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# CANADIANA.

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*THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN CANADA UP  
TO 1841,*

By Miss BLANCHE L. MACDONELL.

[Concluded.]

About 1830, or perhaps a little earlier, a fresh spring of life, the thrill of a new beginning, became perceptible in Canadian literature. The contagion of popular enthusiasm aroused a vigorous force of national life. The political events of the day gave birth to a strong, patriotic sentiment that before long clothed itself with burning words, rich with pathos and passion. The greater portion of the poetry of this era was written by those known as "the patriots of '37." These compositions were for the most part short, detached pieces, printed in the journals of the time. It is quite possible that for strangers, these songs would possess little interest. Many of them are imperfect in form and expression, and exhibit flaws in taste and finish, but the ardent national spirit which they breathe will keep them long alive in Canadian hearts. Among those whose work displays talent, grace and charm are F. X. Garneau, Bédard, Cherrier, Aubin, F. R. Angers, Petitclair, J. E. Turcotte, F. M. Derome, Barthe, Leblanc de Macounay and Pierre Laviolette.

Barthe's poems are very imperfect, thought is lost sight of in a deluge of words. Among the best are "A mon ami," "La Prière d'une jeune Fille" "Le Sommeil." Lavolette's descriptions of Canadian scenes exhibit sensibility and facility of expression. Aubin was a Parisian journalist who came to Canada in 1834. About 1837, he commenced the publication of the "Fantasque," a paper whose wit and originality were highly appreciated. During the political troubles, both editor and printer of the "Fantasque" were thrown into prison. Later, M. Aubin started the "Castor." The highest perfection of this writer's talent appears in his journalistic work, which always possesses a naive and original character. His bright wit, expressed in incisive, epigrammatic phrases, his French gaiety, lightness of touch and neatness of finish, quite sustain the reputation he enjoyed. His best poems are "Souvenirs," "A Jenny," "Quarante ans," "Les Français aux Canadiens," "Le Suisse Libre," "Le Juste Milieu."

William Fitz-Hawley is known by two volumes of verse. "Quebec, the Harp and other poems" which gained a prize offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences of Quebec, and "The Unknown, or Lays of the Forest" which contains a really beautiful description of the River St. Maurice. Miss Vining's name also belongs to Canadian literature, though most of her writings appeared in American journals. Her verses are tender, soothing, plaintive, though they can scarcely be said to soar above the common-place. The best are "Under the Snow," "The Earth's Complaint" and "Canada." Isidore Bédard's promising career was cut short by an early death. Notwithstanding carelessness and negligence of style, this young poet excelled any of his contemporaries in deep feeling and genuine fervor of sentiment. His quick, impulsive ardor vitalizes every sentence. His poem "Sol Canadien" has earned a well merited reputation as one of our best known Canadian national songs.

Decidedly the best representative of this epoch is F. X. Garneau, so well known through his History of Canada. M. Garneau devoted himself with ardor to the study of his race, its language, literature and history. His style is full of fire, in sympathetic harmony with the character of his work. Many of his poems are warm with the heat and glow of enthusiasm, and possessing that spiritual power which is the inevitable result of conviction, ring out like the sound of a clarion. "Le Père du Soldat" is an historical poem of some merit. "Les Oiseaux Blancs" and "Louise" are charming in form and sentiment. "Les Exilés," "Au Canada," "Pourquoi Désespérer," will live long in the hearts of Canadians. "Le Dernier Huron" has been esteemed by some critics the finest poem ever written by a Canadian. A little later, appeared Joseph Lenoir, who was born at St. Henri, in 1824, and who possessed the genuine gift of song. Though lacking in vigor and energy of expression, this poet displays much grace, sweetness and harmony. His word painting of Canadian scenes and customs is very charming. "Le génie du foret," "Le Roi des Aulnes," "Le Chant de Mort d'un Huron," have the true poetic ring.

The first two-volumed novel issued from the Canadian press was published at Kingston, 1824. It was entitled "St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada, containing scenes from real life." The writer was Miss Julia Beekwith, afterwards Mrs. Hart, of Frederickton, a relative of the Abbé Ferland, the distinguished author of "Cours d'Histoire du Canada." It was followed some time later by a second, called "Tonnawanda, or the Adopted Son of America." Having been unable to obtain copies of these works, I am not in a position to offer any opinion upon their literary merits. I am also ignorant of what reception may have been accorded them by the public.

As the spirit of a higher intelligence began to make itself felt amidst the mere striving after a physical existence, a number of persons appear who, though they have left no

permanent contributions to the literature of their country, have yet done much for its advancement. Amongst these we may name F. X. Perrault, an earnest pioneer of education in the Province of Quebec, whose "History of Canada" is simply an elementary work compiled to meet the necessities of public instruction; also Messrs. Faribault and Viger, archeologist antiquarians, whose historical researches have proved of inestimable service to our later historians. In this connection we may notice that the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded in 1824, became an important factor in the development of Canadian literature. This Society exhibited the most praiseworthy zeal in encouraging the cultivation of literary and scientific tastes and pursuits, historical research and the publication of the annals of the country.

