

*Membre de l'Association de l'Étude
des Langues et des Littératures de l'Amérique*

**THE HOUSE
of
THE GOLDEN DOG
IN QUEBEC**



By PHILIPPE-BABY CASGRAIN, K.C.

Ex-M.P. for L'Islet County

Ex-President of the Literary and Historical
Society of Quebec, Etc.

EE A. E. ...



The
HOUSE OF THE GOLDEN DOG

— — — — —
 AUTHENTIC DATA REGARDING ITS ORIGIN
 AND CONSTRUCTION
 — — — — —

From the standpoint of the Guide to Quebec it is important to be fully acquainted with the facts concerning the house, the origin and the meaning of the Golden Dog, which still attracts the attention and curiosity of visitors to our city to whom we should be in a position to give as accurate information as possible.

The stone tablet or slab, carved in *bas-relief*, inserted in the wall of the Post Office above the centre door on Buade street, now

— I —

1905
 -13

occupies the same position as that which it formerly occupied on the wall of the large old two-story stone house which was demolished in 1871 to make room for the present building. The former door which, like the present one, was exactly in the middle, was afterwards closed and built up on a level with the windows and was replaced by two others, better suited to the service of the old post office, by making use of two windows on the west side and adding a landing and steps of cut stone.

A photograph taken prior to the demolition gives a view of the front and east gable of the house as it existed ever since 1736, the date engraved on the lintel of the centre door. The appearance of the whole building before it was demolished is accurately shewn and the picture has so often been reproduced and exhibited that the old house is still easily recognized by the generation that witnessed its demolition.

We would therefore direct special attention, for reasons hereinafter set forth, to

the then existing doors, windows and casements, whose lintels, and jambs etc., are of cut stone and constitute the facings of the wall built of quarry-stone.

The tablet so inserted in the wall of the new building measures about three feet in length and two feet in height. It has remained intact with its golden dog, carved in *bas-relief, couchant* or lying down and gnawing a bone, also gilt, which it holds with its paws. The strangely shaped and carved letters of the inscription on the border, also carved in relief on the stone and which are read both above and below the dog, are well preserved and as they were in 1870, as may be seen by the photograph reproduced with these pages. But the work in its entirety is a crude attempt and denotes but little skill in the carver, as well as an imperfect knowledge of grammar and calligraphy and, still more, ignorance of poetical metre in the person who wished to make rhymes while composing a motto.

To convey the idea of an injury *inflicted*

in the past and endured meanwhile by the injured party who champs his bit, represented by the allegorical bone, as well as to retain the cæsura or poetic pause and the metre of eight feet, this inscription, while retaining the old language, would read better as follows :

*Je suis un chien qui ronge l'os,
En le rongeant, je prends repos ;
Un tems viendra, pas avenu,
Que je mordrai qui m'a mordu.*

This slab, dark-brown in colour, does not seem to be of any stone to be found in this country. It was placed under a lintel of different stone, similar to that of which the facings of the wall were made. This lintel, carved as a cyma or curved moulding with a reversed curve, has not been preserved, neither have its flat supporting corbels which were of the same stone as the dog. They have not been replaced by new ones ; a simple square, flush with the wall, bears carved on top the date 1736, to perpetuate the same date which was above the

old door. So that the stone slab alone remains now, placed in a slight recess in the wall. This date is as much out of place there as was also the former one, if intended to refer to the dog. We will endeavour to show the difference later. In this manner we shall be able to see whether the date refers to the putting up of what is known as the sign of the Golden Dog as well as to the date when the house was built by Philibert in 1736, or whether the sign was not put up previously, that is to say whether it did not exist already as a sign on the house when Philibert bought it from the heirs Roussel in 1734.

The dog, its bone and the threat conveyed in the inscription have greatly puzzled and still puzzle the minds of our scholars, antiquarians, writers and historians, who strive to discover the origin, cause and motives of the revenge that seems to be connected with this old-time epigraph. Many have claimed to have found in this emblem the transparent image of a historical fact,

inferred by the wording of the inscription as well as by the attitude of the dog which seems to lie patiently and, while resting, to be brooding over a terrible revenge, awaiting only the moment when it will suddenly break out. On this ground-work many legends or stories, more or less probable, have been written or told regarding Philibert, the owner of the house who died there in consequence of a quarrel in which he received a sword-thrust from a French officer, Mr. de Repentigny the elder ¹, in 1748, as if the tablet had been put up after that tragic death as an appeal to his children to not forget that they should avenge it. This inference is contradicted by the full pardon given by Philibert before his death to his slayer as well as the compromise accepted by his widow, and the King's pardon granted to Repentigny, without any objection on her part, inasmuch as she had been

¹—Pierre-Jean-Baptiste-François-Xavier Le Gardeur de Tilly, Sieur de Repentigny, who was born at Montreal on the 27th April 1710, a lieutenant in the Marine troops. P. G. Roy. *La Famille Duchesnay*, pp. 102, 103, 110, 111.

satisfied with the civil damages adjudged to her by the court. Moreover, to avoid the risk of conflicts that might have arisen, Repentigny, who had at first fled, was sent away from the town and was stationed at Fort St. Frederic and afterwards at Montreal. The fact also of the existence of this cartouch or tablet previously to Philibert's death, fully disproves this story.

