1723, Curé Bizard made his "Aveux et Dénombrements" of the seigniory of Isle Bizard. He was heir for seven eighths of one half, the balance belonging to the other heirs, among them several children of his mother, Jeanne Cécile Closse, by her second marriage to Raymond Blaise des Bergères, Sieur de Rigauville. He declares in the "Aveux" that no building, nor clearing, had been made on the seigniorial domain and that there was no inhabitant or *censitaire*. He adds that forty intending settlers had marked out lots and that the late Bizard had reserved a domain of twelve arpents in front by the whole width of the island, upon which nothing had been done. This domain formed the western end of the island and upon it the present seigneur, F. D. Monk, Esq., K.C., M.P. for Jacques-Cartier, has recently built a manor house.

The great number of heirs Bizard and Blaise was, no doubt, one of the causes of the slow progress of colonization of the island. It is stated in the *Diocèse de Montréal*, page 718, that the first grant was made in 1735 to Pierre Boileau, probably habitant of Ste. Geneviève.⁽¹⁾ Others may have followed his example, but there is every reason to believe that, like the forty intending settlers who had stamped out homesteads in 1723, they did nothing beyond securing titles to land and probably taking some of the rich timber. No colonization began in earnest before the end of the war between England and France, in 1763. The *Dénombrements* of the Island of Montreal, made in 1731, establishes that Ste. Geneviève then was hardly opened up; it had only twelve habitations.⁽²⁾ War was raging nearly without interruption during the whole of that period and that part of the country was too much exposed to the inroads of the Iroquois to be sought for settlements to any extent. About the year 1745, the population of the seigniory of Vaudreuil, numbering forty heads of families, had to flee to the Fort of Two-Mountains, where they still were in 1753 and probably later.⁽³⁾

(1) See *anté*, page 466. — (2) *Anté*, p. 466. — (3) *Lake St. Louis*, p. 161.

It is only after the Treaty of Cession to Great-Britain that new efforts were made to place the title of the seigniory in the hands of one man only. On the 9th of October, 1765, by deed before Panet, notary, three fourths of the seigniory passed into the hands of Pierre Fortier et Joseph Périnault, both merchants. On the 30th December, 1767, by deed before Soupra, notary at Pointe Claire, Fortier bought the shares of Périnault and finally, on the 17th July, 1769, he purchased the other one fourth from Mathieu Denis de Vitré. All these deeds of mutation are mentioned in the *Foy et Homage* of Fortier, made in 1781.⁽¹⁾ It was about this time that the settlers must have come in a large number to clear land and build habitations, confident that they would not be disturbed, either by hostile savages or by heirs at law. Mr. Fortier was an important and wealthy citizen in the early years of the British *régime*. He occupied at the corner of Notre Dame and St. Peter Streets one of the largest and most magnificent houses in the city. During the winter of 1775-76, the American generals Wooster, Arnold and Montgomery took up their headquarters in succession in this house. He was at that time a justice of the peace, well known for his loyalty to the British Crown. Abbé Verreau tells us that he was arrested by order of Wooster for alleged treason to the American flag, but he was allowed to return home, with this warning: "I will enjoin Col. de Haas, who lodged in your house, to keep a close watch on you. Be careful!"⁽²⁾

Fortier had no time to look after the settlement of his seigniory. Besides, as stated by Bouchette, the original papers were not to be found. But in 1781, he experienced no difficulty in establishing his right of ownership. He however made no improvement on his *Domaine*. This was not necessary to induce settlers to take up land. When he died, in 1815, the island was almost as well settled as to-day, according to the report of Bouchette. Soon after his death, the seigniory became the subject matter of a long law-suit between one of his daughters, Marie

(1) See Canadian Archives Rep. for 1884, p. 10. — (2) Montreal by Lighthall, p. 138; Journal de l'Ins. Publique for 1857.

Amable Fortier, wife of Denis Benjamin Viger, and his executor, Toussaint Pothier, which will we found reported in Stuart's Reports, p. 394. It is stated in the *Diocèse de Montréal*, p. 718, that this litigation was not ended till the year 1842, when Mr. and Mme Viger were placed in possession. Mr. and Mme Monk derive their title from Mr. Côme Séraphin Cherrier, legatee of Mr. Viger.

In 1843, the island was erected into a parish, under the name of St. Raphaël de l'Ile Bizard, and a church was built of stone. For some years, it was administered by the *curé* of Ste. Geneviève. In 1874, a new church, also of stone, was erected to replace the old one, burnt in 1872.

About the time that this first church was built and a short distance from it, Mr. Viger erected, on the slope of a hill near the road, a cut stone manor house, with basement, partly occupied by his local agent, John Nuckle.



Photó by the author, May 24, 1903.

THE MANOR HOUSE OF HON. D. B. VIGER
 (1843, now abandoned)
 ISLE BIZARD.

Mr. Viger used to go occasionally and spend a few days *en villégiature* at this house, accompanied by some friends. Mr. A. D. DeCelles thus refers to these visits in a communication to *La Presse*, which he has kindly sent me with a few corrections: "A survivor of those troublous times (after the Union), gave us one day a little sketch of one side of the life of this period, which well depicts the state of mind of the patriots.

"Every Saturday of the year," said he, "except during the session, Mr. Viger and some of his friends, L. J. Papineau, Duvernay, Cherrier, Labrèche-Viger, D. B. Papineau, L. M. Viger, LaFontaine, Morin, Fabre, Joseph Roy, W. Nelson, etc., would start out towards one o'clock in the afternoon. Passing through the town gate, where now stands the house which forms the southeast angle of St. James St. and St. Lambert Hill, we drove through the parish of St. Laurent and Côte Sarreguay, reaching Ste. Geneviève, where a scow took us over to the manor house at Isle Bizard. There, a supper in the best style of the good old canadian *cuisine* awaited us: turkey done to a turn, fresh roast pork, especially those famous *socs à l'ail*, which, according to Chief Justice Johnson, are the supreme achievement of our *cordons bleus*, wild pigeon pies, *croquignoles*, (more properly *croquecignoles*, a species of dough-nut, but infinitely lighter and more toothsome). Soon discussion arose, lively and animated. Speech followed speech until a late hour of the night. The next day, Sunday, the same thing occupied a portion of the time. We would return to Montreal the Monday morning."

"Is not this", remarks M. DeCelles, "a curious side-light on the doing of those men so absorbed in the great movement which possessed their heart and soul? At our present distance from those fighting days, these little scenes at Isle Bizard suggest a rehearsal of parts for the final representation in the House."

The resident *curés*, from 1847, were Rev. Messires: F. X. Marcoux, Octave Paquette, Edmond Le Blond, J. P. Lanier,

Jos. Quevillon, Joseph Perrault, Médard Caisse, Nazaire Perrault, F. X. Laberge, J. B. Proulx and Joseph O. Dubois.⁽¹⁾

A great inconvenience felt by the Islanders was due to their isolation. Ferries had been established, but at the time of the forming and breaking of the ice, for weeks in fall and in spring, it was always difficult and sometimes impossible to cross and have communication with the outside world. In 1890, the Dominion and the Provincial governments came to the rescue, by constructing a bridge from the village of Ste. Geneviève to that of Isle Bizard, the former contributing two long piers of large timber which were used as abutments, the latter building solid stone piers in the river over which was placed an iron superstructure. The whole work cost about \$75,000, and was delivered to the parish of St. Raphaël de l'Isle Bizard, which has undertaken to maintain it free of toll.

For many years, Isle Bizard had hydraulic corn and saw mills, built and owned by MM. Boileau Frères, which were recently destroyed by fire, but have been rebuilt.

For a complete list of the inhabitants in 1857, see Appendix.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, LACHINE⁽²⁾

ANGLICAN

St. Stephen's, the oldest Anglican Parish on Lake St. Louis, is the mother church of St. Paul's, Upper Lachine and St. Philip's, Montreal West. It may be observed, in passing, that there are now three self-supporting parishes where ten years ago there was only one struggling congregation.

The church, erected about 1831, is a little stone building nestling in behind the huge stone convent of the Sisters of Ste. Anne, the east wing of which completely cuts off the view from the front street.

(1) *Le Diocèse de Montréal*, p. 718. — (2) Through the kindness of Rev. R. Hewton, Rector of St. Paul's, Upper Lachine, I have been able to fill a blank in *Lake St. Louis*.



ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH (Anglican), LACHINE.
1831.

From St. Joseph Street the church may be reached by proceeding north on St. Alphonse Street, when, on passing the end of the convent, there unexpectedly opens up to view, on the left, the quaint little church, surrounded by its "God's Acre", bearing a crop of tomb-stones of all shapes and sizes from the modest little slab to the pretentious red granite monument.

The oldest tomb-stone, inclosed within an iron railing at the north-west corner of the church, was erected to the memory of "William McIntosh, formerly Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company, died 16th February, 1842, aged 60 years, Isabella Gladhue, his wife, died 11th May, 1837, aged 45 years, and their son Wm. McIntosh, died 22nd February, 1842, aged 15 years".

A rather interesting marble slab stands to the left of the porch at the entrance of the church in memory of a family named

Peirson. As the curious wording at the end of the inscription adds somewhat to the interest, it is here given in full :

“ In memory of :

Allan Peirson,	aged 48 years.
Hannah Peirson,	“ 50 “
John Peirson,	“ 28 “
Allan Peirson,	“ 20 “
Robert Peirson,	“ 16 “
Hannah Peirson,	“ 7 “
Sarah Peirson,	“ 15 months.
Mary Peirson,	“ 21 years.
William Peirson,	“ 13 months.
Hannah Peirson,	“ 3 years.

“ The above persons lost their lives by the explosion of the Steamboat Shamrock, July 9, 1842, twelve miles from Lachine on the River St. Lawrence.

“ Erected by their son William.”

At the south-west corner of the grave-yard are the unnamed graves of the unfortunate ship-fever victims, who died, for the most part, in the temporary hospital near Stony Point in the upper part of Lachine. From July 11th to November 7th 1847, twelve persons were laid to rest in this secluded spot, during the incumbency of the Reverend Wm. B. Bond, now Lord Archbishop of Montreal, who dug most of the graves and buried the bodies with his own hands, a panic having seized the community while the epidemic was at its height so that no one could be got to perform the duty of undertaker or grave-digger. The records in the Parish Register reveal the absence of ceremonial and the despatch attending these burials by the words “buried on the same day” that the death occurred. All the victims were immigrants from Ireland except two, one of whom came from Cheshire, England, and the other from Upper Canada.

The church was originally a small square building, without chancel, furnished with a ponderous pulpit and square, high-backed pews, with wooden tablets on each side of the Altar, containing the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Command-

ments. Extensive improvements were undertaken during the incumbency of the Reverend Canon Fulton, resulting in the addition of a chancel, and the alteration of the pews to a more convenient and suitable type, so as to meet the requirements of the growing congregation by increasing the seating capacity of the church.

Beautiful stained-glass memorial windows have been presented from time to time, and there are now in the church five of these, including the chancel window, which was erected in 1889 in memory of "Annie Gwenllyan Albutt, died Holy Cross Day 1887". It is a triple lancet, in the centre light of which is the figure of St. Stephen the Martyr, the Patron Saint of the church, clad in his deacon's vestments, bearing a stone in his right hand and a palm branch in his left. Surmounting the figure is a representation of the Agnus Dei, and underneath a cross and crown. In the sinister light is an angel holding a crown in his hands and above and beneath the symbolic representations of St. Matthew and St. Luke respectively. In the dexter light is an angel with a cross in his right hand and a palm branch in his left, and above and beneath the symbolic representations of St. Mark and St. John respectively.

The windows in the nave are all dual lancets, two on each side being painted memorials, the third being filled with leaded and tinted cathedral glass, and partly hidden by the gallery which stretches across the building over the front entrance of the church.

On the south side, next the chancel is a memorial window, representing two scenes of St. Simeon entering the Temple, receiving the Holy Child Jesus into his arms and saying: "Nunc dimittis servum Tuum, Domine, secundum verbum Tuum, in pace", "in memory of James Brancker Spence, who died April 28th, 1876, and his wife Margaret Newton Spence, died Aug. 19th, 1870."

Opposite this on the north side of the nave is a memorial containing angels with harps, and other ecclesiastical symbols, "in affectionate remembrance of Philippa Teresa Evelyn White,

wife of the Rev. R. White, Rector of this church, who died January 31st, 1883."

Occupying the middle of the south wall is a fine piece of art glass work, representing the symbolic figures of Faith and Hope, in memory of Robert Jaffray, who died July 7th, 1876.

The latest addition is a beautiful window immediately opposite, portraying two scenes from the Parable of the Good Samaritan, erected by popular subscription "To the Glory of God and in memory of Sigismund Joseph Doran, who died April 7th, 1900, for many years church warden and Lay Delegate to the Synod for this Parish. A tribute from friends."

The oak Reredos is also a memorial presented to the church in 1900 "in memory of Edward Wilgress, R. I. P., died Nov. 15, 1889, aged 81".

The earliest records of the parish have been lost, but fortunately there is a marble tablet on what was originally the chancel wall of the church bearing an inscription which the absence of other reliable information renders valuable: "To the memory of the Rev. B. Stevens, A.M. (whose mortal remains are deposited under the altar of this church of which he was the founder). Died at Montreal on the 13th day of May, 1834, aged 46 years. *The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.*"

When the chancel was added to the church the altar was removed to its present position in the sanctuary, and on the spot where it formerly stood is placed a brass plate on which is engraved in beautiful lettering—"under this Plate rest the remains of the Rev. B. B. Stevens, A.M., died 13th May, 1834."

Similarly, the altar vessels, of solid silver and quaint design, are of historic interest. The inscription on the Paten reads:—"Presented to The Rev. B. B. Stevens, A.M., Founder and First Pastor of this church, by his friend Capt'n Pritchard, 52nd Regt. *Parvum munus quidem, sed magnum testatur amorem.*"

On the curiously shaped Chalice is engraved: "Presented by John S. McCord to the Reverend B. B. Stevens, A.M., First Minister and Founder of this church, in token of a long and affectionate friendship, 1st January, 1832."

Mr. Stevens was succeeded in 1834 by the Rev. T. B. Fuller, who after three years was followed by the Rev. D. Robertson, military chaplain, in the memorable year 1837.

In 1842, the Rev. Wm. B. Bond, now Lord Archbishop of Montreal, already referred to in this sketch, took charge of the parish for six years, to be succeeded by the Rev. John Cornwall in 1848.

In 1854, the name of Rev. J. Flanagan appears on the books. During his incumbency and through his efforts the Rectory, a large stone house on the banks of the St. Lawrence, distant about ten minutes from the church, was erected. After the construction of the Lachine Canal, the proximity of the Rectory to the Locks, with other reasons, rendered the place less suitable for a dwelling. After being in the possession of the church for nearly fifty years, the property has just been sold and the congregation are taking steps to build a new Rectory nearer the church, on St. Joseph Street, a short distance east of the convent.

When about ten years had elapsed, Mr. Flanagan was succeeded by the late Venerable Archdeacon Leach, who, for some years held the position of Rector of Lachine, though living in Montreal and performing the duties of the Archdeaconate, the work in Lachine being carried on mainly by the assistance of curates.

The Rev. Wm. Wright, M. D., who is now an assistant priest at the church of St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, occupied the position of Rector of Lachine for the years 1871 and 1872. He was followed by the late Rev. R. Phelps in 1873, who, after a short time was succeeded by the Rev. R. White, 1874 to 1881.

The late Rev. Canon Fulton became Rector of Lachine in 1881. It was during his time that the alterations in the church building were carried out to which reference has already been made.

He was succeeded in 1884 by the Rev. Walter Windsor, now Rector of St. Johns, Que., who remained but for a few months,

having, with the approval of the Ordinary, exchanged parishes with the Rev. R. L. MacFarlane, B. A.

Mr. MacFarlane was succeeded by the Rev. H. J. Winterbourne, in 1887, who left, in 1889, to accept the position of curate in the Cathedral, Toronto, Ont. While Mr. Winterbourne was Rector, land was procured on the corner of St. Joseph and Arthur Streets, on which was built a commodious Hall at a cost of about \$3,000. Previous to the arrival of Mr. Winterbourne the sum of \$1,500 had been spent on the Rectory in order to make it habitable. The house was converted into two dwellings, the Rector occupying one and the rent of the other paying the interest of the debt incurred to effect the alteration.

At Easter, 1890, the Rev. R. Hewton, M. A., accepted the Rectorship of Lachine. He began his duties with a mortgage debt of \$3,500 on the parish, besides a floating debt of \$200. But the town had now entered upon an era of progress. Factories of various kinds started up, the Bell Telephone system was introduced, water works and Electric Light Plants were installed, later on the Drainage and Street Railway Systems were completed, new streets were laid out, new buildings erected, and the population rapidly increased. All these improvements were attended with general prosperity in which the church in some degree shared. To what extent this is true may be determined by the fact that when Mr. Hewton took charge of the parish in 1890, there were just 70 families connected with the church, when he left in 1897, there remained for his successor 113 families in a greatly reduced area, two new parishes having been severed from the mother church. In addition, the debt was reduced by about \$2,000. In 1891, the congregation worshipping in St. Stephen's began to feel cramped for room. This pressure was relieved by the formation of a new parish at Montreal West. But only for a time. Before long the same question again forced itself on the congregation. Every thing was done to increase the seating capacity of the building, but to no purpose. It could not hold the worshippers. Accordingly at the annual Vestry Meeting in 1897 it was decided to again divide the Parish, and the new

Parish of St. Paul's church was formed with Rev. R. Hewton as first Rector.