History is a branch of literature for which the Canadians seem to possess especial aptitude. The man who had the most influence on the spirit in which the story of events in Canada after the Conquest has been written, is Pierre du Calvet. This Frenchman was a Huguenot, and formerly a magistrate of Montreal. His liberality of sentiment had caused him to be suspected of intrigues with the Americans, to whom he had furnished supplies during their occupation of Montreal, and with whom it appears he had kept up a correspondence. He was arrested at his own house, Sept. 27th, 1780, by a party of soldiers who took possession of his money and papers, and brought him to Quebec, where at first he was kept on a vessel in the harbor, then cast into the military prison, and finally lodged in the Recollet Convent. Du Calvet insisted that he should be brought to trial, influential friends offered themselves as guarantees of his loyalty, but all the demands of this strenuous and determined advocate of his own rights, were refused. After two years and a half of captivity he was set at liberty, without being told the crime of which he was accused. Du Calvet appears to have

been a man of vigorous mind, penetrating observation and varied experience, and of a fiery, head-strong temperament. As soon as he escaped from his Quebec prison, he sailed for London to demand justice from the King. He requested the recall of General Haldimand that he might be able to accuse his persecutor before the English court. At first the authorities gave him evasive answers, and afterwards completely ignored his claims. Du Calvet, in 1784, published a volume of letters called "Appel à la justice de l'état ou Recueil de Lettres au Roi, au Prince de Galles et aux Ministres avec une lettre à Messieurs les Canadiens." This work circulated freely in England and Canada, gaining a number of partizans for the cause of constitutional liberty in the latter country. The book might have more order and method, the style might be more correct, the expressions more choice, but the Canadian cause could not be pleaded with more earnestness and conviction. The letters are full of fearless strength and vivacity of passion. With a proud independence of spirit, indicative of mental force and moral courage, the author identifies his own cause with that of Canada and the force of personal complaint imparting warmth to a public grievance, boldly asserted truths which at that moment other men would scarcely have dared to whisper. In transports of a rude and fiery eloquence he cries "Qu'il est triste d'être vaincu. "If it cost only the blood that waters the field of battle, the wound would be very deep, very painful, it would bleed many years, but time would heal it. But to be condemned forever to be crushed by the hand of a conqueror, to remain eternally the slave of the freest people upon earth, that is too much. Might it be that our cowardice in disputing the victory, by degrading us in the eyes of our conquerors, has merited their rage and contempt. It was the divisions of our generals that caused them to be beaten, but for us, we revenged ourselves the next year, 28th April, 1760, we wiped out the shame of their defeat on another battle

field." He then describes the tyranny under which Canada groaned, the persecutions of which he was the object, the corruption of the judges who, during his imprisonment, had caused him to lose the greater portion of his fortune, in open violation of justice, of ordinary means of defence, and in allowing him to be intimidated by the presence of the Governor, who, contrary to ordinary usage, took his seat on the Bench when the case was being tried and which was lost by Haldimand's vote. Having declared that a great number of his compatriots were oppressed in the same manner, he draws a glowing picture of the vices of the Government, the despotism of the Governors, the servility of officials, the embezzlements of which they were guilty to gratify those in power or to serve their own friends, the continued violations of the Act of '74, and ends by demanding the establishment of a constitutional Government. This work has now become very rare. It is so evidently written under the empire of passion that it can scarcely be relied upon as an authority, and though all the Canadian historians quote it, none of them appear to trust implicitly to du Calvet's statements.\*

Since Charlevoix, more than a hundred years had passed, and Canada had had no real historian. Dr. Jacques Labrie first made an attempt to supply this want. The Legislature allowed £500 for the publication of his volume, but unfortunately the author died before it was printed, and during the political troubles of 1837, the M.S. was destroyed at the burning of St. Benoit. William Smith was the first English writer on Canadian history. Mr. Smith was Registrar and Master in Chancery, and later became a member of the Executive Council. His book was published at Quebec in 1815, and is called "History of Canada from its first discovery to the peace, and from the establishment of the

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\* For a full account of this "traitor" and "compleat rascal," vide Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. xv. et seq: Ed.

Civil Government in 1764, to the establishment of the Constitution in 1791."

Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor-General of Canada, enjoyed a European reputation. The Legislature of Lower Canada gave 500 guineas towards the publication of his well-known work, "Description topographique de la Province du Bas Canada avec des remarques sur le Haut Canada et sur les relations des deux Provinces avec les Etats Unis de l'Amérique, enrichies de plusieurs vues, plans de ponts, de batailles, etc." The book was published in 1815, and an extension of the work in English appeared in 1831. Michel Bibault's "Histoire du Canada sous la domination Française," was published in Montreal 1837. The style is dry and stilted, and the author has been accused of failing in correctness of detail. In 1834, "Hawkins' Picture of Quebec with historical recollections" made its appearance. This is an excellent book of reference, as it contains an exact description of the siege of Quebec, and also one of the attack on Quebec by Arnold and Montgomery in 1775. A number of English writers have also written upon Canadian affairs, among them—Robert Montgomery Martin, Hugh Murray, M. H. Bliss, Robert Gourlay, Cath. Smith, Bartlett, Heriot, Richardson.

In reviewing the progress of Canadian literature as far as 1841, we may fairly conclude that very great advance was made in knowledge and intelligence; we can congratulate ourselves upon the reality of grasped achievement, on the creation of an educational influence that has moulded the character of our national literature. We must remember that this work has been almost entirely undertaken in brief intervals of leisure, by busy men, whose best energies were absorbed by the practical necessities of life. Though no writer rose to the heights of genius, though Canada gave birth to no poet of commanding inspiration, the literary work that appeared was good of its kind, it furnished an excellent foundation for what was to follow. Walt

Whitman says: "The profoundest service that poems or any other writings can do for their reader is not merely to satisfy the intellect, or supply something polished or interesting, or even to depict great persons, or passions or events, but to fill him with vigorous and clear manliness and religiousness, and give him a good heart as a radical possession and habit." In this sense, this early Canadian literature seems to have accomplished its aim. It also possesses the merit of being natural and original. The national lyre vibrates spontaneously, and in many instances, the vigor of its expression, the nobility of its utterance, is not unworthy of a country boasting a splendid exuberance of life, and looking forward to a glorious future replete with illimitable possibility.

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#### *THE TRAFALGAR TOWER.*

At page 16 of this number, an enquiry appears as to the history of Trafalgar Mount Monument. So great has been the interest excited by this enquiry, and the discussion to which it has given rise, that the following account of this tower may be acceptable to the readers of "Canadiana."

