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MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

ON SITES IN QUEBEC

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19th CENTURY POTTERY IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
PART 1

by
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December, 1963

19th Century Pottery in the Province of Quebec
Part 1

The record of 19th century potters and potteries in the Province of Quebec appears to divide itself, at the middle of the century, into two distinct periods. Up to about 1850, pottery in Quebec seems to have continued as a home or village industry. Two or three potters practised their art in many small towns and villages scattered throughout the Province. There was no large aggregation of potters in any one place and no attempt to produce in quantity or as an organized manufacture.

The first concentration of potters, suggesting organized quantity production, occurs at St. Denis on the Richelieu, where the Canada Directory of 1851 lists eight persons following the trade of potter at that time. This number reduces gradually over the years, only two potters being recorded in 1871 and none in 1891. There is no information as yet on the name of the organization (if any) or proprietor at St. Denis in the 1850s nor is any information available to show when this group first became active.

The next place to show a concentration of pottery activity is St. Jean on the Richelieu, beginning about 1850. This place subsequently experienced an extensive development of the pottery industry in its several forms. A synopsis of the partnerships or organizations engaging in pottery at this place, between 1850 and 1900, as indicated by Directory data, is as follows:

1851 Farrar & Soule

1857 G.W. Farrar (potter and stone and earthenware dealer)
Gillespie & Mace (potters)
Amable Maillet (potter and trader)
1865 G.W. Farrar
1871 G.H. and L.E. Farrar
(there are four Farrars in all)
1888 Elijah Bowler
Dakin & Reinhart
Standard Drain Pipe Co.
St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co.
British Porcelain Works
(Dakin & Allen, managers)
1890-91 W.A. Campbell & C.M. Purvis
F.B. Deakin
Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co.
St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co.
Standard Drain Pipe Co.
1899 Campbell & Purvis
Canada Stone Chinaware Co.
Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co.

There are two names among the above, which require special mention: Farrar and The St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co. It may be also that Campbell & Purvis should receive some special attention since, according to Brosseau ("Saint Jean de Quebec") the firm survived in one form or another for some time after 1900. No detail of their activities prior to 1900 has come to light as yet.

Farrar. This family group or partnership, which moved across the Richelieu River from St. Jean to Iberville sometime between the years 1871 and 1888, was of American origin, presumably Vermont. They practised their trade in the St. Jean-Iberville area for more than 75 years, disappearing only in 1927 (Barbeau). According

to Gerald Stevens ("In a Canadian Attic," edn. 1963) their equipment was subsequently transported to the United States and has now been restored there as an example of early American pottery works.

Although the first Directory entry for Farrar & Soule is 1851, the firm was already established and in production as early as 1850. In October of that year they received a prize for an "Assortment of Stoneware" at the Provincial Industrial Exhibition in Montreal.

The Farrar wares were apparently produced entirely in stone and earthenware but also included some Rockingham (1871). There is no suggestion that they ever undertook the production of white china ware for table or toilet use. Their full page ad. in the Directory of 1857-58 mentions: Root and Ginger Beer bottles, Snuff Jars, Fire Brick, Portable Furnaces, Vermont Flint Enamelled Ware and Scotch Enamelled Earthenware. They were also dealers in Fire Clay, which they apparently imported from New Jersey.

Following the removal of the Farrars to Iberville, that place had at least three pottery establishments, since Bertrand & Lavoie and Calixte Coyette were also operating potteries there at this time, the former being a manufacturer of Stoneware and the latter identified as a pottery manufacturer, also producing Rockingham ware.

The St. John Stone Chinaware Co. is, literally, in a class by itself. This was the first concern organized to enter upon the manufacture of crockery in Canada. It was established in 1873 on a substantial basis, with an extensive plant. The capital was $50,000 which was subsequently increased to $100,000. We are not as yet certain who were the original organizers and at first, apparently, the Company was not too successful. In 1877

it "passed into private hands" after which the results were more satisfactory.

Our first data, other than the above, are in 1888 when the proprietors were Messrs. E., D. & A. Macdonald, members of an old St. Jean family who operated a private banking business. In 1888 Mr. Duncan Macdonald was in his second term as Mayor of the town. It seems possible these were the "private hands" which assumed control in 1877. At the time of our information the Company gave steady employment to 200 persons and was operating nine kilns of five different types. The main building was three stories in height, 150 ft. by 150 ft., built of brick, and the warehouse across the street (connected by a covered bridge) was also a three-storey structure, with dimensions of 150 ft. by 40 ft. The product was white granite or toilet ware and other general lines. Hand-painting of the ware was done on the premises. The firm exhibited at many of the International Fairs and Expositions and won a medal at the Philadelphia Fair of 1876. It also exhibited at Antwerp in 1885.

The indications are that this firm was sold by the Macdonalds about 1893, or they attempted to sell it at that time. Possibly it changed hands more than once. In the 1899 Directory we find a new name, the "Canada Stone Chinaware Company" and no mention of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company, so possibly the new company had purchased the latter establishment. One of the buildings of the old St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company was sold by the Royal Trust Co. in 1911 to the Collège de St. Jean and the rest of the buildings were subsequently sold to the Canada Potteries Ltd. and used by them for a short time (Brosseau). The building occupied by the Collège de St. Jean was destroyed by fire about 1937.

After St. Jean comes Cap Rouge. The indications are

that there was only one pottery establishment at this place and that it changed hands rather frequently, so that several names are associated with this enterprise. Cap Rouge is only about seven miles above Quebec City and it seems that several of those who operate the pottery also had sales establishments in the city.

The first proprietor of the Cap Rouge pottery, so far as the Directories indicate, was Henry Howison. We meet him for the first time in 1855-56 when he is listed as a "crockery merchant" at 33 St. John St., U.T. In 1860 the name is H. Howison & Co., cor. Dalhousie and Arthur Streets, L.T. and H. Howison himself lives at Ancienne Lorette. It seems fairly clear that Howison was engaged in the production of pottery at Ancienne Lorette. According to Barbeau, Jean Bpte. Dion served his apprenticeship with Howison, and a document is quoted by Barbeau, covering a transaction between Howison of Ancienne Lorette and Dion in 1859. In spite of Howison's residence being at Ancienne Lorette, Barbeau says that Dion's apprenticeship with Howison was served at Cap Rouge. We believe, however, that Howison was a potter at Ancienne Lorette at this time, and that J.B. Dion's apprenticeship with Howison was served at this place, where the Dion family later established their own enterprise, as mentioned below.

It was in 1860 or 1861 that Howison changed his residence, and his pottery works, from Ancienne Lorette to Cap Rouge. At the same time, the firm's name was changed to Howison & Chartré, with the same address in Quebec City. These arrangements appear for the first time in the Directory for 1861-62 (correct to July 1861). This was the beginning of the Cap Rouge pottery works so far as can be learned from the Directories. Howison did

not continue in operation for more than two or three years. In 1864-65 the name of Howison does not appear anywhere in the Directories. In its place we have the name of Gauvreau et Frère, listed as wholesale dealers and importers at 30 St. Paul St., L.T. and also operating the "Cape Rouge Potterie" with Louis P. Gauvreau living at Cap Rouge instead of H. Howison. This ownership is also of short duration, being no longer extant in 1866-67 when the firm name disappears and L.P. Gauvreau is listed as an Architect in Quebec City.

From this date until 1880 the Quebec City directories throw no light on the situation at Cap Rouge. However, the Canada Directory of 1871 lists the firm of J.E. Dalkin & Co. as operators of the pottery at Cap Rouge. There are two potters listed, one of them being Onésime Voyer. Philippe Rainton is "Pottery Agent," presumably a travelling salesman. The firm does not appear to have had a Quebec City connection.

The duration of the Dalkin ownership is uncertain. The Directory of 1877-78 speaks of an extensive pottery at Cap Rouge but the name of Dalkin does not appear nor is it again mentioned in connection with the pottery. It is however noted from the Quebec City Directories that, commencing with the year 1879 and continuing up to and including the year 1887, the firm of Forsyth & Dalkin are listed as lumber and commission merchants, with an address in Quebec City, and at Dalhousie Cove, Cap Rouge. Edward J. Dalkin represents the firm at Cap Rouge. Apart from the reversal of the Dalkin initials, J.E. for the pottery and E.J. as the lumber merchant, it seems possible this is the same person and that during the period 1879-1887 Dalkin operated in the dual capacity of pottery proprietor and lumber merchant. It seems that pottery operations

at Cap Rouge may have ceased at about this date (1888). We can find no further Directory references and Dalkin's potter, Onésime Voyer, who continues to be listed as a resident of Cap Rouge, is no longer working as a potter. By 1890 he is described as "grocer, mayor and postmaster".

The only further reference to Dalkin is an entry in the Quebec City Directory for 1893-94 when he is listed as living at 150 Scott St., occupation not given. The appearance of the names "Dakin" and "Deakin" in St. Jean, for a brief period around 1888-1890, seems to raise the question whether E.J. Dalkin may have gone there after leaving Cap Rouge, only to return to Quebec when the St. Jean enterprises did not prove successful.

Dion at Ancienne Lorette. This family firm must have had its inception at Ancienne Lorette on the departure of Henry Howison about 1860. Barbeau suggests 1859 and this may be the actual date. A Directory reference to establishment in 1867 would appear to be too late. No doubt the Dions took over Howison's establishment and it may be that the notarial document of 1859 quoted in part by Barbeau, covers the transfer of the property. The firm continued in existence until 1917, according to Barbeau. Little information is available from the Directories, other than the listing of the various members of the firm from year to year. However, Barbeau gives quite a lot of information concerning this family pottery and examples of its products have been identified. This seems to have been the only pottery in the immediate vicinity of Ancienne Lorette.

W. & David Bell at La Petite Rivière. Almost no information has been produced on the activities of this organization. The "Bell Pottery" appears on one of the Fortification Survey maps of the Quebec City area in 1867 and we have one mention of the Bells prior to that date.

In October 1850 they received a prize at the Provincial Industrial Exhibition in Montreal for four samples of pottery. The firm continues to be listed up to the termination of this study at the year 1900. By this time, W. Bell is no longer listed, but David Bell, who was Mayor of the Municipality in 1890, apparently survived until 1933, according to Dr. Barbeau. The Directories list the Bells as "manufacturers" and there are several references to their "brick manufactory" (1889).

A. Danis and M. Labelle at St. Eustache. This pottery does not seem to have ever been on a large scale, consisting only of Danis and one other (Magloire Labelle) during the years 1864-1871, at which time the Danis name also appears as Davis and Darns. Since the Directory of 1899 states that Danis is still operating a pottery at St. Eustache in that year, the organization seems to have continued in existence over a period of at least 35 years. Nothing is known of their product.

Montreal Pottery Co. Towards the end of the period under review, in the year 1895, the Montreal Pottery Co. appears with John Mc Dougall as proprietor. In the 1899 Directory the firm runs an advertisement which suggests quite a large operation: Works at 596 St. Patrick St. and 333 & 335 Manufacturers Street; manufacturers of a long line of stone and earthenware (including Rockingham and Cane) and also decorators of china, semi-porcelain, etc.

Yamaska and Laprairie Brick Works. In the Quebec Directory (McLaughlin's) for 1855-56 is an advertisement from the Yamaska Pottery & Brick Works, at St. Michel d'Yamaska, offering for sale a large variety of stone and earthenware products: "every article of Brownware, warranted, equal to English manufacture". No other reference to this manufactory was found. Brick-making in Laprairie does not appear to commence until around 1900

and no reference to stoneware production has been found. However examples of stoneware bearing the name "Laprairie" are known to exist.

Portneuf. No mention was found of any potters or potteries either in Portneuf village or the nearby Cap Santé (Co. Portneuf) at any time during the period under review.

19th CENTURY POTTERY IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
PART 2

by
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January, 1964

19th Century Potteries in the Province of Quebec
Part 2

A thorough search has been made of most of the documentary and printed material available at the Public Archives which might contribute materially to our knowledge of the operations of Quebec potters and potteries in the 19th century. The search has also included the material available in the Map Room and the Print Division. The principal records examined were as follows:

Canada Directories
Province of Quebec Directories
Local and Regional Directories
Books of travel and description
Local and Parish histories
Census records from 1825 to 1871 (last year available)
Canada Gazettes 1846 to 1870
Quebec Official Gazettes 1869-1900
Printed records of local and international exhibitions
Newspaper reports of local exhibitions

The following printed material specifically referring to Quebec pottery has also been studied:

Barbeau: "Maîtres Artisans de chez nous"
Barbeau: "J'ai Vu Québec"
Barbeau: "Canadian Pottery" - Antiques Magazine (June, 1941)
Stevens: "In a Canadian Attic" (edition 1963)
Morisset: "The Arts in French Canada" (Vancouver Art Gallery, 1959)

Fairchild: "Leaves from My Quebec Scrap Book" (1907)

Johnson: "Sketches of the Late Depression" (1882)

The results of this investigation are summarized below, on a regional basis, and in chronological order. Following each section, is a brief comment to indicate how information currently available to the public, compares with the data herein recorded.

1) St. Denis de Montréal

This place was also known as St. Denis on the Richelieu. At first it was in the Co. of Richelieu. Later (as at present) it was included in the Co. of St. Hyacinthe. It is located on the east bank of the Richelieu, about 18 miles from its confluence with the St. Lawrence. This was the only important pottery centre in Quebec during the first half of the 19th century, according to the information developed by this study. According to the Census of 1831, there were 17 men following the trade of potter in the village at that time, and 2 more in the suburbs. As the total number of houses was 168, the number of men engaged in pottery was the equivalent of more than one for every ten households. St. Denis seems to have been the centre of the trade, from which master potters emigrated to other parts of the province, and no doubt there were a number of potteries in operation here. Unfortunately the Census returns for this area for 1842 and 1851 are not available, but the Canada Directory of 1851 indicates a decline in the trade, listing only eight potters at that time. The Census of 1861 lists only four potters, however, one of these, André Courtemanche has obviously prospered and the Courtemanche family should probably be regarded as the principal potters of St. Denis. Other names likely to indicate more or less substantial enterprises would be: Maillet, Lambert and

Belanger.

