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# CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOLUME I.

EDITOR:

W. J. WHITE, M.A.,

PRESIDENT SOCIETY FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES.

MONTREAL:

GAZETTE PRINTING COMPANY.

1889.

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# CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

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VOL. I.

JANUARY, 1889.

No. 1.

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## *PROSPECTUS.*

The purpose of this periodical is to foster and stimulate the sentiment which is growing amongst Canadians of interest in the past, pride in the present and confidence in the future of our Dominion.

It is intended to furnish historical students with a means of communicating the results of original research, and preserving interesting discoveries.

Its success will depend to a great extent upon the numerous historical societies and students, whose assistance by notes and contributions is invited.

Although the papers will be chiefly historical, it is hoped that the magazine will not be uninteresting to the general reader as matters of present, public import will also be mentioned and discussed from time to time. Each monthly number will contain one principal article, followed by short notes. Next month it is proposed to inaugurate several

departments, which have not been attempted in this number, owing to lack of space.

The whole revenue will be devoted to making the magazine attractive, and its size will be increased if the subscriptions warrant the additional expenditure. To reduce the cost as much as possible, arrangements have been made by which the Gazette Printing Company undertakes the collection of subscriptions and the business management generally.

The subscription is \$2.00 per annum, strictly in advance. Subscribers will please address—Mr. RICHARD WHITE, Man. Dir., Gazette Printing Co., Montreal.

Communications intended for the Editor should be addressed to P.O. Box 1855, Montreal, P.Q.

## CANADIAN HISTORIES.

### PART I.

Students of Canadian history sometimes complain of the lack of trustworthy and satisfactory text-books on the subject. The basis of this complaint varies, of course, according to the student's point of view. The problem is complicated not only by local and political leanings, but also by prejudices of race and creed. However fair a historian may determine to be, he can hardly divest himself of sympathies which, if not innate, have become second nature to him—part of his individuality. A history in which no personal element could be recognized is almost inconceivable. A history made up barely of facts would be little better than a chronological table. At the same time chronology has its value and chronicles are of corresponding worth, fulness and accuracy being always premised. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—that is what the chronicler is morally bound to discover and make known. To be sure, he is not responsible for the mistakes or wilful misrepresentations of contemporary witnesses, so long as he reproduces honestly and integrally their *ipsissima verba*.\*

The *Monumenta Historica Canadensia* have as yet been only partially brought to light. The beginning of systematic inquiry after them was not made until a few years ago when the Archives Bureau was established: † and

\* I am here using "chronicle" in the sense of that which contains, conveys or suggests history, and "chronicler" to signify the person who collects, examines and arranges such material.

† In the second portion of this study I will, in the proper place, give some account of Mr. Brymner's services to the cause of historical research. Meanwhile, I may be permitted to quote the follow-

though some good work has been done since then, there still remains a great deal to accomplish. Almost every day fresh evidence is revealed in some shape or other, bearing on some feature, period, event or personage of our complex past. Every city, town, village or parish in the Dominion has in its records documents still virtually unknown that may prove of interest, or help to interpret some phase of our development as a people. As for documents of more or less importance hidden away among the records of foreign state departments, and those which (unconsciously to the owners, perhaps), are still in private keeping, at home or abroad, they must constitute a considerable aggregate of more or less useful material. Till, at least, the most precious portions of the manuscripts thus indicated have been placed at the disposal of the inquirer, our history cannot be completely written. We are not, however, in that respect, worse off than some other parts of the world. There is no