He was succeeded at St. Stephen's by the Rev. H. E. Wright, M. A., who carried on the work for five years. During his regime, the congregation continued to increase and the debt was reduced by about \$1,000. After about three years, additional manufactories were established at the lower end of Lachine which brought an increase of population. It is only a question of time when the St. Stephen's people shall once more have to face the old problem of seating the congregation, either by enlarging the church, or by disposing of the present building, which for many reasons would be a pity, and building anew on another site.

In the mean time Mr. Wright left the parish to take up work in the Diocese of Quebec at Easter 1902, and was succeeded by the present Rector, the Rev. Canon W. Percy Chambers, B. A., B. D., who is carrying on the work with energy and zeal, with what results remains to be seen. At the present moment the attention of the congregation is fully occupied in making preparations for the construction of a new Rectory.

Several pages of the Parish Register present interesting features. The first to be noted is the entry describing the burial of Robert Hardisty who died 13th October, 1865, aged 75. This is signed "Edward Sullivan" who was afterwards the eloquent Bishop of Algoma, since deceased.

On the same page is the record of the burial of Lt. Col. Edward P. Wilgress, who died April 18, 1866, aged 85. The act is signed by the late Bishop Fulford, first Anglican Bishop of Montreal.

Further on bearing the date 25th May, 1871, is the first entry signed by "A. Montreal", which was the signature of the late Bishop Oxenden, second Bishop of the Diocese. His name appears frequently after this as he had a summer residence on the Lower Lachine Road, and the place is still called "Oxenden Villa."

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, UPPER LACHINE⁽¹⁾

ANGLICAN

St. Paul's Church, Upper Lachine, was formally set apart as a separate Parish, having Rev. Richard Hewton, M.A., as first Rector by "Decree" of the Lord Bishop of Montreal, Right Reverend William Bennett Bond, D.D., L.L.D., granted on the seventeenth day of May, 1897, which was duly confirmed by the Synod of the Diocese in the following year, all legal formalities having been complied with.

Its boundaries extend from Dawes Avenue in the Town of Lachine on the east to the western boundary of the municipality of Dorval on the west, and from Lake St. Louis on the south to the northern boundary lines of the Towns of Lachine and Summerlea, and the municipality of Dorval on the north. Previous to 1897, however, the church building was erected, and a practically independent congregation, consisting of the summer residents of Upper Lachine, provided a clergyman approved by the Bishop, and supported Sunday services during three or four months each year, without any connection with the Parish Church.

Early in 1873, a meeting of the summer residents of Lachine was held at the house of Thomas Porteous, Esq., 73 Victoria Street, Montreal, to consider the advisability of erecting a church near "Stoney Point", Upper Lachine, in what was known as the Roman Catholic Parish of St. Michel de Lachine, county of Jacques Cartier.

There were present at that meeting Col. Dyde, who acted as chairman, Messrs. C. J. Meeker, Thomas Porteous, Charles Handyside and Herbert Wallis, and, by proxy, Messrs. Jackson Rae, J. Lewis, H. E. Murray, E. Rawlings, C. C. Dunlop and H. Shackell.

The consensus of opinion was in favor of carrying out the idea for which the meeting was called and proceeding with the

(1) Also prepared by Revd R. Hewton, M. A.

work with the least possible delay. Accordingly, committees were struck for selecting and securing a site, collecting subscriptions, and erecting a suitable building. There is a record of a second meeting held at the house of Mr. Porteous, January 21st, 1873, to further consider the details in connection with the proposed church. A communication from the Lord Bishop in answer to a letter sent to him by the secretary, was laid before the meeting approving of the proposed church on condition that nothing was done antagonistic to the interests of the church already existing in Lower Lachine.

In the summer following, a meeting, called by a circular letter, issued to the residents of Upper Lachine, was held at the house of Herbert Wallis, Esq., 17 Upper Lachine, on the second day of August, 1873, at which it was decided to proceed at once with the erection of a church. To carry out this decision, trustees were elected consisting of Messrs. Jackson Rae, Hannibal H. Whitney, Chas. Handyside and Herbert Wallis, who acted to such purpose that in the month of October following a deed of sale was signed, by which John Popham, Esq., advocate, conveyed to them two lots of land situated on the west side of Brewster Avenue, in the Town of Lachine, containing about 15,450 square feet, which he had acquired from Dr. Brewster, being formerly part of the property of Mr. Jean Baptiste Quesnel. Upon this land a wooden church was built and completed at a total cost of about \$5,000, of which \$3,000 was collected at the time leaving a debt of \$2,000 covered by a mortgage bearing interest at 8 per cent, which was lifted on the fifteenth day of October, 1890.

The church was opened for Divine service on the seventh day of June, 1874, by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and the late Rev. Joseph Albert Loble, M.A., D.C.L., an Honour graduate of Cambridge University, England, Principal of the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, afterwards Principal of the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville. The sermon was in aid of the Building Fund, and the offertory amounted to \$50.33. The evening service was taken by Rev. J. A. Loble and Rev. Robert Phelps, the latter being at that time Incumbent

of St. Stephen's Church, Lachine. The offertory in the evening, also devoted to the Building Fund, amounted to \$34.08. Rev. Dr. Lobley acted as summer chaplain regularly until the end of the season of 1877, when he left the Diocese to accept the post of Principal of Bishops College, in the Diocese of Quebec. During part of the summer of 1877, the services were conducted by Rev. E. J. Houghton. Rev. Canon Henderson, D.D., succeeded Dr. Lobley as Principal of the Theological College in Montreal, and his name appears on the Vestry Record Book for most of the time from 1878 to 1882. The Rev. J. A. Newnham, B.A., now the Missionary Bishop of Moosonee, officiated during the month of June, 1878. During the month of June, 1880, Rev. Canon Fulton, the Rector of St. Stephen's acted as officiating minister. In June, 1881, the name of Canon Anderson appears and holds almost undisputed possession of the chaplaincy until the end of the season of 1883.

In 1884, Rev. W. Windsor became Rector of Lachine, followed by Rev. R. L. Macfarlane, B.A., in 1885, who was succeeded by Rev. H. J. Winterbourne in 1887. By some arrangement with the Trustees, through C. Handyside, Esq., the three clergymen, above mentioned were responsible for all services held in St. Paul's church, during the time that they, respectively, occupied the position of Rector of Lachine, from 1884 to the end of the summer of 1889.

In 1890, Rev. R. Hewton, M.A., was appointed Rector of Lachine, after which none of the Trustees resided in Lachine; consequently new arrangements had to be made. The Vestry of St. Stephen's agreed to pay to Mr. Handyside, who represented the Trustees, \$100 a season, to cover repairs, insurance and other necessary expenses, for the use of the church. Under this arrangement, with the help of temporary curates, and J. G. Brock, Esq., a licensed Lay Reader, services were held regularly morning and evening, during the summer months, until 1894, when the Trustees transferred the church property together with all moneys on hand, books, records and papers, to the Rector and Wardens of St. Stephen's Church, Lachine.

Extensive repairs and alterations were undertaken in 1895 at a cost of \$1,500, in order to fit the church for use in winter. To accomplish this it was necessary to again mortgage the property for \$1,000, only \$500 having been collected at the time. Henceforth, the Vestry Record Book shows continuous services, morning and evening all the year round.

In 1895 a church school was established in Lachine, with Rev. C. H. Brooks, B.A., occupying the dual position of Head Master of the school, and Curate in Charge of St. Paul's Church. At the end of two years, however, the school was discontinued, and Mr. Brooks resigned. At the Easter Vestry Meeting of St. Stephen's, 1897, it was decided to divide the Parish of Lachine, since which time St. Paul's Church has sailed under its own colours.

The mortgage placed on the church in 1895 was paid off five years later and the property was once more free from debt. The year 1900 marks an important epoch in the history of the Parish. It saw the consecration of the church to the honour and glory of God, when on October 30th the Lord Bishop of the Diocese set it apart from all profane and common uses and dedicated it to Almighty God for the ministration of His Holy Word and Sacraments, and for public worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, by the name of St. Paul's Church.

ST. MARK'S CHAPEL, DORVAL⁽¹⁾

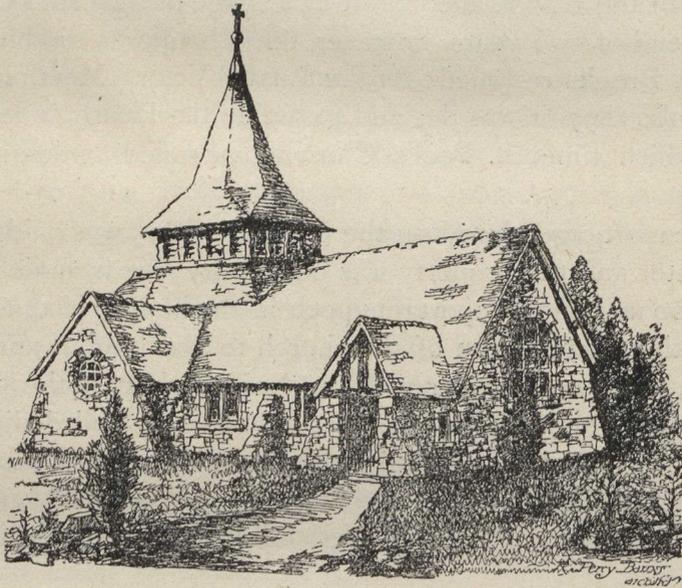
ANGLICAN

About two miles from the Parish church of St. Paul's, Lachine, is situated the Town of Dorval, a charming summer resort of the citizens of Montreal. Here services were held for a couple of years, on Sunday afternoons, in the house of Hon. A.W. Morris, by the Rector of St. Paul's Church. The question which agitated the minds of summer residents of Lake St. Louis, in

(1) Prepared by Revd R. Hewton.

Upper Lachine, twenty-five years before, again arose as to the advisability of providing a place of worship for the people residing in the neighbourhood of Dorval, the distance being too great to attend regularly the services in the Parish Church.

In the spring of 1898, several meetings of those interested in the matter were held at the house of Mr. H. Markland Molson, Dorval, when all details relating thereto were fully discussed and arranged. Finance and building committees were appointed,



ST. MARK'S CHAPEL (Anglican), DORVAL.

subscriptions collected, and the erection of the church building proceeded with at once. When the edifice neared completion a meeting of subscribers was held at the St. Lawrence Yacht Club House on June 18th, 1898.

There were present, Rev. R. Hewton, M.A., Rector of St. Paul's, Lachine, in the chair, Messrs. H. Markland Molson, Secretary-Treasurer, E. Kirk Greene, J. S. Buchan, F. Hague, R. Fitzgibbon, R. Lindsay, A. F. Riddell and W. A.C. Hamilton. It was unanimously resolved that the church should be known as St. Mark's Chapel. The property was placed in the names of

Messrs. Markland Molson, E. Kirk Greene and R. Lindsay as trustees until it can be transferred to the church authorities.

The church was opened for Divine Service for the first time with a full choral evensong on July 26th, 1898. The Rector of St. Paul's officiated, Mr. J. Henry Robinson presiding at the organ. The chancel was prettily decorated for the occasion with palms and wild flowers by the ladies of Dorval.

The building is quaintly attractive. The interior is in keeping with the picturesque exterior. The walls are finished in rough field stone with red pointing, while the roof is of the hammer beam type, and finished in pine. The altar is raised seven steps above the nave giving it a very dignified appearance. The nave can accomodate 130 people, the whole of the apse being taken up by the Sanctuary. The windows are completely fitted with leaded glass.

The oak altar was donated by Mr. Fred Molson, the oak lectern and reading desk by Mr. McAuliffe of Lachine, the altar cross and brass rods for the hangings by Mr. Percy Barnes of Lachine, the architect of the church, the bell by Mr. H. Markland, Molson, the organ by Mr. R. Lindsay and the service books by Mrs. Stanley Bagg.

For the first season the services were held at 4.30 p. m. every Sunday during the summer months. This hour being found rather inconvenient for a number of the congregation it was afterwards changed to 7 p. m.

The total cost of the church was about \$3,200, and there still remains a debt of about \$900.

ST. PHILIP'S, MONTREAL WEST⁽¹⁾

ANGLICAN

The parish of St. Philip, Montreal, West was formed in 1891. Previous to the incorporation of the town of Montreal West, the parish formed part of the municipality of Coteau St. Pierre.

For some time previous to the year 1891, the Reverend R.

(1) Prepared by Rev. F. A. Pratt, B.A., Rector.

Hewton, M. A., Rector of Lachine, conducted Divine Service, on Sunday afternoons, in a private house, walking from Lachine, a distance of several miles, for that purpose.

In 1891, the Lord Bishop of Montreal formed the District which is now the town of Montreal West—a residential suburb of Montreal—into a separate mission under the charge of Mr. W. A. Mervyn,—since deceased—then a Divinity Student in the Montreal Diocesan Theological College. Mr. Mervyn succeeded in a short time in collecting about \$2,000 for which he had erected a neat frame church which is still in use, David S. Leach, Esq., B. C. L., son of the late Ven. Archdeacon Leach, and his sister Mrs. Howell having donated a beautifully situated and suitable site for the church and other parochial buildings. In October, 1891, the church was opened by the Lord Bishop of Montreal, assisted by the leading clergy of the City and District. Among those who contributed to the erection of the church may be mentioned the names of A. F. Gault, Esq., Messrs. Armstrong and Cook, and T. A. Trenholme, Esq., and C. I. W. Davies, Esq. Since the erection of the church its chief benefactors have been Mrs. C. I. W. Davies who gave a very fine cut stone font, Mrs. T. A. Trenholme whose offerings have been numerous and costly, and Mr. Gerald L. Banks.

The Ladies Guild have also done much for the church.

In 1893 the Rev. W. A. Mervyn resigned the incumbency, being appointed Curate of Christ Church Cathedral and was succeeded by the Rev. G. Johnson who continued Incumbent until 1898 when he resigned and was succeeded by Rev. F. A. Pratt, who is at present Rector of the parish.

ST. ANDREW'S, LACHINE (1)

PRESBYTERIAN

A Presbyterian congregation was first collected in Lachine in 1818 through the labours of the Rev. Hugh Kirkland, a young minister who came from Ireland that year. He was inducted to

(1) Prepared by Revd C. B. Ross, M. A., Pastor of the church.

the charge in January, 1818, and left in May of the following year, for the United States.

In October, 1820, the Rev. William Brunton, from Scotland, began to minister to them. He resided in Montreal, and



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.
1834.

demitted his charge in 1822. The Revs. Henry Esson and Edward Black, of St. Gabriel Church, discharged the clerical duties of the congregation until October, 1831, when Mr. Alexander Gale, a nephew of Mr. Esson's, arrived from Upper Canada, and was appointed by the presbytery to act as missionary. He was ordained and inducted in the following year. In November, 1833, he left for Hamilton, C. W. Mr. John Taylor arrived from Scotland in July, 1834, and became pastor of the Congregation in the October following. He resigned in 1843, and, returning to Scotland, received a presentation to the parish

of Drummelzier, Peebleshire, where he died a few years ago. He was followed in Lachine by the Rev. Mr. Simpson who was inducted in March, 1844. Mr. Simpson ministered for thirty years when he retired and settled in Como where he died in the year 1884. The erection of the church was commenced in 1832, and was completed in 1834. The Manse was erected in 1845. The names of the most prominent people interested in the formation of the Parish and building of the church were: Robert Grant of the Parish of Lachine, James Charles Grant of Montreal, Advocate, James Somerville, John McMartin, John Fraser, William McMaster, Andrew Leishman, and William Fleming of Lachine. One of the incumbents of the Parish has, since, taken a prominent place in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Rev. Dr. Ross being in the year 1884 appointed professor of Apologetics and Church History in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. The present incumbent is the Rev. Charles B. Ross, B.D., graduate of the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, Scotland. Mr. Ross was inducted into his present charge in the year 1888. During his incumbency, the manse has been practically rebuilt, and a movement is on foot to carry out extensive improvements on the church and the church schoolroom. The facts mentioned above are derived mainly from "Historical and Statistical report of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland for the year 1866", and from the "Deed of gift from the heirs of the late John Grant".

THE METHODIST CHURCH, LACHINE⁽¹⁾

The Methodist is the youngest and smallest of all the Protestant congregations in Lachine, but is steadily growing with the increasing population.

The building in which services are now held, situated at the corner of St. Joseph and Arthur Streets, was erected in 1868.

(1) By Rev. A. W. Williamson.