Courtemanche: In the Census of 1831 there is only one Courtemanche recorded, Jos. G. The Canada Directories of 1851 to 1871 list Florent Courtemanche and, commencing in 1864, Régis Courtemanche. Meanwhile, the Census of 1861 lists André Courtemanche, a potter aged 53, who possesses a brick house, 1 horse, 3 pleasure vehicles, 4 vehicles for rent and 1 arpent of land. In the Census of 1871 there are three Courtemanche's following the trade of potter - André, Régis, and Philias. Altogether, we have the names of five members of the Courtemanche family following the trade of potter, through three generations and over a period of some fifty years more or less. There were no potters listed at St. Denis in the Province of Quebec Directory of 1890.

Product: There are no specific references to the type of pottery made at St. Denis, but it seems clear that the potters of this area were working in the old French tradition, possibly from the early days of settlement, using the local clays. Barbeau remarks that at Saint Denis, "Canadian potters utilized the local clay".

Comment: Stevens makes no mention of the potters of St. Denis. In addition to the remark quoted above, Barbeau merely mentions that pottery was made here, refers to the names Courtemanche, Belanger, Besse, and says that the pedlars or salesmen of the Richelieu went as far as Sorel on the south shore, or took their wares in sailing barges to Montreal.

2) St. Eustache

The Census records for St. Eustache, both Parish and Village, are in good order and tell us that there were at least two potteries at work here from an early date, possibly others.

Labelle: In the Census returns of both 1831 and 1842, there is an Antoine Labelle, potter, in St. Eustache village. In the return for 1851 Antoine Labelle is still a potter, now aged 60 and apparently assisted by his son Magloire Labelle, aged 28. Immediately adjacent are the names of two other potters, Nicolas Tourangeau aged 63 and Jean Bte. Maillet (a St. Denis name) aged 61. In the return for 1861 the names are unchanged. Both Antoine and Magloire are landowners, Antoine having ½ arpent and Magloire having 1½ arpent. Both state they do not have employees. In the return for 1871 the three older men, Antoine Labelle, J.B. Maillet and Nicolas Tourangeau are missing. Magloire, now aged 46, has been joined by his own son Magloire, aged 21 at this time. There is also another Maillet who is a potter - Amable, aged 55. This one does not operate a shop (il "ne tient pas boutique"). The 1871 Directory described Magloire Labelle as a manufacturer of earthenware.

Outside the village, on the Rang Nord du Chicot, the 1861 return also lists Alexis Danys, potter. He is again listed in 1871, age 72, and this time he is assisted by Cyrille Ledoux, age 16.

We have no further Census data after 1871 and only one Directory reference (Might's 1899) which is too uncertain for quotation here. It does however appear that the Labelle family operated a pottery at St. Eustache for something over 60 years and that Alexis Danis (or Danys) operated for something like 50 years.

Product: Nothing is known of the products of these potteries, although it may be presumed that they were working with local clays, in the Canadian tradition. The area has changed but little over the years and it should not be difficult to obtain information by investigation on the spot. There is also a local newspaper

printed in St. Eustache, files of which are not available in Ottawa, as well as a regional history published by the proprietors of the newspaper.

Comment: Barbeau merely mentions St. Eustache as one of the additional places where rustic potters practised their art. Stevens makes no mention.

3) St. Jean and Iberville

As St. Denis on the Richelieu was apparently the principal centre of Quebec pottery in earlier years, St. Jean on the Richelieu became the centre of the trade during the last half of the 19th century and the modern ceramics industry of today, in all its industrial forms is still centred in the St. Jean area, based upon the foundations laid in the last century. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that the Richelieu River valley has embraced the heart and soul of the Canadian pottery industry from the French regime right down to the present day. The Canadian pottery of st. Denis gave way to the American potters of St. Jean and it was they who laid the foundations of the modern industry.

Moses Farrar: This was the first of the Farrars to come to Canada from the United States and he might be regarded as the father of the pottery industry in Canada. He seems to have arrived in the St. Jean area about 1841, calculated from the ages and birthplaces of his children as recorded in the 1851 Census. In addition, we have located a small crock bearing the inscription: "Moses Farrar, St. Johns, L.C." Moses appears to have been in business in St. Jean since the last days of the Province of Lower Canada. He would have been about 30 years of age at this time.

Farrar and Soule: Moses Farrar's wife was Caroline Soule and sometime between 1846 and 1848 Warren Soule, 10 years her junior and possibly her brother, also came

to St. Jean. The partnership of Farrar and Soule appears to date from this time.

In 1850, at the Provincial Industrial Exhibition in Montreal, Farrar and Soule received 1st prize for an assortment of Stoneware. They were operating a pottery on Partition St. in St. Jean at the time of the 1851 Census. Both the Moses Farrar and Warren Soule families including their children are listed in the Census of 1851. However, this is the last trace we have of any of them. It would appear they left the area entirely, perhaps to return to the United States. At this time the establishment was described as a "manufacture de grais, pouvoir d'un cheval". The annual production was £750 and the capital employed was £375. Five persons was employed.

E.L. & G.W. Farrar: This partnership apparently came into existence sometime between 1851 and 1857, no doubt for the purpose of taking over the Farrar and Soule operation. However, E.L. Farrar had already disappeared from the scene at the time of our first record of the partnership in the summer of 1857. An illustration of the Pottery at this time, contained in an advertisement shows a substantial building bearing the name "E.L. and G.W. Farrar". However, all other references at this time are to G.W. Farrar only, who describes himself as the "surviving partner of the late firm of E.L. & G.W. Farrar".

G.W. Farrar: It appears that G.W. Farrar carried on as proprietor of the establishment by himself and he must have succeeded in putting in on a sound business basis where, perhaps, his predecessors had failed. He was born about 1813 and would have been aged about 40 when he came to St. Jean. We do not know his relationship to Moses Farrar, but possibly they were brothers. G.W. was about three years younger than Moses. He continued

as proprietor of the firm until about 1871, a period of nearly 20 years, when the name of the partnership of G.H. & L.E. Farrar first appears. This indicates that the two oldest sons had taken over the principal responsibility for directing the firm. G.W. remains as a patner or associate and in 1873 at the age of about 63 we find him taking a leading part in the formation of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co. He must have died somewhere between 1873 and 1888.

G.H. & L.E. Farrar: The pottery seems to have operated under this name from about 1871 until the establishment at St. Jean was abandoned, somewhere between 1873 and 1888. Possibly this occurred at the time of G.W.'s death and it may have been associated with some difficulty or differences arising in connection with the operation of the St. Johns Chinaware Company, whose plant had been built across the street from the Farrar establishment. It also appears that L.E. Farrar, the second partner at this time and the second son of G.W., may have retired from the business at this time. A plan of the town of St. Jean in 1864 in the Public Archives of Canada shows the location of the Farrar pottery (340 - St. John - 1864. From V1/320 -Shefford-Iberville Co. - 1864).

E.L. Farrar: The Farrar establishment is no longer listed in the St. Jean Directory for 1888. Instead we find E.L. Farrar, the third and youngest son of G.W., listed as proprietor of an "earthenware factory" at 78 Napier St., in Iberville. G.H. Farrar is now listed, in Iberville, merely as a "potter" and it would appear that he may be in the employ of his younger brother. In 1890 E.L. is listed as a manufacturer of stoneware and dealer in fire clay and sand. Operations apparently continued at the Iberville location until shortly before

1927. Its interior and equipment were subsequently removed to the United States to form part of a noted exhibit of "Early American Pottery" (Stevens).

Products: The Farrars never worked in white clay (kaolin). They made stoneware and earthenware including Rockingham ware, using local clays and imported New Jersey fire clay and sand. Advertising of the 1857-1858 period mentions: Root and Ginger Beer bottles, Snuff Jars, Fire Brick, Portable Furnaces, Vermont Flint Enamelled Ware, Scotch enamelled earthenware; liquor jars, cream pots, butter pots (See advertisement in the Canada Directory for 1857-8, p. 1278). In the 1861 Census the Farrars report they use 500 tons of clay a year and employ 18 men. Their output for a year was as follows:

36,000 jugs	600 spitoons
30,000 butter pots	600 pitchers
3,600 tea pots	Total value $20,000

In 1871 the Farrars describe themselves as manufacturers of stone and Rockingham ware and state they keep constantly on hand, "best New Jersey Fire Clay and Sand". In 1890 at the Iberville location the business is "Stoneware, and Dealer in Fire Clay and Sand".

Comment: Nearly all writers appear aware of the general outline of the Farrar operation; however, there is a good deal of confusion as to the nature of their product, the inception and later years of their business history. Barbeau gives the name "Canada Trenton Potteries Co. Ltd." to the company formed in 1873 to make tablewares (actually, it was the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co. - see below) and in his article in Antiques magazine (June, 1941) he says that it was the Farrar's own establishment which assumed this name. Stevens states that the Farrars made ironstone and produced tablewares.

Gillespie & Mace: Very little is available concerning this firm, other than its name. It is first located in the Directory for 1857. In the Census of 1861, John Gillespie is listed as a potter. There is no mention in the records of 1871.

St. John's Stone Chinaware Co. This Company was organized by a group of St. Johns business men in 1873, with a capital of $50,000 which was increased to $100,000 in 1875. The purpose was the manufacture of earthenware. The principal organizer seems to have been George W. Farrar and associated with him was another potter, William Livesley, who, we feel, was brought in from the United States to run the establishment. An extensive plant, said to employ 200 people, was erected opposite the Farrar establishment. An illustration of the plant is shown in an advertisement (PAC, C-10096) and a detailed description may be found in Bixby: "Commercial Industries of Canada" (1888).

It seems that the Farrars, and also William Livesley, disassociated themselves from the Company at a fairly early date. This was probably in 1877 and could have been associated with heavy financial losses. After this date the three Macdonald brothers, merchants of St. Jean, seem to have taken the leadership and the establishment came to be known as the "Macdonald pottery". The Company had begun operations at the beginning of a period of business depression, but now things progressed more favourably. The Company produced the only white granite or stone chinaware made in Canada at this time (Johnson 1882) and had a career of about 20 years. In 1911 its main building was sold to the Collège St. Jean. This was destroyed by fire about 1937. The other parts of the property were acquired by the Canada Potteries Ltd. and used by them for several years (Brosseau). See PAC., Record Group 8, Quebec Provincial and Local Records and

also St. Jean in the seigneury of Longueuil, Papiers McGinuis.

Product: In its application for Letters Patent the Company stated simply that its object was the manufacture of earthenware and its extensive plant was set up and equipped for this purpose. All of the Company's products seem to have been of the white earthenware type, along with some fire clay products such as stove linings. At the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, only three years after its founding, the Company exhibited Stone and Rockingham ware, etc. and received an International award for its white granite wares, which were "commended for fair quality of body and glaze, good quality of colour in blue decoration". The Company also exhibited fire bricks for stove linings. In 1880 at Montreal, the exhibits were pottery ware/ and stone ware and the Gazette's reporter commended the Company - "the display comprises all grades from the common delf to the exquisitely painted services and ornaments". In 1885 at Antwerp and in 1886 at London, the exhibit was a collection of "table and toilet chinaware (plain and decorated); white granite ware for general domestic purposes". In the advertisement of 1888 (PAC, C-10096) the firm manufactures "White Granite and C.C. Goods, comprising full lines of Table & Toilet Ware. / Decorating is done to Order." C.C. ware refers to Cream Coloured Ware. As a general rule, the Company marked its product "S^{T}. Johns" or "Stone Chinaware Co. St. Johns".

Comment: There is no more than a brief reference to this Company in Barbeau's work. As mentioned above, he calls it the "Canada Trenton Potteries Co." and even suggests this was a re-naming of the Farrar works. Stevens describes the firm's products, but without any data on the Company itself.

Glasgow Pottery Co. of Iberville: This company was formed in 1877 on application of five Iberville residents, including Rev. Charles St. George. It had a capital of $10,000 and its object was the manufacture of "Pottery, Pottery faience, and plates of superior substances." There is no other record of this organization.

Calixte Goyette of Iberville: This potter received a prize at the Dominion and Provincial Exhibition at Sherbrooke in 1886 for Rockingham. The only other data we have on him is a Directory listing in 1890 - at 119 Napier St. Iberville.

The British Porcelain Manufacturing Co: This Company was incorporated in 1885 with a capital of $50,000 on application of F.B. Dakin of Montreal and three St. Jean residents including C.E. Pearson, a potter who had been a prize winner for Crockery ware at the Montreal Exhibition in 1880, and William Livesley, previously associated with the formation of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co. and The Stafford Pottery in Montreal, and who described himself as an "earthenware manufacturer". The purpose of this company was to carry on "the manufacture and disposal of all kinds of crockery wares, such as stone china, porcelain, white granite, printed and decorated ware, and any other species of pottery". It was listed in Directories of 1888 and 1890 at 27 St. George St., St. Jean, Apparently this was the pottery listed as the Canada Stone Chinaware Co. in 1899. A part of this pottery was later operated as the "Richelieu Pottery" according to Brosseau. About 1905 it became the establishment of the Canadian Trenton Potteries Ltd. and, ultimately, the Canadian Potteries Ltd. of today.

Elijah Bowler: This person is listed as proprietor of a pottery in St. Jean in 1888. He does not appear again and it seems that after his death, which occurred

very shortly after 1888, his partner Knight, was associated with the organization of the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co. which took over the plant. This firm commences to be listed in 1890.

Bertrand & Lavoie, Iberville: This firm is first listed as operator of a pottery on Napier St. in Iberville in 1888. In 1890 it is listed as "manufacturers of stoneware". No other data are available.

Campbell & Purvis: This partnership is first listed in 1890 as proprietor of a pottery on Queen St. in St. Jean. The trade name was "Caledonia Pottery" according to Brosseau. Operations ceased when the Canadian Trenton Potteries Co. came into being about 1905.

The Standard Drain Pipe Co.: This is listed for the first time in 1888 as manufacturer of vitrified drain pipes and all kinds of fire-clay goods. This firm was a development of the Mochon Brick Works founded in 1870 (Brosseau).

Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co.: As noted above, this company is first listed in 1890 as manufacturers of sanitary ware. The address was 15 St. James St., St. Jean, where it took over the plant of Bowler & Knight.

The Potters Manufacturing Association: Brosseau states that about 1890-1900 the above noted firm (formerly Bowler & Knight), along with the Richelieu Pottery and the Caledonia Pottery (formerly Campbell & Purvis) formed a marketing group called the Pottery Manufacturing Association. About 1905 the Trenton Potteries Co. of New Jersey took a controlling interest in a new company formed by these three. The Richelieu Pottery was acquired as a going concern, the operations of the Caledonia Pottery ceased, and the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co. continued to operate as an independent organization. The new company was known as the Canadian Trenton Potteries

Co. Eventually the ownership was acquired by Crane limited and is the Canadian Potteries Ltd. of today.