The story which has attracted attention to this tower appears in "Le Répertoire National ou Recueil de Littérature Canadienne," compiled and published by J. Huston, a member of "L'Institut Canadien de Montréal," in 1848, and is to be found at page 263 of Volume I. The date ascribed to it there is 1835, and as the book is somewhat rare, we venture to give the following synopsis.

The story is by George de Boucherville and a foot note gives the information that he was formerly a member of the Bar of Montreal, and in 1848 was practising at the Aylmer Bar. He writes in the first person singular, and begins by describing the location of the Tower as follows:—

Have you ever gone as far as the "Priest's Fort" on the

Mountain? Have you sometimes struck into the sombre thicket which borders on the southwest the hill leading to Cote des Neiges? And if you have been ever so little curious in examining the picturesque landscape, the valleys which are spread out fresh and blooming before your eyes, the rocks which here and there frown threateningly above your head; you must have noticed the grey spot which appears in the distance, on the left, upon the green background of one side of the mountain. Well, that spot which in the distance appears like a small point, is a little tower, gothic in style, which recalls dark and sinister recollections to those who are aware of the horrible deed of which this was the scene.

He then proceeds to tell how one fine morning in June many years before, he took his gun, and followed by his dog, went out in the direction of the "Priest's Fort" intending to return the same evening to his home. It was noon before he arrived at the "Red Cross," memento of the story of the villanous Belisle. In the afternoon he goes on towards the mountain, and having good sport, does not notice the change which has taken place in the sky. Heavy clouds are gathering rapidly; birds are flying about in haste seeking shelter from the approaching storm. The wind rises, and soon the thunder and lightning announce the commencement of the storm. The first drops of rain recall the hunter to the realization of his situation, and he finds that he is alone on the mountain, and he is obliged at first to take shelter in a hollow tree, expecting that the storm will soon pass over. The storm continues however, and he is driven from this dangerous retreat, and then it is, that he discovers the little tower, into which he rushes expecting to find a more secure shelter from the storm. Upon examination, however, it does not prove to be much better than that which he had left. The rain entered on all sides through the broken windows, the flooring was falling to pieces, and he was afraid that the opening under

it, which yawned dark and threatening at his feet, might be the home of some venomous reptile. He then describes the fury of the storm, and how at last, overcome by fatigue and hunger, he lies down with his gun beside him and his dog near by to warn him of any hostile approach.

He had only been sleeping a few minutes when he felt something cold pass over his face, something like a hand which glided over his body—he trembled, and a thrill of horror passed through all his limbs, his hair stood upright and he felt as though he were choking, having neither courage to raise himself, nor strength to seize his gun. He then proceeds to say that although he did not believe ghosts he would not dare confess what thoughts passed through his mind at that moment. Was it some spirit from another world which had appeared to frighten him? He did not believe it. Was it a hand in reality, a man's hand that had touched him? That might be. Was it a reptile that had glided over his body? That might also be? Was it the effect of his excited and weakened imagination? Even that might be. In any case, it is certain he says that he never experienced so depressing a sensation in his life. The storm had continued, one flash followed another without interruption, and the woods around him seemed like one vast furnace of fire. His eyes dazzled by the lightning, were suddenly struck by the sight of blood which was splashed upon the walls; he also saw some drops upon the panels of the door. At this the most frightful and incoherent ideas had possession of him. Could a person have been murdered there, in this spot at which he was alone in the middle of the night? Might it even be the assassin whose hand had passed over him a few minutes before in the hope of taking his gun away and thus depriving him of his own defence? But his dog was still there beside him sleeping quietly, and if it had been anyone who had come near him, the dog would certainly have warned him of their approach. While he is thus disturbed by a thousand conjectures, the

clouds commence to break, the storm is less violent, and the lightening flashes more rare, while the thunder is heard further and further away, like a lion retiring from a scene of carnage when he has spent his fury, rather because he meets with no resistance, than because he is obliged to give way to one who is stronger than himself.

In the next chapter he describes how he went from the fatal tower, and in the darkness before dawn wandered on the mountain seeking some more hospitable shelter. He wanders thus until morning, and finds himself at the back of the mountain where he discovers a hut. Hastening towards it with joy, he is disappointed when he sees a man whose savage aspect, tall figure and broad shoulders repel him, and who tells him with some sharpness that he has nothing for him, and that his house cannot serve as a shelter for anyone, no matter whom. The stranger is sitting on the trunk of a tree, sharpening on a large stone an axe which appears to have been stained with blood. As the wanderer approaches, he hides this axe with a curious gesture of discontent, under a branch which is at his feet. In pleading with the stranger, he tells him that he has passed the night on the mountain, and describes his adventures in the tower, and then the hermit, attracted apparently by his frank demeanour, exacts from him a promise of secrecy and produces an old manuscript from which he reads him the story of the crime which was committed at the tower. This story forms Chapter 4, and is entitled "Jealousy."

It was the fourth of March, just nineteen months after the death of her father and mother, when Leocadie the heroine of the story is introduced kneeling in the church at confession. The hour is past six, and the services of the church had long been finished. At this moment a handsome young man of about twenty-five enters, as was his habit, not only to offer a prayer, but also to enjoy the scene which was indeed imposing, of an immense edifice slowly

darkening with the gathering gloom. The lamp burns motionless in the middle of the chancel, and its dull light is reflected on the altar. The surrounding are so very beautiful as to have the effect of plunging the young man into deep meditation, in which dreams of love with its brilliant illusions were not absent. His attention is presently attracted by a moving object at the other end of the church, and as he advances he sees Leocadie on her knees before the chancel. She wears a dress of some light material, and her graceful figure is adorned with rose colored ribbon. The writer then indulges in rhapsodies upon her beauty. Suffice it to say that she is seventeen and attractive, and that the young man of twenty-five falls a victim to her charms. He learns that she is living with her aunt on the Cote des Neiges, and obtaining an introduction, he becomes a daily visitor at the house.