At that time Côte St. Paul and The Tanneries (now St. Henry) formed a "circuit" under the Superintendent Minister, but Lachine is now a separate Methodist congregation under the charge of Rev. A.W. Williamson.

About three years ago the congregation built a residence for their minister, which is occupied by the present Incumbent.

St. George's Church, STE. ANNE DE BELLEVUE⁽¹⁾

ANGLICAN.

The St. George's Church at St. Anne de Bellevue has had rather a unique history.

A great many years ago, when the Grand Trunk Railway commenced to run a suburban train from Montreal to St. Anne's, a few English residents made their home at this village. J. A. W. Adams who owned all the land which now is G. T. Avenue, donated a lot of his land to certain Trustees for church purposes, subject to certain conditions. This donation was made in or about the year 1876. Subsequently the late Col. Hutton, J. T. Adams, together with Nathan Mercer and Lt. Col. Dowker, induced others to join with them, and by means of subscriptions succeeded in building the present church which however was built for the use of all denominations and not particularly for Church of England purposes.

No resident clergyman was engaged to take the work, and often a divinity student would come from Montreal for the Sunday, but generally Col. Hutton took the service of the Church of England in the morning for quite a number of years, until in the fall of the year 1896 the Episcopalian residents in the village and in the adjoining parish of Senneville approached His Grace the Archbishop of Montreal with a view to having a resident clergyman and the Rev. J. Cattermole was appointed.

At that time the church was burdened with a mortgage of \$600 at 7 per cent, and as this was an incumbrance which the

(1) This historical sketch was kindly contributed by Rev. T. Cattermole, the present Incumbent.

little Congregation could not see their way to pay off, the church still remained an undenominational building, and the services were conducted by the resident incumbent to those who wished to attend the Church of England Service.

It was then felt that some effort ought to be made to pay off the mortgage and have the building consecrated by the Bishop as a Church of England. To this end Mr. Leslie Dowker and the Rev. Mr. Cattermole undertook to collect sufficient funds for that purpose, and so well succeeded that very shortly afterwards they announced that the debt could be paid and the church freed from liability, and this was accomplished in the summer of 1900.

Once the building was free from debt, there was nothing to prevent its consecration, and the credit is due to Mr. Leslie Dowker, the Rev. J. Cattermole and those who had so nobly and generously helped them to bring about such a good result. The venerable Archbishop of Montreal came to St. Anne de Bellevue on the Sunday of the 15th July, 1900, and in the presence of a very large congregation the church was consecrated to the joy and great satisfaction of all, which when all the necessary formalities were accomplished, brought the church into the list of those forming the Diocese of Montreal.

During all this period, the Rev. J. Cattermole has been the resident Incumbent, the church property has been continually improving, mainly owing to his perseverance and energy, and up to the present, divine service of the Church of England has been conducted regularly every Sunday.

RECENT CHANGES

It will be sufficient to note the principal changes which have taken place in the three parishes of Lachine, Pointe Claire and Ste. Anne, since the publication of *Lake St. Louis* in 1893. More information will be found in the text and engravings of the two books.

1. The works of the Lachine Rapids Hydraulic and Land Company, Ltd., at Lachine Rapids, 1897-1900. Capital invested \$3,000,000. See sketch, page 498.

2. The enlargement of the works of the Dominion Wire Mfg. Co., near Lachine Locks. Capital invested \$500,000. See views, page 500 and in *Lake St. Louis*, page 232.

3. The enlargement of the Dominion Bridge Company. Capital invested \$1,000,000. See views in *Lake St. Louis*, page 232.

4. The construction of the Dominion Wire Rope Company, Ltd. There is now in course of construction an extension of the main building which will double its size and will make it 435 feet long. Capital invested \$200,000. See sketch, page 502.

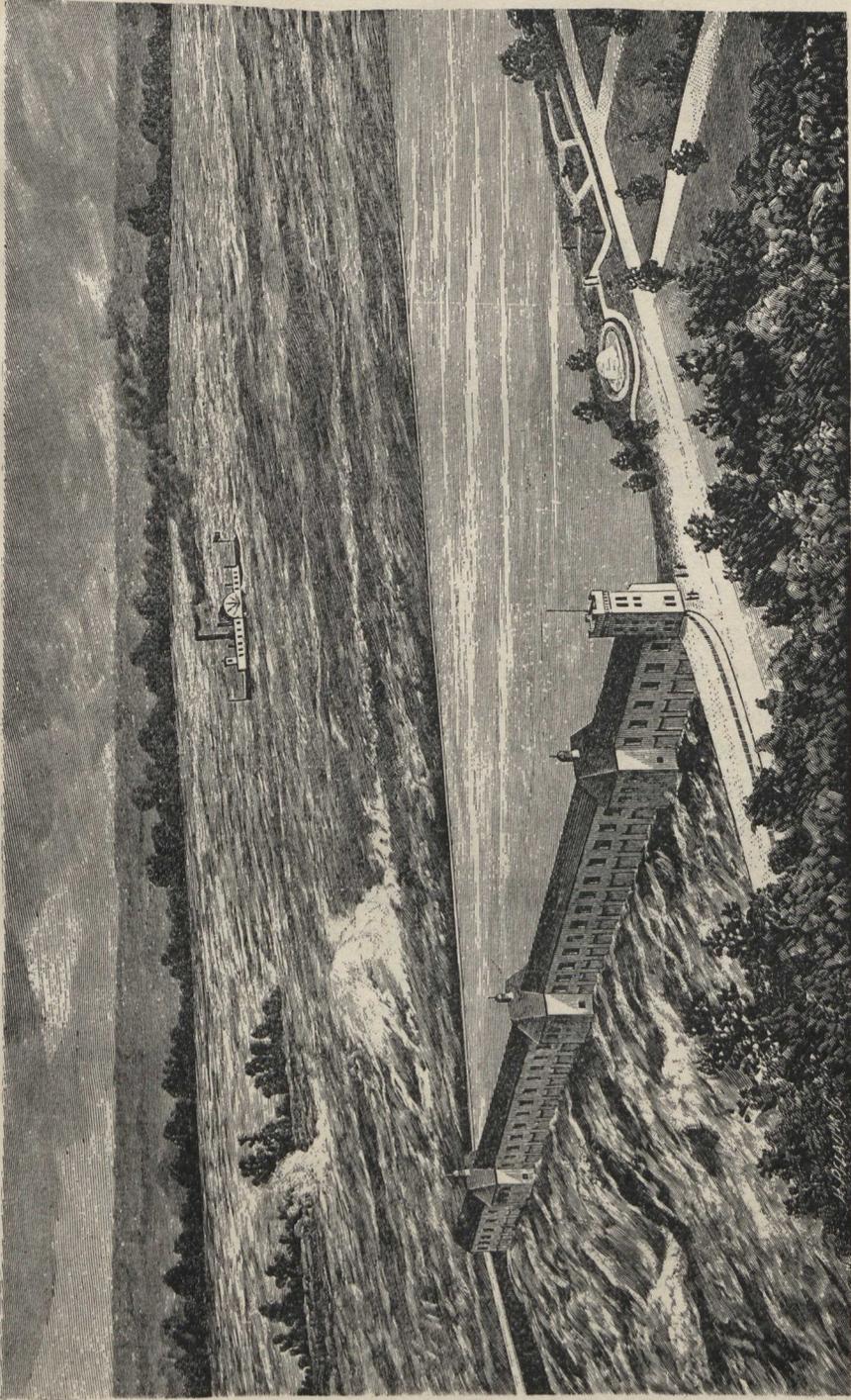
5. The James Cooper Mfg. Co. Ltd.; manufacturers of Mining, Industrial and Contractors' plants. Capital invested \$200,000. Authorized capital \$500,000. See sketch, page 503.

6. The Montreal Car Wheel Company. Capital invested \$100,000.

7. H. J. Fisk & Co., Leather and Shoe Goods manufacturers. Capital invested \$200,000.

8. The Knitting Mill of R. Newbold.

9. The Mills of MM. McLaurin Bros., lumber merchants and manufacturers.



Power House.
THE LACHINE RAPID HYDRAULIC AND LAND COMPANY, LTD., 1897-1900.

10. The enlargement of the Lachine Brewery, the property of MM. Dawes & Co. Capital invested \$300,000. See views *Lake St. Louis*, page 232.⁽¹⁾

11. The Lachine Power House, Aqueduct, Mains, Sewers and Electric Light works, the property of the Town of Lachine. Total cost \$431,000, exclusive of the Dominion Government Drain, which cost \$136,104.⁽²⁾

12. The Lachine Branch of the Montreal Park and Island Electric Railway, now operated by the Montreal Street Railway Co. to the western limit of the town of Lachine and Lachine Rapids.

13. The construction of a banking house in Lachine by the Merchants Bank of Canada.

14. The laying of a double track by G.T.R and C.P.R. as far as Ste. Anne de Bellevue.

15. The erection of the Anglican parish of Montreal West. See page 491.

16. The erection of the Anglican parish of St. Paul, on the western limit of the town of Lachine. See page 486.

17. The incorporation of the village of Summerlea, from the town of Lachine to the limits of Dorval.

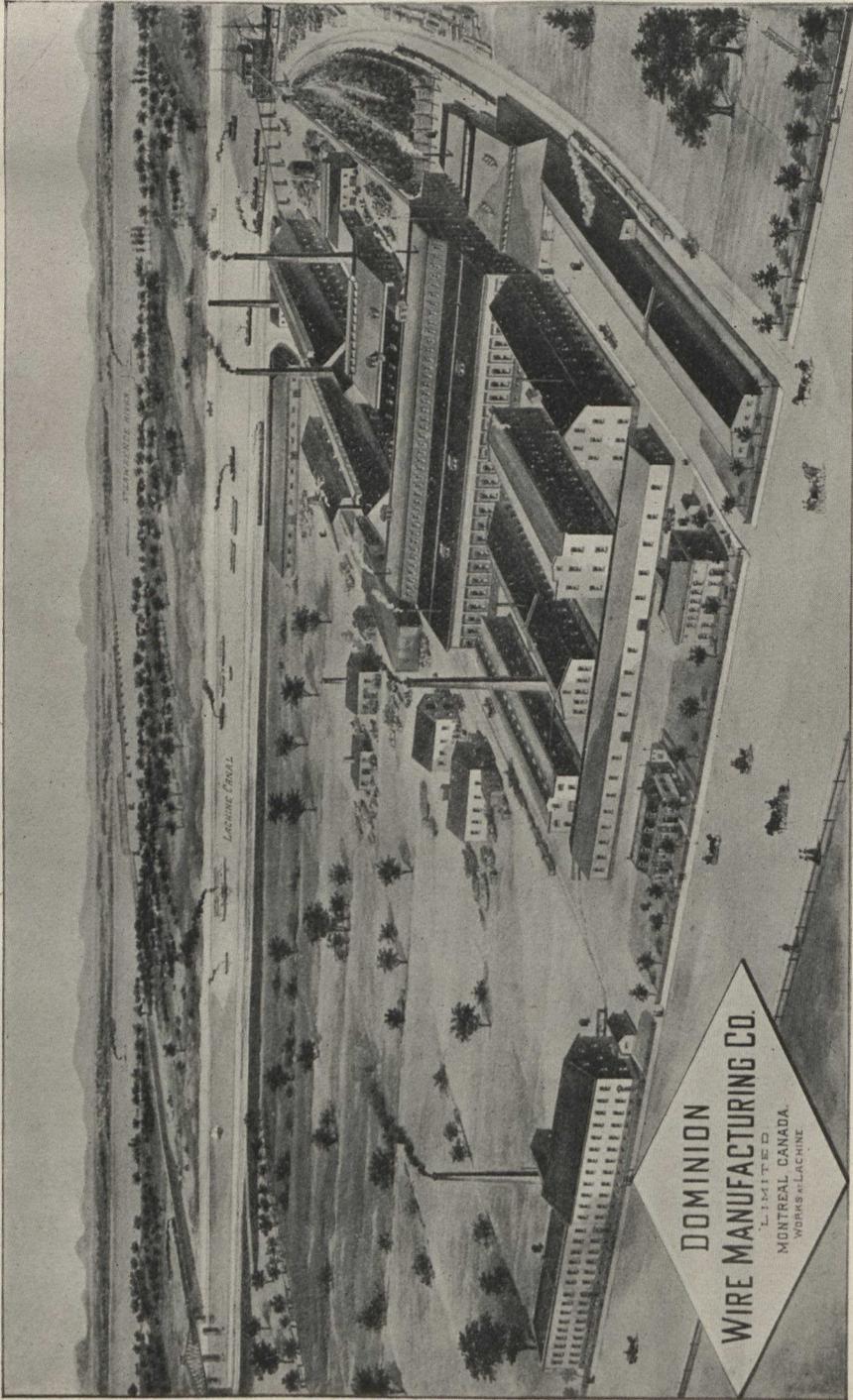
18. The establishment of the Country Club, including the Racquet Court, Rowing and Boating Club located at "Cragmore", Summerlea. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 128.

19. The incorporation first of the village, now the town, of Dorval, from the farm of J. Bte. Meloche to Sources or St. Rémi Road.

20. The erection of the Roman Catholic parish of La Présentation de Dorval and the construction of a church and *presbytère* near the eastern limit of the old fief and road La Présentation, on the farm of Benjamin Décary. See view page 461.

21. The construction of the Anglican chapel of St. Mark, at

(1) Up to the year 1881, there was not one factory in Lachine with the exception of the Brewery. In 1881, its population was 1696; in 1901, 5561. — (2) From the year 1872 to 1902, the Dominion Government has expended \$207,231 in improving the drainage system on the north side of the Lachine Canal, exclusive of amount paid for land damages, expropriation, etc. See Aud. Gen. rep., 1895, M. 44.



See *Lake St. Louis*, 232.

Kindly contributed by Mr. Jas. Cooper, president.

Dorval, on the site of the old Fort La Présentation. See page 489.

22. The Royal Montreal Golf Club on the farm of J. Bte. Meloche and J. Bte. Quesnel, in Dorval, near Dixie G. T. R. Station. See sketch page 506.

23. The reversion of the three Dorval islands to the heirs J. Bte. Meloche from the heirs of Sir George Simpson, under the authority of courts of justice.

24. The acquisition of Beau-Rivage, the residence of the late H. E. Murray by Lt. Col. A. Haig Sims, at Dorval, and the building by the latter of two cottages. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 64.

25. The building of Miss Casey's Boarding House at the foot of Shackell Avenue.

26. The acquisition of the residence of the late Wm. H. Meredith at Dorval by Alex. Paterson. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 64.

27. The erection of a new residence by Hartland MacDougall, near the site of the old one demolished. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 64.

28. The construction of a residence by Arthur Hamilton on river front of the farm of Placide Allard, Dorval.

29. The building of a new Club House and Pier by the Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club, Dorval. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 240.

30. The construction of a residence by E. K. Greene, jr. recently bought by John P. Black.

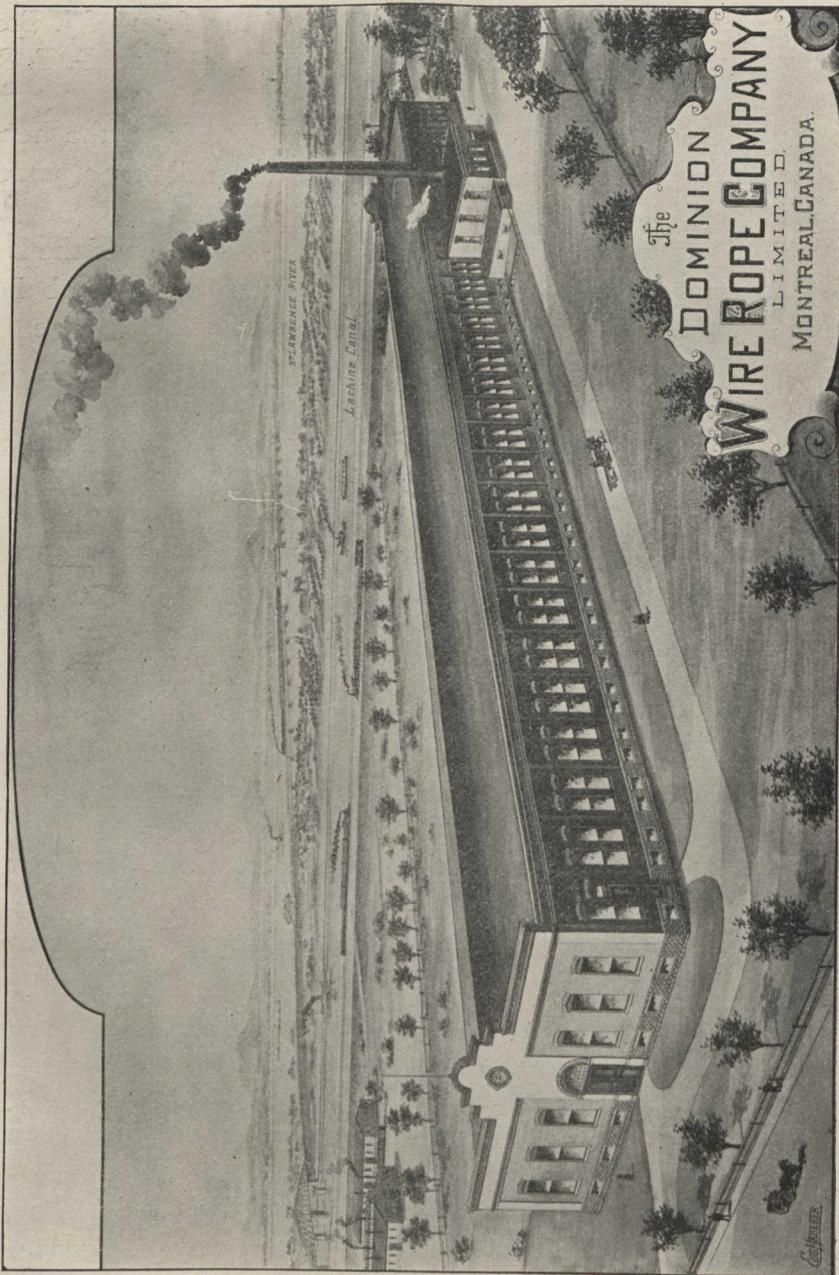
31. The building of a house and cottages by John G. Savage, Dorval.