4) Petite Rivière

The Petite Rivière is the little River St. Charles, flowing into the St. Lawrence from the north and west, just below Quebec City. This area has a very ancient history and it is presumed that pottery was made along the banks of this river from an early date. However, the only pottery establishment located on the Petite Rivière during the course of this investigation, in addition to the Dions at Les Saules, was the establishment of Messrs. W. & D. Bell, who were of Scottish birth. Because of periodical changes in the boundaries of the Parishes and the suburbs of Quebec City, it has been somewhat difficult to trace the information for this area and it might be that additional Census data could be located.

W. & D. Bell: Barbeau states that this business was established in 1848. It seems a reasonable date, but we have been unable to confirm it. The first reference to the Bells is their exhibit in the Provincial Industrial Exhibition at Montreal in October 1850. They submitted four samples of pottery. The first Census reference after 1831 (which was unproductive) is in 1861, in the returns for the Parish of St. Roch, Co. of Quebec. In his report, the enumerator mentions that on the St. Charles Road, two miles from the city limits, there is a manufacture of drain pipes. William Bell is listed as an agriculturalist at this time, age 41. The partnership of W. & D. Bell (presumably referring to D. Bell) returns the profession of Potter, and an age of 39 years. The plant has motive power of 12 horses and employes 20 men. It produces drain pipes to an annual value of $4,000.

One of the Fortification Surveys of Quebec City in 1867 shows Bell's Pottery on the banks of the St. Charles, about ½ miles west of the St. Charles Cemetery.

In 1871 at the Provincial Exhibition held in Quebec City, W. & D. Bell exhibited all descriptions of pipes for tobacco, plain and fancy and serviceable. In the award of prizes, W. & D. Bell received 1st prize for "Best Tile pipes for drainage" and for "Best drain pipes for farming purposes." They also received 1st prize for "Best clay smoking pipes, an assortment." In 1876 at the Philadelphia Exhibition, the Bells exhibited clay for drain-tiles and also had an exhibit of drain tiles, drain pipes, and tobacco pipes. From this date onwards, the Bells are listed as manufacturers and, about 1887, they are brick manufacturers. Barbeau states that a son of one of the founders lived in the old family residence beside the river, near the entrance to the Savard bridge, until 1933.

Products: Our data indicate that while the Bells exhibited "pottery" at Montreal in 1850, the output of their rather extensive plant on the River St. Charles consisted of drain tiles, drain pipes, bricks and, possibly as a side-line, clay pipes for smoking. Since no record of the Bells can be found in Quebec City in the 1850s, it is presumed that they were on the River St. Charles from the time of their arrival in Canada. What may have started as a small pottery using local clays, in the late 1840s, was soon replaced by an extensive plant for the production of industrial materials.

Comment: Dr. Barbeau gives considerable attention to the Bells. He seems to accept the idea that, at least at first, the Bells made fine white porcelain. He also tends to believe that the Bells made some of the white ware which bears views of

Quebec applied by transfer, in brown or dull rose, of the period of about 1880. There is a shortage of information concerning the Bells during the early 1850s; however, by 1861 they were well established in their extensive plant on the River St. Charles and it seems clear that no whiteware was ever made in that plant. Any suggestion that the Bells produced white ware with transfer pattern in the 1880s seems to be unsupported by known facts.

5) Ancienne Lorette

Dion: This pottery was started by others but was acquired by the Dions in 1859 and for the next 55 years was operated as a family enterprise and is relatively well-known today. It does not, however, seem to be known that the pottery was not founded by the Dions and probably had a somewhat earlier origin. It was located quite close to Ancienne Lorette, in a district known as Les Saules, at the point where the Lorette river joins the River St. Charles (Barbeau). The first Dion to follow the trade of potter was Jean, who names this as his trade in the Census of 1851. At this time Jean was 24, the fourth son of Jacque, a farmer. Jean's older brother Antoine, age 26, was a carpenter at this time. On other potter, Simeon Houbard (spelling uncertain), age 45 and born at the early pottery centre of St. Denis de Montréal, is also reported at Ancienne Lorette at this time. They are the only two potters recorded in the area. It seems only logical to suggest that Houbard was the master potter and proprietor of the pottery and Jean Dion was the pupil.

At the time of the next census in 1861, Jean Dion was still a potter and in the interval of ten years he had acquired a wife and was a relatively prosperous man

with 1 horse, two vehicles and ¼ arpent of land. He was listed as the proprietor of a "moulin à pot". At the same time, Simeon Houbard had disappeared from the record. Jean's brother Antoine at this time was an engineer at Beauport.

It seems, according to a document quoted by Dr. Barbeau, that Jean Dion acquired his pottery establishment in 1859 by purchase from Henry Howison & Co., whose name is associated at a later date with the Cap Rouge Pottery. H. Howison is listed as a crockery merchant in Quebec City in the Directory of 1855. In 1858 he is still living at the same address in Quebec City but has formed a partnership H. Howison & Co. which is doing business at another address. In 1860 the partnership is operating as before, but H. Howison's address is given as Ancienne Lorette. The circumstances of Howison's early connection with the Ancienne Lorette Pottery may perhaps be reasonably deduced.

According to a Census record, Henry Howison was born in Lower Canada about 1833 and was a Catholic in religion, which suggests that he was the son of an English father and a Canadian mother. He was quite possibly the son of John Howison, listed as a shoemaker in Quebec City between 1847 and about 1850. His mother could have been the Sophie Howison who was a widow and apparently the housekeeper to the Parish Priest at Ancienne Lorette in 1871. She was then aged 64. These are the only occasions on which the name Howison has appeared in any of the records under review. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that Sophie Howison belonged to an old family of Ancienne Lorette and that when her husband the shoemaker died in Quebec, about 1850-1851, she returned to her family in Ancienne Lorette, along with her young son Henry, then aged about 17. Henry must have found work in the Houbard-Dion

pottery and developed an interest in this trade. When he established himself in business in Quebec City as a crockery merchant, in 1855 at the age of about 22, it could have been with the intention of providing a retail sales outlet for the product of the Ancienne Lorette pottery. The partnership of H. Howison & Co. which he formed sometime during the next three years would seem to have been formed for the purpose of acquiring the ownership of the pottery on the demise or departure of Houbard. As reported above, the enterprise was sold by the partnership to Jean Dion in 1859. From this date Henry Howison appears to have had no further connection with the Ancienne Lorette pottery.

Between 1861 and 1871, Jean Dion apparently retired from the business or at least made it a secondary interest, and returned to farming. Jean's older brother Antoine now took over the pottery. Antoine was assisted by his several sons, who subsequently carried on the business until somewhere around 1917.

Product: The Dions appear to have worked entirely from the local clays, in the old French tradition, producing wares ranging from creamy brown to red in colour. As the trade developed the use of molds was introduced, especially for teapots (Barbeau). There is no indication that the Dions used any white clay. There is only one record of the Dion product being placed on exhibit. This was at the Provincial Exhibition held at Quebec in September 1877. The following comment appears in the Montreal Gazette of September 20, 1877: "Dion, of Lorette, is the only exhibitor of Quebec-made pottery. It is principally coarse work, such as spitoons, pitchers, teapots, etc."

Comment: The Dions are the best known of the Quebec potters of the 19th century, thanks to the work of

Dr. Barbeau, who also tells us a great deal about their product and their method. However, Dr. Barbeau's information apparently is derived from the folk-lore of the area, and the recollections of very elderly people. As a result Barbeau reports that Howison was an Englishman experienced in the English pottery trade, who established at Cap Rouge between 1840 and 1850, and that Jean Dion learned his trade with Howison at that place. From this Dr. Barbeau deduces that Dion was greatly influenced by Howison's English techniques and ideas. Barbeau also attributes some white ware to this pottery. Stevens devotes one short paragraph of about 75 words to a general description of the products generally attributed to the Dion pottery. Morisset indicates Jean Dion's period was about 1875.

6) Yamaska

There was some pottery made at St. Michel de Yamaska in the 1850s but records are scanty and it is difficult to tell if this pottery was significant. In 1853 at the Provincial Exhibition in Montreal, William Steele of St. Michel de Yamaska won three 1st prizes - for drain tiles, paving tiles, and pottery. William Steele was evidently associated with the Yamaska Pottery & Brick Works, which advertised pottery as well as drain tiles and pipes, etc., in 1853 and 1855. In 1857 Parenteau and Pélissier had an extensive brick manufactory at Yamaska. In 1861 this firm employed 40 men and produced 25 million bricks annually. There were also two other brick makers at this time. We can find no references to production of pottery at Yamaska, subsequent to the advertising of 1853-1855. There are no further references to William Steele following a Directory listing in 1857, and he does not appear in a Census record of 1861 for St. Michel de

Yamaska. It would appear that any pottery made at St. Michel de Yamaska was the product of William Steele and that he had either died or left the area, prior to 1861.

7) Cap Rouge

This small village is located about 8 miles above Quebec City, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Cap Rouge river. It did not receive municipal incorporation until 1872. Prior to that date, the part of the village on the east side of the river belonged to the Parish of St. Foye and the part on the west side to the Parish of St. Augustin. At the present time the entire area is included in the County of Quebec, but it was once in the County of Portneuf. Census records for Cap Rouge are therefore distributed over several territorial districts.

Henry Howison: The man who built and organized the Cap Rouge Pottery and who was its first proprietor was Henry Howison, who was only 27 years old at the time. As suggested above, he seems to have been the son of John Howison, a shoemaker of Quebec City, and his wife Sophie, who came from an Ancienne Lorette family. After the father's death, the widow and young Henry, then aged about 17, apparently returned to Ancienne Lorette where the latter became interested in pottery at the establishment of Simeon Houbard and Jean Dion. He set himself up in business as a crockery merchant in Quebec City in 1855. Sometime between 1855 and 1858 he formed a partnership, H. Howison & Co., and acquired the ownership of the Ancienne Lorette pottery, disposing of it to Jean Dion in 1859. Howison must have then proceeded immediately with the preparations for his enterprise at Cap Rouge, since we find the new pottery was under construction at the time the Census was taken in the fall

of 1860. One of the first steps was apparently the formation of the new partnership Howison & Chartre, which we find listed as crockery merchants in Quebec City in 1861.

At the time of its construction the Cap Rouge Pottery was designed to employ 27 men. It was going to be a "manufacture de fayence" and its motive power was to be "Steem de la force de 6 chevaux." This information was found in the Census return for the Parish of St. Augustin in the Co. of Portneuf, which also added that the pottery was located on the west side of the river. A photo of Cap Rouge Cove taken for Amos Bowen of the Cap Rouge Pier and Wharf Co. about 1885, has been located in the Print Boom of the Public Archives, [C-292(71158)]. This shows the Cap Rouge Pottery in the background. The PAC also has a map of the Cap Rouge area in 1860 (H2/339-Quebec-1860), just before the Pottery was built. We judge the pottery to have been located on the west side of a road leading north from the village on the west side of the Cap Rouge river.

In the returns for the Parish of St. Foye for the same period, covering that part of Cap Rouge village lying on the east side of the river, we found the name of E.P. Farrar, age 24, born in the United States and listed as an engineer. In view of the fact that the pottery was under construction at this time, and Howison apparently knew nothing about the manufacture of white clay himself, the logical deduction is that Howison had brought in this member of the Farrar family to supervise the job for him. This suggestion is supported by Fairchild's recollection that the Cap Rouge Pottery flourished for a while "under the superintending of an able American". We have no information as to the identify of E.P. Farrar.

On the basis of his age, he could have been the oldest son of G.W. Farrar.

Since Howison and his Cap Rouge Pottery have been considered up to this date as an outcrop of the English pottery industry, the fact that it was actually an outcropping of the American industry, and designed and directed by a member of the Farrar family, will require an entirely new assessment of its place in the Canadian development.

It would appear that Howison's ownership of the Cap Rouge Pottery continued for little more than two years, since his name and that of his partnership are omitted from the Directory for 1863.

L.P. Gauvreau & Frère: This is the next name we find connected with the Cap Rouge Pottery, appearing for the first time in the Quebec City Directory for 1864. The firm is listed as wholesale dealers in, and importers of, crockery at 30 St. Paul St. and Louis P. Gauvreau resides at Cap Rouge. In the 1865 Directory (p. 154) the firm runs an advertisement for the "Cape Rouge Potterie," the only advertising matter we have located for this pottery. Operation by this partnership was also limited to some two years, since it is not listed in the Directory for 1866.

E.J. Dalkin & Co: This is apparently the next proprietor of the Cap Rouge Pottery, according to Directory listings of 1871. We have been unable to determine the exact date on which this partnership assumed responsibility for the operation, but it must have been somewhere around 1867. E.J. Dalkin was a business man of Quebec and was listed there in 1866 but not in 1867. As operator of the Cap Rouge Pottery, he actually lived in the village himself.

Unlike the first two proprietors, this firm did not

have its own retail sales outlet in the City. We suspect that the retail crockery firm of McCaghey, Dolbec & Co., who took over the firm of H. Goodwin & Co. about 1868, may have served as the retail outlet for the Dalkin operation. McCaghey, Dolbec & Co. advertised themselves as "Earthenware Manufacturers" and on at least two occasions (1870 and 1871) they placed exhibits in the Quebec Provincial Exhibitions.

About 1878 Dalkin entered into a partnership with J. Bell Forsyth, doing business as lumber and commission merchants under the name Forsyth & Dalkin. The Directories show E.J. Dalkin as residing at Cap Rouge, where the company conducted its business. A map in the Public Archives (V1/339-Quebec-1861) shows that Forsyth was the proprietor of Alexandria Cove. It would appear that Dalkin was engaged in the two enterprises in Cap Rouge - pottery and lumber. Since the Directory entries for the firm of Forsyth & Dalkin, and for Edward J. Dalkin, are omitted from the year 1888, we assume that Dalkin's operation of the pottery ceased about this time. In 1890 there is no mention of the pottery and no potters are listed among the residents of the village, leading to the conclusion that all operations had ceased prior to this date.