For three months he is unremitting in his attention and Leocadie has not the courage to tell him that her heart is given to another. Finally she commissions her aunt to make this painful avowal to the young man, and he is furious; swears to be avenged, and in the final interview which he requests, he bids Leocadie look at the sun and see how red it is. "It is red" he says "like fire, like blood, yea, like blood which must flow." And then in a dramatic style he leaves her hastily.

Chapter 5 is headed "Vengeance," and it also is highly dramatic. The accepted lover has returned, and the happy couple are shortly to be united in the bonds of holy wedlock. One fine Sunday after mass, the lovers walk together on the mountain. The account of their emotions would, I fear, be spoiled by a translation. They reach the Tower, and Joseph the accepted lover proposes that they should go in. As they set their feet upon the threshold of the door, a red cloud passes across the sun, and the shadow of death strikes the face of Joseph. Seeing this, Leocadie trembles and a tear drops from her eye. Joseph wipes it away

smiling: and leaning over the lovely maid he kisses her. At the same moment, as if the kiss had been a signal which the wretch was waiting for, he throws himself like a thunder bolt upon his two victims. Leocadie has recognized the stranger. A knife gleams in his hand. She recalls the blood red sun, screams, turns pale and falls unconscious and lifeless at the feet of the assassin, who has stabbed her to the heart. Joseph springs upon him. He is unarmed, but he wishes to avenge Leocadie, or else to die with her whom he loves more than his life. There is a violent struggle, and the stranger lifts up Joseph with his strong arms and throws him to the ground beneath him. One knee upon his chest, he seizes him by the throat. The unhappy man makes vain efforts to free himself from the iron grip which is strangling him. His eyes roll convulsively in their sockets, his nerves stretch and all his limbs twist frightfully; the assassin does not lose his hold until the death rattle is heard, and then he knows that his vengeance has been satisfied!

The concluding chapter is short, and is entitled "The Locket." It is as follows: Having finished the story, he folded with care the half torn leaves and returned them to a box from which he took out a kind of small locket. "See" he said, "this is Leocadie's hair. She wore this on her neck, and what you see on the other side is in the hand writing of Joseph."

The following acrostic appeared beneath the miniature of Leocadie :

L'le Dieu qu'à cythère on adore  
 En tes yeux fixa son séjour ;  
 Ornés de cils, mouillés encore,  
 C'est là que repose l'amour.  
 Ah ! qui peut égaler les charmes  
 De ces yeux qu'amour embellit,  
 Iris devant eux rend les armes  
 Et va se cacher de dépit.

—“Well,” said he quite calmly and in a solemn voice,  
 “you have heard the story: remember your promise!”

\* \* \* \* \*

“Je m'éloignai rapidement de cet individu.”

This, then, is the story of Trafalgar Tower. An addition to the romance in later years is that the murderer still prowls about the tower—in the spirit state, of course—and that his footsteps may be heard coming towards the scene of the murder. Indeed, in this year of grace 1890, a worthy citizen of Montreal, who had been reading up the Tower, made a pilgrimage to it one fine Sabbath morning, accompanied by his wife and little boy. As he stood upon the coping, looking through the gothic window, and examining the interior he distinctly heard the footsteps of some one approaching. His wife also heard the footsteps and advised him to come down, to avoid getting into trouble for trespassing but he continued his investigations until he judged from the sound that the feet usually associated with footsteps should be immediately behind him. Then he turned to examine the new comer, and was amazed to find not only no new comer, but no feet and not even a vestige of a foot print, although the light footfall left a trace upon the snow!

That these footsteps are an authentic part of the tradition appears from the following extract from a letter written by Mr. John William Molson of this city to Mr. David Denne: Speaking of the Tower he says it “was used as a summer-house and look out for visitors; where my mother, Mrs. Molson, of Belmont Hill, in her young days, used to spend many happy hours. She also distinctly remembers the sound you mention . . . and the late Mr. Furniss repeatedly mentioned them but could not explain the cause, although unquestionably there must be one—others also heard them there. My mother attributes it to the volcanic and certain peculiar formation of the rocks, which, she thinks, cause a peculiar echo there and give forth sounds created at a distance, making them appear as if caused by some one on the

spot." Perhaps some geological friend will comment upon this theory. It is apparently agreed on all sides that the Tower was built to commemorate the victory of Trafalgar and as this took place 21st October, 1805, we need not search the title beyond this. In 1805, the property upon which the Tower stands belonged to John Ogilvy.

In 1836, it was purchased by Mr. Furniss and subsequently passed into the estate of Mr. Miles Williams, to which estate it now belongs. The Tower was built by Mr. Gillespie and as first constructed, had a crenulated top, upon which was placed a small cannon which awoke the echoes as each 21st of October dawned. It was soon found, however, that the snow which collected in this top did great damage to the roof and walls, through which it leaped in the spring, and when Mr. Furniss restored the Tower he covered it as shewn in the cut.

I have also been favoured with an extract from a letter written by Mr. Albert Furniss to Mr. J. W. Skelton of this city, in which he says: "When Mr. Albert H. Furniss was a very young boy, say in about 1846, he was shown two empty graves or holes situated about 150 feet below the site of the Tower, and was told by a local *raconteur* that they were the graves in which two murdered lovers had been buried."

A much more likely theory is that these two holes were test pits, dug to ascertain whether the ground was suitable for a cemetery, as in the very year which Mr. Furniss mentions (1846) a company was proposed and issued the following prospectus:

#### TRAFALGAR MOUNT CEMETERY.

To be incorporated by Act of Parliament.

##### *Honorary Directors:*

Jacob DeWitt, Esq., M.P.P.,	William Workman, Esq.,
John Young, Esq.,	Henry Mount, Esq., M.D.,
William Lyman, Esq.,	William Rodden, Esq.,
Francis Badgley, Esq., M.D.,	J. B. Torry, Esq.
Thomas Mussen, Esq.,	L. H. Holton, Esq.,
W. N. Crawford, Esq., N.P.	

*Solicitor :*

Andrew Robertson, Esq.