32. The sale of "The Hermitage" by James B. Allan to Edgar McDougall, Dorval. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 128.

33. The purchase of Goné's Point by A. E. Whitehead, jr. and others on which Mr. Whitehead is now erecting a residence and outbuildings, Dorval.

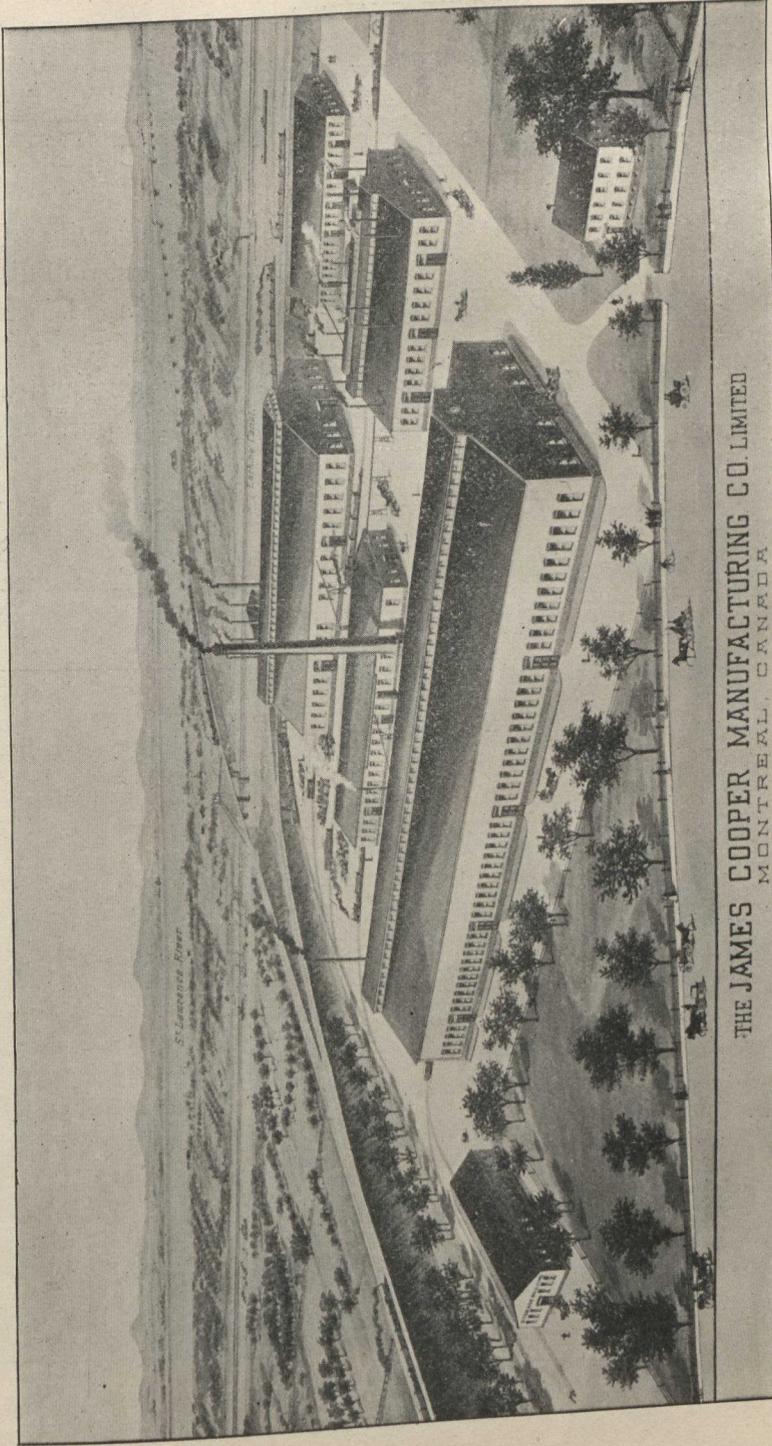
34. The sale of Pointe au Gascon (Charlebois' Point), Pointe Claire, and the building of house and cottages by B. Goldstein.

35. The acquisition of the place of Thomas A. Crane, by Hugh A. Allan. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 193.



The
**DOMINION
WIRE ROPE COMPANY**
LIMITED.
MONTREAL, CANADA.

Works at Lachine, 1902.
Kindly contributed by Mr. James Cooper, President of the Company.



THE JAMES COOPER MANUFACTURING CO. LIMITED
MONTREAL, CANADA

Kindly contributed by the President, Mr. James Cooper.

WORKS AT LACHINE, 1902.

36. The acquisition of "Willow Bank", by Dr. T. S. Roddick, M.P. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 192.

37. The Beaconsfield Golf Club, near Pointe Claire R.R. Station.

38. The establishment of a model farm and construction of a residence, colonial style, cottage, farm house, barns, outbuildings, and golf links by Senator Geo. E. Drummond, near Beaconsfield R.R. Station.

39. The building of residence by R. A. Mainwaring and his neighbour, J. S. Hall, K. C., Beaconsfield, both just purchased by Senator Drummond.

40. The erection of a residence by Mr. Justice Ouimet at Baie d'Urfé.

41. The sale from Wm. Clendenneng to Lt. Col. G. A. Hughes. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 184.

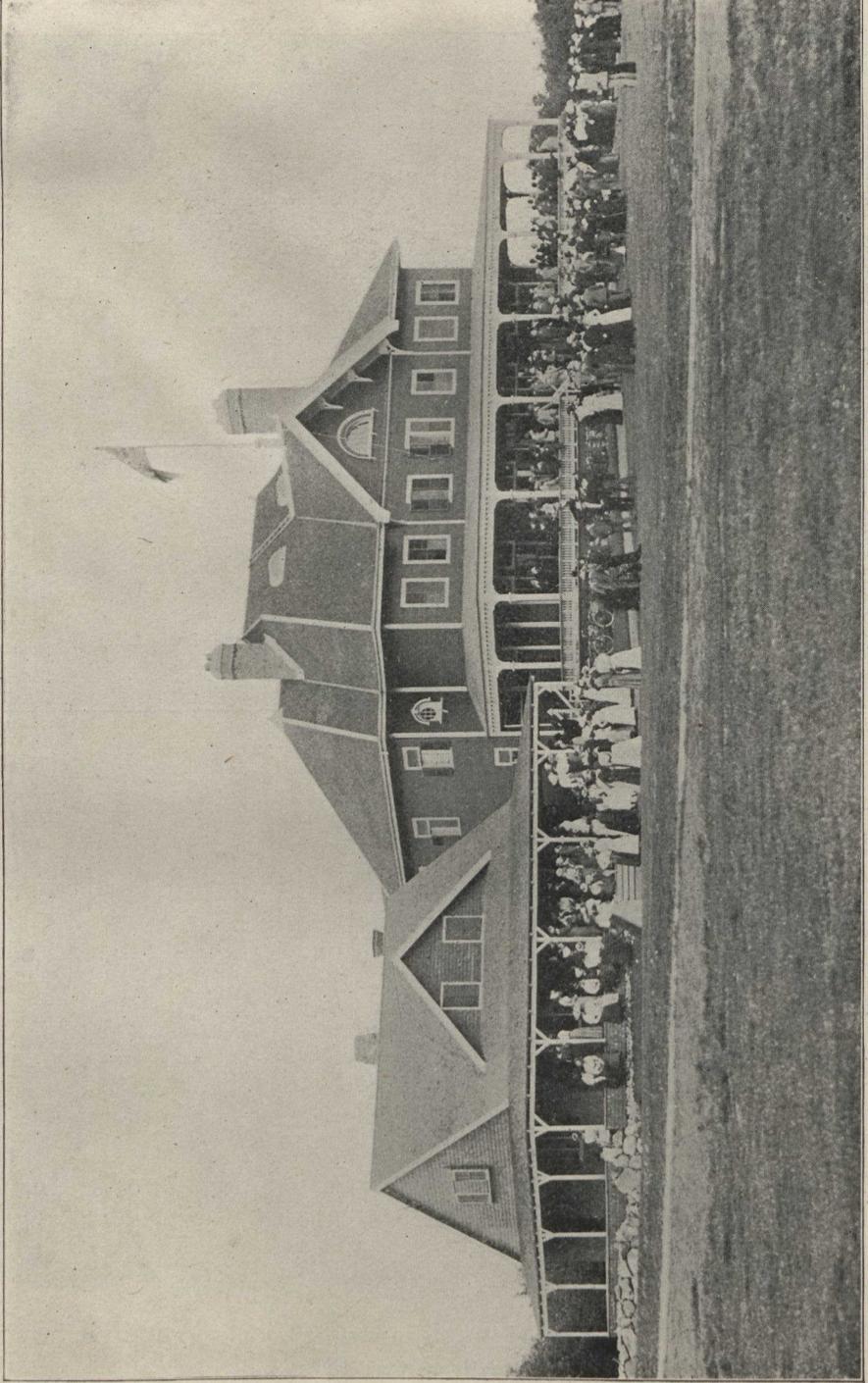


"PINE BLUFF", SENNEVILLE.
The new Villa of R. B. Angus.
(See *Lake St. Louis*, 216.)



“ BIRCHFIELD ”, SENNEVILLE.
The Residence of F. L. Wanklyn

42. The construction of cottage, model farm, barns and out-buildings by Robert Reford, near St. Anns R.R. Station.
43. The purchase of the St. Gilles island from Dr. G. P. Girdwood by James B. Allan, K.C., at Senneville.
44. The acquisition of “ Boisbriant ” by E. S. Clouston. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 176.
45. The acquisition of “ Glenllyn ” by D. Forbes Angus. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 217.
46. The construction of a residence by J. B. Abbott on Fief Senneville, north of the new macadam road.
47. The purchase of the place of Ivan Wotherspoon by Chs. Meredith.
48. The erection of a new villa by R. B. Angus, on the site of the old cottage burnt. See *Lake St. Louis*, page 216.
49. The construction of a new place by F. L. Wanklyn, now the property of Robert MacD. Paterson.



ROYAL MONTREAL GOLF CLUB, DORVAL (near Dixie R.R. Station).

From a photo taken in 1901.

50. The Senneville Boating and Golf Clubs.
51. The acquisition and enlargement of the late Harry Abbott's place by F. L. Wanklyn. See page 505.
52. The erection of a villa by James Morgan, at Senneville.
53. A new residence in course of construction by Dumont-Laviolette, near Senator Forget.
54. The erection of a new villa by Senator L. J. Forget, on the site of the former cottage burnt.⁽¹⁾ See view, page 465 and *Lake St. Louis*, page 216.

55. Finally the incorporation of the Village of Senneville, covering the western end of the island of Montreal from the town of Ste. Anne de Bellevue to the western limits of Ste. Geneviève.

What changes along Lake St. Louis since the early days of the Boyer cottages, built about forty years ago, on the western shores of the little village of Lachine! The entire distance from that place to the northern limit of the parish of Ste. Anne du Bout de l'Isle, some twenty-two miles, is covered with beautifully laid out lawns, gardens and parks, pretty cottages and elegant residences, erected in many instances at a large expenditure, from five to ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty thousand dollars and even more. Very few points and river lots remain not taken. The railway service is extensive and regular. Without speaking of the accommodation given by the C. P. R. and the Electric Railway, the G. T. R. has daily from twenty to twenty-five trains running to and from St. Ann's, at almost every hour. What an improvement to the "Mixed" and the "Moccasin" of twenty years ago, always late, so much so that one exceptional morning, Bob, the popular conductor of the "Moccasin", on reaching old Bonaventure Depot on time, was ceremoniously presented with a leather medal by the grateful summer residents. Even, if one has to wait for a train, he is comfortably seated in a pretty station,⁽²⁾ having at his service telegraph and telephone wires, instead of the miserable open little shed built at first by the interested travellers.

(1) The rabbit warren of Mr. Forget, mentioned at page 215 of *Lake St. Louis*, finally turned out to be a failure. — (2) See *Lake St. Louis*, 240.

It must be added that Lachine is no longer a summer resort. It is a suburb of the city of Montreal where many Montreal business men have their permanent homes. Summer residents have left for more rustic shores.

The once celebrated Lachine Boating Club has moved and is amalgamated with the Summerlea Rowing Club. It is to be hoped that the new club will not drop the old historical name, famous for its annual regattas and international races, or that a new Lachine club will be organized. It must not be forgotten, however, that golfing is the craze of the day. The Dorval Links cost \$64,000. In a country like Canada, which is nearly half covered with water, aquatic sports should not be neglected. Canoeing, rowing or yachting is the natural sport of a young Canadian.

It may not be out of place to record here some of the names of the early pioneers of the summer resorts on Lake St. Louis, quite a few living to tell the story, namely : Hartland MacDougall, Améd  Quesnel, J. B. O. Martin, John Converse, Justice Girouard, J. Alex. Gordon, Justice Davidson, Benjamin Lefebvre, George A. Greene, Ezra H. Merrill, Lt. Col. Frank Bond, Herbert Wallis, Wm. Wainwright, Chs. Drinkwater, Alphonse and Arthur Boyer, Henry W. Shackell, Guy Ross, Thomas A. Dawes, James P. Dawes, Andrew T. Dawes, Henry M. Dinning, Chs. Handyside, E. S. Clouston, Edward Rawlings, Dr. Brewster, Chs. Clouston, George Eadie, John G. Savage, Robert Hamilton, J. R. Hutchins, Lt. Col. E. A. Whitehead, H. Vincent Meredith, Chs. Monk, F. D. Monk, K.C., M.P., Colin Campbell, W. F. Torrance, Chief Justice Tait, Archibald MacNider, Alfred Brunet, J. R. Meeker, Val ry Quesnel, Dr. E. Valois, P. G. Valois, Alphonse Charlebois, A. C. D cary, Benjamin D cary, Dosit  Deslauriers, F. Batlebury, W. F. Mewhort, A. L. Kent, Lt. Col. George Dowker, Leslie Dowker, Nathan Mercer, J. B. Abbott, R. B. Angus and Senator L. J. Forget, etc.

The list of the departed is long : Louis Boyer, a large land owner of Lachine about 1860, erected several cottages, still standing ; Sir George Simpson, in 1854, on Dorval Island,

built a country residence, where, in August, 1860, General Fenwick Williams (lessee of the island) had the distinguished honour of entertaining at luncheon the Prince of Wales, now Edouard VII., the most progressive and diplomatic monarch of Europe ;⁽¹⁾ Lt. Col. John Dyde, Thomas Porteous, H. L. Harvey, Jackson Rae, George Hamilton, Wolferston Thomas, Henry McKay, H. H. Whitney, N. S. Whitney, Capt. Thomas Howard, John Popham, Wm. Lindsay, James Hooper, John H. Routh, Chs. Boyer, Alfred Brown, Horace Baby, James Richardson, Dominique Ducharme, Geo. Auldjo, Alexis Brunet, Thomas Davidson, Wm. H. Meredith, James Gordon, Henry E. Murray, Chief Justice Johnson, Justice Monk, Wallie Monk, Q.C., John McDougall, Capt. Nich. Hughes, Alex. Campbell, R. Beaufield, N.P., Théodore Doucet, N.P., Louis Armstrong, John Binmore, Duncan Robertson, etc., etc., in Lachine, Dixie and Dorval ; Capt. Herriman, W. H. Menzies, W. H. Shaw, Dr. Améida Valois, Hyacinthe Charlebois, Léon Charlebois, in Pointe Claire ; Lt. Col. Wm. Hutton, Major Edward Bond, J. T. Adams, Sir John Abbott, Christopher Abbott, Q.C., Harry Abbott, Q.C., etc., in St. Ann's.