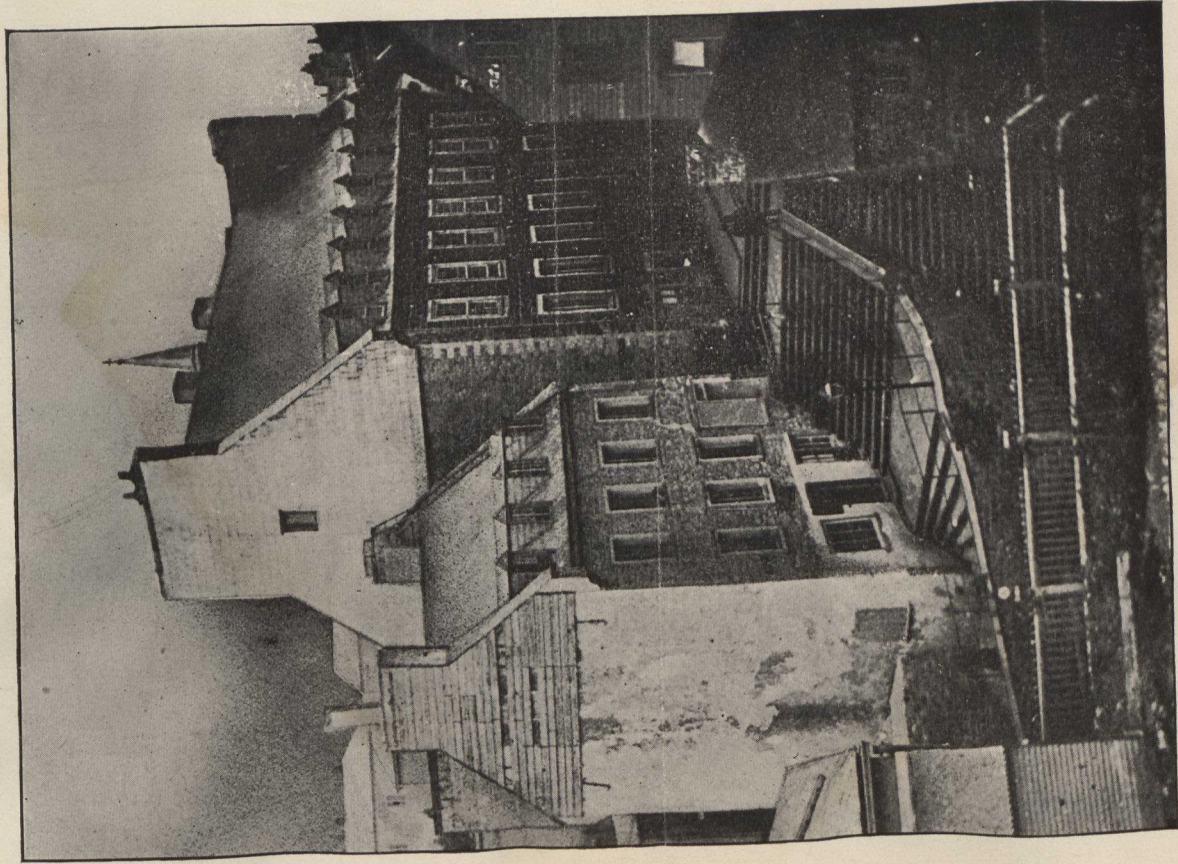
This tradition has however given rise to many tales which possess certain charms, and to it we are indebted for, among other things, Mr. Kirby's beautiful romance : "The Golden Dog," which closely resembles the charming tales of Sir Walter Scott, and which is still deservedly in great vogue as shewn by the many editions and translations that have been published during the past thirty years since it was written. Sir James Lemoine wrote a favourable and judicious criticism of it in 1877. (*Canadian Antiquarian*, Vol. VI, p. 11).

Nevertheless, nobody to our knowledge has ever made a thorough investigation to

discover the whole historical truth about the house of the Golden Dog, *ab initio*.

And yet it was possible, if not easy, to go back to original sources by taking the trouble to make searches which, although laborious and numerous, were none the less necessary, to find in our various archives, authentic documents regarding the original construction of that house and the persons from whom it came, before attributing its construction entirely to Philibert.

We are far from ignorant of the fact that Philibert built the house of the Golden Dog, that he took the credit of the same by laying the corner stone on the 20th August 1735, as was ascertained when the building was demolished in 1871, and also put the date over the door in 1736. This we willingly admit as undeniable, provided he completely demolished the house that stood there. This we will inquire into because it does not necessarily follow that, from the fact of his building, it must be acknowledged that it was Philibert who ordered and



FREE-MASONS' HALL, LATER OLD POST OFFICE

put up the tablet of the Golden Dog, or even that he drew up or ordered the epigraph to be carved, or put it up from motives of revenge against anybody who was to be its object sooner or later.

Pending further information, we think we may say, contrary to the assertion of Messrs Doughty and Dionne, who have written quite recently on the subject in *Quebec Under Two Flags*, App. 14, that it was not Philibert who built the whole house in question, but that in 1734 he bought that which already stood on the site and was then almost new, for the sum of 8,000 *livres*. It was a two-story stone house, with forty feet frontage on the level of the street, with cut stone door and window casements, similar to those of the building afterwards enlarged, as we will show, if one may believe the accurate data given below. Moreover, it must be said that Messrs Doughty and Dionne—who have confined themselves to destroying from a historical standpoint the legends relating to Philibert and who had but that object in

view—do not seem to have observed or to have paid any heed to the existence and description of that two-story stone house mentioned in No. 14 of their appendix, a document on which they rely and in which the purchase of that very house by Philibert from the heirs Roussel is set forth, according to the deed before Maîtres Pinguet and his colleague, royal notaries, on the 7th June, 1734. As these writers have not gone further back than Philibert, they assume that it must have been he who put up the sign of the Golden Dog. Without taking upon ourselves to assert the contrary, let us carefully look into the circumstances connected with the building.

The erection of a first building goes back to Timothée Roussel, a master-surgeon, one of the first settlers in Quebec, since he was already there previously to his marriage which took place in 1667. It appears also that, as early as 1669, he owned a house and farm at La Canardière (Beauport), now Limoilou, which he bought for the sum

of 1400 *livres* from Jean Charpentier *dit* Lapaille, by deed before Maître Becquet, notary, on the 3rd September of the same year and that he added to it by purchasing, on the 31st May 1683, the adjoining farm belonging to Pierre Normand, sieur de la Brière. So that he then owned 123 arpents of real estate, whereof 40 arpents were in tilth, with sufficient implements and live stock, as may be seen by an inventory made in 1688 to which we shall again refer. This domain now belongs partly to the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec who acquired it from the heirs Roussel in 1730, and the church of Limoilou is built on it.

As one of the leading inhabitants of the town and one who became a somewhat prominent personage through his condition and social position, circumstances which may justify a tradition related by Knox and which is reproduced further on, it is but right that we should give some information regarding both him and his origin. He came from the south of France (though

the Annals of the Hôtel-Dieu say that he was born in Normandy) about 1636; he was the son of the late Étienne Roussel, master-surgeon, and of Jeanne Bouette¹ of the town of Moyot and parish of St. Jacques, in the diocese of Montpellier, according to his marriage contract before Maître Gilles Rageot, notary, dated the 21st November 1667. On the following day he married, at Quebec, Magdeleine du Mortier de Leur, daughter of the late Auger du Mortier de Leur, esquire, councillor of the King in his Council, a captain in the regiment of Monsieur de l'Estrade, and of Catherine de Vaté, of the parish of Chemilly, diocese of Mans.