Product: Very little information is available on the nature of the product of the Cap Rouge Pottery. The plant was designed and set up for the use of imported materials rather than the local clay, and we can assume that the product would have had an American character. In the Philadelphia Exposition the exhibit was "Crockery Ware." If we accept the proposition that McCaghey, Dolbec & Co. were exhibiting Cap Rouge products, then we should note the following description: 1870 - "Some good flower pots, spitoons, etc." In 1871 McCaghey, Dolbec &

Co. won a prize for the "Best stone ware - an assortment."

Comment: The proposition that the Howison operation at Cap Rouge was of English origin, seems attributable to Dr. Barbeau's work. Nowhere have we seen any recognition that the operation was founded on American practice. Stevens describes the Cap Rouge product in some detail. He states the pottery is light brown in colour. "The body of this pottery is somewhat crude and is of varying terra cotta shades often flecked with greens, tans and browns. The glaze is of medium thickness and often ridescent." While positive identification of Cap Rouge product awaits further study, it seems clear that this Pottery did not use local clays; or, if used, they were mixed with an imported clay. There should be no possibility of confusion between the product of this Pottery, and the product of small local potteries working with local materials, such as the Dions at Ancienne Lorette.

8) Quebec City and Suburbs

Dr. Barbeau mentions two potters in or near Quebec City, Walter Hobson and an Irishman by the name of Thompson. Of the latter, we have found no record. Brief data concerning Hobson have been located and is summarized below. In addition, we have located a considerable amount of information concerning Chas. Mederschein & Co., apparently more important than either of the others, but not mentioned either by Barbeau or Stevens.

Chas. Mederschein & Co.: This firm was located in the suburb of St. Sauveur not far from the Bell establishment and we first located it in the Census returns of 1861 for the Parish of St. Roch. At that time Charles Mederschein was a potter, born in Prussia, and age 42. City Directories at this time list him as a Russian

stove-maker. The address was St. Valier St., north side in St. Sauveur. These entries commenced in 1858. The Directory description changes from "Russian stove maker" to "Crockery" about 1865 and in 1871 Charles Mederschein, jun., appears on the scene, also engaged in the crockery business. In 1879 there is a reference to a "pottery factory". In 1890 the reference is to "Labourer."

Product: We have a record of this firm exhibiting at the Provincial Exhibition held in Montreal in September 1870. The Montreal Gazette reported on September 14, 1870: "C. Mederschein & Co. have on view a new kind of delf, very highly polished." In the prize list, Mederschein won the prize for "best stone ware" and "best pottery". In the 1871 Exhibition held in Quebec City, Mederschein & Son exhibited "a quantity of specimens of local manufacture in the shape of pottery, and so forth". In the prize list, Chas. Mederschein won the "Best Pottery" award.

Walter Hobson: Our first record of Hobson is in the directories for 1871, when he is listed as a potter in the St. Angele suburb and he is still in business in 1900, at 77 Marie de l'Incarnation St. We feel that prior to 1871 the Directories may not have included the St. Angele suburb, so that Hobson may have started somewhat earlier than these records would indicate.

Product: We have no information concerning Hobson's product, other than that offered by Barbeau who states that: "For nearly forty years he made, among other things, pipes with white clay coming from England." At the same time, Barbeau remarks that "Hobson has left us only his name, sometimes corrupted into Olson."

9) Montreal

Using Directory information, the first potter we find listed in Montreal is Jos. Montigny, on George Hypolite

Street" near the Tannery" in 1865-1866. This could well be the same Jos. Montigny who was one of the potters listed at St. Denis in 1831. To date we have found no further record of Jos. Montigny in Montreal.

The Stafford Pottery: This seems to have been the first serious attempt to establish a pottery works in Montreal. We first find mention of it in the Quebec Official Gazette for 1877, when "The Montreal Porcelain Company" gives notice of intention to apply for Letters Patent, which was issued on 25th April 1877. The principal applicants were William Workman, Esq., Mark Tomkins, merchant, and William Livesley, earthenware manufacturer, who had been one of the organizers of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co. By the time the Letters Patent was issued the name had been changed to "West End Dresden Pottery." The declared intention was to manufacture earthenware and porcelain at Sainte Cunegonde, then in the suburbs of Montreal.

We eventually located this organization in the Montreal City (St. Cunegonde) Directory of 1879-1880 operating under the name "The Stafford Pottery," located at Albert, Vinet and Deslisle Streets, with Mark H. Tomkins & Co. as proprietors. The City office was at 17 St. John St. Two potters were found among the residents of St. Cunegonde. These listings continued up until the year 1883. In 1884 there was no mention of this organization or any of its personnel. Evidently this enterprise had a life of about seven years.

Products: Nothing is really known about this Company's work but at the Dominion Exhibition in Montreal in 1880, M.H. Tomkins won 1st prize for Pottery (over the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co.), a Diploma (highly recommended) for Mazarine ware, and honorable mention for

door knobs.

Montreal Pottery Co.: The proprietor of these works was John McDougall and the listing first appears in the Montreal City Directory of 1895. By 1899 the firms seem to have been quite a substantial one. The office was at 596 St. Patrick St. and the works were at that location and also at 333 and 335 Manufacturers Street. The firm manufactured the following goods, according to an advertisement in Might's Directory for 1899:

Rockingham and Cane ware
Cold Decorated Cuspidors
Stone and Artistic Ware
Terra Cotta Flower Pots
Jardiniers, Bulb Holders, etc.

They also advertised that they were decorators of:

China
Semi-porcelain
Sanitary and C.C. Ware

They also undertook:

Ground-laying
Stippling
Cresting, etc.

Davis Pottery Co. Ltd.: This pottery is first listed in Might's Directory of 1899, at 112 St. Francois Xavier St.

Comment: None of these Montreal enterprises is mentioned either by Barbeau or Stevens and the possibility that porcelain was made in Montreal has not heretofore been suggested, to the best of our knowledge.

10) Portneuf

The village of Portneuf did not receive municipal status until 1863. Consequently, earlier Census returns are included in the returns for the Parish of Cap Santé and are difficult to identify. The entire record for Cap Santé was therefore searched for the years 1831 to 1861.

In 1871, both Portneuf and Cap Santé were searched. There is also one Directory for the area - Bennett's Quebec and Levis Directory for 1877.

In all of these records there is no mention of any pottery establishment being located in Portneuf village or, indeed, in the area. Cap Santé had one potter and his son in 1851, and another potter and his son were located in Cap Santé west in 1861. In 1871, the first year for which Portneuf village has a separate return, not a single potter is listed. The same is true for the Directory of 1877. No reference has been found anywhere, direct or indirect, to support the popular belief that there was once a pottery establishment at Portneuf.

Comment: Barbeau makes no references to Portneuf and Stevens discredits the theory. However, Morisset makes the statement: "The most famous ceramists were at Cap-Rouge, at Portneuf, and at Saint-Jean d'Iberville."

ADDENDUM

This report is supplementary to the final report of January 31, 1964. It arises out of the chance finding of a deed of sale executed by Moses Farrar, in the Greffe of Notary M.G.T. de la Ronde of St. Andrews.

On 24th July 1844, Mr. de la Ronde paid a visit to Point Fortune and there executed a deed of sale by which Moses Farrar of St. Jean sold a piece of property in the village of Point Fortune (at that time called Burnham or Mount Burnham) to Joseph Cholette dit Laviolette, farmer, of the Parish of St. Polycarpe. Moses Farrar signed this deed on behalf of his brother James as well as himself. Consequently the deed has attached to it, a power of attorney in favour of Moses, signed by the brother James. This power of attorney was executed at St. Johns on 9th August 1841. From these two documents - the deed and the power of attorney, we can now add the following data to our knowledge concerning Moses Farrar:-

1. He was the son of Moses Farrar and his wife Electa Turrill, both deceased at that date (24th July 1844).
2. He had one sister Sarah, also deceased at this date.
3. He had one brother James who, as of that date, was residing at Highgate, Vermont.
4. Moses Farrar and Electa Turrill had bought this property from Caleb B. Robins under a deed of sale executed by Notary Doucet and confreres, dated 13th September 1820.
5. Moses Farrar was already established as a potter at St. Jean in the Province of Canada, on 9th August, 1841.

Although Moses Farrar's name cannot be located in the

Census of 1842 for St. Jean, the indication that he was already established there by August 1841 lends weight to the evidence offered by the crock bearing the legend: "Moses Farrar, St. Johns, L.C." that he was already at work in St. Johns during the last days of the Province of Lower Canada, i.e. during the latter part of 1840. Because of the dates and locations of the births of his children, it seems unlikely Moses was located in St. Jean prior to this time.

The date of Moses Farrar's establishment at St. Jean is of particular interest and importance, since it was his arrival in the valley of the Richelieu River which marked the beginning of the end for the native French potters in the nearby community of St. Denis, as well as for the other native potters throughout the Province. This date may be said to mark the beginning of the modern ceramics industry in this country.

April, 1964.

DOCUMENTARY REPORT ON THE ORDNANCE OF ISLE-AUX-NOIX

by

David E. Lee

1965

The following doumentary report on the ordnance of the French, American and British forts at Isle-aux-Noix is taken from research into both printed and manuscript sources done in the summer of 1963.

It was probably early 1759 when le Maréchal de Lévis and Captain Pouchot of the Bearn Regiment travelled along the Richelieu River looking for "the places where the best resistance would be made". Isle-aux-Noix was decided upon and the work was begun in May 1759. The trees were cleared and the works supervised by the Engineers Fournier and du Vernay. When Brigadier Bourlamaque abandoned the French Fort of Carillon on Lake Champlain on 26 July 1759 he took his men and 98 cannon and two mortars to the unfinished fort. The French also had four armed vessels; one of them carried ten guns -- six and four pounders; another carried two brass twelve pounders and six iron six pounders; the third and fourth carried eight guns -- six and four pounders.
(See Pierre Pouchot: Mémoires sur la dernière guerre, Roxbury Mass., 1866, vol. 1, p. 134; A.G. Doughty: The Journal of Capt. John Knox, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 192 and 507, Mémoires sur le Canada 1749-1760, Québec, 1838, p. 135.)

Brig. Bourlamaque au Maréchal de Lévis, dans Abbé Casgrain: Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis, Québec, 1889-95, vol. 5, pp. 13-23:

"L'Ile-aux-Noix a bien changé depuis que vous en avez fait la reconnaissance...."

"Les retranchements sont mal fait, sans solidité, sans règle;

des défauts essentiels. Je les fait allonger de droit et de gauche. C'est un ouvrage immense. Le bois est d'une nature difficile pour cet ouvrage."

As can be seen by the following return of "les troupes campees a 1'Ile-aux-Noix", the majority of Bourlamaque's men were troops of the line and not connected with ordnance:

"Les milices ont varié continuellement depuis mon arrivée, et je n'ai encore pu en avoir un rôle exact. On y travaille. D'ailleurs, dans le nombre de 1,200 [militia], il y a près de deux cents vieillards et enfants que je renverrai dès que je pourrai en faire le revue. Cependant ces enfants travaillent assez bien...."

Etat des troupes campées a 1'Ile-aux-Noix:

Trois bataillons des troupes de terre	1,665	hommes
Un bataillons des troupes de la marine en huit compagnies	417	"
Deux compagnies de volontaires, composées en partie du piquet des cinq bataillons de Québec	98	"
Canonniers	34	"
Soldats des piquets attachés au service de l'artillerie	64	"
Canonniers de milice	10	"
Ouvriers attachés au génie	70	"
Miliciens attachés aux compagnies de volontaires	25	"
Miliciens en huit brigades a la suite des compagnies du bataillon de la marine, dont grande nombre		

d'enfants et vieillards		1,157	"
Sur les trois chébecs et la goelette armée en guerre:			
Equipage		82	"
Soldats détachés des cinq piquets	60		
		178	"
Miliciens	36		

Dans l'état ci-dessusne sont point compris cent soixante-treize officers, et cent trente et un domestiques, non plus que les commis et employés au magasin.

Près de deux cents malades a l'hôpital; le nombre en augmente tous les jours."

Later on in the letter he shows how he is using most of the men to construct works of fortification:

"Je suis occupé à ouvrir des embrasures le long de la partie des retranchements qui est faite, pour y placer l'artillerie, et à allonger ces retranchements de droit et de gauche, pour me mettre en état de m'enformer dans l'Ile-aux-Noix, s'il est nécessaire; j'en ai pour longtemps avant d'être fermé. J'entreprends aussi une estacade pour fermer la rivière des deux côtés de l'île et faire refouler les eaux du lac pour inonder les bois qui sont au-dessus de l'île, ouvrage le meilleur qu'on puisse faire ici, mais dont la reuissite est fort incertaine et que je n'espère pas d'avoir le temps de finir."

On 22 August 1759 Bourlamaque wrote to the Chevalier de Bernetz, commandant of another French regiment.

Bourlamaque a M. de Bernetz, Collection de ... Lévis, vol. 5,

pp. 358-359.

"J'attends l'ennemi avec impatience, et je doute qu'il ose attaquer un poste retranche jusqu'aux dents, hérisse de cent pieces de canon, et défendu par les troupes a qui on a lié les bras toute le compagne, et qui meurent d'envie de voir les Anglois, et d'avoir la permission de se battre."

The British under General Amherst hesitated to attack in 1759 but they threatened the fort in 1760; in 1760 the French Commandant at Isle-aux-Noix was Colonel de Bougainville and the British Officer in charge of the Lake Champlain frontier was Colonel Haviland.

Collection ... de Lévis, vol. 10, pp. 138-139, Bougainville à Lévis, 17 mai 1760:

"Nos travaux avancent autant qu'il est possible avec aussi peu de monde. Les banquettes sont presque finies, et, pour trouver la terre, il a fallu augmenter de six pieds le fossé presque dans tout le contour. Nous avons quarante pièces de canon en batterie, dont vingt-neuf déjà sur affûts en campagne. J'ai fait faire des plates-formes volantes pour que les affûts marins puissent servir à toutes le embrasures. J'ai fait aussi tendre une troisième chaîne au sud, composée d'un gros cable encadré dans des pièces de cèdre. J'espère qu'elle sera solide. Nous travaillons maintenant à établir des communications à dessècher l'île, et nous commencons les ouvrages exterieurs."

As the day of an English attack grew more and more imminent, Bougainville became more pessimistic.

Collection ... de Lévis, vol. 10, p. 142, 2 août 1760:

"Il y a peu de monde pour une île aussi immense. Les ouvrages exterieurs ne sont pas finis; l'ancien retranchement ne soutiendra pas un jour de canonnade; n'importe, nous ferons de notre mieux."