ing testimony to his diligence, skill and judgment:—"During the year 1881 Mr. D. Brymner, Archivist of the Dominion of Canada, was in Great Britain, with instructions from the Canadian Government to ascertain the nature, number and historical character of manuscripts and records in the Public Records Depositories of Great Britain, and the means taken to collect, arrange, preserve and render them accessible to the public. Since Mr. Brymner's return to Canada, he has made a most interesting report on the subject of his inquiries in Great Britain, which has been printed, and a copy of which, with the permission of the Canadian Ministry, is annexed to this report. (App. ii, Note 31.) It has been annexed as printed in Canada; although there are many statements therein which are already mentioned in various reports of the Departmental Keeper of the Public Records, it contains much other useful and interesting information on the records of the United Kingdom, and merits a wider circulation in this country, as giving the opinion of an officer not connected with the English Records and as affording a well deserved testimony to the praiseworthy exertions of Mr. Brymner."—*Forty-third Annual Report of the Public Record Office, London, 1882.* Such commendation from such a source reflects credit not only on Mr. Brymner but on the Administration of which he is an officer.

country, indeed, in which there is not ample scope for the zeal and industry of the historical inquirer.

At the outset of these brief comments, it might be well to offer some definition of history. What is its largest scope? What are its limitations? On what principles ought it to be written? Sixty years ago, Macaulay avowed his ignorance of any history that approached his notion of what a history ought to be. And the cause assigned for that universal inadequacy was that this province of literature was a debateable land, ill defined, ill cultivated, ill regulated, falling alternately under the control of reason and of imagination. Further, in his prophetic essay, he described the perfect historian as one in whose work the character of an age is exhibited in miniature, whose narrative, while truthful, is not unattractive; who, while showing the court, the camp and the senate, does not forget to show the nation also; who "considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind." During the two generations that have elapsed since that famous essay was written, several great historical works have been published—Lord Macaulay's own not being the least notable,—but the historian, universally recognized as perfect, has not yet appeared. To Macaulay, however, belongs the merit of having broken through the tyrannical convention which made history the monopoly of kings and courts, and of having brought within its ken the whole many-sided range of human thought and life and development. The recent scientific school of history would make the historian's survey still more comprehensive, while, at the same time, robbing it of that romantic colouring which is so attractive a feature in Macaulay's ideal. But surely history may be no less true because it is interesting. If it be—as some claim—a branch of science, it is also a department of literature. If it calls for research, for critical insight, for sound

judgment, it also demands imagination and sympathy and the "enthusiasm of humanity." Nor should its ethical significance be lost sight of: it is "philosophy teaching by examples." The experience of the past is the counsellor of the present: the present is the interpreter of the past. And of the truth of this view there is no fuller illustration than what is offered by the history of our own country.

In the hasty notices that follow, I have dealt first with works that cover the entire ground down to the date of publication; then, with works treating of the French period only; then with works relating to special epochs; then with provincial and local histories; with biographies and memoirs, and finally with miscellaneous works of a special character.

#### I. FOR THE WHOLE PERIOD—SCHOOL HISTORIES.

As most of us obtained our earliest knowledge of our country's past at school, I may begin this brief survey by glancing at some of the school text-books: In this province, and, doubtless, in Ontario, to some extent, the little compendium of Mrs. Jennet Roy was long a standard authority. Its author deserves to be remembered with respect and gratitude for her pioneer endeavour to imbue the minds of Canadian youth with a knowledge and love of their own country. It reached its seventh edition in twice as many years, and after nearly forty years of service—for it was published in 1850—it still holds its place in some of our schools. For twenty years it had no rival in Quebec. In 1870 appeared the "School History" of Dr. Miles, which was prepared in view of the new conditions created by the British North America Act. It is much fuller than Mrs. Roy's book, and brings the record down to the year 1867. A sketch of the Constitution, a table of chronology and an index, with a number of instructive footnotes, add to its value. The "School History" was translated into French