This alliance shows the social position occupied by Mr. Roussel which seems to have been well established, since Monsieur de Courcelles, the governor, and Monsieur Talon, the intendant, as well as the leading citizens were present at the signing of his

¹—Boyte in her marriage contract. Both resemble the family name of Bouât *alias* Bouate. Buate, formerly of this country; at least they have the same sound.

marriage contract ; and later on the Governor was godfather (5th February, 1669) to the first-born of his children who was named Renée-Françoise (*alias* Marie-Renée in the deeds) while his successor, Count de Frontenac, held another, named Louise, over the baptismal font on the 1st March 1674. The latter became Mother St. Gabriel who died a nun at the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec on the 2nd June 1703. She had been brought up in a convent in France.

Prior to his marriage, surgeon Roussel also owned a small house near the Hôtel-Dieu, in the street of the Poor, now Palace street, (*Inventory* of 1668 and *Registres de la Prévosté*, 16th April 1720) where he began to practise his profession and where he kept his surgical instruments and his medicines as a physician.

It may thus be believed that, with his professional fees and the revenue from his landed property, added to a modest salary for attending the poor, he was comparatively well-to-do for the period and had

sufficient to live on in comfort in the first days of the simple and frugal life that prevailed in the colony.

Under these circumstances he obtained a concession from the *Fabrique* of Quebec, the seigniors of the *fief* Notre-Dame, of a lot of land on the south side of Notre Dame street, afterwards called de Buade, at the place called the Indian Fort, containing forty-six feet in front on that street by thirty-six feet in depth towards the Château St-Louis, bounded on the east by the lane then called Frontenac lane ¹ and on the west by Monsieur de Chambly. The price was low and was stipulated to be 20 *sols tournois* of seigniorial rent with one *denier* of *cens* and the dues for *lods et ventes*—on condition that a house be built on the said lot at the end of a year and without discontinuing the work ; as the whole is set forth in the deed before Maître Becquet, notary, of the 3rd September, 1673.

¹—This lane was to be called Fort street and its width was to be 9 feet. *D'Auteuil's title deed. Concession from Bégon, 12th September, 1683.*

At the same time and by another deed before the same notary, he took, subject to the same charges, for and on behalf of Messire de Chambly, seignior of the place of that name, a captain in the de Carignan regiment, then absent, the concession of the adjoining lot on the west side, containing thirty four feet frontage by the same depth, bounded on the east by Monsieur de Mosny, surgeon, and, in accordance with the stipulated condition, he built within the year a house in which he lived during the absence of his friend, Monsieur de Chambly, who had been appointed governor of Martinique. Later, on the 16th March 1683, the latter gave him, by deed passed in due form before Maître Mathurin Bruneau, royal notary at Martinique, that lot on which the deed says that the said Roussel had actually built a house. This deed was registered by order of the Prévosté on the 12th October following in accordance with a letter written by Monsieur de Chambly on the previous 15th March. In the inter-

val and in prevision of this anticipated gift, Roussel had obtained from the governor, Monsieur de Frontenac, the concession in the adjacent Crown domain, of an additional piece of land facing the Place d'Armes, opposite the depth of the 80 feet in width of the two lots united, that is to say : 28 feet to the east along Frontenac lane and 36 feet along the land on the west side not yet conceded. The measurement was made and the minute drawn up in the form of a title-deed on the 16th June 1677 by Jean le Rouge, land-surveyor, by order and upon the concession of the governor to that effect to Roussel. Thus was the area of the post-office site obtained with the addition of the surplus on St-Anne street, which was originally conceded to Monsieur d'Auteuil, who sold it to Jean Moran and his wife, from whom Philibert purchased the same by deeds before Pinguet, notary, dated the 5th December, 1735 and the 4th June 1737.

Some years after her marriage, Madame

Roussel, who had given birth to seven children, departed this life. Their father was married a second time, on the 16th August 1688, to Catherine Fournier, daughter of the late Jacques Fournier, sieur de la Ville, and of Jeannette de Figuier absent (*sic*) from the country, formerly residing at Côte St. Gabriel, Quebec. The contract of marriage was signed before Maître Genaple, notary, on the 29th July 1688, and the future husband is styled therein as *honorable homme*, a master-surgeon, residing in Buade street. The future wife was assisted by her god-father, Maître Jean-Baptiste Peuvret, councillor of the King and chief clerk of the Sovereign Council and by Monsieur de Lotbinière, also a councillor. It was stipulated that, prior to the marriage, an inventory should be made of the property of the community that existed with the first wife. In fact, the same notary, Genaple, proceeded to make such inventory on the 7th, 9th and 16th of the month of August following and finished it on the latter day in

view of the celebration of the marriage ; but, strange to say, the inventory was closed and registered in the Prévosté only on the 4th December 1693. That inventory is of peculiar interest to us owing to the fact of the construction of the house having already been begun, which house was afterwards the middle and part of the foundations of the house of the Golden Dog. The inventory comprises what was found in the house and on the farm of La Canardière and also what was found in the house on Buade street, which then bore the civic number 34 on Mountain Hill, and whereof formed part, as an annex, the one coming from Monsieur de Chambly “ which was to be demolished “ and valued, with the annex or bakery, “ at 100 *livres*, 10 *sols*, adjoining the new “ house in masonry (then under construc- “ tion) and belonging to the said commu- “ nity ; such new house, moreover, not hav- “ ing been valued.”

As it was not finished, it was evident that no valuation could be put upon it ; but it

will be observed that it is stated in the inventory that it had " three walls only with
" tothing or projecting stones for bonding
" it to another wall on the north east and
" on the south west side adjoining the old
" house." The building was finished by the new consorts and the materials were used which had been acquired and prepared for that object, in particular those described in the inventory as follows :

" In the yard are two toises of large
" stones, a part of which is cut, for seven
" windows at the rate of 18 *livres*, the said
" two toises on the spot being worth 50
" *livres* which, with the cost of cutting,
" make 176 *livres*."

These are the stones that were used in the masonry of the casements of the seven windows of the two-story house which was, as it were, almost new when purchased by Philibert in 1734. The latter forms part and is the middle portion of the whole house which has been photographed and which was extended by him on both sides in 1736,

on the whole frontage of eighty feet, as indicated by the tothing which seemed to show an already conceived plan for a larger house.

Timothée Roussel fell ill and was removed to the Hôtel-Dieu, on the 1st December 1700, where his daughter Mother St Gabriel was, and the writer of the *Annals* says that he died on the 10th, aged 63 years and 10 months. He was buried in the Quebec parish church on the 11th and the burial record states that he received all the sacraments of the Church and also that he was 55 years of age.