The few privileged ones, who were fortunate enough to be invited, will never forget the elegant dinners of Alfred Brown at Bel Air, or the grand " Annual " banquets of Harvey Bawtree at Dixie.⁽²⁾

Alfred Brown may be considered the father of Dorval as a summer resort. He was the chief promotor of the Dorval Turnpike Road. His fortune, his standing in the mercantile world (he was a director of the Bank of Montreal), his education in both English and French, his manners, everything about his person contributed to make his home attractive. His friend, Harvey Bawtree, likewise polished and of independent means, also a bachelor, was a *littérateur* of no small merit, equally found of entertaining.

(1) See *Lake St. Louis*, 239. Opposite Dorval Island, on the eastern corner of Shackell Avenue, stood the Mess of the officers of the General, where a great deal of gaiety went on.

— (2) See *Lake St. Louis*, 128, 240.

APPENDIX

LIST OF THE INHABITANTS OR CENSITAIRES ON LAKE ST. LOUIS

(According to the *Dénombrements* of 1731.)

The following is a list of the *censitaires* as given in the *Dénombrements* of 1731, starting at page 467 of vol. 4. Each farm has 3 x 20 or 30 arpents, seldom more or less, and a house, barn and stable, built of wood, except when otherwise indicated.

PARISH OF LACHINE.

From Verdun to Pointe Claire or Fief La Présentation :

	<i>Arpents under cultivation.</i>	<i>Arp. of Prairie.</i>
Nicholas Legros.....	25	
François Roy dit Lapensée.....	30	
Jean Legros.....	21	
Widow and heirs Boudria.....	37	6
René Buet.....	19	
Pierre Sarrasin.....	55	8
Sr Dugas, without building.....	12	
Heirs Paré.....	45	6
Here the Seigniors have a water flour mill with two stones.(1)		
J. Bte Leroux.....	36	7
Heirs Louis Roy.....	19	3
Joseph Pominville, without building.....	12	
Martin Fouché or Fauché.....	15	
Gauthier, without building.....	9	
Widow Bourbonnois.....	35	5
Jean Pominville.....	15	
Jean Bte Pominville.....	25	
François Brunet.....	27	
Common of Lachine, 15 x 20 arpents.....	29	
Pierre Tabeau.....	22	2
Heirs Pillet.....	10	
Sr Dugas, without building.....	10	
Catherine Trottier, without building.....	50	8
Heirs Jean Cuillerier, stone house.(2).....		

(1) This mill was on No. 498 and replaced two old mills near the church of Lachine. *Lake St. Louis*. 95. — (2) This is the site of Fort Cuillerier, which was in 1731, the property of the heirs of Jean Cuillerier. His widow, by name Catherine Trottier Beaubien, was wedded in 1714 to François Marie Picotté de Bélestre, a knight of St. Louis and an officer of distinction. After

	<i>Arpents under cultivation.</i>	<i>Arp. of Prairie.</i>
Claude Césire	39	6
Lambert Cuillierier	35	7
Décary	33	5
Frs. Merlo	27	4
Tabeau	23	3
Pierre Cardinal	35	10
Vital Caron	50	15
Representatives of Jean Girard, without building ...	12	
Fort Lachine or Rémy, <i>described as above</i> , page 461.		
Louis Fortier	30	4
Widow and heirs de Lorimier, 8 x 30 arp. ; stone house	30	15
Sr Ribeleau, stone house	30	4
Beaudet, without building	15	
Rapin	20	5
André J. Kaganis	17	5
Representatives of Jean Girard, without building ...	17	
Laforge	27	4
Joseph Cesire	36	4
Jean Quenneville	37	6
Jean Chesnié, stone house	40	7
Chs. Lemère St Germain	33	5
The Décarys at the continuation, (8 x 8 arp.) without building or clearing.		
Joseph Ducharme, stone house. (2)	52	8
Antoine Dufresne (barn only)	33	5
René Cuillierier, without building	12	
J. Bte Lachene or Lachine	21	
Pierre Cardinal	29	5
Pierre Ozanne	32	6
J. Bte Quesnel, stone house	37	8
Pierre Deniau	27	4
Widow and heirs Picard	41	5
J. Bte Gredon	33	4
Paul Marin, barn only	19	
François Meloche	37	7
Heirs Robert Réaume, barn	30	15
Antoine and Gabriel Picard, at the continuation, 8 x 20 arents, without building		8
Representatives, that is <i>acquéreurs</i> of Sr. Dorval (3)	50	15
Courcelles islands		

her marriage, she moved to Detroit with her husband and her two young children issue of her former marriage. She lived in Detroit till her second husband's death, in 1729, and soon after we find her again in Lachine, where she died in 1731. This may explain why this estate was at that time undivided in the name of her two children and probably neglected. It was allotted by partition to her son, J. Bte Cuillierier-Beaubien and finally passed to Dominique Gaudet her son-in-law. Frs Marie Picotté de Bélestre, also a knight of St. Louis, who was commandant at Detroit in 1760, was the son of Catherine Trottier by her second marriage. — (2) Site of Fort Rolland. — (3) Old Fief La Présentation, *Lake St. Louis*, 67, with house, barn and stables.

PARISH OF POINTE CLAIRE.

From La Présentation :

	<i>Arpents under cultivation</i>	<i>Arp. of Prairie.</i>
Pierre Pominville (7 x 30)	44	5
Guillaume Parent	33	2
Jacques Cardinal	29	4
Noël Deslauriers	47	6
Joseph Parent, stone house	43	2
Jean Brisebois	45	5
Jean Ladouceur	32	
Heirs Xaintonge	35	3
Nicholas Paré	33	
Louis Fortier	50	7
Frs. Bigras	30	3
Guillaume Barbe	29	3
Vallée	35	5
Antoine Dubois (6 x 30)	45	5
Martin Fauché	37	
Heirs Girard	30	6
Heirs Cholet	39	6
Frs. Bosne	17	2
Charles Parent	32	
Pierre Charlebois	35	4
Thomas Pilon	29	
Remond Labrosse	35	3
Jacques Séguin	45	7
Joseph Charlebois	39	3
Heirs de Couagne, without building	25	
Jean Chamaillard	30	4
Mathieu Pilon	45	7

Fort de la Pointe-Claire described as above, page 463.

Then the proprietors of two emplacements next to the Fort, "à côté du dit fort", having a house, barn and a garden, namely Rapin and Gatien.

From the church of Pointe-Claire West :

Michel Brunet	23	2
Pierre Barbary (1)	31	3
Jacques Périé, 4½ x 30 arp	37	6
André Roy, 4½ x 30 arp	42	6
Jean Bonne	35	4
Jacques Lantié, 5 x 30	50	7
Widow and heirs Jean Brunet	35	4
Jacques Chasle	40	5
Jacques Prou	37	5
Charles Charlebois	39	6
Jean Trottier	39	4
Jean Lemoine, 4 x 30	20	4
	27	3

(1) Son of Pierre Barbary and Marie Le Brun and not Marthe Thibodeau as printed by error at page 359.

	<i>Arpents under cultivation.</i>	<i>Arp. of Prairie.</i>
Pierre Gemme dit Carrière, 4 x 3	32	5
Jacques Denis, 8 x 35	52	7
Louis Lory	29	4
J. Bte Neveu, 4 x 40	35	6
Pierre Sabourin	41	7
Jacques Latreille	35	3
Antoine Villeray, (1) 3 x 50	50	5
Thomas Brunet	25	3
Le Sieur Quesnel	52	12
Jean Guignard	23	
Guillaume Ledoux	60	15
Pierre Pilon	39	4

STE ANNE DU BOUT DE L'ISLE.

Joseph Ladouceur	30	6
Estienne Ladouceur, 4 x 6	40	4
Hubert Rangé, 6 x 40	45	7
Joachim Merlot	35	3
Pierre Rangé	22	
Nicholas Robillard	35	5
Pierre Sauvé dit Laplante	30	4
Guillaume Proux, 7 x 25	33	
J. Bte La Longue, (2) stone house	45	10
Jean Pilon	22	
Jacques Charlebois	19	
Caron, 5 x 20 arp.	25	
<i>Arrière fief</i> (3) de Sr Charbonnier, as above explained page 464.		
Joseph Gauthier	35	
Guillaume Larente, 4 x 20 arp.	40	
Leconte	15	
Michel Braban	17	
Guillaume Lalonde	12	
Pierre Poitevin	6	
<i>Site of R. C. Church of Ste Anne</i> , as explained at page 464.		
Le Sr Cuillierier, house only, 4 x 20	10	
Le Sr Linctot, barn	8	
Louis Mallet, barn	10	
<i>Arrière Fief</i> (Bellevue), belonging to St. Germain Lamoureux, as explained above, page 464.		
On the same fief were :		
1. Le Sr Millot, house, 2 x 20, barn and stable	12	
2. Heirs de Couagne, 2 x 20, without building		
3. Boyer, 3 x 20, house, barn and stable	25	
4. Le Sr de Senneville, 3 x 20, without building or clearing.		

(1) Site of Beaurepaire. — (2) Lalonde, fils de Jean, Baie d'Urfé, killed by the Iroquois in 1687. — (3) Fief Blainville.

Arpents under cultivation.

5. Heirs of Sr La Découverte, without building or clearing.	
Widow and heirs of Sr Coulonge, 4 x 15, house, barn and stable.....	30
<i>Arrière-fief</i> belonging to Sr. Senneville, as explained at page 464.	
Garahau, (Perrin dit Garahau) house, barn and stable.....	15
Paul Guillet, 4 x 20, house, barn and stable.....	25
Representatives of Lafleur, house, barn and stable.....	15
A piece of land ungranted of 15 arp. in superficies. (1)	
Le Sr Guillet, 15 x 40, without building or clearing.	

LIST OF PROPRIETORS, CENSITAIRES OF ST. LAURENT

(According to the *Dénombrements* of 1731.)

COTE ST. MICHEL.

Commencing from Côte St. Laurent :

<i>South side.</i>	<i>North side.</i>
Sr. Francheville.	Sieur Maillot.
Sr. de Senneville.	Hallé.
Picard fils.	Jacques St. Germain.
Picard père.	Antoine Paysan dit Sans Cartier.
Pierre Paquet.	St. Germain fils.
Louis Pigeon.	Jacques David.
Pierre Chorel.	Frs. Levesque.
Ignace LeMay.	Charles Delorme.
Antoine André.	Joseph Michel Dagenais.
Duplessis.	Widow and Heirs Richard.
Jean Crevier.	Pierre Chorel.
Moreau	Charles Rose.
Jean Grignon.	Denis.
Joseph Lemay.	Sr. Lestage.
Jean Boismié.	Laframboise.
Vincent Lenoir.	J.-Bte Quenneville.
Samuel Papinot.	Widow and Heirs Sarrau.
Heirs Richard.	J.-Bte Vannler.
Pierre Marineau.	Sieur Blondeau.
Jacques Heriché.	Frs. Charles.
Charles Viger.	Pierre Riche dit Laflotte
Jean LeMeilleur.	Nicholas Brazeau.
Antoine Lachapelle.	Jean Turcot.
Jean Crevier dit St. Jean.	Heirs Viger.
Charles LeBlanc.	Louis Turcot.
Sr. de Chouquet.	Sr. de Lignery.
	Widow and Heirs Chevalier.
	Domaine des Seigneurs, of 30 arpents in front.

(1) The site of the warehouse built for the removal of the Indians from Sault au Récollet, now owned by Senator Forget.

COTE ST. LAURENT.

From Côte St. Michel :

South side.

Moquin.
 Jacques Lavigne.
 Bernard Jaron.
 Heirs Gervais.
 Widow and Heirs Boileau.
 Michel Desbois.
 Sieur Julien Aubert dit La Touche.
 Widow and Heirs Clérin.
 Joseph Parent.
 Rapidieu dit Lemer.
 Jacques Bayard.
 Le Sieur Laverdure.
Site of first church as explained above,
page 467, 469.
 Jacques Boucher dit St. Amour.
 Claude du Devoir.
 Frs. Jérôme Latour.
 Guillaume Tartre dit Larivière.
 Vermet.
 Pierre Léger.
 Jean Mingui dit Lachaussée.
 Michel Penin dit Lafontaine.
 Jas. Fret dit Lamotte.
 Guillaume Roy.
 Edouard Germen.
 Sieur de Cuisy D'Argenteuil.

North side.

Joseph Fleur.
 Jean Dugas dit Labrèche.
 Pierre Bardet.
 Heirs Boyer.
 Robitaille.
 Heirs Barsalou.
 Sieur DeVivier.
 Widow and Heirs du Sieur Clerin.
 Le Sieur Bouat.
 Riel.
 Jacques Bayard.
 Le Sieur Lafatigue.
 Pierre Robitaille.
 Heirs Pascaud.
 Sieur de la Pipardière.
 Widow and Heirs Lac'sague.
 J.-Bte Jolicœur.
 Lacombe.
 Pierre Hardouin.
 Widow and Heirs Louveteau.
 Jean Lahais.
 Noël Raquet dit Larivière.
 André Serre dit St. Jean.
Land or concession where the new church
was being built in 1731 as explained
above, page 469.

COTE DE VERTU.

Beginning at the lower end :

South side.

Major.
 Maurice Verdon.
 Victor Couvret.
 Cousineau.
 Widow and heirs Seran
 Charles Latour.
 Frs. B.cquet.
 Lapalme.
 Widow Sansoucy.
 Ant. Caillet.

North side

Le Sieur Rimbault.
 J.-Bte Cousineau (1).
 Heirs Sarrau.
 J.-Bte Couvrette.
 Jean Cousineau.
 Brunet.
 Frs. Deguire dit Larose.
 Sarrasin.
 Frs. Blouf.
 Daniel Brunet.

(1) Father of Marie Josephte Cousineau, wife of Henri Girouard, one of my ancestors, who inherited from her father the above farm facing the main street of the village, lately the property of Dr. Tassé, M.P. About 1826, the Girouards left St. Laurent to settle in new seigniories. Joseph went to Vaudreuil and his brother Julien to St. Timothée, both taking large families, the former fifteen children and the latter eighteen. In 1802, Antoine an other brother, had moved to Cedars. About that time, an uncle, Joachim Amable, at the head of a family of 22, settled at Rivière du Chesne, parish of St. Eustache. They are the roots of the Canadian family. Other Girouards are to be found, but they are of Acadian origin. All came from the same family in France (near Paris) about two hundred and fifty years ago.

South side.

Michel Robineau.
 Pierre Verdon.
 Denis St-Aubin.
 André Michel.
 Jacques Grou.
 Noël Cousineau.
 Antoine Lacroix.
 St-Germain.
 Jean Veau.
 Pierre Delorme.
 Pierre Desvoyers dit Laframboise.
 Hay.
 J. B. A. Cavalier.
 Les nommés Hurtebise.
 Le nommé Baron.
 Joseph Leduc.
 Bélisle.
 Laroque.
 Hablin.
 Ladouceur père.
 Louis Cavalier.
 St-Aubin.
 Renaud.
 Ladouceur fils.
 Noel Couzineau.
 Toussaint Cavalier.
 Frs. Prud'homme fils.
 Siméon Lecavalier.
 J.-Bte. Truteau.
 Laroche.
 Frs. L'Ecuier.
 Jean Bayard.
 Widow Jean Dany.
 Prudhomme père.
 Champigny.
 Prevost.
 Paul Décary.
 Jos. Décary.
 Mata.
 Bayard.

North side.

Philipeau.
 Michel Robineau.
 Pierre Grou.
 Jean Grou.
 J.-Bte. Cousineau.
 Frs. Teclé.
 Sr. de Berrey.
 Jean Veau.
 Leonard Libersant.
 Robert Fache.
 Frs. Monslier.
 Denis Lecour.
 Le Pailleur fils.
 “
 “ frères.
 Massy.
 Jacques Jolicoeur.
 Les nommés Décary.
 J.-Bte. Boudria.
 Belisle.
 Hablin.
 Louis Cavalier.
 Widow Hay.
 Simon Cav. li. r.
 J.-Bte. Cavalier.
 J.-Bte. Bodria.
 Frs. Bodria.
 Joseph Bodria.
 Antoine Bodria.
 J.-Bte. Ladouceur.
 Jean Parent.
 Dufresne.
 Joseph Debien.
 Jean Martin.

COTE ST. FRANCOIS.

South side.

Latour fils.
 Bourbonnière.
 Chs. Lefebvre.
 Godin.
 St-Germain fils.
 9 arpents ungranted.
 Frs. Penchaux.
 Jean Viau.
 Pierre Martineau.
 Viger, frères.

North side.

Frs. et Alexis Berthelot.
 Caillet.
 Gauthier.
 Chesnier.
 Caillé.
 Dufresne, frères.
 Hurtebise.
 Louis Gervais.

INHABITANTS OR CENSITAIRES OF STE. ANNE DU BOUT DE L'ISLE

As per Cadastre made in 1861 by the Seigniorial Commission, vol. II, No. 61.

PARISH OF STE. ANNE (WEST).

Several numbers of the terrier are omitted ; they refer to the old fiefs Senneville, d'Ailleboust, Bellevue, etc., which were not published.