(as Mrs. Roy's manual had already been), and was sanctioned by both sections of the Council of Public Instruction.\* The history of Dr. J. G. Hodgins (one of Lovell's series of School Books) differs in plan from that of Dr. Miles. It begins with a summary of European history down to the era of Canadian colonization, pays considerable attention to physical geography, and to industrial and educational progress. It has also concise biographies of leading characters in the form of notes, constitutional sketches of the provinces, as well as of the Dominion, and a system of tabulation that serves as an excellent aid to the memory. It brings the history to the early years of Lord Dufferin's administration. The history of Mr. J. Frith Jeffers follows the plan of the well-known series of History Primers, and is a creditable compendium. Notwithstanding its name, however, it is better adapted to the capacity of the mature student than to that of beginners. Mr. Jeffers' hand-book which leaves the reader at Confederation, is authorized by the Ontario Minister of Education. Another History of Canada which deserves mention among school manuals is, that of Mr. Andrew Archer, published by J. Nelson & Sons, London and Edinburgh, in 1881, and adopted by the educational authorities of New Brunswick. It is a work of more than ordinary merit, and for a school and college text-book, could not easily be surpassed. The questions for examination are carefully framed, and, the points of salient interest being emphasized by darker type, the learned is thus aided in finding the answers. The story is brought down to the date of confederation, but an appendix adds the chief events that happened between 1867 and 1874. Other features are an abstract of the

\* The earliest manual of Canadian History used in our French schools was, I believe, that of Mr. J. F. Perrault, a patriotic and public-spirited, as well as accomplished man, who did much to promote education. Mr. Perrault died in 1844, at the ripe age of 91.

B. N. A. Act, a full chronology, a tabulated outline of Canadian progress from 1497 to the present generation, a pronouncing vocabulary and an index. The "Public School History of England and Canada," by G. Mercer Adam and W. J. Robertson, is one of the latest additions to the series of school books, authorized by the Education Department of Ontario. Only three-tenths of it are devoted to Canada, a mere synopsis of whose history is appended to the main subject of the book. Nevertheless the plan is commendable, there being much help in the way of maps, questions, illustrations and lists of authorities, and in the hands of an accomplished and skillful teacher, the volume might be turned to good account. A still later publication is "An Abridged History of Canada," by the Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow, with an "Outline of Canadian Literature," by G. Mercer Adam. Dr. Withrow has the advantage of an animated (if sometimes florid) style and what he writes is always readable. The limits of space imposed on him compelled Mr. Adam to cut short his sketch of our literature. As the first attempt in such a manual, to make the literary movement a part of our general progress, it is deserving of mention.

#### LARGER WORKS FOR GENERAL READERS.

Of more ambitious works we have Dr. Withrow's largest history; Dr. Bryce's "Short History of the Canadian People"; the history of John McMullen; Garneau's history, the English translation of which, by Bell, is well-known; Sulte's "Histoire des Canadiens Français"; the work of the elder Bibaud, with the supplementary volume of Bibaud the younger; Revillaud's "Histoire du Canada," the only French history of the country written by a Protestant; the "Histoire du Canada, de son Eglise et de ses Missions," by the late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg; the uncompleted

work of Charles Roger, and the two volumes of William Smith, the earliest history of Canada written in English. Though, in many ways defective, according to modern ideas, Smith's History of Canada is not without a certain value. The author had access to some documents of importance which were not published till long afterwards, touching the French period, and his functions as clerk of Parliament, and chairman of the Educational Committee gave him opportunities of informing himself as to the course of events in his own time. On some special points (the condition of Quebec during the siege of 1775 and the state of opinion as to higher education in 1787, for instance) his work may still be consulted with advantage. He brings the history down to 1791, where Christie (after a brief retrospect extending back to 1759) and Bedard, in his "Cinquante Ans," take it up. The work was printed for the author by John Neilson, of Quebec, in 1815. Charles Roger, in a single volume, which, though independent and spirited enough, hardly fulfils the high-flown promises of his title and introduction, prematurely concludes his history with the first quarter of the present century. The title is "The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization." It was published in Quebec, in 1856. An appointment to the Civil Service, which in so many cases proves a stimulant to literary creativeness, seems, in the case of Mr. Roger, who had previously shown abundant energy, to have had just the opposite effect. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has a reputation among the members of his own race in Canada, which is strangely in contrast with his fame in circles devoted to American archæology. To this last branch of science he was enthusiastically devoted, and though, in many respects, rash and erratic, he is affectionately remembered among the *nobilissimi pochi* who gave to the study of prehistoric America that impulse which has been so fruitful in results. In the early years after the union of the Canadas, he paid a visit to Quebec, and was received with