On the 9th April 1701, Charles Rageot, notary, proceed to make an inventory of the property of the second community and in it he refers to the first inventory mentioned above. But it was only on the 22nd October 1720 that the heirs effected a partition of the immoveable property of the estate and in particular the property on Buade street ; this was done by licitation in the Prévosté. Three of them had the house

adjudged to them by a decree of that date, outbidding Louis Perrault, a wealthy merchant, who bid up to 7,660 *livres*.

This re-purchase goes to establish that the value of the house was duly appreciated at the time and the value does not seem to have diminished in the fourteen years that followed, since it was then put down at 8,000 *livres*.

We now have to find out who put up the sign of the Golden Dog or, in other words, whether Philibert rebuilt the old house or whether he merely enlarged it, retaining the front as he had acquired it and as it existed in 1734.

We leave antiquarians to decide the question in accordance with the following, among other considerations.

Let us first observe that the Roussel house, as we know it from the data supplied by the inventory and the descriptions in the deeds, was a large one, two stories high, well built of stone, if one may judge by its cut stone facings and by the solidity of the

masonry as it was then laid, in full mortar, prepared a year beforehand, and always put up in the favorable season, never in winter. The strong vaults of stone under the centre, which were demolished in 1871 when the edifice was rebuilt, are in accordance with the old French custom of building in that manner. The house was also built carefully and with a view to its being enlarged, as shown by the tooting on both the east and west sides. It is easy to re-construct the dimensions in front by observing that the two gables remained standing with the two chimneys built in them and which the photograph shows as exceeding the roof in rear. Moreover, we find the seven windows already mentioned, according to the sketch we reproduce, while the western gable remained as a partition wall in the old post office, as may be remembered and as is indicated by one of the doors made out of the second window to the right of the old door on entering.

It would therefore seem not very sensible

and not very probable that an almost new-building should be totally demolished at a pure loss, and the cost of demolition incurred to build a similar and no better front to the house. And although Philibert was partly a purveyor to the King and probably wealthy, nevertheless the inventory of his furniture is far from leading to the conclusion that he would thus have sacrificed the greater portion of his purchase price 8,000 *livres*, which at the present day represents three or four times the amount. This consideration must not be overlooked.

One may therefore reasonably believe that Philibert merely enlarged the building by extending it twenty-five feet towards the east and twenty-nine feet towards the west, following himself a uniform and continuous plan indicated by the front as already begun and as shown by the tothing. This probability is corroborated by the examination of the divers contracts made by him for the building. They were all passed before Pinguet, the notary. In the contract for

the masonry, dated the 17th August 1735, with Etienne Camane, master-mason ¹, there is no question whatever of demolition and no plan or specification is as yet decided upon for the entire work. Philibert reserves the right to direct the work when and as he pleases and he will pay only for the laying of the masonry at the rate of 5 *livres* 10 *sols* per toise, without specifying any quantity. From this it may be concluded that Philibert wished to utilize whatever portion of the building could be of use to him and to be his own architect,

1.—The contract reads as follows : " to make and build for him, in stone masonry, a house on Buade street in this town : the said house to be of such length, depth and height as the said sieur Philibert may think proper, in which shall be such vaults, partition-walls, openings and chimneys as he may determine and such quantity of cut stones and coursed stones shall be used for the openings, plinths and cornices and on the front face as may suit the said sieur Philibert, the whole according to the plan to be given him." Three days afterwards he laid the corner stone and on it placed a leaden plate with the inscription :

NICOLAS JAQVIN

DIT PHILIBER

L.AID ME ON THE 20TH AUGUST

1736

— 24 —

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE LO



EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI NEST PAS VENU
QVE JE MORDERAY QVI MA VRA MORDV

736

contractor and supplier of materials. This also appears by the other contracts : one for pine timber with Matte and Godin, dated the 7th February 1735, and another of the same date with Pierre and Nicolas Vallée for a roof 80 feet long. As it is certain that this new building had a greater depth and measured 41 English feet from outside to outside, it required an entire roof of those dimensions.

Therefore if the front face of the house built by Roussel was not destroyed, it would follow that the tablet of the Golden Dog must be ascribed to him and it would date back to about 1689. But, we find no indication of its existence during the whole ownership of the Roussels, nor any tradition respecting it in connection with them except the very vague one related by Knox which will be given later on.

Let us note, in regard to this, that in the first deeds of conveyance that followed the building by Roussel, namely : the adjudication in the Prévosté on the 22nd October

1720 ; the sale of an undivided fourth by Marie-Louise Roussel and Jean-Baptiste Demeules, her husband, to Geneviève and Madeleine Roussel, by deed before Maître Hiché, notary, dated the 22nd October, 1732 ; and the sale to Philibert himself, on the 7th June 1734, by the heirs Roussel, before Pinguet, notary,—nothing is so far said in the repeated description of the immoveable which describes it as being commonly known under the name of the Golden Dog, notwithstanding the apparent object of such a sign to make it known as such according to the custom of the period. Nevertheless, it does not follow, for that reason, that one should conclude that the sign of that name did not yet exist because it was not so mentioned, for it is not to be found, either, in any of the subsequent deeds, down to the present day.

In the description given in the acknowledgement and enumeration of the *Fief Notre-Dame* de Québec, dated 20th May 1740 (*Actes et dénombremens*, Vol. II, G. 2,

folio 734. Also of the 1st April 1740, *idem*, *folio 723*) four years only after it was built, Nicolas Jaquin *dit* Philibert acknowledged that he was the owner of the lot and house on Buade street opposite Madame de Bois-hébert, etc., subject to a rent of forty *sols* as well as two *deniers* for *cens*, etc., on which there is a three story stone house (the extension to the north-east on the sloping ground, then number 16 Mountain Hill street, is counted as a story. See the photograph,) seventy-eight feet in length by forty-two in depth ; but no mention is made therein of the Golden Dog, although Philibert placed the year 1736 as the date of the building, if not of the sign he then had in front and which was so placed either by Roussel or by himself. It must be observed that the Golden Dog, properly speaking, bears no date.

The same omission to mention the Golden Dog is made by Philibert's widow in her acknowledgement to the king's domain as a *censitaire* for a portion of the same lot as en-

tered in the *Papier Terrier*, or Land-Roll, on the 26th January 1757, Vol.A. 1, p. 26. The same omission is continued by her after she became the wife of Bernard Cardeneau, and by the heirs Philibert in the sale by licitation brought about between them before the Military Court at Quebec and the judgment delivered on the 12th March 1764, adjudging the same house to Nicolas Jaquin, the elder, for the sum of 11,720 *livres*.