<i>No. of Terrier.</i>	<i>No. of Terrier.</i>
1 Fabrique of Ste. Anne. Amable Grossier. Edward Th. Jones. The Grand Trunk. Provincial Government (canal).	17 J. B. Neveu. Nicolas Claude.
2 William Forbes.	17, 18 J. B. Provost.
2 Morgan Mullins.	19 André Brunet. Heirs Montigny.
3 Simon Fraser.	" André Brunet.
4 " "	" John L. Forbes.
5 Widow Simon Fraser.	20 Amable Poudret.
5 Joseph Crevier.	21 Sévère Poudret. Joseph Godin.
10 " "	22 Eustache Rouleau.
11 Widow Louis Brunet.	" Joseph Chatillon dit Godin.
11 Joseph Crevier. Joseph Pilon	23 Jean-Baptiste Lalonde.
12 Dr. J. L. Forbes.	24 " "
12 François Pilon.	25 Elie Lalonde.
17 J. B. Provost.	26 " "
17 Nicolas Claude.	26 Joseph Lalonde.
15 Heirs J. L. Forbes.	27 " "
	28 Elie Robillard.
	29 Ambroise Pilon.

VILLAGE OF STE. ANNE. (1)

<i>No. of Terrier.</i>	<i>No. of Terrier.</i>
101 Simon Fraser.	101 Joseph Normandean.
" Marie Louise Booth.	" Thos. Garvin.
" François Mallet.	" Widow J -Bte. Pilon.
" The Grand Trunk.	" Joseph C. Petit.
" Louis Brégard.	" Michel Delâge.
" Frs. Mallet.	" Joseph Caron.
" Hyacinthe Sauvé.	" Joseph Pilon.
" Joseph Pilon.	" Thomas Sauvé.
" André Dubreuil.	" Antoine Denis.
" Antoine D nis.	" Thomas Mallet.
" Louis Brégard.	" Jean Baptiste Germain.
" Joseph Grenier.	" Joseph Larivée.

(1) The cadastre has confused the village with the parish of Ste. Anne East.

*No. of
Terrier.*

101 André Dubreuil.
 " Cyriac Dubreuil.
 " Joseph Larivée.
 " André Viau.
 " Joseph Caron.
 " Toussaint Cousineau.
 " Pierre Perrier.
 " Jean-Bte. Boyer.
 " Israël Boyer.
 " Jean-Bte. Dubreuil.
 " William Hod.
 " Daniel Vinet.
 " Jules Tremblay.
 " Joseph Deschamps.
 " Antoine Lauzon.
 " F. X. Desjardins.
 " Régis Vinet.
 " Luc Charlebois.
 " Simon La Rente, son.
 " Antoine Dubreuil.
 " J -Bte. Blondin.
 " Luc Ranger.
 " Gédéon Lamarche.
 " J. Marie Chantaille.
 " François Lemay.
 " Widow Bernardin Trottier.
 " Toussaint Raymond.
 " Gédéon Lamarche.
 " Moïse Carrière.
 " Jules Tremblay.
 " Emery Ranger.
 " Jérémie Crevier.

*No. of
Terrier*

101 Amable Grossier.
 " Amable Brunet.
 " Sévère Godin.
 " Benjamin Lepage.
 " James Maguire.
 " James Curtis.
 " Widow Luc Denis.
 " Louis Crevier.
 " Hy. Ranger.
 " J.-Bte. Dubois.
 " Ovide de Montigny.
 " Sévère Vinet, father.
 " Charles Legault.
 " Luc Sauvé.
 " Louis Sauvé.
 " Pierre Perrier.
 " Léon Denis.
 " François Denis.
 " Paul Paquet.
 " Moïse Le Hue.
 " Luc Charlebois.
 " Ovide Ranger.
 102 Joseph Petit.
 103 Dame Flora McTavish.
 " Joseph Petit.
 104 Joseph Crevier.
 105 " "
 104 Guillaume Meloche.
 " Joseph Gauthier.
 " Ephraïm Poirier.
 " Augustin Hartubise.
 " Guil. Meloche.

PARISH OF STE. ANNE (EAST).

*No. of
Terrier.*

105 Gilbert et Alex Crévier.
 106 " "
 " Ant. Hainault, dit Deschamps.
 " François Meloche.
 " Bernardin Gauthier.
 " André Pilon.
 " Bazile Sauvé.
 107 Ant. Hainault dit Deschamps (1)
 108 Félix Sauvé, jr.
 " Joseph Pilon.
 109 Joseph Lalonde.
 108 Félix Sauvé.

(1) Site of fief Blainville.

*No. of
Terrier.*

108 Woodward Beers.
 " Luc LaMagdelaine.
 " François Lussier.
 " Nérée Sauvé.
 108 9 Alexandre Sauvé.
 110 Hy. Cytoteux dit Langlois.
 111 Antoine St. Denis.
 111 Damase St. Denis.
 " Moïse Brisebois.
 " 112 Antoine Caron.
 " James Mason.
 112 Théodore Pilon.

*No. of
Terrier.*

- 113 Jos. Théo. Meloche jr.
113-4 François St-Denis jr.
115 Claude Vallée.
" Antoine Denis.
" to 117 Amable Vallée.
118 Pierre Robillard.
119 André Madore.
120 Joseph Pilon.

*No. of
Terrier.*

- 121 Joseph Pilon
" Sévère Pilon.
122 Séraphin Pilon.
" Pierre Séraphin Pilon.
" André Madore.
123 Luc Sauvé.
" Jacques Lantier.
" André Madore.

PARISH OF POINTE CLAIRE (WEST).

*No. of
Terrier.*

- 124 Léon Valois.
125, 126 Widow Félix Valois.
126, 127 Widow W. Angel.
125, 6, 7 Widow Jos. D'Aoust.
128 Gabriel Valois.
129 Peter Lynch (1)
" Joseph Valois, son of J. M.
131 Paschal Pilon, son of Pas.
132 Succession M. Brunet.
" Jérémie Jolive dit Lépine.
" Peter Lynch.
" Geneviève Pilon.
" Michel LaMagdelaine, sr.
134 Paschal Pilon.
" Michel Lamagdelaine.
135 Scholastique St.Denis.
135 François Pilon.
" J.-Bte. Dubreuil.
" André L. Lebeau.
" J.-Bte. Denis

*No. of
Terrier.*

- 136 Widow Jos. Denis.
136 Charles Barbeau.
" Israël Roy.
" , 137 Michel Legros.
137 Louis Legros.
" Ant. Charlebois.
139 J.-Bte. Neveu.
" J.-Bte. Lacombe.
" , 140 Louis Legros dit Lecomte.
140 Michel Lefèbvre.
143 Alexandre Brunet.
144 Louis Dagenais.
" Paul Neveu.
145 Frs. Ant. Pillet, M D. (2)
146 Charles Valiquet.
147 William Loyer.
" Alexandre Pilon.
148, 149 Gabriel Valois.
150 Gabriel Mitchell.
151 Widow Michel Maher.

VILLAGE OF POINTE CLAIRE.

(Sub-divisions of 151, 152 and 153.)

- Benjamin Dubois (part of the Point.)
Fabrique of Pointe Claire. (3)
Widow Michel Mayer.
Louis Bazile d'Aoust.
Narcisse d'Aoust.
Antoine Phelks.
Alexis LeBeau.
Widow Jos. Théoret.
Dosithée Allard.
Samuel Biron.
Sisters of the Congregation.

- Revd, Damase Ricard.
F. X. Carrier.
Bénoni LeBeau.
Michel Guérard.
Widow Pierre Bernardin.
Raphaël Brunet.
Widow Jos. Charlebois.
Jos. Normandeau.
Barthelemy Gauthier.
Felicite Lecomte.
Pierre Lefebvre.

(1) Site of Beaufort ou Pointe à Guenet. — (2) Road St. Charles leading to Beaconsfield R. R. stations and Ste. Geneviève. — (3) Site of R. C. Church, presbytere and convent.

Frs. X. Létang.	Thos. Duchesneau.
Louis LeBeau.	Léon Charlebois.
Isidore Aumet.	Eusèbe Brisebois.
Joseph Vachon.	Francis Mitchell.
Jean-Bte. Aumet.	Joseph Perrin.
Widow Honoré Sauvé.	Dame Jos. Perrin.
Benjamin Trudel.	J.-Bte. Legault.
Charles Lecomte.	F. H. Létang.
Jacques Lantier.	Jos. Brisebois.
John Shannon.	J.-Bte. Proulx.
Théodore Guérard.	J.-Bte. Lacombe.
Joseph Lefebvre.	P. C. Valois.
Joseph Brunet.	Prosper Pilon.
Heirs J.-Bte. Brisebois.	Narcisse Roberge.
Bénoni D'Aoust.	Paul Fournier.
Raphaël Brunet.	Paschal Lefebvre.
Philippe Ménard.	Widow Amable Brunet.
Moïse Leclair.	Joseph Desjardins.
Ls. Bénoni D'Aoust.	Joachim D'Aoust.
Succession Louis D'Aoust.	Jules Monarque.
Charles Normandeau.	Ant. Viger.
Edouard Cousineau.	Egiat Cousineau.
J.-Bte. Trottier.	Gabriel Mitchell.
Louis Parent.	Isidore Fournier.
François Duchesneau.	Edmond Robillard.
Widow Thos. Duchesneau.	Pierre Charlebois.
The Municipal Corporation.	F. X. Létang.
Pierre Demers, jr.	Pierre Dalmars
Succession Chs. Valois.	Israël Mitchell.
Joseph Perrin, married to Widow Vital Mallet.	Moïse D'Aoust.

PARISH OF POINTE CLAIRE (EAST).

<i>No. of Terrier.</i>	<i>No. of Terrier.</i>
152 Arsène Charlebois.	165 66 Augustin Legault.
153 Eustache Langevin.	167-68 Benjamin Legault.
154 James Hodges.	168 Augustin Legault.
“ Eustache Brunet.	“ Jean-Bte. Legault.
155 James Hodges.	“ Léon Allard.
“ Hyacinthe Monet.	169 Hyth. Allard.
“ , 156 Joseph Perrin.	170 Léon Poireau dit Bellefeuille.
156 Félix Brunet, son of Noël.	171 to 173 Michel Frs. Valois.
157 Laurent Charlebois.	171, 172 Heirs Jos. Meloche dit Valois.
158 Charles Vinet.	172 Simon Meloche.
159 Antoine Perrier.	173 Widow Pierre Valois.
160 Louis Legault. (1)	174 Théophile Denis.
161 Rémi Legault, son of Ls.	175 Joseph Valois, son of J. M.
162-64 Léon Charlebois.	176 Onésime Legault.
Site of Pointe au Gascon.	Sources Road to Sarraguay.
166 Hyacinthe Allard.	

(1) Site of Road St. Jean to Cote St. Jean and Ste. Geneviève.

PARISH OF LACHINE (WEST). (1)

<i>No. of Terrier.</i>	<i>No. of Terrier.</i>
177 Damase Valois.	439 André Latour.
“ André Legault.	“ Félix St-Aubin.
178 Charles Valois.	“ Joseph St-Aubin.
178, 9 Dosité Allard.	“ John Anderson.
“ “ 180 J.-Bte. Legault, son of J.-Bte.	440 J.-Bte. Quesnel, son of J.-Bte.
178 Calixte Brunet.	438 François Pilon.
180 Frs. Hyacinth Pin.	“ Simon Meloche.
“ Eustache Legault.	“ Etienne Meloche.
“ J.-Bte. Jos. Dubois.	440, 441, 443 J.-Bte. Quesnel.
181-2 Léon Allard.	441, 442 Bazile Pigeon.
183 Onézime Allard.	444 André Latour. (3)
184 J.-Bte. Meloche.	445 J.-Bte. Quesnel, jr.
184-5 François Paré.	“ William McDonald.
186 John McMartin.	447 Michel Portelance.
Site of Cap St. Gilles.	“ -8 Frs. Xav. Tessereau.
187 Clovis Poireau.	447 Arch. B. Ogilvie.
188, 187 Joseph Allard.	448, 449 Louis Boyer.(4)
188, 189 Joseph Lepage.	450 53-55 Jas. Powley Dawes.
187, 188 Michel Clang.	451-52 Thomas Dawes.
188, 189 André Legault.(2)	453 Charles Deschamps.
189 Pierre Caron.	“ Heirs J. Kerr.
“ Joseph Monet.	454-55 Toussaint Décary.
“ Capt. Wetherall.	455 Joseph Boudrias.
“ Sir George Simpson.	456 58 Peter Benning.
“ Godefroy Loisselle.	458 Arthur Cruikshanks Webster.
431 Pierre Caron.	“ .60 Louis Boyer.
“ 432 Abraham Picard.	461 62 William Watson.
“ “ Paul Picard.	462 Alexander Duff.
“ Nicolas Martin.	463 James Ferres.
“ The School Commissioners.	“ Alexander McDonald.
432 J.-Bte. Décary.	463-64 E. P. Wilgress.
433 J.-Bte. Dumouchel.	464 65 William Reid.
434 J.-Bte. Meloche, jr.	466 Patrick McGee.
“ Ant. Hyacinthe Lefebvre.	“ J.-Bte. Mallette.
Benjamin Carignan.	“ .67 William Hannah.
435, 437 J.-Bte. Quesnel.	“ Olivier Pigeon.
436 Nicolas Lefebvre.	467 Dame Ve. Urbain Ant. Gagné.
“ Nicolas Martin.	“ Patrick McGee.
Liesse Road to Dixie R.R. Station.	“ John Surely.
437 Joseph Leclerc.	“ John Learmonth.
“ Théodore Leclerc.	“ Nathan Beattie.
438 J.-Bte. Picard.	“ The Fabrique of Lachine. (5)
439 John Laflamme.	“ Nathan Beattie.

(1) La Présentation de Dorval of to-day. — (2) No. 189 was the site of old Fief La Présentation and Shackell Ave. The R. C. church of La Présentation de Dorval and the Anglican chapel of St. Mark are on this piece of land, 19 x 20 arpents. — (3) The Town of Lachine covers to-day the front of lots No. 445 to 467, having several main streets and cross-streets, even north of the Grand Trunk. — (4) Site of Fort Rolland. — (5) Site of Fort Rémy also called Fort de l'Eglise, near C. P. R. bridge of to-day.

*No. of
Terrier.*

467 Antoine Gagné.
471, 2 Frs. X. Bélanger.
472 Widow McMartin.
" to 475 Alex Robert.
473, 4 Donald McMartin Evans.
475-77 H. W. Newman.
Capt. Sheppard.
477 Henri Trudeau.
478 Sir George Simpson.
" Thomas Williams.
479 Sir George Simpson.
" John Jackson.
480-482 Daniel Fraser. (1)
481 Hugh Fraser.
482 Patrick Fallon.
483-6 Patrick Fallon.
" Donald Fraser.
" Thomas Williams.
" Richard Willoughby.
Robert Varner.

*No. of
Terrier.*

483-6 Richard Willoughby.
" Daniel Dunberry.
" Joseph St-Denis.
" Morice Neagle.
" Michael Murphy.
" Michael Parker.
" Alexandre Robert.
485 Patrick Fallon. (2)
487 Venant Jarry Henrichon.
488 W. J. Knox.
487 to 490 David Dunberry
Germain Ouellet.
489 J.-Bte. Robert.
490 Paul Lefebvre.
491 The Corporation of Montreal. (3)
" Hon. John Young.
492 André St-Denis.
494 to 498 James Somerville.
498 to 505 Will. J. Knox.
504 William Reeves.

VILLAGE OF LACHINE.

The Trustees of the Royal School.
François Poirier.
J.-Bte. Emond.
Joseph Paré.
Widow Hugh Gainer.
Israël and Félix Clément.
Joseph Duquet.
Sir George Simpson. (4)
Olivier Madore.
Alex. Duff.
Venant Roy.
Edward Evans.
Heirs W. McMaster.
John Monk.
Joseph Boudrias.
Joseph Conway.
Joseph Lebeuf.
Paul Eno dit Deschamps.
Widow François Gauthier.
Widow John Kerr.
Edouard Ouellet.
Joseph Emond.
Louis Gravel.

Pierre Boudrias.
Charles Picard.
Athanase Boileau.
Frs Paré et Jos. Blondin.
Reverend Jos. L. Prévost.
J.-Bte. Daigneau.
François Laflamme.
Moïse Meloche.
Thomas Dawes.
Morgan Mullins.
Thos. Scott.
Justinien Bélanger.
Etienne Denis.
Charles Pariseau.
Widow John Fahey.
Widow David Harney.
Pierre Caron.
F. J. Cuillerier.
Charles Caignan.
Joseph Dubois.
Henry Campbell.
Olivier Pigeon.
John McSurely.

(1) Site of Fort Cuillerier. The old ruins shewn at page 76 at *Lake St. Louis*, have been demolished. Only part of the foundations remains. — (2) All the proprietors under number 483 to 486, were holders in consequence of the division of the Common. — (3) Old aqueduct. — (4) Site of the Convent.