Collection ... de Lévis, vol. 10, p. 144, Bougainville à Lévis, 21 août 1760:

"Mais je dois avoir l'honneur de vous dire encore que, ce renfort fût-il venu entier, je n'aurais en tout que douze cents combattants, avec lesquels, ayant toutes les parties de l'île à garder à la fois, je ne puis vous répondre d' empêcher les ennemis d'y embarquer. J'ose vous assurer que tout ce qui sera possible, je le ferai, mais, l'année dernière, il y avait ici trois mille hommes et on n'y en trouvait pas assez. L'île estimmense, et je dois éviter toute disposition qui me mettrait dans le cas d'être enlevé d'un coup de main. D'ailleurs, il n'y a pas ici un canonnier qui sache pointer. Lors de siège de Québec, on ne lassa dans ce poste que le rebut, ils n'y sont pas devenus habiles. Il en faudrait au moins quelques-uns qui pussent être chefs de pièces. Vous remarquerez de plus qu'il n'y a pas un endroit de l'île a l'abri. Lorsque les batteries ennemies y joueront, il faudre que tout le monde soit à la belle étoile; nul blindage, nul coin que le boulet ou la bombe ne laboure... Nous ne soyons inexpugnables."

Collection .. de Lévis, vol. 10, p. 146, Bougainville à Lévis, 22 août 1760:

"J'ai détaché M. Valette avec les trois piquets de terre et quatre-vingts Canadiens à poste fixe au bas de l'île. J'y fais faire un retranchement en arbres qui appuiera aux abatis de la droite et de la gauche, et sera protégé par le blockhaus ou je place quatre pièces de canon. Je pousse avec la plus grande vivacité possible mes redoutes avancées. Une partie pour laquelle je crains est le flanc qui joint la gauche de nouveau retranchement au demi-bastion droit de l'ouvrage à corne. Si je vois que les ennemis s'attachent à le battre, je ne perdrai pas un moment à faire en arrière une seconde ligne."

Pierre Pouchot: Mémoires sur la dernière guerre, Roxbury Mass., 1866, vol. i, p. 237.

"We had placed a stockade of piles across the channel, which was defended by the Island. The English were obliged to raise their batteries upon brands of wood in the grounds around the island and above this stockade, because they were overflowed. At the end of two or three days of cannonade on both sides, our garrison left the island [under cover of night], and by passing through the woods, and marching sometimes in the water, arrived at La Prairie."

The British seem to have ignored the fort at Isle-aux-Noix after 1760 and it was left to rot until the American Revoluntionary War. Lieutenant Digby, whose rebel corps landed on the island on 14 August 1775, says that the British had been there recently and four of their men had been scalped by the Indian allies of the rebels. The Americans set about repairing the old French fortifications and, in some cases, extended them. (J.P. Baxter (ed): The British Invasion From the North ... with the Journal of Lieut. William Digby, Albany 1887, pp. 11, 13, 134, and 135.)

The rebel General Schuyler and 1,200 men occupied Isle-aux-Nois in September 1775 without opposition; 700 men joined them within a few weeks bringing three cannons with them. (Justin Smith: Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony, New York, 1907, vol. 1, p. 332.)

The rebels were forced to abandon their hold on the Richelieu River Vallery in 1776 and a large contingent retreating from St. John remained on the island for eight days in early July awaiting transfer to Crown Point. "At length the boats returned from Crown Point [where they had gone to transport the sick]. We were ordered to strike our tents and put all our baggage on board, and the [more recent] invalids who were not able to march by land." (Charles Cushing to his brother, 8 July 1776, in Peter Force (ed.): American Archives, vol. 1, Washington D.C., 1837-53, pp. 130-131 and vol. 6, pp. 1103-4.)

Soon after the Americans left the island some British masons were sent "to build a fort at that point". (W. Stone: Memoirs and Letters and Journals of Major-General Riedesel, vol. 1, Albany, 1868, p. 56.) When German troops were sent there on the 9th of August the defenses

were still incomplete, (ibid, p. 59), and yet, shortly after, Riedesel, Commander of the German troops, noted that the entire island was fortified (ibid, p. 61). The 20th Regiment wintered on the island which contained the most southerly magazine in the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain area at that time. (Ibid, pp. 81-2)

Brigade Orders, Chamblée, 11 August, 1776, in Lt. James Hadden: A Journal Kept In Canada & Upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 & 1777, Albany, 1884, p. 247:

"Captain Carter will move to the Isle-aux-Noix, two heavy 12 Pounders, and four medium 12 Pounders, with the four six Pounders, and two Howitzers, which last six pieces of Artillery are to form part of the Brigade with Brigadier General Frazer's Corps. These guns to be posted for the defence of the Island and the passage of the River at the Orders of the Brigadier General. The 12 Pounders to have each one hundred pounds of Round Shot, 50 rounds of Grape Shot, with a proper proportion of Stores. The 6 Pounders double that proportion."

"The Royal Howitzers 50 Case Shot, 100 Shells, 80 Shells to be fixed for Service, and the Fuzes cut, 50 for 600 yards, 30 for 300 yards, 20 to remain empty for occasional Service."

Wm. Stone: Memoirs .. of Major-General Riedesel, vol. i, pp. 245-246, probably 29 August 1776:

"I also visited Isle-aux-Noix at the same time. This is a good post, and may be considered the key to Canada from the New England side. There

is still, on this island, a large entrenchment, built by the French during the last war, which is yet in good condition and of good service to Brigadier Frazer."

When Lt. James Hadden landed on Isle-aux-Noix 16 June 1777 he wrote in his journal that "here we found several Block Houses finish'd and the Island in a tolerable state a defence". (Hadden, loc. cit., p. 54.)

Haldimand Papers, P.A.C, B. 154, p. 20, Lt. William Twiss to Haldimand, 27 July 1778:

"I visited the Isle-aux-Noix, and with Lieut. Rudyerd marked out the Interior Line of a Parapet of such an extent, with proper barracks, as appear to me the best calculated for our present circumstances...."

Haldimand Papers, Twiss to Haldimand, 31 May 1780, B. 154, p. 260:

"The Isle-aux-Noix is in perfect good order, except some little finishing to the counterscarp of the ditch, which the two Companies now quartered there will be able to do: - on finding a considerable number of Oak trees in the neighbourhood, many of which have been cut some years, and having two pair of sawyers on the Island with convenient sawpitts, I have directed that they cut a number of side for carriages, sufficient to make a comleat Sett, for all the guns at St. John, the

Isle-aux-Noix, and Lake Champlain, this becomes the more necessary as most of the present carriages, are really unfit for actual service."

Haldimand Papers, Haldimand's Secretary to Twiss, 29 April 1782, B. 154, p. 386:

"I am directed by His Excellency the Commander in Chief to acquaint you that being persuaded from concurring intelligence he has lately received,that the enemy have laid aside for this campaign the intention of invading the Province, he proposes seizing so favourable an opportunity to strenthen the Frontier Posts, particularly the Isle-aux-Noix...."

Haldimand Papers, Haldimand to Riedesel, 29 April 1782, B. 139, p. 135:

"... je voulais augmenter considerablement les ouvrages de l'Isle-aux-Noix, et d'y employer autant des troupes qu'il serait possible pendant que la saison voudrait permettre."

P.A.C., Q Series, vol. 60, p. 235, 25 July 1782:

"The barracks and storehouses are in general in a bad state, and will require constant repairs to render them habitable, the works are almost entirely gone to decay, and a new system has been proposed, it has not been thought adviseable to re-instate the old works or pay attention towards keeping them in repair."

Haldimand Papers, Twiss to Haldimand, 3 September 1782, B. 154, pp. 398-399:

"The present state of the Three Redoubts begun is as follows -- That to the North of the old Fort, is raised on a mean five feet, and the masons are laying the foundations of the casemates. That so the South of the old Fort, has all the foundations excavated, and the masons at work raising them. The carpenters also yesterday laid their sill along one face. The Redoubt on the West side of the Island has its foundations excavated but the masonry is not yet begun, and was it compleat we have not sufficient carpenters and axemen to work upon it, indeed it is evident it will require the addition of 80 to 100 good axemen to keep the present number of Fatigue, properly employed."

Wm. Stone: Memoirs ... of Major-General Riedesel, vol. ii, pp. 143-144:

"I am in despair at having to report to your excellency that notwithstanding the praise-worthy exertions of the troops, the three redoubts are not entirely finished in the way in which I promised you they should be by the end of this month ... The redoubt (called the LOWER REDOUBT) is, as yet, nothing to what I promised it should be. The wall is two feet above the entry; but two rows of masonry on the casemates and the rest of the stonework, are finished. On the UPPER REDOUBT there is still a portion of the wall wanting. One now, however, of the casemates is finished, and the rest of the mason work on the

WEST REDOUBT is about two-thirds completed. Two new redoubts have been begun for the purposes of gaining again what has been lost by the bad weather. I leave all the masons and carpenters here. The former will work until ice comes, and the latter will remain here all winter, and prepare the wood and other things for next summer. This latter kind of work may be continued all winter; so that I hope that some of the work, that has been retarted by the badness of the season, may yet be accomplished to recommence work as soon as the weather will allow, the whole may be finished by the month of August."

Haldimand Papers, Twiss to Haldimand, 17 March 1783, B. 154, p. 425:

"At the Isle-aux-Noix we have a number of Carpenters employed in preparing doors, windows, and shutters for the new works. A well is also digging in each redoubt...."

The British Regt a small garrison in the partly completed works at Isle-aux-Noix after 1784. Edward Umfreville: The Present State of Hudson's Bay ... And The Fur Trade, London, 1790, pp. 223-224:

"At fourteen miles from St. John's is Isle-aux-Noix, a small island, very well adapted to command the channel of the lake, [i.e. Lake Champlain] but it is at present in a ruinous state. It still however retains a small garrison, part of the 60th Regiment, for the sake of regulating the trade between Canada and the United States. Exclusive

of this garrison, there is a brig, mounting eight carriage guns, stationed within the American lines for the same purpose."

Gother Mann, the famous military engineer, reported on the ordnance at Isle-aux-Noix on 15 March 1790, P.A.C., "C" Series, vol. 381, p. 58:

"The Brass Field pieces seem unnecessary here, and might be removed to St. John's or Montreal. The Garrison Artillery have no proportion of ammunition and stores, and the carriages etc. want repairing. Some spare Musquets and Wallpieces might be proper here."

Extract from a report on the present state of the defences at Isle-aux-Noix and plans for reconstruction, 12 May 1791. Q. 50-1, pp. 256-270.

"In the last war a system of defence was adopted as described on the Plan A which accompanies this report: the Fort was finished: three of the Redoubts were begun and brought to a considerable degree of forwardness; the other two were only traced on the ground; in this state they were left at the close of the war, since which no works have been carried on here, but such as were necessary for the health and accommodation of the Troops, and the preservation of the stores; the fortifications have therefore been generally declining towards a state of ruin, to which indeed it may now be said they have at

length arrived. The Fort is completely so, and the three Redoubts partly executed before mentioned are so far bulged and fallen, as to render them scarcely repairable.

On considering the whole of the system designed I [Gother Mann] confess it did not appear to have been well chosen. The fort is rather insignificant, of very little interior space, and of a contemptible profile. The Redouts though for the most part well constructed as far as they were executed, and respectable individually as Redouts, yet their proximity, their strength and their gorges closed, might have been the means (instead of insuring their co-operation in a mutual defence) of rendering them liable of being perverted to the annoyance of each other, as soon as any of them were forced by an enemy."

(The remainder is an account of the plans of 1789 for reconstruction and Gother Mann's present plans, including estimates of costs.)

A return of the ordnance on the island for 31 August 1793, reported a fair amount of guns and stores at the fort (C. 511, p. 66):

Guns Iron	100 Prs. -- 2	Shot Shells & Stores
	9 Prs. -- 13	for 100 Rounds of
Howit(zer)	8 inch -- 2	Round. 30 Cases and 20
Mortars Brass	47.5 inch-- 4	Grapes for each gun. 100
Stands of Arms	-- 200	shells and 50 case shot

Powder Barr(el) of 90 lbs, ea.102 & 58 lbs. for ea. Howit. & 300
Ordered and ready to be sent 2 & 31 lbs. shells for each mortar.
Cartridges Musquet ordered to be sent -- 10500
There are 2 Brass 3 Prs. surplus at this post.

Office of Ordnance
Quebec 1st January 1794

Return of Ordnance appropriated for the Defence of Isle-aux-Noix at one Hundred and Fifty Rounds per gun --

Ordnance	Iron	18 Pounders	two
		9 "	thirteen
		8 inch howitzer	two
	brass	4 2/5 inch mortar	four

Stores wanting to complete the proportion from last return of 30th September 1793 --

Barrows	hand	six	-the barrows to be made or
	wheel	three	sent from St. Johns to
Callibers	brass pairs	one	complete the proportion--
Compasses	brass pairs	one	the rest from Quebec
Carriages	garrison 9 pounders	six	-to be forwarded from St.
	travelling 8 inch howitzers	two	Johns where they are detained.
Cartridges	paper 18 pounders	one hundred and twenty seven	

Cartridges	musquet with ball	ten thousand five hundred	-from Quebec to complete the proportion
	carbine with ball	five hundred	"
Chalk		half a pound	"
Engines	fire with hose and pipes	one	"
Flints	musquet	thirty-eight	"
	carbine	thirty-five	"
Handspikes	traversing	two	-to be made at St. Johns to complete the proportion
	common	seventy	
Ladles	with staves 18 pounders	one	-from Quebec & C.
Limbers	8 inch howitzers	one	-forward from St. Johns
Oil sweet	gallons	one-half	-from Quebec in lieu of issues
Perpendiculars	new pattern	two	-from Quebec & C.
Paper	musquet	one quire seven sheets	-from Quebec in lieu of issues
Portfires		nine	-from Quebec in lieu of issues
Powder corned		two barrels	"
		thirty-one pounds	"
		three ounces	"
Rockets	signal	fifty	"

Rubbish	hemp	three quarters cwt	"
Rope	white of one and a half inch	thirty fathoms	"
Searchers	with relief and prickers of three prongs	one	"
Screws	hand large	one	"
Shot grape	18 pounders	forty	"
Steel yards	pair	one	"
Scales	brass or copper	one	"
Stones	rub	six	"
	grind and trough	one	-at St. Johns to be forwarded.
Tubes fixed	tin or quill	eighty-three	-from Wm. Henry to complete the proportion.