This Nicolas Jaquin, sold to François Dambourgès by deed before Maître Saillant, notary, dated the 22nd August 1768. Under that owner, the house was seized and sold in virtue of a judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, at the suit of Charles Berthelot, on the 27th September 1771, according to the return of adjudication drawn up on the 7th July 1773 in favor of Jean Renaud and his creditors.

The latter caused it to be advertized for sale by private sale in the *Quebec Gazette* in the number of the 6th July 1775 and following numbers, or by auction on the 21st Sep-

tember following. It was then occupied by Miles Prenties *alias* Prentice, a hotel-keeper. He was an old soldier who had served under General Wolfe and was one of the first English settlers who became householders in Quebec. He bought the house by deed before Maître J. A. Panet, notary, dated the 16th May 1777, and, as he was a member of a Free Masons' lodge established in Quebec, the meetings of the lodge were held in his house and the feast of the order was celebrated there by a dinner on St. John's day, the 27th December 1776. After that the house, on changing owners, was called *Free Masons' Hall* and the Canadians of lodge No. 23, called the *Brethren of Canada*, also met there.

It should be observed that in all those authentic documents, no mention is ever made of the Golden Dog.

Miles Prenties died in the spring of 1787, and his widow, Janet Pringle¹, who was

¹—She it was who identified the body of General Montgomery, who was killed in the attack on Quebec, in 1775.

"Mrs. Prentice, who kept a hotel at Quebec and with

his universal legatee under his holograph will dated the 6th April of the same year, sold the Free Mason's Hall, by deed of the 17th September, 1787, before Panet and Berthelot, notaries, to a certain number of brethren of the order, to be held in trust on behalf of the order with the object of raising and establishing a fund for the relief of poor and unfortunate members.

All the rules of the association are inserted in the deed.

On the 3rd November following, the building was solemnly inaugurated as the Quebec Free Masons' Hall, and the ceremony was honored by the presence of Lord and Lady Dorchester, accompanied by General Hope, and several of the prominent personages of the town. Reverend Brother Spark delivered an appropriate address.

Afterwards, in 1790, the association was dissolved of its own accord, and some of the

whom General Montgomery had previously boarded, was brought to view the body after it was placed in the guard-room and which she recognized, by a particular mark which he had on the side of the head, to be the General's." James Thomson's Journal.

brethren were found to be in possession each of one-sixteenth of the whole, under deeds before Maitre Chas. Stewart, notary, dated the 2nd and 4th December, 1790, and they conveyed the property to Andrew Cameron, trader, of Quebec ¹, by deed before the same notary dated the 12th August, 1796.

While Andrew Cameron was the owner, as representing Prenties and his predecessors in ownership, that is to say, Nicolas Jaquin *dit* Philibert, both father and son, the house and lot in his possession were seized and sold by order of the court at the suit of John Munro in the Court of King's Bench at Quebec, on the 27th September 1804, as appears by the deed of Sheriff Sheppard to the late George Pozer, the purchaser, passed before Maître Jos Planté, notary, on the 3rd November 1804. Finally, the last title-deed is the sale by George

¹—He kept his store on the Lower Town square, next door to *Wolfe's Sign*, according to his advertisement in the *Quebec Gazette*, 1779 and 1780. Thus there was already a statue or figure of some kind in memory of Wolfe, in the town. previously to Hipps' wooden statue of 1780.

Alford, Pozer's universal legatee, to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, dated the 6:th September 1853, passed before Maître J. B. Trudelle, notary. There is nothing in these deeds to indicate the designation of the Chien d'Or, or Golden Dog, being used under that name, to describe the house as such. On the contrary it was still called *Free Masons' Hall*.

This absolute silence or continued abstention from mentioning the name shows what little heed was paid to the sign, as such, at any time ; for it is strange that, from the very beginning, the name should not have been commonly given and known throughout the town if it was intended to attract public attention as an advertizement and distinctive sign.

Thus, no public or private writing, or other indication, not even any tradition, can be found to recall the memory of or convey any special meaning in connection with the Golden Dog ; but it is established that silence and entire omission on the sub-

ject are corroborated by the authentic documents before the notaries who, according to the custom prevailing at the time, never failed in deeds of conveyance of property to mention the commonly known signs and indications that distinguished the same, such for instance as the: *Golden Lion*, the *Golden Ball*, *Wolfe's Corner*, *Three Cannons*, *The Elephant and Castle*, *The Blue Bells*, etc. And why not the *Golden Dog* ?

We think, with Hawkins, that the name of *Golden Dog* is due solely to the fact that the dog was gilt and that it applied to the animal without any connection with the house.

If therefore the sign with its motto have passed unnoticed, it is not to be wondered that its origin should have been so soon forgotten as well as the meaning to be ascribed to it in order to find the motive for revenge it contains, provided always there was any special and intentional object connected with the original putting up of the enigma by the person who placed it there ;

for it is established that, twenty-three years only after Philibert built the house and at the end of the short period of eleven years following his death, nothing was known as regards the meaning of the whole thing.

In fact Knox, in his *Journal*, September, 1759, Vol. II, p. 149, writes that his attention was attracted on seeing the Golden Dog with its motto. He quotes the lines from memory merely, and not very accurately. It is known, and he himself says so, that he remained in Quebec during the winter following its capitulation and even longer, and he states that he took every possible step to ascertain the allusion of the sign as well as the true meaning of the inscription, but that he was unable to obtain the slightest information ¹. He adds that, after losing

¹—He writes as follows ;

“ The true meaning of this device I never could learn, though I made all possible enquiry, without being gratified with the least information respecting its allusion. I have been informed that the first proprietor of the house had been a man of natural abilities and possessed of a plentiful fortune which he, after many disappointments and losses in trade, had scraped together by means of the most indefatigable industry.”

his fortune and succeeding in saving something from the wreck, the owner had perhaps wished to give some characteristic meaning to the sign as if to recall some special incident in his career.

This *first proprietor* literally or otherwise, can have been no other than Timothée Roussel, since there was no other before him, for the memory of Philibert could not have been so utterly forgotten so soon after his death, to allow of its being so vaguely mentioned in reference to him, especially as several members of his family were still living and lived long after the siege. We may mention, among others, his widow Marie-Anne Guérin who was only 44 years old at the time and whose house, though damaged, had not been destroyed by the bombardment of the town. She had been previously married a second time, on the 24th November 1751, to Bernard Carde-neau, a purveyor to the King, and she was still living with him in 1764, at Quebec as we have seen, whence she sailed for France

with her husband. There were also Pierre-Nicolas Jaquin dit Philibert, who was 23 years old in 1759; another son, Nicolas, aged 19, and a daughter, Marguerite, aged 17.