John Connolly.
 Antoine Boudrias.
 John Thos. Wayland.
 John McSurely, jr.
 Montreal & N. York R.R. (1)
 John Neagle.
 Paul Filion.
 Guillaume Ouellet.
 Patrick Shannon.
 J.-Bte. Madore.
 François D'Aoust.
 John Laughlin.
 Louis Paré.
 Félix Monarque.
 Frs. Poirier.
 Alex. Robertson.
 Julien Trudeau.
 Thomas Allen.
 Mrs. John Cowan.
 Richard Gamble.
 Thomas McLaughlin.
 Daniel Magrath.
 Etienne Courville.
 Alex. Brisset.
 Théophile Lapersée.
 Dr. Stein.
 John Norton.
 J.-Bte. Lefebvre.
 François Séjour.
 Antoine Ouellet.
 Madame Ant. Brazeau.

Dame Jos. Aussem.
 J.-Bte. Vincent.
 Louis Barré.
 Alfred Decouagne.
 Pierre Anesse.
 Joseph Martineau.
 J.-Bte. Dolbec.
 Gédéon Martineau.
 François Cuillerier.
 Succession J. Laflamme.
 Joseph Dubreuil.
 Joseph St Denis.
 Robert Blyson.
 George Wait.
 Hugh Heron.
 John Mullins.
 Edward Smith
 Widow Jas. Butler.
 J.-Bte. Tessereau.
 J.-Bte. Beaudouin.
 Joseph Laplante.
 Antoine Léger.
 Joseph Daoust.
 Augustin Robert.
 Etienne Monarque.
 Succession J.-Bte. Boyer.
 Arsène Martineau.
 Benjamin Laplaine.
 Pierre Douillet.
 Clément Deschamps.

PARISH OF ST. LAURENT.

Bernard Goyer, son of J. Bte.
 Guillaume Bertrand.
 Bazile Groulx.
 Arcade Bertrand.
 Théophile Dagenais.
 Luc Montigny.
 Etienne Martin.
 Placide Cavalier.
 Antoine Brien.
 Robert Hislop.
 Jean Rémi Cavalier.
 Louis Bélanger.
 Joseph Goyer.
 Thadée St-Aubin.
 J.-Bte. St-Aubin.
 Nicolas Deguire.

Gervais Cousineau.
 Benjamin Cousineau.
 Jos. Cousineau, son of Bénoni.
 Louis Cousineau.
 Pierre Cousineau.
 Robert Boa.
 James Muir.
 Michel Groulx.
 Benjamin Groulx.

COTE DES BOIS FRANCS.

J.-Bte. Groulx.
 Paul Bleigner dit Jarry.
 Raphaël Caillé.
 Frs. Beauvais.
 Joachim Marcotte.

(1) Site of the old railway station and wharf.

Toussaint Laurin.
 J.-Bte. St-Aubin.
 Raphaël Chabot.
 J.-Bte. Caillé, jr.
 J.-Bte. Caillé, son of Ls.
 Frs. Caillé, son of Raph.
 J.-Bte. Caillé, son of Raph.
 Gervais Cousineau.
 Louis St-Germain, son of Ant.
 Eustache Legault.
 Benjamin Verdon.
 Séraphin Ouellet.
 Léon Chauvreau.
 Jean, Ambroise et Séraphin Ouellet.
 Nicolas Laurin, jr.
 Nicolas Laurin, sr.
 Daniel McDonald.
 P. P. Lachapelle.
 Gervais Cousineau.
 J.-Bte. Groulx.
 Bobt. Boa.
 Andrew Boa.
 J.-Bte. Lahaie.
 John P. Ashton.
 Joseph Ouellet.
 Benjamin Rapideux.
 Bazile Laurin.
 François Quenneville.
 Amable Beaulieu.
 Widow Bazile Laurin.
 Heirs Frs. Poirier.
 Dr. F. Z. Tassé.
 Nicolas Laurin, jr.
 Joseph Cousineau, jr.
 Joseph Cousineau, sr.
 J.-Bte. Verdon, son of J.-Bte.
 Luc Verdon.
 Benjamin Crevier.
 Pierre Préneveau.

COTE DE VERTU (North side).

William Boa.
 Laurent Cardinal.
 Jean Rémi Cavalier.
 Luc Tatre dit Larivière.
 Augustin Viau.
 Bazile Groulx.
 Antoine Lecours.
 J.-Bte. Boyer, son of P.
 J.-Bte. Cousineau.
 P. Robitaille, son of Pierre.

Antoine Legault.
 J.-Bte. Lecours.
 Bénoni Carpentier.
 Narcisse Desvoyaux.
 Louis Cousineau.
 Antoine Brien.
 Alexis Lacroix.
 Moïse Goyer.
 Moïse Goyer, (Isle aux Chats).
 Robert Hislop.
 Thadée St-Aubin.
 J.-Bte. St-Aubin.
 Thallele St-Aubin.
 Michel Groulx.
 James Muir.
 Pierre Verdon.
 Nicolas Deguire.
 Amable Brien.
 Laurent Meilleur.
 Joseph Bouchette.
 Raphaël Caillé, son of Raphaël.
 Louis Caillé, son of P.
 Benjamin Cousineau.
 J.-Bte. Desvoyaux.
 Benjamin Verdon.
 Ambroise Ouellet.
 Charles Tassé.
 Ludger Tassé.
 Nicolas Laurin.
 Widow Jos. Jérémie Legault.
 Gervais Cousineau.
 Luc Verdon.
 Gilbert Leduc.
 Augustin Richer.
 François Quenneville.
 François Poirier.
 Dr. F. Z. Tassé.
 Pierre Rochon.
 Benjamin Groulx.
 Gaspard Groulx.
 Joseph Groulx.

COTE DE VERTU (South side).

Guillaume Cavalier.
 Augustin Goyer.
 J.-Bte. Lecours.
 Jérémie Gougeon, son of Ant.
 Barthelemy Groulx.
 Joseph Groulx.
 Laurent Brignon.
 Cléophas Groulx.

Pierre Deguire.
 Paul Bleigner Jarry.
 Robert Hislop.
 J.-Bte. Verdon.
 Toussaint Verdon.
 Frs. Bleigner dit Jarry.
 Abraham M. Gosselin.
 Nicolas Deguire.
 Laurent Meilleur.
 Cléophas Groulx.
 Félix Verdon.
 Pierre Deguire.
 Baptiste Johnston.
 Dr. Charles Dorion.
 Frs. St-Aubin.
 Widow Antoine Dubeau.
 Heirs Frs. St-Aubin, son of J.-Bte.
 Séraphin Deguire.
 Alexander Lindsay.
 Archibald Connolly.
 Heirs Antoine Voyer.
 Frs. Quesnel.
 Antoine Serre, son of J.-Bte.
 Antoine Serre.
 F. X. Cavalier.
 Séraphin Cavalier.

COTE ST. FRANÇOIS (South side).

Pierre Boyer.
 Pierre Cavalier.
 Frs. Viau.
 Benjamin Boyer.
 J.-Bte. Boyer.
 Michel Desvoyeaux.
 Frs. Groulx.
 Augt P. Goyer dit Belisle.
 J.-Bte. " "
 Narcisse St-Aubin.
 Jos. Desforges, jr.
 J.-Bte. Vézina.
 François Falstrault.
 Augustin Fournier.
 Augustin Viau.
 J.-Bte. Lecours.
 Ant. Dubeau.
 Will. and John Anderson.
 Augustin Joron.
 Etienne Martin.

COTE ST. FRANÇOIS (North side).

Léon Legault.

Firmin Viau.
 Jacques Viau, son of J.-Bte.
 François Boyer.
 J.-Bte. Viau, son of J.-Bte.
 François Desforges.
 J.-Bte. Lecours.
 Olivier Desforges.
 François Viau.
 Augt. Goyer, son of J.-Bte.
 Joseph Desforges.
 Laurent Groulx.
 Joseph Quenneville, son of P.
 J.-Bte. Goyer.
 Antoine Viau.
 Heirs Jos. Dubeau.
 William and John Anderson.
 Jean Rémi Cavalier.

COTE DE LIESSE (South side).

J.-Bte. Quesnel, son of J.-Bte.
 Widow Pierre Desforges.
 Charles Décary.
 J.-Bte. Roy Lepage.
 Louis Gariépy.
 Joseph Décary.
 Widow J Bte. St-Aubin.
 Guillaume Décary.
 Widow Gervais Décary.
 Gabriel Décary.
 Guillaume Cavalier.
 Onézime Prudhomme.
 Isaïe Hurtubise.
 Toussaint Martin.
 Ant. St-Aubin, son of J.-Bte.
 Léon Groulx.
 Widow Pierre Groulx.
 Léon Vary dit Numinville.
 Stanislas Viau.
 Guillaume Viau.
 Augustin Cavalier.
 Frs. X. Groulx.
 Louis Gariépy.
 Dominique Hurtubise.
 Heirs Gabriel Décary.
 Jérôme Cardinal.
 Antoine Martineau.
 Augustin Cavalier.
 Stanislas Hébert dit Larose.
 Widow Pierre Groulx, son of P.
 Thos. Ryan.
 Benjamin Gougeon.

William Tait.
 Mrs. Geo. Wm. Gernon.
 James Hodges.
 Félix Gougeon.
 Benjamin Boudrias.
 Henri Gervais Décary.
 Gabriel Décary.
 Antoine Gougeon.
 Thos. Hodges.
 Benjamin Gougeon.
 Hypolite St-Aubin, son of J.-Bte.
 William Hodges.
 Samuel Milligan.
 J.-Bte. Boudrias.
 Félix Fortier.
 Simon Durand.
 Pierre Leduc.
 Michel Olivier Hurtubise.
 Julien Durand dit Manchot.

COTE DE LIESSE (North side).

Hyacinthe Legault.
 Andrew Crawford.
 P. Monet.
 François Aubry.
 J.-Bte. Goyer, son of P.
 Gervais Décary.
 Louis Gariépy.
 Pierre Groulx.
 Gervais Décary, son of P.
 François Groulx.
 Michel Desvoyaux.
 Widow Jos. St-Aubin.
 Hyacinthe Aubry.
 J.-Bte. Quesnel.
 Andrew Crawford.
 Widow J.-Bte. St-Aubin.
 F. H. Groulx.
 Widow Pierre Beaubien.
 Nicolas Lefebvre.
 Pierre Robitaille, son of P.
 Amable Cousineau.
 Guillaume Cavalier, jr.
 Joseph Groulx, son of Bazile.
 Joseph Cousineau.
 Toussaint Roy Lepage.
 J.-Bte. Roy Lepage.
 Widow Martin Ladouceur.
 Michel Maturin.
 " Verdon.
 Félix Lecours.

Toussaint Lepage.
 Guillaume Cavalier.
 Widow Martin Guillaume Cavalier.
 Stanislas Hébert Lavoie.
 William Tait.
 Mrs. Geo. W. Gernon.
 Benjamin Gougeon.
 Archibald Connolly.
 Heirs Frs. St-Aubin.
 J.-Bte. St-Germain, priest.

COTE ST. LAURENT (North side).

Antoine Serre.
 Augustin Goyer.
 Widow H. Roy.
 Jean O. Crevier.
 Louis Crevier.
 Pierre Rochon.
 Louis Legault.
 Widow Roy.
 Thomas Phillips, jr.
 François Deguire.
 Widow Joseph Rapideux.
 Jean Evangeliste Crevier.
 Thomas Harland.
 Joseph Groulx.
 Gaspard Groulx.
 Gervais Deguire.
 Benjamin Rapideux.
 Peter King.
 Joseph Lavoie.
 Frs. X. Cousineau.
 Frs. St-Aubin, son of J.-Bte.
 Félix Joron.
 Jean Olivier Crevier.
 Joseph Charbonneau.
 Jean O. Crevier.
 Ignace Leduc.
 Romain Ouimet.
 Peter King.
 Thomas Harland.
 Jérémie Legault.
 J.-Bte. Montpellier dit Beaulieu.
 Toussaint Montpellier.
 Antoine Lebeau, son of Pierre.
 Philippe Leduc, son.
 Antoine Lebeau.
 William Cowan.
 Frs. Rapideux, son of Frs.
 Joseph Rapideux.
 D. W. Crerar.

Toussaint Jérôme Latour.
 William Muir.
 Joseph Rastoul.
 François Prévost.
 Heirs Louis Marteau.
 Michel Jérôme dit Latour.
 Heirs Ant. Voyer.
 Jérémie Gougeon.
 Louis Bougie.
 Widow Pascal Hébert.
 Stanley Bagg.
 J.-Bte. Gougeon.
 F. Paquet.
 Beaulieu.
 Toussaint Gougeon.
 F. Paquet, sr.
 Pierre Léonard.
 Frs. Bleigner.
 Gilbert Beauchamp.
 Frs. Prévost.

COTE ST. LAURENT (South side).

Widow Gabriel Roy.
 J.-Bte. Lescarbeau.
 Joseph Cardinal, sr.
 Joseph Cousineau.

Félix Fortier.
 Representatives James Hutchison.
 Olivier Langevin.
 Rémi Joron.
 Louis Legault.
 Séraphin Goyer.
 Aug. Goyer, son of Amable.
 André Hérault Dominique
 James Hutchison.
 Augustin Goyer.
 Hugh Taylor.
 Jérémie Legault.
 Mrs. Lunn.
 George Small.
 Johnston Thompson.
 J.-Bte. Lebeau, son of Pierre.
 Antoiné Lebeau.
 Louis Jarry.
 William Cowan.
 Widow Edward Dunwoody.
 Heirs Hy. Deguire.
 J.-Bte. Lanouette.
 Heirs Ant. Voyer.
 Louis Bougie.
 François Prévost.
 Frs. Bleigner dit Jarry, son of Louis.
 Frs. Bleigner dit Jarry Hanot.

VILLAGE OF ST. LAURENT.

Joseph Monarque.
 The Fabrique of St. Laurent.
 The Sisters of Ste. Croix.
 Robert Langwell.
 Widow Michel Verdon.
 Mrs. M. McDonald.
 The Fabrique of St. Laurent.
 Geo. W. Gernon.
 Joseph Rapideux.
 Widow Edward Gown.
 Onézime Cousineau.
 Antoine Minier dit Lagacée.
 J.-Bte. Minier dit Lagacée.
 J.-Bte. Ouellet.
 Frs. Deguire dit Larose.
 Jérémie Bonin dit Dufresne.
 Jérémie Montpellier dit Beaulieu.
 Bazile P'geon.
 Augustin Beaulieu.
 Jos. Goyer dit Belisle.
 Félix Lacroix.
 Trustees of the English School.

J.-Bte. Legault.
 Augustin Goyer.
 Gabriel Montpellier.
 Gabriel Montpellier, jr.
 F. X. Cardinal.
 Benjamin Rapideux.
 J. St-Jean.
 Cyrille Beautron, sr.
 Cyrille Beautron.
 Jérémie Beautron.
 Heirs Poirier.
 Jean-Bte. Laurin.
 Dame Placide Robert.
 Isidore Crépeau.
 Louis Montpellier.
 Frs. X. Tassé.
 Joseph Verdon.
 Louis Beautron.
 Séraphin Beautron.
 Arsène Pigeon.
 François Léonard.
 Antoine Roussel.

Frs. X. Lecavalier.
 François Quenneville.
 Augustin Richer.
 Gédéon Chauvreau.
 Widow Louis Verdon.
 Barthélemy Groulx.
 Luc Crevier.
 Charles Prévost.
 Mrs. D. McDonald.
 J.-Bte. Imbault.
 Augustin Goyer.
 Antoine Lebeau.
 Benjamin Goyer.
 François Léonard.
 Eloi Pepin.
 J.-Bte. Valiquet.
 J.-Bte. Lécuyer.
 François Robert.
 Heirs Joseph Martineau.
 F. X. Valade.
 Benjamin Boyer.
 Raphaël Tatre.
 Laurent Brignon.
 Widow Jos. Latour.
 Clément Bleigner dit Jarry.
 Hyacinthe Tatre.
 Philippe Leduc.
 Narcisse Cavalier.
 Jean Guillaume.
 Abraham Go selin.
 James Shields.
 Olivier Lacroix.
 Abraham Bonin dit Dufresne.
 Joseph Beautron.
 F. X. Valade.
 J.-Bte. Martin.
 The Sisters of St. Croix.
 Louis Beautron.
 Antoine Montpellier.
 Louis Bonin dit Dufresne.

Narcisse Cabana.
 Arsène Jarry.
 Joseph Lauzon.
 Augustin Belisle dit Boyer.
 Julien Léonard.
 J.-Bte. Turcot.
 Jérôme Martineau.
 Joseph Lavoie.
 Toussaint Ladouceur.
 Arsène Blegnier.
 John Lawlor.
 Benjamin Boudrias.
 Eloi Pepin.
 Joseph Fortier.
 Jacques Lauzon.
 Paul Durand.
 Jacques Lauzon.
 Paul Durand.
 Louis Beautron.
 Widow F. Hébert.
 Isidore Labelle.
 David Léonard.
 Pierre Prêneveau.
 Bazile Laurin.
 Antoine Beaulieu.
 Benjamin Lamarre.
 Widow Ouellet.
 François Beauvais.
 Jean-Bte. Beaulieu.
 Séraphin Lahaise.
 Basile Groulx.
 Pierre Laurin.
 François Lapointe.
 Antoine Ouellet.
 André Boa.
 François Laurin.
 Joseph Chartrain.
 Narcisse Laurin.
 Trefflé Lahaise.
 Benjamin Minier.