*Bankers :*

The Provident and Savings Bank.

*Superintendent :*

Frederick B. Matthews.

The advantages of the modern practice of burial on the outskirts of cities in Europe and the United States have become so obvious, and with regard to Montreal so imperatively necessary, that it has finally been determined to establish a CEMETERY, upon the site of the Trafalgar Mount property adjoining, externally, the municipal boundary, to bear the very characteristic title of

THE TRAFALGAR MOUNT CEMETERY,

which will at present comprise a portion of SIXTEEN ACRES, or thereabouts, of the said property, to be enlarged as occasion may require.

The GROUNDS contain two very neatly constructed and commodious DWELLINGS, one of which is to be converted into a CHAPEL, until another more appropriate edifice can be built, for the performance of the burial service, and contiguous is a VAULT, for the temporary reception of the corpse, should the inclemency of the weather or other unpropitious circumstance preclude immediate interment.

The other dwelling is now occupied by the Superintendent, who, as well as the Gardener, will be in constant attendance, to ensure order and decorum, to ornament and preserve the grounds from violation, and to afford to the visitor every opportunity of promenading, or of selecting places of burial so disposed and intersected by serpentine walks, as to be approached without profanely treading upon circumjacent graves.

The extreme natural beauty of the situation, the vast, picturesque and diversified views it affords, the present advanced artificial improvement of the grounds, with

clumps of trees and plants, beds of flowers, natural terraces, and winding path to the TRAFALGAR TOWER peering from the summit of the MOUNT clothed with luxuriant arbors—contribute to render this spot peculiarly adapted to the purposes of a CEMETERY, the existence of which will at once be a source of attraction, usefulness and celebrity to the Metropolis of Canada.

An office has been opened in the City, for the transaction of all business concerning the CEMETERY, at which tickets of admission may be had gratis, hearses, omnibuses and cabs will be provided, which will enable parties so inclined, to limit the funeral cortege to executors and near relations of the deceased as customary in other cities.

The tariff of rates which will be upon an economical scale, for burial lots, excavation, hearse, and other contingencies, may be ascertained either at the office or at the cemetery; and for the convenience of the public, the entire arrangements for interment may be effected by an order without further trouble to the applicant.

The Minute Book, containing copy of the articles of the Proprietary Association of the Cemetery, and minutes of all proceedings connected therewith, will remain in charge of the Superintendent, for the information of intending purchasers of burial lots.

Office : No. 19½ Great St. James Street.

MONTREAL, 22nd June, 1846.

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From the foregoing data, the reader can select the true story of Trafalgar Tower.

*THE LACHINE CANAL OF THE FRENCH  
REGIME.*

By MR. ROBERT C. DOUGLAS, OTTAWA.

Amid the famous men of Canada there stands forth in bold relief the tall and powerful figure of Dollier de Casson, whilom the brave dragoon, and now a priest and superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal.

This ecclesiastic, was like many others of the same order, who, being men of the world, were not wholly absorbed in their priestly duties and the care of souls, but in addition, devoted themselves to furthering the material benefit and welfare of the settlement on the Island of Montreal.

The settlers at Lachine had great difficulty in transporting their produce to Montreal on account of the dangerous rapids of "Sault St. Louis." Many batteaux and canoes, as well as the lives of those in charge, had been lost in descending these rapids.

M. Dollier de Casson, familiar with the canals of old France, then being constructed or in contemplation, conceived the project of constructing a canal from Lachine to Montreal. Upon it the intention was, to build a number of mills of all kinds; water-power being necessary on account of the lack at times of wind to propel the mills already constructed; from which cause the inhabitants of Montreal and surrounding country had frequently to eat whole grain boiled.

Reasons adduced for assistance from France, were that in some years it cost the King over 200 pistoles through loss in this, as it was called "une rapide impraticable, ou du moins très-dangereux"; also the King paid yearly 200 *écus* for cartage which would be avoided if batteaux were loaded at Montreal.

In October, 1700, M. Dollier de Casson made an agreement with Sieur Catalogne, at that time, lieutenant of Marine and Royal Surveyor, to excavate a canal from the

Grand, or St. Lawrence River, to the River St. Pierre. The cut would be some 800 toises in length, 12 feet (French) wide at the surface of ground, the greatest depth of cutting mentioned is 9 feet. The gentlemen of the Seminary were to allow the use of any tools in their possession, especially those suitable for rock excavation. In the event of Catalogne's death during the time of construction, his wife could complete the work. The contract price for the work was 3,000 livres and it had to be completed in June, 1701.

This contract, the first canal contract in Canada,—when the magnitude of the present canal system and this humble endeavour, as viewed from to-day, are compared,—possesses great interest. The preamble may be quoted—

30th October, 1700.—“*Marché pour le canal de la Rivière St. Pierre entre Mr. Dollier et Sr. Catalogne.*”

“*Furent présent Messire François Dollier de Casson, un des prêtres du Seminaire de St. Sulpice de Paris, Supérieure des ecclésiastiques de Ville-Marie,*

“*Et Sieur Gédéon de Catalogne, officier dans les troupes du detachment de la Marine et Arpenteur Royal.*”

The name of the notary executing this document was Adhemar.

Catalogne did not complete the canal at the date specified, the death of M. Dollier de Casson, in October, 1701, stopped the work.

Catalogne, in his memoirs says, having made the plans and superintended the works, the sudden death of M. Dollier de Casson cost him 3,000 *écues*.

With reference to this statement, the Seminary noted “*c'est Catalogne qui parle, mais il ne dit pas la vérité.*”

After the death of M. Dollier de Casson, another Sulpician priest interested himself in the canal. M. de Breslay was a gentleman of the King's Chamber; disgusted with the world and the gay life of the court of Versailles, he sold his commission and devoted himself and his fortune to the Indian missions of New France. He was appointed curate

to the priest of Lachine in 1702. The importance of completing the work would come directly to his notice. He directed the attention of Vaudreuil and Beauharnois to the project. In their memoirs to the minister, 15th November, 1703, the canal is thus referred to:—"M. de Breslay's project of building a canal to Montreal would be of great utility to the Colony if constructed as commenced, and we beg of you to assist him in completing the work."