(signed) William Borthwick

Lieut.-Col. Comg. Roy. Artillery

Governor Craig to Viscount Castlereagh, 13 February, 1809, P.A.C., Q. 109, pp. 13-14:

"...the Province has been totally neglected, the Posts have not in any instance, been kept up, the works on the Isle-aux-Noix, and Fort at St. John's, are no longer in existence... I have not attempted to

re-establish any of these Posts, in the first place, because all our means have been employed on the still more important object of this Fortress [i.e. Quebec], and in the next place, because it would have been useless to establish Posts which we had not Troops to garrison."

The War of 1812 induced some activity at Isle-aux-Noix; the post was mainly used for naval purposes but some work was done on the fort itself. The following is a report on the progress of work there, dated 16 May 1814 (P.A.C., C. 388, p. 122):

- Ordnance store 40' x 18' (being erected)
- Barracks 112' x 18' (preparing materials)
- Commissariat store in # 1 redoubt 80' x 18' and fascining the escarp to ditch
- Closing the rear of # 2 redoubt with pickets.

State of fortifications, Montreal District, 22 November 1814. P.A.C., C. 388, pp. 313-314.

"At Isle-aux-Noix the Barracks have outgrown the works of defence. The last erected (for 16 officers & 800 men) has been placed in a situation totally exposed and could not be inhabited in the event of an attack on the island; as I have several estimates made by the Assistant Engineer there for buildings that appear necessary it will be for your Excellency to determine whether the Island is to be considered merely as a Depot for troops and more buildings are to be erected to the

prejudice of the Defences; the troops and accommodation to be proportioned to the Works of defence; or additions to be made to those works to afford cover to the building required.

The splinter proof barracks within the Fort have been so crowded under the rampart as not to have left it of sufficient breadth; that part of the Escarp will require to be ... next spring, the fascines having given way; I would recommend its being done with cedar pickets of 12 inch diameter. ..."

Commodore Owen preferred Isle-aux-Noix to St. John's to establish a consolidated naval base:

"It however seems that the works now upon it do not give it the protection which will be necessary, for the North end face of the principal redoubt being covered by the Naval Yard must itself destroy the stores and Vessels there collected if an enemy by using the South River road in winter came (as he might well do) in its rear." (P.A.C., Q. 138, p. 34, 16 June 1815.)

On 4 December 1815 the following guns and stores which "appear to be in no person's charge" were given into the responsibility to the purser of H.M.S. CHAMPLAIN:

Guns	18 Pounder	five
	6 "	three
Carronades	24 "	two

	32 Pounder	six
	18 "	one
	12 "	one
Carriages	18 "	five
	6 "	three
Sliding	24 "	two
	32 "	six
	12 "	one
Slides	32 "	four
	12 "	one

Several sloops were built at Isle-aux-Noix for action in the War of 1812. In October 1813 the naval detachment there was considered quite weak; it consisted only of two small brigs--one brig "mounting ten 18 Pr. Carronades, the other six 18 Pr. Carronades and four 6 Pr. guns with an 18 Pr. Columbian in each". (P.A.C., C 731, p. 52.)

Statement of the British Flotilla on Lake Champlain, P.A.C., Adm. 1, 5450, 1814.

ORDNANCE

Gun Boats	Long Boats	Carronades
Yeo	1 - 24 pr.	1 - 32 pr.
Blucher	1 - 18 pr.	
Drummon	1 - 18 pr.	

Murry	1 - 18 pr.	
Wellington	1 - 18 pr.	1 - 18 pr.
Berresford		1 - 32 pr.
Popham		1 - 32 pr.
Prevost	1 - 24 pr.	1 - 32 pr.
Simcoe		1 - 32 pr.
Beckwith	1 - 18 pr.	1 - 24 pr.
Brock		1 - 32 pr.

Vessel	How Rigged	Long Guns	Carronades Total		Weight of Metal
Confiance	ship	27 - 24 prs.	(6 - 24 prs. (4 - 32 prs.	-37	920 lbs.
Linnet	brig	16 - 12 prs.		16	192 lbs.
Chub	cutter	3 -- 6 prs.	8 - 18 prs.	11	162 lbs.
Finch	cutter	4 - 6 prs.	(6 - 18 prs. (1 - 18 prs.	-11	180 lbs.
One gun boat		1 - 18 prs.	1 - 24 prs.	2	42 lbs.
" " "		1 - 18 prs.	1 - 18 prs.	2	36 lbs.
Two gun boats		1 - 24 prs.	1 - 32 prs.	4	112 lbs.
Three gun boats		1 - 18 prs.		3	54 lbs.
Four gun botas			1 - 32 prs.	4	128 lbs.

On 3 June 1813 the two American vessels GROWLER and EAGLE, carrying approximately 100 tons of 50 men each, were taken in a concerted ground and water attack. The following is a list of the ordnance stores taken:

(C. 679, pp. 12-13)

Ordnance iron	18	pounders	short	2
	6	"		10
	18	"	carronades	10
Carriages with breeching	18	"		2
and tackles complete	6	"		10
	18	"	"	10
Tompions	18	"		10
	6	"		12
Beds and coins				8 & 12
Musquets				69
Bayonets				60
Pistols				12
Cutlashes				43
Boarding axes				31
Boarding pikes				23
Pouches and belts				61
Side belts				20
Spunges and Rammers	18	pounder		9
	6	"		10
Wadhooks and ladles	18	"		7
	6	"		8
Linstocks				12
Portifre sticks				4
Hand spikes				3
Cartridges filled with	18	"		166

	powder	6	" fixed to case shot	72
Cartridges empty		18	"	100
		6	"	40
Cartridges musquet ball				230
Powder whole barrels				1
Round Shot		18	"	129
		6	"	180
		3	"	28
Case shot		18	"	20
		6	"	72
Grape shot		18	"	83
		6	"	3
Iron pintails for grape shot		18	"	36
		6	"	41
Tubes tin				14
Port fires				4
How(itzer?) matches				12
Powder horns				9
Lanterns		copper		3
		tin		12
Crow bars				10
Sissors pair				1
Claw hammers				1

(signed) Capt. Fred'k Gordon

Royal Artillery.

N.B. The ammunition and stores on board the armed vessel EAGLE being

under water no account has yet been taken of them.

(The captured ships were repaired and used later in 1813 in the expedition which ravaged Plattsburgh, Burlington and other towns of the Lake Champlain area.)

Return of gun carriages and stores required for His Majesty's Ordnance, for His Majesty's ship Champlain and to complete twelve gun boats to their proportion of stores. Isle-aux-Noix, 15 October 1815, C. 391, pp. 54-56.

Articles	Species	Quantity
Shot	round - 68 prs.	155
	- 24 prs.	860
	grape - 24 prs.	480
	case - 24 prs.	480
	tin case - 68 prs.	45
	grape in tin - 68 prs.	60
Cartridges	paper w'h F. Bottoms 24 prs.	4300
Copper powder measures	68 prs.	1
" " "	24 prs.	3
Cases of wood	24 prs.	66
Ladles complete	24 prs.	12
Wadhooks	68 prs.	3
"	24 prs.	8
Spunges	68 prs.	1
"	24 prs. with staves	31

Spunges	rope 24 prs. with staves	31
Spunge caps	68 prs.	1
" "	24 prs.	31
Spare spunge & rammer heads(?)	68 prs.	3 of each
" " " "	24 prs.	10 of each
Spare staves		24
Tampions	68 prs.	4
"	24 prs.	60
Mallets	for tampions	15
Chisels	" "	15
Barrels	budge (?)	2
Match		5½ cwt.
Tubes	quill	1300
Boxes for tubes		18
Straps		18
Lantherns	tin	10
Powder horns	improved	42
Irons	priming	78
Vent bits		3
Crows of iron	5½ feet	33
Rope for tackle falls	2½ inch	1300 fathoms
Hooks to	tackle	288 "
Tallow		1½ cwt.
Marline		36 skeins
Formers of wood for wads	68 prs.	1
" " "	24 prs.	1

Articles	Species	Quantity
Tunk		23 cwt.
Covers of lead	68 prs.	3
" "	24 prs.	33
Musquets black	black	240
Bayonets		240
Scabbards	for bayonets	240
Pistols		72
Pole axes		144
Cartouche boxes		384
Belts for cartouche boxes		384
Frogs for bayonets		384
Boxes for cartridges	musquet	12
" " "	pistol	12
Flints	cannon	480
"	musquet	1200
"	pistol	650
Pails	iron hooped	12
Whitening for	putty	130 lbs.
Boxes	for common cartridges	1

Implements for making ball cartridges

Formers	Musquet	12
"	pistol	12
Measures	"	8
"	musquet	12
Funnels		15

Articles	Species	Quantity
Knives		3
Scissors		3 pairs
Twine		3 lbs.
Paper	fine	27 quires
Shot	musquet	1 cwt.
"	pistol	½ cwt.
Brooms	hairs for magazine shots	12 cwt.
Chest complete with	armourer tools	1
Chest laboratory		1
Wiping rods	musquet	1
" "	pistol	1

(signed) Thos. Edgecombe

Purser in charge of Gunner's stores

The British seem to have finally realized the value of a military post at Isle-aux-Noix for after the war they began to consider the need for more permanent fortifications. Plans for new works were submitted 6 May 1816.

For these new works "but a small degree of actual loss will accrue to the Public by the destruction of the present works at Isle-aux-Noix, they having been constructed principally during the late War, with much haste, and of unseasoned materials, so that they cannotnow be otherwise than in a state of considerable decay". (P.A.C., Q. 136, p. 204.) The proposed works were not carried out for a few years however, and even in 1819 most work seems to have been preparatory to major construction:

£943 5s were spent removing buildings; other work involved "arranging tools and stores" and removing timber. (P.A.C., C 406, p. 19.)

A return of Ordnance buildings dated 2 October 1819 reports: (P.A.C., C 407, pp. 18-19)

"One Magazine of Stone in good repair, capable of containing, two hundred barrels of gunpowder at present deposited therein about one hundred barrels, and also filled cartridges for Sea Service guns."

"Four Magazines of Stone in a perfect state of repair; will contain about eighty barrels of gunpowder each; -- occupied at present with gunpowder and Land Service filled cartridges; they would contain about one-third more than is now deposited in them."

"One Store of wood in good repair, fully occupied with shot in boxes, empty paper and flannel cartridges, water buckets, and other small stores."

"One shed containing field Service guns, carriages, fire engines and carts. The loft over the building is occupied with ... other stores."

Survey of Ordnance Stores at Isle-aux-Noix 26 June 1820 C. 740, pp. 123-127.

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Iron ordnance 24 prs.	33	
" 18 prs.	7	
" 6 prs.	3	

Carronades 68 prs.	4	
" 42 "	1	
" 32 "	6	
" 24 "	2	
" 18 "	1	
" 18 "	1	with trunions
" 12 "	1	
Swivels iron	1	
Slides pivot for 24 gun	26	incomplete, roller and pivot bolt wanted
" 18 "	7	
" 68 carronades	12	incomplete, roller and pivot bolt wanted
" 42 "	1	
" 24 "	1	
" 18 "	1	
Carriages 24 prs.	1	incomplete, one cog'd roller wanted
" 18 "	1	complete, on iron truck
" 18 "	6	complete, traverse without truck
Carronade carriages 18 prs.	12	incomplete, logs and naval bolts wanted, traverse without trucks
" " 68 prs.	2	
" " 32 "	2	

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Carronade carriages 18 prs.	1	
" " 12 "	1	
Slide carriages 68 prs.	2	traverse upon trucks
" " 32 "	3	
" " 12 "	4	
Block trail carriages 68 prs.	1	axeltree etc. wanted
" " 42 prs.	1	
Spare trucks wooden	11	
" " iron	14	
Beds 68 prs.	1	
" 18 "	6	
Corm (?) 68 "	3	
" 18 "	5	
Naval bolts from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches	9	
Pivot bolts from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches	24	
Shot round 68 prs.	422	
" " 32 "	88	
" " 24 "	3367	
" " 18 "	715	
" " 12 "	93	
" " 6 "	109	
Double headed shot	35	
Grape shot 68 "	60	
" " 24 "	486	
" " 18 "	20	

Species		Quantity	Remarks
Case	68 prs.	60	
"	24 "	475	
"	18 "	5	
Cases for shot		198	
Wads	68 "	280	
"	42 "	65	
2 "	24 "	2457	
"	32 "	104	
"	18 "	870	
"	6 "	26	
Formers for wads	68 "	1	
" "	32 "	1	
" "	24 "	2	
" "	18 "	1	
Flannel cartridges	68 prs.	141	
" "	32 "	595	
" "	24 "	198	
" "	18 "	144	
" "	12 "	50	
4½ oz. burtsers		79	
Paper cartridges (FB)	24 prs.	1983	
Match nippers		1 pair	
Spunges with staves	68 prs.	3	
" "	24 "	31	
" "	18 "	6	

Species		Quantity	Remarks
Spunges for swivels		2	
Wadhooks	68 prs.	3	
"	24 "	8	
"	18 "	6	
" for swivels		1	
Ladels	24 "	12	
"	18 "	3	
Spare spunges	68 "	3	
" "	24 "	10	
" "	18 "	1	
Spare ramrods	68 "	3	
" "	24 "	10	
Staves		24	
Spring caps		35	
Breechings 9 inch		8	
" 6 "		34	
" 5½ "		7	
Rope 6 inch		104 fathoms	
" 2½ "		8 coils of 130 fathoms each	
" 2½ "		1 remnant of 42 fathoms	
" 2 "		1 coil of 130 fathoms	
Blocks double 10 inch		11	
" " 8 "		25	
" " 6½ "		38	

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Blocks single 8 inch	36	
" " 6½ "	43	
Gun tackles 18 prs. 2½	14	complete with hooks & bolts
Tackle hooks with thimbles small	100	
" " of sorts	234	
" " ----------	34	
Cases of woods 68 prs.	1	
" " 24 "	69	
" " 18 "	6	
Powder boxes 18 "	1	
Tompions 24 "	47	
" 68 "	2	
" 18 "	12	
Mallets for tompions	15	
Chisels for tompions	14	
Handspikes	4	
Crows iron	31	
Hand crow levers	43	
Monkey tails or traversing bar	5	
Elegating screws	5	
" caps	5	
Gun locks	5	
Carronade locks	12	
Powder horns	80	
Priming irons	122	