characteristic hospitality in that grand old fortress city. Charmed with his new friends, he was easily induced to prolong his stay, and, in an evil hour, conceived the idea of writing a history of New France. Some time after his return to France there issued from the Paris press a work entitled "Histoire du Canada, de son Eglise et de ses Missions." Its evil report preceded it to Quebec, but the reality proved still worse. It not only elicited from Abbé Ferland prompt and vigorous rebuke, but led ultimately to the preparation by that conscientious writer of his "Cours d' Histoire du Canada," of the merits of which I shall presently have to speak. The nature of the offence given by the wandering archæologist may be gathered from the following passage which occurs in Abbé Ferland's "Observations": "The Protestant writer Smith, bitter foe though he was of the French race and the Catholic religion, was less unjust towards the clergy and people of Lower Canada than M. Brasseur de Bourbourg in the second part of his work. For the friends of truth and justice it is a work that does credit neither to the heart nor to the judgment of the author." Mr. Lareau, criticizing from a different standpoint, charges the author with serious inaccuracies, with glaring omissions, with general unfairness, but allows him the merit of grace and vigour of style. In fine, l'Abbé de Bourbourg's work was never accepted as authoritative by the French Canadians whom it most concerned. What influence it may have had in France, I cannot say. It is now one of the rarities of Canadian bibliography.

Garneau's History has had the widest popularity of all the works of its class, and is the only History of Canada which has been accepted by both sections of our population. The first edition was not, however, approved by the clergy, and was consequently withdrawn from circulation almost as soon as it was issued. It is now among our *livres rarissimes*. Only business considerations, according to Mr. Lareau, made the historian—who was not a millionaire—

submit to an intervention which he could hardly fail to resent. It is, nevertheless, the sympathetic pen of a member of the clergy that has paid to F. X. Garneau one of the highest tributes that he has received as a writer and a patriot. "The future," writes Abbé Casgrain, in closing an enthusiastic eulogy, "will unite with the present in hailing him as Canada's national historian." In Bell's translation there is room for improvement; nor, however we may differ from the author, can we condone the stranger who, without permission received or even asked, presumes to alter his text. The fourth edition of the "Histoire du Canada," published in 1882, by Messrs. Beauchemin et Valois, is enriched by a biographical and critical study from the pen of M. Chauveau, and a carefully prepared index, the work of M. B. Sulte. The "Histoire des Canadiens Français," by M. Sulte, is marked by industry in research, vigour of style, and independence of thought. It brings the history down to 1880. John McMullen's book is honest and independent, and will always command respect. It was, however, written at a distance from original sources of information, and is therefore defective. It brings the record to the year 1855. The work of Eugène Revailaud is, on the whole, disappointing. It contains nothing new, and to preach annexation is a poor return for the kindness that the author received from the British Protestants of Montreal and other parts of the Dominion.

Dr. Withrow's style makes his larger history pleasant reading, and whoever masters its contents will have laid a fair foundation for more detailed studies. Dr. Bryce's book deserves the praise that is due to faithful work. Every chapter gives evidence that he spared himself no pains to secure fresh facts and accuracy. He has shed new and welcome light on several phases of our growth as a nation. His work is really a fulfilment of the promise in his title. It is a history—though a short one—of the Canadian people. Students who like to strike out into new paths for their

own satisfaction, will thank him for the bibliographies with which he has prefaced his chapters.\*