M. de Breslay agreed to contribute 3,000 francs towards the completion of the enterprise. Having expended his fortune in building a chapel and fort near St. Anne, through the straightened circumstances of his family, he was unable to fulfil his agreement; he requested that he be discharged from it, which was done, the Seminary knowing his poverty.

The King's attention was drawn to the project, he asked for the plans and estimates, upon examination of which he said he could not undertake the work, on account of war he was engaged in, and that the work should be postponed until the time of peace, unless means could be devised to carry on the work without his assistance.

In 1717, the enterprising gentlemen of the Seminary again attempted to complete the canal. After expending 20,000 francs, the work was abandoned on account of the large amount of rock that required to be excavated. This was the last endeavour made to connect the waters of the River St. Lawrence with those of Lake St. Pierre.

The King was closing his long reign in disaster and gloom, leaving France in financial ruin and disorder. From nearly the inception of the canal to his death, a profitless and costly war prevented any assistance being granted towards completing the work. The Seminary, after two efforts, finding that, unassisted the construction of the canal would prove of too great a strain upon its finances, finally relinquished the work.

The Lachine Canal of the French *Régime* was an unfinished cut through which no craft has ever passed.

While standing near the entrance of the canal at Lachine, and looking on the massive masonry structures, and other works, impressive in their magnitude, we must not despise the insignificant cut to the north, a memento of the public spirit and enterprise of the gentlemen of the Seminary in its early days. The imagination carries us backward two centuries, where near by could be seen the valiant and large hearted Dollier de Casson and his engineer and contractor Catalogne discussing the method of attaining an end accomplished on so grand a scale by the works which we have just viewed.

From 1717 until the conquest, the project is from time to time commented upon by governors and intendants and engineers. In 1732, MM. Beauharnois and Hocquart advise the Minister to continue the work, and request that the engineer of the Colony be authorized to study the project. In their memoirs, 28th September, 1733, it is said that the study of the work showed great difficulties. M. de Lery, chief engineer, having surveyed the canal, made several plans and memoirs, he says, in this year, that, upon examination of the projected canal, a consideration of the enormous expense its execution would necessitate, induces him to give up the project.

In 1749, we find one M. de la Morandier proposing to M. Galissonière an elaborate plan for the completion of the work. (Plan in Library of Parliament).

A cutting was to be made from the St. Lawrence into the River St. Pierre, this river and Lake St. Pierre would then be used to the foot of the lake, where a mill had been built called "Moulin du Lac." This mill would be situated about where the Grand Trunk Railway crosses the present canal. The flood water of Lake St. Pierre was discharged into the River St. Lawrence by the brook St. Pierre. From this brook, at nearly opposite to the water-works pumping-station, a small canal had been excavated by the gentlemen of the Seminary, to convey water to the "Moulin du

Séminaire," situated near the south-east corner of the old College grounds. It is presumed from the letters upon the plan, that it was intended to have this canal enlarged for the purpose of navigation. It was the original design of the Seminary to build mills at the various falls in the canal, these two mills and the small canal were probably part of this design. The canal between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Pierre would, as well as being used for navigation, supply water to Lake St. Pierre during dry weather when there would be a limited supply for the mill at its foot. The documents available do not show whether the differences in levels, for navigation purposes, were to be overcome by locks or otherwise.

I am indebted to the Rev. P. Rousseau, S.S.S., Montreal, for a copy of the agreement between Dollier de Casson and Catalogne, for the extract referring to the canal from the memoirs of Catalogne,<sup>(1)</sup> also other information. This reverend gentleman kindly filled up the missing links in the history of the canal other than was to be found in the copies of documents and plans in Library of Parliament, Ottawa.

[Mr. Douglas has very kindly made a copy of a map dated at Quebec, 4th October, 1733, signed Chaussegros de Levy, and inscribed "Carte d'une partie de l'Isle de Montréal depuis la pointe à Cardinal jusqu'au courant de Ste. Marie avec la ville de Montréal, le canal commencé par les Messieurs du Séminaire est depuis A jusqu'à B qu'ils ont abandonné n'ayant pu la approfondir à cause du Roc. J'ai marqué le Profil en travers du Canal proposé." I regret that this map cannot be reproduced in this number.—Ed.]

(<sup>1</sup>) Mémoire du Sieur de Catalogne, ingénieur, sur les plans des habitations des gouvernements de Québec, de Montréal et des Trois-Rivières (à Vaudreuil et Begin, 7<sup>me</sup> novembre 1712). Parkman states this memoire is 70 pages in length and in the "Archives de la Marine."

## REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUS.

By MR. ERNEST CRUIKSHANK.

## IV.

The restlessness and impatience of restraint, which are such marked characteristics of all Indian tribes, soon found expression again, and under date of the 21st of July, there is a record of a council at the cross-roads held evidently for the purpose of allaying growing discontent.

On this occasion, Claus opened the proceedings by saying:

"BROTHERS,—I congratulate you that you have been in sight of the enemy and have not met with any serious loss, and that only some of your people have been slightly hurt.

"BROTHERS,—When so many people of different languages and nations are assembled, many bad stories are abroad. I assure you that if any news or anything worth telling occurs, I will you. If you are uneasy you should let me know. Desiré of the La Cloche band has reported that it was their wish to turn their faces towards home. I thank you for your patience. When I came down with you, I did expect that we would have struck at Niagara before this, but something or other has turned up to prevent it. It cannot be many days before something must take place. The ships were to sail yesterday, and when they appear we shall know the day when we shall advance. I shall send a runner to-day to our people at the Grand River and shall add your words to mine."