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Vent bilt (?)	5	
Boxes for tubes	26	
Leather straps for tubes	23	
Quill tubes	1280	
Aprons of lead	35	
Covers	4	
Match 5G 3qrs 0lbs.	5 ¾ cwt.	
Tallow 5G 3qrs 16lbs.	¾ cwt. & 16 lbs.	obtained from
Junk 1G 3qrs. 0lbs.	100 & ¾	carronade tackle
Musquet balls 1G 3qrs. 19lbs.	¾ cwt. & 19 lbs.	
... putty 5G 3qrs. 67lbs.	67	
Flints musquets	150	
" pistol	85	
Turn screws	15	
Marline spikes large	1	
Match tubs	7	
Budge barrells	3	
Lantherns tin	10	
Hair bivoins (?) short	6	
Musquets black	258	6 wanting repair
Steel ramrods	258	
Bayonets	276	
" scabbards	544	
Pistols	47½ pair	One pair defective.
Strong pikes	288	

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Pole axes	141	
Cartouche boxes	406	
" belts	388	
Frogs for bayonets	395	
Copper powder measures 24 prs.	3	
Paper fine	17 quires	
Marline	13 skeins	
Twine Dutch $1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.	$1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.	
Knives cutting	5	
Scissors	1 pair	
Tin funnels	15	
Measures for musquet cartridges	8	
" " pistols "	8	
Formers for musquet	12	
" " pistol	12	
Arm chest	1	
Armourers chest	1	
Padlock and key	1	
Vice standing	1	
Stakes	1	
Smith's tongs	3 pairs	
Screw plates	1	
Burnishers	1	
Files rubber	4	
" half round	23	

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Wood rasps	3	
Files handsaw	1	
Pincers 1 large	1	
" small	1	
Handsaw	1	
Saw with screws	1	
Planes of sorts	5	
Knives drawing	1	
Spoke shaves	1	
Drill bows	2	
Drills	1	
Drill screws	3	
" boxes	1	
Hammers clinch	2	
Punches	1	
Chisels	10	
Aw.s brad	7	
Glue pots	1	
Glue 2 lbs	2 lbs	
Stones oil	1	
" rag	1	
" rub	1	
Borax	2 ounces	
Wiping rod for musquets	1	
" " " pistols	1	

Species	Quantity	Remarks
Packing cases of sorts	25	
Marines pouches with belts	11	
Crop belts for bayonets	13	
Swords	130	
" scabbards	121	
" belts	37	
Semicircular plates for pivots slides	68	
Bolts for pivots slides	544	
Iron work complete for 32 Pr. carronade carraiges	6 sets	
Iron work complete for 24 Pr. carronade carriages	2 sets	Carriages condemmed as unserviceable and the iron works to be taken from them.
Iron work complete 24 Pr. carronade slides	2 sets	
Carronade slides with rollers 18 Pr.	1 set	
Iron work complete for 68 Pr. carronade	1 set	
Linch pins	12	
Carronade slides	12	Slides taken from them and the bolts to be returned into store as old iron.
Axeltrees of sorts	10	

In 1820, 100 tons of Ordnance and 300 tons of gunpowder and other stores had to be moved to a different part of the Island "being at present in the way of the Fortification now erecting there". (P.A.C., C 404, pp 211-212):

To erect a powder magazine	£2018
To rivet a counterscarp	£2584
To alter commissariat	£ 9
To repair intrenching tool	£ 61
To fill in the Glacis	£1283
Military working parties	£2000
	£7955

Excerpts from approved estimates of works for 1821 (P.A.C., C 140, p. 115):

	£	s	d
Feb. 1 - (Supp'y) lining the side and gable ends of the shellproof magazine	38	4	6
March 26 - Building a shellproof ordnanace -- 115 feet by 31	3414	1	4½
March 28 - Piling the foundation of the proposed tower in the W. Bastion	898	10	-
May 22 - To complete the fort to the height of the Rampart	1070	-	-

		£	s	d
June 7	- Putting up a fence in front of the powder magazine	15	5	-

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Report of 9 May 1821 and 23 August 1821 (P.A.C., C 409, pp. 92-5):

"It is intended that the ordnance planned for Isle-aux-Noix--ten 32 pounders--be mounted on cast iron carriages, so soon as the fort now constructing shall be ready to receive them."

P.A.C., Ordnance Records, Ile-aux-Noix, 1841:

No. 1 Store House contains on the lower floor a large quantity of case and grape shot -- the upper applied to the general stores in the Deputy Storekeeper's charge.

Dimensions, lower storey 49.0 x 18.0 x 9.0

" upper " 49.0 x 24.0 x 8.6

No. 2 Store House temporarily lent to the commis't Department for flour and biscuit only is still retained by that Department.

Dimensions, lower storey 49.0 x 18.0 x 9.0

" upper " 49.0 x 24.6 x 8.6

The magazine (there being only one) contains the powder and cartridges in charge of the Royal Artillery, as well as the powder and ammunition in the Dy Storekeeper's charge -- and is constructed to contain 1500 barrels. Dimensions 53' x 22' x 14'.

Report of Ordnance, 25 November 1842 (C 151, p. 201):

To resolve a dispute concerning occupation of storage space it was recommended that Ordnance should get one casemated storehouse and one storey of the only other one besides the magazine and two of the eleven vaults under the terreplain.

Commissioners' Report on defences of North America, 1825; P.A.C., WO, B, 55, Vol. 1551, Sec. 7:

"The fort now constructing on the Isle-aux-Noix is a small square bastioned fort of 300 yards each front, more or less. The escarp is only 18 feet high, the counterscarp 12 feet, the ditch will have six feet [of] water. The escarp and counterscarp are retained with a revetement of wood. Logs of the hemlock, a species of pine, are laid upon each other at right angles to the proposed escarp and a row of cedar trees are then driven into the ground in front of the hemlock logs. We confess we do not approve of this species of revetement; which, doubtless, in the present case, has been adopted fron the peculiar swampy and boggy nature of the soil at the Isle-aux-Noix. Light, however, as the weight of such a revetement must be, compared to that of masonry, it has given way; and a considerable slip has taken place in one of the curtains. It is estimated that will be repaired for about £700. The total expense of the fort was calcultated at £86,726 -- as approved by the Treasury. The amount expended is £57,688. There remains consequently £29, 038 to lay out. The fort may be said to be about two-thirds completed. A guard house with a barracks store over it; two

ordnance stores of two storeys high each, lower part bomb-proof; a magazine and the commissariat stores are completed. Barracks for 500 men, together with an officers pavilion are in progress. Two towers, each capable of carrying 4 pieces of ordnance, were also included in the estimate, and intended to be constructed within two of the bastions, to which they were to serve as cavaliers, and as keeps, or interior redoubts to the fort."

"From a careful consideration of the nature of the soil of which the Isle-aux-Noix is composed we have strongly recommended to Colonel Durnford that the construction of the heavy and massive towers should be delayed until Your Grace's Orders with respect to them can be received. We conceive that the towers, in question, must sink; and that however desirable an interior keep to the fort may be; as no precautions which can be adopted will guarantee against such an accident."

The report continues that whereas the country on each side of the river used to be "impassable forest", and one continued swamp, circumstances have now changed. The ground on each side has been very considerably cleared and more settlers are established there every day". An ivading army could easily bypass the island now.

Return of Ordnance ... at Isle-aux-Noix, 19 October, 1847. P.A.C., C. 459, pp. 132-136.

Article				S	R	U	Remarks
Brass	Gun American	---	4 pr.			1	
	How'r English	---	8 in.			1	
Iron	Carronade	---	68 pr.	11			
			42 pr.	1			
			32 pr.	17			
			24 pr.	8			
			18 pr.			10	
			12 pr.	3		1	
	Guns	---	24 pr.	28		26	
			18 pr.	5		5	
			12 pr.	3		5	
			6 pr.	1		2	
			½ pr.	4			
	Gunade	---	18 pr.			1	
	Mortar	---	8 in.	2			
Garrison	Gun cogs	---	24 pr.	1			
	Carr'o Trails	---	42 prs.	1			
	Platform	---		1			
Ship	Gun common	---	18 pr.		1		
			12 pr.	7			
	Carr'o bracket	---	68 pr.		12		
	Carr'o sliding	---	68 pr.	1			
			32 pr.	12			
			24 pr.	7			
			12 pr.	5			

Article			S	R	U	Remarks
Travelling English Gun	---	12 pr.	1		1	
" How'r	---	8 in.	1			
American Gun	---	4 pr.		1		
Sleigh fire engine	---		1			
Platform traversing wood	---		9			
Double headed	---	6 pr.	34			
Grapes Gun	---	24 pr.	686			
		18 pr.	592			
		12 pr.	512			
		6 pr.	150			
		½ pr.	1370			
Carro'o common	---	68 pr.	27			
" tin case	---	68 pr.	160			
"	---	32 pr.	972			
"	---	18 pr.	361			
Rounds Cast	---	68 pr.	605			
		42 pr.	27			
		32 pr.	2754			
		24 pr.	6365			
		18 pr.	5456			
		12 pr.	3702			
		6 pr.	112			
		3 pr.	132			
Fixed to W'd bottoms		24 pr.	96			
		6 pr.	533			

Article				S	R	U	Remarks
Spl. case	filled with lead ball						
	Gun	---	18 pr.	770			
			12 pr.	344			
			6 pr.	360			
			3 pr.	33			
	How'r	---	8 in.	242			
Tin case	How'r	---	8 in.	5			
			5½ in.	94			
	Carr'o	---	68 pr.	161			
			42 pr.	76			
			32 pr.	842			
			24 pr.	194			
			18 pr.	439			
			12 pr.	300			
	Guns	---	24 pr.	787			
			18 pr.	541			
			12 pr.	383			
			6 pr.	218			
Shell empty		---	13 in.	1			
			10 in.	470			
			8 in.	508			
			5½ in.	230			
Carcasses fixed - oblong		---	8 in.			84	
			4 2/5 in.			49	

Article				S	R	U	Remarks
	- round	---	8 in.			41	
			5½ in.			22	
Cartridges	flannel empty						
	Carr'o	---	12 pr.	148			
	Gun	---	12 pr.	61			
Powder	Fine grain	---		668			
	Large grain	---		45541			
Cartridges	Ball musquet	---		358,832			
	Pistol	---		550			
	rifle	---		40,818		296	
	Percussion rifle	--		12,021			
Flints	musquet	---		4,406		752	
	pistol	---		130			
Percussion caps		---		76,137			
Adzes copper		---		2			
Bags Fuze (?)		---		12			
Bearers shot grates		---		5			
Beds coin wood	- guns	---	32 pr.	13			
			24 pr.	9			
			18 pr.	25			
			12 pr.	8			
	- mortar	---	8 in.	2			
	- How'r	---	8 in.	1			
Bits vent improved		---		65			
Boxes tube tin		---		124			

Article			S	R	U	Remarks
Black gyn	double	---		2		
	treble	---		1		
Brushes gun round 32 to 12 pr.				4		
Caps elevating screws		---	32 pr.	3		
			68 pr.	4		
			24 pr.	4		
			18 pr.	7		
Cases wood for - Carr'o		---	68 pr.	28		
			42 pr.	3		
			32 pr.	33		
			24 pr.	9		
			18 pr.	12		
			12 pr.	6		
	- Guns	---	24 pr.	211		
			18 pr.	16		
			12 pr.	24		
Coins wood - Guns		---		43		
	- How'r	---		2		
Funnels for loading mortars				1		
Grates for heating shott		---		1		
Guages wood, wads 68 to 24 pr.				37		
Hammers claw		---		5		
Handsaw levers - 6 feet		---		112		
	- 5 feet	---		9		
Handspike common		---		76		

Articles			S	R	U	Remarks
Irons priming	---		379			
Ladels copper W'h stoves	---	24 pr.	15			
		18 pr.	8			
		12 pr.	11			
		½ pr.	1			
Linstocks - with cocks	---		25			
- without cocks	---		27			
Mallets fuze (?)	---	8 in.	3			
		5½ in.	9			
		4 2/5 in.	3			
Punches vent	---		94			
Ropes - drag - prs	---		4			
Scales diagonal	---		1			
Scrapers gun	---	24 pr.	1			
		12 pr.	1			
Screws - for drawing corks						
of shells	---		22			
- elevating	---Carr'o					
		68 pr.	8			
		" 32 pr.	4			
		" 24 pr.	2			
		" 18 pr.	11			
		Gun 9 pr.	1			
		Hw'r8 in.	4			

Article				S	R	U	Remarks
Setters wood fuze		---	5½ in.	22			
			4½ in.	2			
Spikes	common gun	---		118			
	spring	brass	6 pr.	4			
		How'r	8 in.	4			
		Gun	24 pr.	6			
			18 pr.	2			
			12 pr.	2			
Sticks portfire		---		53			
Thumbstates		---		12			
Vices wood fuze		---		20			
Searchers prong		---	# 8	1			
			# 6	1			
			# 4	1			
Spunges complete - Carr'o		---	68 pr.	9			
			42 pr.	1			
			32 pr.	12		1	
			24 pr.	10			
			18 pr.	13			
			12 pr.	10			
	- Gun	---	24 pr.	22			
			18 pr.	20			
			12 pr.	21			
			6 pr.	6			
	- How'r	---	8 in.	2			

Article			S	R	U	Remarks
- Mortar	---	8 in.			1	
Tongs for shot grates	---		4			
Tools for lock cannon	---		4			
Truck for garrison carriages prs:						
fore	---	6½ in.	29			
		5½ in.	15½			
		4½ in.	6			
hind	---	5½ in.	28½			
		4½ in.	27½			
		3 in.	3½			
Wadhooks complete - Carr'o	---	68 pr.	8			
		32 pr.	1		1	
		24 pr.	7			
		18 pr.	15			
- Guns	---	24 pr.	3	1	1	
		18 pr.	7			
		12 pr.	15			
		6 pr.	2			
Wads rope for guns	---	68 pr.	1068			
		32 pr.	172			
		24 pr.	4246			
		18 pr.	2829			
		12 pr.	2514			
		6 pr.	26			

(signed) Aubrey Wools

Deputy Storekeeper.

P.A.C., W.O. 1, vol. 561, p. 138, 14 October 1848:

"It may be remarked that the Defences generally of Fort Lennox have been so long neglected that, except portions of the South West Front which were repaired and the linette (?) of its West ditch cleaned out and deepened by the Company of Sappers and Miners in 1842, the works throughout would require a very large outlay to put the Fort into a respectable condition of Defense..."