Had there been any salient feature or important souvenir relating to the head of the family and connected with the Golden Dog, these persons would have been aware of the same and could have testified to the facts, all the more so that Philibert's wife had been nearly three years married to him when he rebuilt the house, in 1736, and she must have seen the Golden Dog placed in actual position in Philibert's time, supposing it not to have been already so placed there by Roussel.

Moreover, there were in the town neighbours such as the Boishéberts and de Lanaudières, as well as contemporaries of note, who were all competent witnesses and who could not all have forgotten Philibert and his tragic death that had happened such a short time previously; nor could they, either, be ignorant of the fact, not so very remote,

of the putting up of the sign as well as of its meaning, if it really had any. Had there been any tradition in the town, any story, any incident, any rumor or report relating to the sign, it would seem that Knox would have succeeded in finding out something. If he learned nothing it was because there was nothing to learn.

Moreover, Knox, while on duty as a captain, frequently visited the General Hospital and indulged in courteous conversation with the wounded French officers, many of whom were detained there. Now Monsieur de Repentigny, the cadet of that family, had served with distinction, as we know, and was an officer of note in the army. It would seem that Knox, in seeking to gratify his curiosity, would, either directly or through the various comrades-in-arms then in the hospital, have obtained some information from de Repentigny's brother, who must have often passed before the Golden Dog which would have brought up the shade of Philibert before his vision

and would have seemed to growl ferocious revenge for the public homicide committed by his elder brother.

Nevertheless, no information was obtained either in that direction or in any other.

In like manner, had there been known to the children of Timothée Roussel, before that period of the siege, any legend either true or imaginary concerning him in connection with the Golden Dog, the tradition could not have died out in the minds of those who lived long after they sold the house in 1734.

Renée-Françoise died on the 7th September 1748, about eight years after Philibert's death ; Marie-Françoise, issue of the second marriage, lived until the 9th June 1757 ; Marie-Anne-Louise until the 5th October 1750 ; Joseph François, a grand-son, the husband of Madeleine Gauvreau, lived until the 2nd January 1758 ; his daughter Louise, Madame Soupirant, lived next door to the Golden Dog, on the west side until 1775 ; Thérèse Roussel, issue of the second

marriage, who, on the 13th January 1727, married Charles Berthelot, trader of Quebec, already mentioned as having caused the house to be sold by legal process, was living with her husband on the 26th July 1766 and both had then a suit against the heirs Pétrimoult pending before the Court of Common Pleas in Quebec.

Ten years after the siege, Marie-Louise Roussel, the above named daughter of Timothée Roussel, and widow of Jacques Pagé, also was still living since she obtained from the same court, on the 1st August 1769, a judgment against one Liard for the payment of 2698 *livres*.

It seems incredible that, among so many surviving witnesses, it should be impossible to retrace and preserve some idea or tradition regarding the origin and the inscription of the Golden Dog, as coming either from Roussel or from Philibert ; for it is an object that can have been so exposed to view solely for the purpose of attracting attention. Is not this silent ignorance due

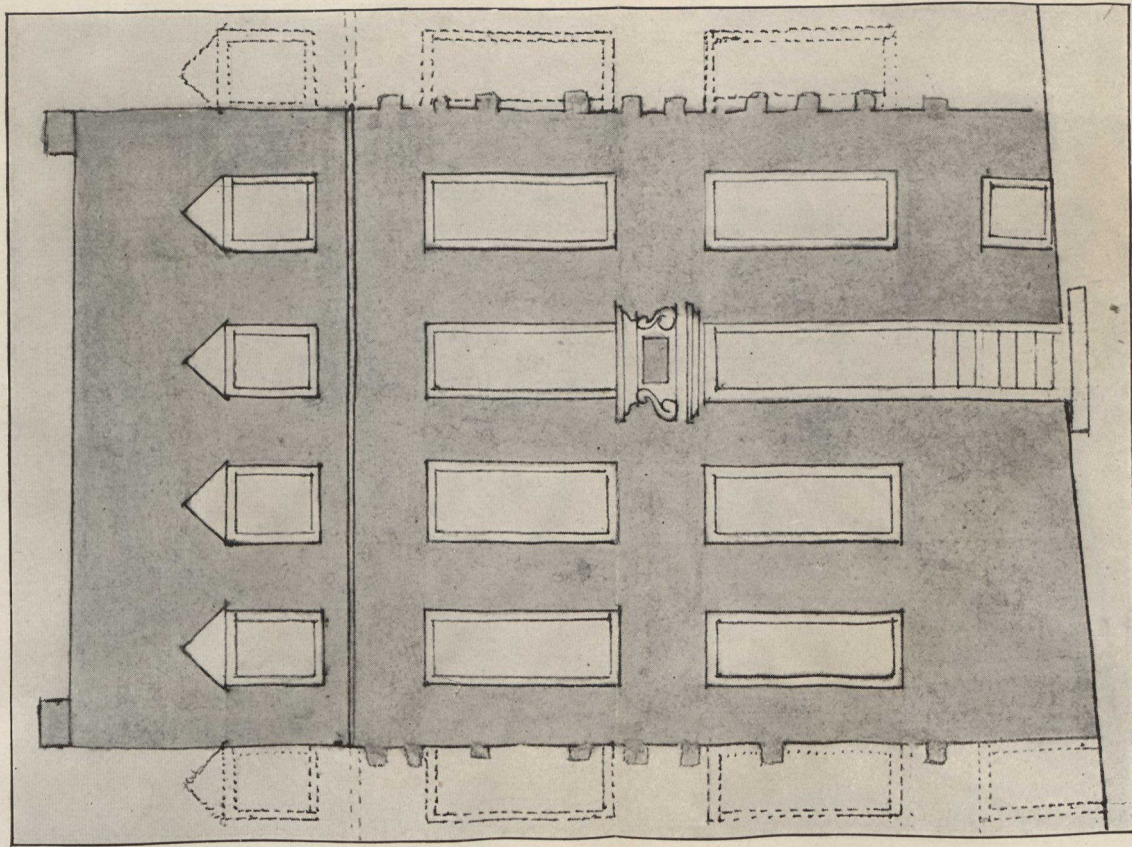
to the fact that it never had any meaning whatever ?

Nobody, either before or since Knox's time, has succeeded in unveiling the mystery that surrounds it, if there be any mystery ; but we venture to say there is none.

We think that the inscription comes merely from an old epigraph and a similar sign in France. We have put the question in *L'intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux*, Paris, vol. XLIX, column 730, and are still awaiting the answer.