INHABITANTS OR CENSITAIRES OF ISLE PERROT.

(As per Cadastre made in 1857 by the Seigniorial Commission, Vol. II, Nos. 64 and 65.)

FIEF BRUCY.

Deschamps, Antoine Hainault dit ; Gauthier, Hypolite, wife of J.-Bte. Langevin ; Grand Trunk Railway Company ; Lefebvre, Nicolas ; Legault, Benjamin ; Legault, Joseph ; Lepage dit Roy, Joseph ; Loyola, Pierre ; Martin, Nicolas ; Quesnel, J.-Bte ; Ricard, Bélarmin R. ve-

rend ; Ricard, Heirs of late Reverend Pierre Damase ; Sauv , Thomas ; Vall e, Charles ; Valois, Charles, M.D.

FIEF LAFRAMBOISE.

F. X. Desjardins, and the Grand Trunk R.R. Co.

SEIGNIORY OF ISLE PERROT.

Allard, Michel ; Allard, Thomas ; Aumais, Joseph ; Beaulac, Jacques ; Bourbonnais, Joseph ; Boyer, Antoine ; Boyer, Fran ois ; Boyer, Charles ; Boyer, Alexandre ; Boyer, Jacques, widow ; Bourbonnais, S raphin ; Brousseau, Albert ; Brunette, No l ; Campanet, Victoire ; Charlebois, Antoine ; Charlebois, L on ; Charlebois, Pierre Heirs ; Daoust, Amable ; Daoust, Antoine ; Daoust, Ambroise ; Daoust, Charles J r mie ; Daoust, Casimir ; Daoust, Eus be ; Daoust, Jean-Bte. ; Daoust, Gilbert children, of ; Deguire, Antoine ; Denis, S raphin ; Desjardins, Fran ois X. ; Dubois, Benjamin ; Gauthier, Amable ; Gauthier, Joseph ; Grand Trunk Railway Company ; Gravelle, Antoine ; Groulx, J r mie ; Harwood, R. V. (Three Islands) ; Harwood, R. V. (Seven Islands) ; Houle, Thomas ; Jones, Edouard T. ; Lalonde, Antoine ; Laberge, Isaie ; Lalonde, Emery ; Lalonde, Joseph ; Lalonde, Jean Bte ; Ladouceur, Joseph ; L cuyer, Joseph ; Leduc, Antoine ; Leduc, Charles Heirs ; Leduc, H g sippe ; Legault, J.-Bte ; Legault, Jean-Marie ; Legault, Paschal ; Legault, R mi ; Legault, Toussaint ; L ger, Antoine ; L ger, Michel ; Lotbini re, Dame Josephite de (One Island) ; Loyola, Pierre ; McNab, Michael ; McNaughton, Heirs of Ed. P. ; Mayer, Michael ; McDonnell, Lo  ; Meloche, Louis ; Meloche, Jean Bte. ; M nard, Fran ois ; Monpetit, Guillaume ; Monpetit, Frs. X. ; Monpetit, Pierre ; Moreau, Narcisse ; Mulligan, Owen ; Normandin, Joseph ; P ladeau, Eustache ; P ladeau, Fran ois ; P ladeau, Jean Chrysost me ; Pilon, Joseph ; Pilon, S v re ; Plouffe, Charles ; Poirier, Pierre ; Ranger, Cl oph e ; Sauv , Joseph ; Sauv , Pierre ; St. Denis, Fran ois ; St. Denis, J. Bte. ; St. Denis, Pierre ; Toupin, Fran ois ; Toupin, Louis ; Trestler, J. B. Doctor (Two Islands) ; Trestler, Heirs J. J. (Three Islands) ; Valois, Adela de ; Valois, Charles ; Valois, Joseph, Gabriel and Pierre ; Valois, F lix ; Valois, Frs. Xavier ; Valois, Michel Frs., Doctor ; Valois, Narcisse ; Valois, Simon ; Vienne, Charles.

SEIGNIORY OF ISLE BIZARD.

(As per Cadastre made by the Seigniorial Commission, in 1857, vol. II, n. 59.)

The Domaine (site of the present manor house).	Jacques Tr�panier.
Widow Jos. Th�oret.	Hyacinthe Poudrette.
Isidore Proulx.	Bazile Poudrette.
Elie Proulx.	John Wilson, sr.
J.-Bte. Boileau.	Amable Payment.
Michel Labrosse.	Isidore Paquin.
Bazile Ladouceur.	L�on Brisebois.
Louis Boileau.	Hyacinthe Paquin.
D. B. Viger.	John Wilson, jr.
Jarry.	Bazile Th�oret.
F�lix Proulx.	John Wilson, jr.
Jacques Labrosse.	F. X. Boileau.
J.-Bte. Brunet.	Roch Boileau.
Edouard Paquin.	Jules Boileau.
Alexandre Neveux.	Frs. Demers.
Toussaint Th�oret.	Joseph Th�oret.
Jos. Sauv�.	Joseph Barbeau.
Toussaint Th�oret.	Dame J.-Bte. Lafleur.
Alexandre Neveux.	Jos. Th�oret.
	The Fabrique of St. Raphael.

Luc Brunet.
 Hon. D. B. Viger (site of old manor house).
 Benjamin Sauvé.
 Olivier Charlebois.
 Charles Sénécal.
 Jos. Théoret.
 Venance Théoret.
 Joseph Théoret.
 F. H. Legault.
 Bernard Théoret.
 Charles Théoret.
 Amable Payment.
 Etienne Théoret.
 Widow Jos. Théoret.
 Jos. Brunet.
 Louis Théoret.
 Madame C. Proulx.
 " Vve Paquin.
 Ferdinand Brunet.
 Olivier Paquin.
 Grégoire Dautour.
 Félix Legault.
 Félix Boileau.
 Félix Legault.
 Frs. Dautour.
 Olivier Paquin.
 Frs. Dautour.
 Widow André Jobin.
 Félix Boileau.
 Félix Legault.
 J.-Bte. Martel.
 Jules Joly.
 Frs. Labelle.
 Hyacinthe Paquin.
 Séraphin et Jos. Legault.
 Toussaint Proulx.
 Jos. Binet.
 Widow Jos. Théoret.
 Julien Desormeaux.
 Eustache Genvril.
 Christophe Brunet.
 Grégoire Lafontaine.
 Eusèbe Martel.
 Augustin Cardinal.
 Charles Blayer.
 Guillaume G. Gaucher.
 Toussaint Théoret.

Luc Martin, sr.
 Antoine Berthiaume.
 Arsène Théoret.
 Bazile Théoret.
 Antoine Berthiaume.
 John Wilson, jr.
 Bazile Théoret.
 Frédéric Martel.
 Jos. Brunet.
 Bazile Théoret.
 Frs. Lalonde.
 Amable Rollin.
 Eustache Genvril.
 Jacques Trépanier.
 Frs. Genvril.
 Hyacinthe Poudrette.
 Eustache Brayer.
 Amable Ethier.
 Frs. Dumoulin.
 Etienne Ladouceur.
 Jos. Lauzon.
 Damase Paquin.
 Michel Sauvé.
 Jos. Ladouceur.
 Eustache Ladouceur.
 Louis Wilson.(1)
 Félix Proulx.
 F. X. Brayer.(2)
 Frs. Legault.
 Michel Labrosse.

VILLAGE :

Jos. Joly.
 Gatien Claude.
 Eustache Deguire.
 Madame Bussière.
 Benjamin Boileau.
 Widow Frs. Brisebois.
 Frs. Brisebois, son.
 Alexandre Verdon.
 Gatien Claude.
 E. Théoret.
 P. Trépanier.
 Charles Joly.
 Widow Jos. Brayer.
 Auguste Laudermain.
 J.-B. Desrivères.
 Madame Eustache Paquin.

(1) The Wilsons of Isle Bizard are French Canadians and are surnamed "Portugais". —

(2) Surnamed "St-Pierre", Mr. Justice St-Pierre belongs to this family. Its correct name is "Berrier dit St-Pierre", *Lake St. Louis*, 197.

Doctor Forbes.
J.-B. Boivin.
Léon Boivin.
Eustache Deguire.
Jos. Sauvé.

Onézime Trépanier.
Barthélémy Groulx.
Jérémie Sauvé.
Jos. Ladouceur.
Benjamin Boileau.

SUMMER RESIDENTS, PROPRIETORS IN 1903

ON

LAKE ST. LOUIS⁽¹⁾

SUMMERLEA :

Robert Bickerkike, M.P.
Mayor John Taylor.
J. N. Fulton.
The Country Club, Racquet Court.
Rowing and Boating Clubs.
John Russell.
Dr. A. Laphorn Smith.
George Johnson.
John Muir.

LIESSE ROAD *leading to Dixie G. T. R.R.* *Station and St. Laurent :*

S. Silverman.
John Taylor.
R. C. Jamieson.
J. T. Paterson.
Henry Dobell.
Peter Lyall.
Ernest Stuart, N.P.
Randall Davidson.

DORVAL :

Percy Taylor.
Royal Montreal Golf Club.
C. C. Campbell.
Emile Delorme.
H. J. Jeffery.
Family D. Ducharme.
Amable Lallemant.
Ernest R. Décary, N.P.
Dr. D. McEachran.
Hugh Graham.
J. R. Hutchins.
J. T. McCall.
Mr. Justice Davidson.
Peers Davidson.

J. Alex. Gordon.
Mr. Justice Girouard.
Dorval R. C. Church.
C. R. Hosmer.
G. Herrick Duggan.
A. C. Décary, N.P.
Miss Casey's Boarding House.

SHACKELL AVENUE *leading to Dorval* *G.T.R. and C.P.R. Stations :*

A. Haig Sims.
St. Mark's Chapel.
A. W. Morris.
Henry Markland Molson.
W. F. Torrance.
W. A. C. Hamilton.
Albert Shorey.
Geo. R. Marler.
R. Fitzgibbon.
E. R. Applegath.
C. Clément.
Alex. Paterson.
Hartland MacDougall.
A. F. Riddell.
Arthur Hamilton.
Samuel Carsley.
Frederic Hague.
Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club.
John P. Black.
Maurice Davis.
John G. Savage.
Robert Lindsay.
Wm. de M. Marler.
Edgar MacDougall.
H. J. Fisk.
F. N. Beardmore.
Fred. Shearwood.

(1) This list, with few exceptions, does not comprise the summer residents in the towns of Lachine and Ste. Anne de Bellevue or the village of Pointe Claire, nor the tenants or boarders along the lake, who altogether numbered about one hundred and fifty.

Forest and Stream Club.
 Bel-Air Jockey Club.
 Wm. Price.
 R. D. McGibbon, K.C.
 E. A. Whitehead, jr.

STRATHMORE R.R. STATION :

Wm. S. Trahan.
 James Robinson.
 T. Williamson.
 W. McCaw.
 W. H. Mathey.
 R. Wilson.
 W. A. Cooks.
 P. Small.

PARISH OF POINTE CLAIRE.

ST. RÉMI OR SOURCES ROAD :

H. Tremblay.
 Joseph Thibault.
 C. W. Meyers.
 H. A. Boyer.
 J. A. L. Barbeau.
 Hector Bourguoin.
 Armand La Rue.
 Henri Beaudry.
 Joseph Hudon.
 George Prowse.
 George Childs.

VALOIS R.R. STATION :

Dr. E. Valois.
 Daniel Stroud.
 Mr. Justice Papineau.
 Mrs. A. E. Ewing.
 Robert N. Scott.
 James Paton.
 James Sutherland.
 Thos. Paton.
 Valois Boating Club.

LAKE SIDE R.R. STATION :

Chs. Hagan.
 Mrs. M. Gunn.
 B. Goldstein.
 Hugh A. Allan.
 Alex. McDougall.

ST. JEAN ROAD :

P. H. Oakes.
 John F. Haskell.
 Jos. Perrier.
 O. F. Lilly.
 H. W. Holland.
 O. L. Hénault.

CEDAR AVENUE :

Mr. Justice Charbonneau.
 Jos. Duchesneau.
 Gerald Lomer.
 Siméon Beaudin, K.C.
 J. H. Tellier.
 Dr. R. T. G. Roddick, M.P.
 Pointe Claire Wharf and Boating Club.
 Ernest Mallette.

POINTE CLAIRE R. C. CHURCH AND VILLAGE.

BEACONSFIELD :

Mrs. C. H. Levin.
 Frank Upton.
 Wm. Robb.
 The Grove Boarding House.
 Protestant Chapel.
 Benjamin Tooke.
 George H. Labbé.
 H. Gérin-Lajoie, K.C.
 Ls. Beaubien.
 Chs. Beaubien.
 F. A. Stevenson.
 Mrs. W. E. Shaw.
 Beaconsfield Golf Club.
 Thos. R. Nelson.
 J. W. Peck.
 George Hyde.
 Thomas Jordan.
 W. H. Draper.
 Richard Wilton.
 T. R. McArthur.
 G. R. Locker.
 W. P. Scott.
 J. W. Nelles.
 Mrs. A. C. Clark.

ST. CHARLES ROAD, leading to Beaconsfield R.R. Stations and Ste. Geneviève.

D. McKinnon.
 George Ritchot.
 Senator R. Dandurand.
 Senator G. A. Drummond.
 Huntley Redpath Drummond.
 Arthur L. Drummond.
 J. W. Nelles.
 N. A. Brais.
 J. B. Désordi.
 A. C. Matthews.
 Thomas Lamb.
 Robert Shaw.
 Wm. M. Ramesay.

Jas. L. Wiseman.
 Alfred Valiquette.
 George Bourgouin.
 Napoléon Bourgouin.
 Estate Thomas Wilson.
 G. H. Godfrey.
 R. R. Stevenson.
 J. O'Flaherty.
 T. A. Crady.
 Jos. E. Rendell.
 F. Birks.
 John S. Dillon.

BEAUREPAIRE R.R. Station : (1)

Robert Reford.
 Leslie Dowker (Ste. Geneviève Island).
 J. C. Simpson.
 A. H. Scott.
 H. L. Putnam.
 W. Kavanagh.
 N. G. Power.
 W. S. Goodhugh.
 O. N. Evans.
 N. G. Slack.
 C. P. Sclater.
 A. L. Shorey.
 Wm. McMaster.
 Mr. Robillard.
 Mr. Madore.
 M. O. Dougall.
 A. W. Atwater, K.C.
 D. MacMaster, K.C.
 A. F. Dunlop.
 M. McKinn.

BAIE D'URFÉ :

R. R. Stevenson.
 Mr. Justice Fortin.
 J. A. Bonin, K.C.
 Mr. Justice Ouimet.
 Lt. Col. Geo. A. Hughes.
 Vivian Dowker.
 Lt. Col. Geo. Dowker.
 Wm. Kissock.
 St. Ann's Boating Club.
 Town of Ste. Anne de Bellevue.
 John Crow.
 A. L. Kent.
 H. M. Perrault.

C. A. Reid.
 W. M. Knowles.
 Samuel Hamilton.
 J. E. Michau.
 James Bailey.
 On G. T. Ave. or Maple Ave. — St.
 George's Church.
 Mr. Justice Mathieu.
 Georges S. Hubbell.
 Pierre Deschamps.
 John T. Dwyer.
 David Fraser.
 Ferdinand Lemieux.
 Charles Needam.
 R. Archer.
 S. E. W. Adams.
 John Peters.
 Frédéric Pratt.
 Alexander Watt.
 O. S. Becket.
 F. C. Charlebois.
 Miss. C. Telfer.
 Misses. Barrett.
 Charles Laurendeau.
 D. McKeever.

SENNEVILLE :

M. S. Blaiklock.
 R. T. Henneker.
 P. W. St. Georges.
 Mrs. J. C. Tunstall.
 F. D. Shallow.
 M. J. F. Quinn, K.C.
 Jas. B. Allan (Isle St. Gilles).
 John Grant.
 James Gillepsie.
 Dr. Thos. Simpson.
 J. B. Abbott.
 E. S. Clouston.
 Ruins of Fort Senneville.
 D. Forbes Angus.
 Chs. Meredith.
 R. B. Angus.
 Senneville Golf and Boating Clubs.
 Robert MacD. Paterson.
 F. L. Wanklyn.
 James Morgan.
 Dumont Laviolette.
 Senator. L. J. Forget.

(1) From Beaurepaire to the northern limit of Senneville, the old river side road has been straightened and macadamized. The river road in the parish of Pointe Claire is kept by a Turnpike Company levying tolls like the Dorval Company. There is no toll-gate in St. Ann's.

"*Quatre Vents*", Dorval, 7th July, 1903.

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