#### THE FRENCH PERIOD.

Of works that embrace the French period of our history, the best known is Dr. Parkman's series. As yet there is a hiatus to be filled—the interval between the death of Frontenac and the beginning of the war that ended in the capitulation at Montreal. That gap will, I believe, be shortly closed. On the historical value of Parkman's works, the brilliancy of the style, the vivid pictures that they supply of the most romantic and stirring scenes in the story of the Old Régime, it is needless to dwell. A work of conscientious research for the same period is the "Cours d'Histoire du Canada," of the late Abbé Ferland. The writings of clergymen almost always show a bias for their own church. Ferland, though he writes as a Catholic and a Frenchman, and gives much attention to church affairs, is inspired throughout by an evident desire to be fair and honest. In his statement of facts he manifests an anxiety to set forth the truth, and the truth only. His two compact volumes are rich stores of manifold knowledge, which shed light on events and characters that previous authors had left obscure.

Dr. Miles has compressed the most salient of the characteristics and events of the same period into one moderately sized volume, which may be read with pleasure and profit. Warburton's "Conquest of Canada" has not ceased to be consulted, though the title is somewhat misleading. It is a

\* The first French history of Canada, according to M. Lareau, was prepared by Dr. Jacques Labrie. He died, however, on the 26th of October, 1831, before he was able to publish it. M. Morin was entrusted with the manuscript, and the Legislature made a grant towards the printing of it. The troubles that had their tragic termination in 1837-38 intervened, however, between the design and its accomplishment, and the manuscript was destroyed by fire at the sack of St. Benoit.

medley of multifarious lore on the physical geography, early inhabitants, discovery and colonization of the American continent, rather than a simple account of the closing struggle. "Le Canada sous la Domination Française," by L. Dussieux (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 3rd ed., 1883), is of value for the abundance of *Pièces justificatives*, laboriously collected in the French departments of War and Marine. It should be studied by all who would have an intimate knowledge of the policy and aims of that corrupt administration which hastened the downfall of New France. An important work now in course of publication—the "History of Canada," by William Kingsford—deserves an honorable place in the list of authorities for the Old Régime. Mr. Kingsford's second volume, just issued, brings the record down to Gov. Vaudreuil's death in the year 1725. The task carried thus far towards completion is the most comprehensive treatise on the French period that any English writer, dealing with it consecutively as a single subject, has yet composed. Mr. Kingsford is earnest in the search for truth, fearlessly independent in expressing his opinions,—and the wealth of testimony with which, at much trouble and expense, he has supported his views and illustrated his theories, is worthy of all commendation.

JOHN READE.

(*To be continued.*)

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[Communicated by MR. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, DOMINION GOVERNMENT ARCHIVIST.]

### *THE MONTREAL WATERWORKS;*

The present appearance of Dalhousie Square would not lead anyone to believe that at one time it was considered so elevated as to serve for the protection of the town from fire by means of gravitation from a reservoir placed there. The following documents will show, not only the first cor-

porators of the waterworks in Montreal, but that down to 1820, Citadel Hill, now Dalhousie Square, was used, not only by the first company, but also by the company of which Mr. Porteous was representative.

*To His Excellency Robert Shore Milnes, Esquire, Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Lower Canada, etc., etc., etc.:—*

The petition of John Gray, Daniel Sutherland, Thomas Schieffelin and Stephen Sewell

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your petitioners associated themselves for the purpose of supplying the City of Montreal with pure and wholesome water from springs situated nearly on the summit of the adjacent mountain, and that they last year commenced their operations by laying pipes and conducting the water to within a quarter of a mile of said city, and applied to the Legislature last session for a charter of incorporation, which they have reason to hope will be granted them at the ensuing meeting of the Provincial Parliament. But finding that a reservoir is absolutely necessary, they humbly request Your Excellency would be pleased to grant them leave to construct the same, on the Citadel, as the most convenient place for the purpose, and as being of the greatest utility to the said City in case of fire which when sunk and covered in, will not even be perceptible, much less of any injury.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JOHN GRAY,

S. SEWELL,

D. SUTHERLAND,

THOS. SCHIEFFELIN.