In Quebec, in the olden time, the use of various sorts of signs had been imported both from France and from England. They merely reproduced those of the old countries and were used for the same object, a commercial one, an advertizement.

It may be that the sign in question was brought over already carved, if the stone be different from all the kinds in the vicinity of Quebec, as its first appearance indicates. In any case, the characters of the inscription and the style are truly those of



SKETCH OF THE PROBABLE HOUSE OF TIMOTHÉ ROUSSEL,

old France, while the curt and concise language recalls Anne of Brittany and her period. It is assuredly not of the 18th century and one asks who, in Quebec, could have imagined it in 1736, or even in 1689 ?

It seems to us also that the sense of the motto is not fully determined, that it wavers between an injury inflicted and an injury expected, that is between "*qui m'a mordu*" (who has bitten me) and "*qui m'aura mordu*" (who shall have bitten me). The meaning might be interpreted as referring to a conditional future, to the case of a general injury without regard to whence it may come. It might mean : "*When I shall be bitten, it will be my time to bite.*" Which would be tantamount to the motto : *Nemo me impune lacessit* (nobody attacks me with impunity—the motto of Scotland). The dog guards his bone, you must not touch it. "My master is at his trade, do not disturb him."

On the other hand, if the motto conveyed an absolute threat of revenge it could

only be adressed to some personage of note, official or otherwise, supposing it to be traced to Roussel's time. Now no trace or foundation coming from him or on his part, has remained to give rise to any tradition or to the carrying out of any revenge. Moreover, the threat was too bold not to be at once taken up or to be even tolerated for a moment by the autocratic power that then held domination over the Colony and it was in the time of Frontenac with whom one had to *drive straight*, as was said of Louis XI by his chronicler.

Timothée Roussel seems further to have led a very peaceful life and his well-known religious principles would not allow of his having recourse to revenge, still less of his publicly proclaming and nursing so lasting a hatred.

At bottom the epigraph is pagan and, on its face, it is anti-Christian.

With regard to Philibert it is needless to seek in him, prior to 1735 and during the five or six years he was in business after

attaining his majority, any motives of revenge inasmuch as, so shortly after his death, no trace can be found of any incident in his life that could have given rise to the motto and, at the present day, with all the facts before us, nobody could think of connecting it with the quarrel that brought about his tragic end.

Long afterwards, as if the bulk of the public considered itself in presence of an enigma going back to the time of the old *régime*, a solution had to be sought ; and ignorance of the details of the historical fact relating to Philibert's death began about 1829-30 to open up a field for invention amongst the English.

The traditions respecting Philibert imagined by Rev. Mr. Bourne in his *Picture of Quebec*, p. 121, appendix II, to the first edition, and repeated by Colonel Cockburn, R. A., in his *Quebec and its environs* ; those gathered at first hand by Hawkins in his *Picture of Quebec* without further inquiry as to their truth ; that, on the same theme, of

the short but beautiful legend of Auguste Soulard in 1839—have all been invented, as may be seen, after the cession of the country.

The late Jacques Viger, an erudite archæologist, in a criticism on the last named one (1840. *Rep. Nat. p.* 154) good-naturedly but with sound judgment, demolishes all these tales by means of accurate dates and authentic documents. Moreover, in his manuscript, he gives the true story of Philibert's death as proved in the trial of Monsieur de Repentigny. But his work contains nothing regarding the meaning of the motto.

Mr. Justice Baby, the learned and active president of the Montreal Numismatic and Archeological Society, quoting from memory from the numerous materials he has collected for use in writing the history of the country, gave us long ago the accurate version of the incidents that accompanied Philibert's death and laughed at the alleged traditions. Our bibliophile, Mr. Philéas Gagnon, had also known it for a long while, as he

had the documents in his hands. They were supplied by him and an English translation is published in the appendix to *Quebec Under Two Flags*.

Thus, it was only after nearly three-fourths of a century had elapsed since Knox' fruitless inquiries, that the erroneous traditions, which it is no longer necessary to investigate or contradict, came to light. Their historical falseness, added to their discrepancies, betrays ignorance of the facts. Still more; we find in them an important point to be indicated : the absence of all foundation for a better grounded tradition to explain the reason for the motto, and the non-existence, so far, of a true tradition which was sought for because it was supposed that there must be one. Now the fact that nothing has appeared that could have given rise to it and the blank in this respect that surrounds the Golden Dog from the beginning, seem to us sufficient to show that there is nothing serious in the emblem, and there is no meaning to be looked for.

One can understand that this symbol, supposing it to have been first used in France, was intended the first time to indicate special revenge and conveyed a challenge to fight.

But in Quebec it had no local meaning and was not known to have one ; thus we cannot be called upon to strip it of offensive personality that never existed. Nothing can be got from nothing, either by negative or positive proof.

This emblem of the dog, whether gilt or not, was merely put up as a sign of the olden time, calculated to attract attention and to awaken curiosity ; and it is evident that an attempt has been made at an ornamentation of the whole in the nature of a tolerable cartouch. It was merely the addition of the gilding that caused it to be given the name of the Golden Dog.

The conclusions of the legends which say that Philibert's brother crossed the ocean, came to Quebec to settle the widow's affairs, then started in pursuit of Monsieur de Repentigny whom he found at Pondichery

and killed in a duel, according to Sir James LeMoine who does not believe it and even is in contradiction with his friend Soulard who makes Pierre-Nicolas-Jaquin, the son, die at the same place in a fight with de Repentigny, while endeavouring to avenge his father's death, are so many fables which pass out of the domain of history.

That son did not leave Quebec ; he was there in 1768-69, in various suits before the Court of King's Bench and he appeared before the notary, Chas. Stewart, as late as 1788.

As to Monsieur de Repentigny, the elder, he had not fled to Acadia. A former voyage is confounded with this. He was sent to Fort St. Frederic. Later on he went to France, became a brigadier-general, lived until 1776 and died at Mahé, in the East Indies, a possession he had held against the attacks of a native prince and of which he was governor (See *P. G. Roy, La famille Juchereau Duchesnay*, p. 108, and *Quebec Gazette*, No. 616, year 1877, which, in its

obituary notice, gives him the title of Marquis de Repentigny.)

He must not be mistaken for his brother, Louis le Gardeur de Repentigny, born at Montreal on the 5th August 1721, who also went to France after the fall of Quebec, served his King valiantly and became governor and commander-in-chief of Senegal, the African Coast, etc. He died in Paris on the 11th October 1786. (*Id.* p. 111.)