Desiré then complained that his band had neither knives nor vermilion, and explained that the change of climate had caused some sickness, and that it was this and not fear of the enemy that made them think of returning to their homes.

On hearing this, the Fisher, first chief of the Ottawas, bluntly observed: "If they are sick how can they go home? They had better stay and await the event of the battle."

Yellowhead and two chiefs of the Chippewas were of the same opinion.

Another La Cloche, chief, then rose and said : " We live in the interior and do not live like other Indians. We live by hunting and must take care of our families. We wish you to give us a paper to get food along the road and to get our canoes across the carrying-place."

A third chief of the same band, however, stated shortly afterwards that since they were assured that the British fleet was out and that something would be done in a few days, he and his friends would remain.

All the other Indians seemed to have consented to this arrangement, for Claus replied : " Brothers, — I thank you, and will tell your father you still hold him by the hand. The liquor you ask for, you shall get, but I hope you will take it very cautiously when so near the enemy."

At that date, the investing force occupied the line of the Four-Mile Creek, with its left resting on the lake, while the right touched the river just above Field's point. The field-artillery commanded the lake road, where it crossed the creek, having a strong picket half a mile in advance, and was supported by several companies of the 104th. The first battalion of the 8th or King's regiment and a detachment of the 100th were encamped on their right. The Indians were in the centre, and the Glengarry light infantry and several companies of the Royal Scots held a position in front of St. David's and Queenston, next the river, with strong pickets pushed well forward on the two main roads leading to Niagara. Another road winding along the left bank of the creek furnished easy means of communication from one end of their line to another, and slight field works had been thrown up for the defence of the bridges over the stream, which had almost dried up. The movements of any considerable body of the enemy could be closely watched from the summit of the heights. The main body of the American army still remained in their fortified camp near Fort George, but their outlying pickets, six in number, consisting of about fifty men each, established on the farther

side of the Two-Mile Creek, at the houses of Crooks, Secord, John Butler, Thomas Butler, McClellan, and Fields, were in plain view of the British advanced posts.

Very early in July, it had been determined to await the return of Sir James Yeo's squadron, before making any attempt to force the enemy's position, while on the other hand, General Boyd was likewise restrained by positive orders from the Secretary of War to risk no forward movement until Commodore Chauncey had regained control of the lake.

Notwithstanding the pledges given by them at the Conference near Queenston on the 5th of July, already referred to, many of the Six Nations residing in the United States had been induced to "take the hatchet," and a body of Senecas had been actually engaged against the British at Black Rock within a week after. This fact naturally created great excitement among the Canadian Indians, by whom it was denounced as a distinct breach of faith, although at the same time they displayed an evident reluctance to fight against them. The activity of the Indian department was seriously obstructed by other causes. It was contrary to the customs of some of the tribes to attack an enemy after sunset. The chiefs of the western nations were already quarrelling over the distribution of the annual allowance of presents, which had not yet arrived. To crown all, the mutual antipathy long subsisting between Claus and Norton had increased until they would scarcely speak to each other and as the Mohawk chief was generally regarded as a brave and skilful leader of his people in the field, his complaints could not be ignored, and the influence of the superintendent was gradually undermined.

But four days elapsed before another council was held, at which besides Colonel Claus, Major Givins, Captain Lorimier, Lieutenants Ferguson, Le Clair, and Lorimier were present. On this occasion, it became apparent that the Indians from

Lower Canada had become uneasy, and they finally gave notice of their determination to return to their homes in these terms :

“BROTHERS,—The Seven Nations of Canada salute you. We have remained here some time, and no time is mentioned when anything is likely to take place. Our young men are going and only the old people remain. At first we were told only four or five days and we would see the fight. We have waited patiently ; a month has passed, and it has not yet taken place. It is said that it is the fleet you are waiting for, and now that it is out, it cannot be long before it must, come and as we wish to see the end of this, we now tell you that we will wait ten days, and after that you will not think it hard if we return to do something for our families, and as the Six Nations have sent for their young men, we think that surely before the ten days are out they must be down and our small number will not be missed.”

To this speech Claus replied :—

“BROTHERS,—I thank you. The general wishes me to speak to you on behalf of the poor people about us who have complained that they lose everything about their places and he requests that you will exert yourselves to prevent these acts of cruelty. It is very hard upon these poor people, for on the one hand they are injured by the enemy, and on the other by us.”

A chief said :—“The provisions are not enough and the young men go on the hunt for something to eat. Your people take the poor people's things and our men are blamed.”

The superintendent assured them that their wants should be supplied, and a chief known as The Echo replied : I hope our brothers from the West will listen and desist. We understand our father desires that no more liquor than the usual allowance should be given us. It is right. We see the injury it does.

“We are wrong and confess our faults. It seemed as if these men wished to side with the strongest. We have taken

many things, but any that are pointed out, we will give up."

Instead of Yeo's squadron, an American fleet of fifteen sail appeared and anchored in the mouth of the river. Small detachments of troops had been seen to arrive at their camp almost daily during the last two weeks, and it was reasonably conjectured that their army was still nearly as numerous as when it first landed, notwithstanding serious losses by battle, desertion, and disease.

Information received from an escaped prisoner induced General Boyd to project an attack upon the British magazines at Burlington Bay, but his design was suspected almost as soon as it was formed, and on the day succeeding the arrival of the fleet, Colonel Harvey addressed this note to Claus :

" HEADQUARTERS, July 28th, 1813.

" 2 p.m.

" DEAR SIR,—There being reason to suspect that the enemy is directing his views against Burlington Bay, I request that you will not lose a moment in sending off to Grand River to collect all the Indians there to assist in its defence, for which, however, we have already a considerable regular garrison. Collect them immediately at Bazeley's."

The performance of this service was entrusted to Capt. W. J. Kerr, and his sudden appearance with a small party of Indians, on the evening of the following day, upon the flank of the detachment which had already been landed for the assault of the British position, hastened its re-embarkation without having accomplished anything.

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### Notes.