MONTREAL, August 30, 1800.

(*Canadian Archives, Series C, Vol. 605, p. 15.*)

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CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS,

QUEBEC, Jan. 29th, 1801.

SIR,—I inclose Your Excellency a copy of the petition which was presented to me when I was last in Montreal, the original of which I left in the hands of Major-General Burton. The object of the petitioners being to obtain permission to construct a reservoir in the Citadel for the purpose of more easily supplying the Town of Montreal with water, it will remain with Your Excellency to determine whether or not it is advisable to comply with their request.

I understand they are desirous the work should be done under the inspection and control of the commanding engineer, and the great public utility of the project cannot but make me anxious for its success, provided it can be carried into execution without injury to the defence of the place.

I have the honor to be, sir,  
Your Excellency's most humble servant,  
ROBT. S. MILNES.

(*Series C, 605, p. 17.*)

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MONTREAL, June 21, 1804.

SIR,—The proprietors of the Montreal waterworks having, two years ago, obtained permission from His Excellency General Hunter to erect a cistern on the Citadel Hill, but finding from experience that they had placed it too high up, had begun this summer to take it asunder in order to place it behind the workshop belonging to the Board of Ordnance, have been prevented by Sergt. Taylor, Royal Artillery, saying, that he could not allow that ground to be broken up without an order from the Commander-in-Chief. I have, therefore, to request that you would represent the matter to His Excellency, and obtain his permission, as it cannot in any way injure or interfere with the garrison, and be of infinite service to the town in case of fire.

I have the honor to be, sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
D. SUTHERLAND,  
Treasurer M.W.W.

Should His Excellency require further information I beg leave to refer him to Captain Bruyers, of the Royal Engineers (now at Quebec), who can explain everything respecting the above to the General's satisfaction.—D. S.

(*Series C, 605, p. 36.*)

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MONTREAL, September 26, 1820.

SIR,—The company of proprietors of the Montreal Water Works having obtained permission from His Excellency Sir John Coape Sherbrooke to make use of as much of the unoccupied ground upon the Citadel as they might require for the purpose of laying down and working up the materials necessary for the construction of

their works, I was very much surprised and disappointed to-day when, upon signifying my intention of laying down a quantity of materials upon the ground, now leveled in front of the reservoir, to Lieut. Phillpot, of the Royal Engineers, to meet with a positive refusal, and as this refusal will put the company to great expense and inconvenience, especially at this late season, I am under the disagreeable necessity of troubling His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to request him to have the goodness to renew the permission above alluded to, so generously granted by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, and shall bind and engage myself, on behalf of the company, to remove whatever materials they may have so laid upon the grounds in question, should a sale take place or the ground be otherwise particularly wanted.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. F. PORTEOUS.

(Series C, 605, p. 125.)

On the back of the last letter is a report from Lieut. Phillpotts, R.E., that Mr. Porteous never asked his permission, and that his proposal, if agreed to, would undo what the Engineers had been doing. Thereon (in Lord Dalhousie's own hand), is a note from His Lordship declining to grant the request.

In 1822, Citadel Hill was laid out in building lots, and by a list of the payments of instalments, dated on the 29th of January, 1825, the following appear as the purchasers: John Beston, 5 lots; John Forsyth, 6 lots; Jean B. Rolland, 4 lots; Joseph Masson, 5 lots; Robert Drummond, Jacques Viger, Levis M. Viger, 2 lots; Alexander Fraser, Thomas Busby, Joseph Gauvin. The amount paid to that date was £1842, 4s., made up of principal, £1661; interest, £181, 4s. In the above list the purchasers to whose names the number of lots is not attached, acquired only one lot.

DOUGLAS BRYMNER.

(Series C, 605, p. 174.)