It may easily be conceived that for the generation then still living, which had witnessed Philibert's tragic death and all the incidents of the trial and sentence of death rendered against the Sieur de Repentigny for contumacy, followed by his execution in effigy on the public square; that had learned how fully and generously his dying victim had forgiven him; that had had knowledge of the King's letters of pardon and the solemn application for their ratification by the guilty man, kneeling bare-headed before the Superior Council, followed by the ordinance of the same Council of the

2nd October, 1749, ordering the ratification of such letters of pardon and remission and restoring de Repentigny to his former condition — all these important events were fresh in mind in 1759, and they were moreover recorded in the archives of criminal justice and civil pleas of the two high courts of the country, to be consulted whenever necessary. Consequently, none of the traditions afterwards evolved, could then have come to life and have existed in opposition to well known and patent facts. It was, therefore, necessary that they should at length be forgotten and others imagined on the same subject in the shape of traditions, legends or romances. But where can we find the person or persons who first originated them and where did Bourne get the tradition of the Golden Dog published by him in 1829, and which he did not reproduce in his second edition published by his brother, G. Melksham Bourne, a publisher of New York, 1830, with the fine engravings of Smillie, jr., that appear in the first edition?

Nevertheless, we find that his tale at once became current as true among the Quebec public, with the exception, however, of a few educated and better informed persons such as Messrs. Viger, Faribault and others of their literary club ¹.

Bourne had merely said : *Thereby hangs a tale*, in mentioning the Golden Dog. Did he mean a tale, a story, a legend, a fable ? He says no more and his version was at once adopted as true and nearly passed into the domain of history. It has remained

1—The late Mr. Faribault, whose labours have contributed so largely to the culture of letters and to the collection of our historical archives, had succeeded in gathering most of the minutes of criminal justice under the old *régime*. He had deposited them *bound* in the library of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, where they remained until 1885, when they were claimed by the provincial government. They are now under the charge of Mr. Eudore Evanturel, provincial registrar.

Mr. Faribault wrote the name at the head of each suit and this serves as an index. It is therefore certain that the case of Monsieur de Repentigny did not escape his notice. He did not take the trouble to set aright the historical errors in the legends that have arisen in our time. Moreover after the filthy things forged by the same Bourne and published in 1836 in his *Maria Monk*, the inventions of that author can have no weight with us.

there until recently, even in the new guide-books to Quebec, so easy it is to launch a historical error and how difficult to eradicate it when once it has taken root. The other day, the Archbishop of Canterbury was taken to Williams' barber-shop in St. Louis street, to be shown the house where Montcalm died. It is certain that the heirs and representatives of the widow Menage, that is to say Jean-Baptiste Prévost, carter, Angélique Buisson, his wife, and François Descarreau, their son-in-law, also carter, who then lived there, never knew of it. Arnoux' house and its exact site are now well-known. (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, January 1903 and fol.)

To our mind, there is nothing remarkable about the house of the Golden Dog from its erection in 1736, to the conquest, with the exception of the owner's death, in 1748, and, to a slight extent, its dimensions at that time. And yet we regret to have to strip it of the charm attached to legends

which are often read with more interest and pleasure than history itself.

Nevertheless, after passing into the hands of English owners in 1776, its history is more interesting. It offers a fresh field for tragic scenes and romantic adventures, which a gifted imagination like that of Mr. Kirby could turn to excellent account. Thus Montgomery was a guest of Mrs. Prenties', as we have seen, and she identified his dead body. The famous Nelson, when a guest of the house, nearly lost his heart in his boyhood's days and nearly forfeited the glories of Trafalgar through love of the beautiful Miss Simpson. An unfortunate free mason, who lodged there, hanged himself on a legendary nail which remained in the possession of the late Mr. Sheppard, the post-master.

Two years after the judicial sale of the Free Mason's Hall, as mentioned above, Andrew Cameron ended his days miserably. Ruined as he was in business, and in delicate health, he was thought to have com-

mitted suicide. His death was described at the time as follows :

EXTRACT from the *Quebec Gazette*, Thursday, 28th August 1808, No. 2157, page 3 :

“ Died last week, Mr. Andrew Cameron, an old and respected resident of this town. He left his town house on Wednesday (the 20th) in ill-health, to go to the country. He was seen on the same day (the 20th) not far from his farm but, as he did not make his appearance at the house, he was diligently searched for without being found, until Friday (the 22nd), when he was discovered accidentally drowned on the beach near one of his fields. On Saturday (the 23rd) a coroner’s inquest was held on his body which was brought to town and buried the same day.”

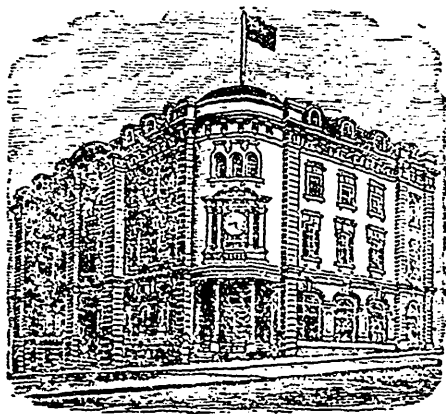
A new legend might be written which would lead to the belief that a spell had been cast on the house, its owners and the persons who lived in it ; for love and death seem to have gone there in turn and to have had fatal influences on its inhabitants.

The Duke of Kent is also mixed up with it through his pranks and love affairs ; for it must not be imagined that he was always faithful to the beautiful countess of Fortison. On one occasion he received a sound thrashing from an irate father, not far from this house. It is also said that he was too attentive to Mrs. X., the handsome wife of one of the owners of *Free Masons' Hall*, who had been childless since her marriage. When a child was born to her, her husband was not consoled with the idea of its being a scion of royal blood and he was found one day hanging from the high branch of a tree opposite his door on the Cap Rouge road. The child was ultimately in great poverty but, through the help of friends, a small pension was obtained for him from the English court, which was paid him until he died in 1867 at the age of 74 years.

These various events that occurred within a quarter of a century might form the

ground-work of a new historical novel in which there would be no anachronism.

In conclusion we may fairly imagine, and it is not without a certain sense of pleasure that we venture to foretell, that howsoever true the naked facts are proved to be relating to the real history of Philibert's house and its Golden Dog, yet the popular mind will not feel inclined to divest them of the charm of the legends and romance now con-



NEW POST OFFICE

nected with them, all the more so that the beautiful novel of Mr. Kirby will continue to be read with the same feelings, and deep interest which will tend to perpetuate for years to come the attraction the Golden Dog possesses for visitors to Quebec. Moreover, its peculiar motto will also probably always remain, as heretofore, a puzzle for the curiosity of the inquisitive historian.

P.-B. CASGRAIN.