ANECDOTE OF REBELLION OF '37-8.—The following is a title item which may be of interest in connection with the events at St. Charles and St. Denis :—My grandfather, the late Douw.K. Lighthall, the registrar of the Old County of Beauharnois, and living at Huntingdon, had among his

friends the Major Ward who afterwards died in the Sweeney duel. Major Ward came frequently to Huntingdon, which though a very small place, was, from the superior class of its inhabitants, a sort of centre for the District, on business connected with the establishment of a troop who remained there in garrison for some years. On one of these occasions during the Rebellion, he took my father, then a little boy, upon his knee and amused him by showing some dark stains on his sword and telling him that those were the blood of a rebel. His story was that at the recent fighting on the Richelieu, he found himself at one place alone with his orderly among a growing crowd of French-Canadians. He ordered them to disperse. Most of them seemed disposed to do so. One large man, however, refused, and made such violent menaces that imminent danger of a conflict and a riot arose, and, the man advancing upon Ward in a threatening manner, he was obliged, for these reasons, to run him through. The crowd, of course, fled, but when Major Ward, who was a powerful man, attempted to withdraw his sword from the body, he found all his strength ineffective to pull it out. It was only with the aid of his orderly, and by laying the dead man on the ground, that he finally did so.

W. D. LIGHTHALL.

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CHATEAUGUAY LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—  
 Constitution and By-Laws. Society organized 26th October, 1888, Ormstown, P.Q. Officers for 1888-89. President, Lt.-Col. Archibald McEachern, C.M.G.; Vice-Presidents, J. E. Robidoux, Q.C., M.P.P., Edward Holton, M.P., Thomas Baird, Esq.; Recording Secretary, Peter McLaren, B.A., M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, Wm. Patterson, M.A.; Treasurer, Wm. McDougall, Esq. Councillors, Dr. McCormick, Wm. J. Bryson, Esq., Dugald Thomson, Esq., Dr. Hall, Rev. A. W. Morison, B.A.

## Publications Received.

KINGSTON AND THE LOYALISTS OF 1783. By Walter Bates. With Appendix.—The Diary of Sarah Frost. Edited with notes by Rev. W. O. Raymond, A.B., Rector St. Mary's Church, Saint John, N.B. Barnes & Co., Printers, 84 Prince William St., St. John, N.B., 1889. I am indebted to Mr. Jonas Howe, the Secretary of the N.B. Hist. Soc. for a copy of this interesting pamphlet.

ANNUAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT, in alphabetical and subject order, containing all books and pamphlets added to the library from January 10th, 1889, to January 10th, 1890. Printed by authority. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890. The report of the Joint-Librarians which appears with this supplement calls special attention to the following additions to the American and Canadian Section:—"Vie de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, par Charlevoix, Paris, 1735. Grönland's Historiske Mindesmoerker, 3 vols. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, from the beginning in 1791 up to date; in all, 24 vols. (This collection contains a most valuable record of papers relating to the early history of the United States and Canada.) Leonard's Report (in manuscript, which has never appeared in print) on Nova Scotia, addressed to Lord Sheffield in 1789. A collection of the Missions des Oblats, in which are found many documents on the settlement of the Red River district and the North-West. We may also mention several works on Pre-Columbian discovery of America; and twelve letters written by the Hon. L. J. Papineau to Robert Christie, the historian; they refer to the last years of M. Papineau's political life." Amongst the other important additions to the Library is the donation of H. I. H. Prince Roland Bonaparte comprising valuable scientific works.

MURRAY'S ILLUSTRATED GUIDE to Montreal and Vicinity. N. Murray, publisher, 1889. This is a neat little publication containing a new map of Montreal, description of places of interest, cab tariff, postal rates, U.S. Customs baggage inspection regulations, omnibus time table, &c. This is the third edition of this useful handbook.

THE CANADIAN CHURCH MAGAZINE; and Missionary News, published by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. March, 1890. An illustrated Church magazine published at Hamilton, Ont. The editor and

manager is Rev. Chas. H. Mockridge, M.A., D.D., Windsor, N.S., and Rev. J. C. Cox, B.A., St. Lambert, P.Q., is the Business Agent.

THE CANADA EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY and School Magazine. Edited by Archibald MacMurchy, M.A., Tor. Univ. Toronto: The Canada Educational Monthly Publishing Company, Limited. The leading article in the March number, on the "Canadian Treaty-Indians," by the Hon. J. A. Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario, will be read with interest by all students of our history.

OLD NEW YORK, a journal relating to the History and Antiquities of New York City. W. W. Pasko, Editor, 16 Park Place. Vol. ii. No. 2. March, 1890. A seventy page quarto publication, containing a variety of interesting matter.

MR. CYRUS K. REMINGTON, of No. 11 E. Seneca St., Buffalo, N.Y. sends a copy of the Buffalo *Sunday Express*, 26th January, 1890, which contains an exhaustive article upon La Salle, and the building of the Griffon, 1679. The Buffalo Historical Society has decided to erect a monument to the memory of the great discoverer, and this article, which is illustrated, has been published to excite popular interest in the movement. If we cannot have a monument at Lachine, a Canadian contribution to the Buffalo monument would be a graceful compliment.

I was shewn recently a curious copy of Charlevoix voyages, in English, published in Dublin and printed by John Exshaw and James Potts, in Dame Street, 1766. It contains the maps and plates, and is in octavo. This copy is incomplete and was found in a garret by Mr. J. St. George Dillon, at his aunt's house, Thomastown Park, Co. Roscommon, Ireland, in 1888.

THE LATE SIR FRANCIS TURVILLE.

THE ELGIN PERIOD. THE LATE HON. MRS. ROBERT BRUCE.

INTERESTING REMINISCENCES.—These are two monographs by Mufti (Mr. Henry J. Morgan, Ottawa), reprinted from the *Ottawa Citizen* of 9th January and 12th February last, respectively. We trust they will be followed by other similar articles.