Estimates for works, 1863-64 (P.A.C., C. 1422, pp. 66-67):

"To rebuild enclosure and picket fence to the magazine in the North Bastion. £70 9s 9½d."

The last time that major work was done at Isle-aux-Noix by the British was in 1865-1866 when over 200 men were put to work reforming the parapets and palissades and constructing nine platforms. (C. 1602, pp. 32-32½)

On 11 January 1866 the work was reported suspended for the winter but most of it had been completed:

"All the platforms are laid excepting the one at the salient of the S.W. Bastion. I have arranged with Capt. Netherden R.A. to have the work properly performed.

The parapets of the bastion are completed excepting the portions of the two southern ones. The work left undone here is not of much

The Northern, Southern and Western curtains are complete, the Eastern is very imcomplete, in fact little has been done to it.

Loopholes have been placed in portions of the completed fronts but good rough loopholes and fair cover for the heads of the defenders might have been obtained by using the old materials left in the Fort from the works performed there by the 15th Company.

With your permission I propose to do nothing more to the fortification of Fort Lennox during the present witner."

Parliament of Canada Sessional Papers, Session of 1871, no. 46, p. 97:

Lieut. Col. Thomas Wily, Director of Stores, Dept. of Militia and Defence, has taken over "Ile-aux-Noix with its buildings and armament... The armament consists of two 12-pounders, bronze field guns, with travelling carriages and limbers complete and five 24-pounder garrison guns, iron, also with carriages complete. The ordnance is all furnished with the usual allowance of side arms, small stores and service ammunition complete."

A quick look at our information regarding the regiments stationed on Isle aux Noix produced the following list. The list is not complete but it can be supplemented by the use of the enclosed book. The book contains some errors but is the most complete work on the subject. The reason why the regiments noted as being on Isle aux Noix in the list

below are not always indicated in the book to be stationed there, is because the garrisons of Isle aux Noix seldom included entire regiments but were usually detachments.

- the names of the French regiments are not known.
- 1760, the 27th regiment.
- 1776, brigade of grenadiers, ligh infrnatry and the 24th regiment.
- 20th regiment wintered there in 1776 and stayed through the summer.
- Oct. - Nov. 1778, 29th, 31st, 53rd regiments & the 29th Rangers & the Royal Regiment of New York.
- December 1780, the 34th regiment.
- December 1782, the 53rd regiment.
- 1883, the King's Royal Regiment of New York.
- November 1784, the 31st regiment.
- December 1788, the 26th regiment.
- 1790, small garrison of the 60th regiment.
- July 1794, 26th regiment.
- July 1795, 60th regiment.
- July 1813, 13th, 103rd, 100th and Canadian regiments.
- November 1815, 76th regiment.
- September 1819, ½ of the 37th regiment.
- April 1821, 60th regiment.
- September 1823, 70th regiment.
- April 1829, 79th regiment.
- May 1831, 24th regiment.
- October 1832, 15th regiment.
- December 1835, 32nd regiment.
- August 1841, 70th regiment.

- March 1842, 70th regiment.

- July 1842 - Oct. 1845, Royal Canadian Rifles Regiment.

- May 1846 - May 1850, Royal Canadian Rifles Regiment.

- November 1850, 77th regiment.

- December 1850 - September, Royal Canadian Rifles Regiment.

- June 1862, 47th regiment.

- Sept. 1862 - November 1866 Royal Canadian Rifles Regiment.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ST. MAURICE FORGES

by

David Lee

May, 1965

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ST. MAURICE FORGES

Jean Talon was the first to promote the development of the iron ore deposits of the St. Maurice River Valley. He sent 20 barrels of ore to France in 1670 to demonstrate the quality of the ore but no interest was ever shown. For the next 60 years, officials in New France pressed for development of the ore by the government and officials in France ignored all suggestions: As the Duc d'Orleans said, France could supply all the iron Canada needed. Only private development could bring the iron into production. There were few enough entrepreneurs around with sufficient capital and initiative and they all invested in the fur trade.

New France had to wait until 1729 for a private investor to attempt development. François Poulin de Francheville, a rich Montreal merchant, and Seigneur de St. Maurice successfully petitioned the King for permission to exploit the minerals found on his seigneury and nearby. He chose to establish an ironworks at a point where a small rivulet, which never froze in winter, joins the St. Maurice River. This point was about seven miles from Trois-Rivières and about another seven miles from the ironworks lay the deposits of bog-iron which they would utilize. This ore lay close to the surface and so was easily obtainable; until at least 1763, there was no road to the mine and the ore was transported in winter by sledge.

Francheville formed a company in 1729 but due to his death in 1733 and a lack of capital and skilled workmen, it never got into operation. A second company was formed in 1736, composed of François-Étienne Cugnet, Ignace Gamelin and Thomas-Jacques Taschereau besides the two metallurgial technicians, Jacques Simonet and Pierre-François Olivier de Vezin. Despite government assistance in the way of loans and supply of skilled workers, the company did not do well. The causes were chiefly the incompetency of the workers, inferior equipment and maladministration. Later de Vezin claimed that perhaps up to 100,000 livres were squandered on "la grande maison" for the management (Cugnet, Gamelin and Taschereau). The latter claimed that the house cost only 30,000 livres. The management group was also overly interested in the quicker profits of trade with the Tête de Boule Indians and with the workers at the company store. The furnace was first lit there 15 October, 1737 but the bellows failed to work. Six more unsuccessful attempts were made in 1738 before the Intendant sent the engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, to investigate.

De Léry firstly blasted the management for the extravagance of "la grande maison". The company had wastefully installed six waterwheels on the small creek so he had four of them removed and had a second, more efficient, forge built instead. He finally got the works into permanent operation 20 August, 1738. In the first

year, 300,000 pounds of iron were produced -- not enough to pay off any of the King's loans, but impressive enough to have him extend the due date. In 1740, the first furnace was destroyed and rebuilt but production did not increase. With no prospect of paying off debts amounting almost to 200,000 pounds, the company declared bankruptcy in 1741. From 1736 to 1741, the company had only turned out 700,000 pounds of iron, and this only in the form of bars.

While the Governor awaited the King's decision on the future of the ironworks, he put the Sieur Estèbe in charge. He carried out a complete inventory of the works and got it back into operation in May, 1742. By summer, he was producing 5,000 pounds of smelted iron every 24 hours and the forge was producing 10,000 to 12,000 pounds of iron bars per week. The King decided to take over the administration of the works and then, with no heavy debts to pay off, it showed a profit until the Conquest. Tools such as hammers and anvils, cookingware, nails, stoves and hearth-plates, cauldrons for making pitch were manufactured between 1742 and 1760, as well as gun carriages, mortar bombs and cannon balls of all calibres (some sent as far as Louisbourg). The ironworks of St. Maurice was the only heavy industry to operate in New France!

After the Conquest, the British Government leased the works to a group of French and English businessmen headed by Christophe Pélissier for 16 years, beginning June, 1767. Because

of the war, the ironworks had emphasized military manufactures during the late 1750's but now the emphasis returned to the production of the popular St. Maurice stove; the one change made was that the stoves now bore the engraving of the British coat of arms. The new company prospered until Pélissier got it into trouble through his collaboration with the American Revolutionaries. They had a detachment garrisoned at Trois-Rivières during the winter of 1775-76 and Pélissier was appointed Colonel-General in their army. He entertained General Arnold at "la grande maison", helped the American rebels plan their attack on Quebec and sold them cannon balls, shovels and stoves for the seige. Upon the defeat of the rebels, Pélissier fled to the Thirteen Colonies and then to France taking with him all the available company funds. Pélissier's associates, under Pierre de Sales Laterrière, carried on until the expiration of the lease in 1783.

A number of men held the lease between 1783 and 1793 when Matthew Bell took over and brought the works into its greatest production. By 1808 he had the forges producing 1,000 stoves per year besides a great variety of other articles
The quality of workmanship must have been quite high because it was the St. Maurice forges which turned out parts, especially castings, for the engine of Canada's first steamship, John Molson's Accommodation, which was built in 1809. Bell held the lease on the works until 1845 and employed hundreds of men living around the forges and working in the forests and charcoal pits and in the furnaces and forges.

In 1845 the property was sold and a succession of companies operated the works but none regained the production level Bell had attained. The best attempt was made by McDougall and Co. which was producing 70 tons of iron per week in 1865. Considerable overhauling was performed by the company. For example, "la grande maison" had burnt 11 June, 1863. The remains were used for an office and warehouse for awhile but then Robert McDougall rebuilt it "scrupulously preserving the original floor plan, Norman roof as well as most of the wainscotting and huge hearths flanked by fleurs-de-lys" oven sheets engraved "1732". Production dwindled during the depression of the mid-1870's and ceased in 1883.

APPENDIX I

While additional information is provided in the following appendices and illustrations, some documents and photographs could not be reproduced here. Note should be made of:

1) An Inventaire by le sieur Estèbe, November 1741, which is in the Public Archives of Canada, (M.G. 1, Ser. 3, C11A, vol. 112, part one, especially pages 64 - 102. A copy of the inventaire and a translation can be found on the Historic Sites file 7 - 1, vol. 5, Les Vieilles Forges de St. Maurice. The inventaire is too long to include here but the bulk on the material contained in the following Archaeological analysis is taken from it.

2) Visit of Franquet in 1752 in: B. Sulte, Les Forges St. Maurice, Montreal, 1920, pp. 114 - 120.

3) An Inventaire by Hertel de Rouville, 8 September, 1760 in B. Sulte, Les Forges St. Maurice, Montreal, 1920, pp. 131 - 134.

4) Plan of a forge by the engineer Chaussegros de Léry, ca. 1738.

5) "Plan figuratif Des Forges St. Maurice arpentees par ordre du Gouvernement le 29, 30 et 31 Janvier 1845" by J.T. Legendre.

6) Paintings by Captain Pigott, ca. 1820; for example, a view of the town at the ironworks. (Public Archives of Canada C-12556)

7) Drawings by Lucius O'Brien, ca. 1880 in: G.M. Grant (ed.) Picturesque Canada. . . Toronto, 1882.

APPENDIX 2 --- DIARY OF LORD SELKIRK
P.A.C., M.C. 19, E. 1, 1.

Feb. 1804 Mr. Lees, who was formerly concerned in the iron works at St. Maurice or Three Rivers gave me the following particulars:

The total produce of the work used to be 7000£ a year. Bar Iron at 5½$ - it is now sold at 8$ & he supposes the amount will be 10 or 12,000£ of which fully 2/3 for Cast work at 6½$ Bar Iron - 15 or 1800 cwt.

The furnace is only 12 feet High - Castings are made directly from the Ore: - there are two forges - all (with a grist & saw Mill) on the same stream & same fall successively.

The Ore is all bog ore - all near the work is exhausted & they have to carry 2 leagues - they pay 5d per Hhd. of about 6 cwt - a pair of Horses in Sleigh will draw 4 Hhd.

They have to bring their Charcoal 3½ leagues - this is done in summer - 40 horses & 20 drivers are employed formerly 28 Horses, They cut 12,000 Cords of Wood of which 2000 for the use of workmen: - paid formerly ¼ per Cord now 1/8 - charred by men by the day.

The furnace employs 1 Charger, 2 gardes & a boy - The two forges each 4 men & 2 boys half day - half night.

The Castings - 7 or 8 moulders.

The forgemen are allowed 3s per cwt - & make about 50£ from May 1st till Decr. - they are charged for provisions.

The moulders make about 40£.

The works (proper) employ 24 or 25 hands, besides the people employed for getting ore, cutting wood, charring, washing ore - all of which is done by Habitans from the neighbourhood, also the horsemen.

APPENDIX 3 - DESCRIPTION BY JOHN LAMBERT, 1808
JOHN LAMBERT: TRAVELS THROUGH CANADA
AND THE UNITED STATES 1806, 1807, 1808
LONDON: 1814, pp. 485-88

After a pleasant ride of about 8 miles [from Trois-Rivières] we came to the verge of a rocky cliff, down which the road meanders into an extensive valley where the works are situated. Here are the manufactories, the furnaces, forges and workshops; the barns, stables and outhouses; the habitations of the superintendent and workpeople belonging to the establishment, with their little gardens and plantations, form altogether a small town.... There is one foundry, with a large furnace for the purpose of casting stove-plates, potash kettles, machinery for mills etc. .... The men dipped their ladles into the melted ore, and carried it from the furnace to the moulds with which the floor was covered. After they were all filled, they took off the frames while the stove-plates and potash kettles were red hot, and swept off the sand with a broom and water. The sand for moulding is imported in casks from England.... Forty or fifty horses are employed and upwards of 300 men, more or less, according to the work in hand. They make use of charcoal only, for melting the ore; and the neighbouring woods supply them with an abundance of fir and pine for that purpose. It is reckoned superior to mineral coal for the use of the furnace. A great portion of the men are employed in making the charcoal and carting it to the works, digging ore, and conducting the batteaux on the St. Maurice to and from the store at Trois-Rivières. The river answers extremely well

for that kind of craft, but it is not deep enough for larger vessels; the current is also very rapid in many places.

The works were established by the French in 1737.... They made the stove-plates at that time two inches thick! The hammers at the forges, the bellows at the foundry, and some other machinery are worked by water; only bar iron and ploughshares are made at the forges. The iron is reckoned equal, if not superior, to the best Swedish iron: it is extremely malleable, and rusts but little....

The forges are going night and day, and the men are relieved every six hours. But at the foundry, only the men employed in supplying the furnace work in the same manner; those who case and finish the stoves etc. work from sunrise to sunset.... The work-people are chiefly French Canadians, a few English only, being employed in making models, and as foremen or principal workmen. The iron work is sent to the store at Trois-Rivières in batteaux, and shipped by Mr. Graves to Québec, or Montréal, as required; or sold to the people of the neighbourhood. They make about 1,000 stoves per annum; the small single stoves sell for £3 and the larger sort for £6 each. The double stoves, which have an oven at the top, are sold for £10 or £12 according to the size. Potash kettles sell from £20 to £25 each. Fresh veins of ore are daily discovered and purchased at a trifling price of the people in whose land it is found.

APPENDIX 4

ARCHAELOLOGICAL-STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

The main interest in the ironworks complex include the furnace, the upper and lower forges and the grande maison, and their attendant buildings. The historical information which would be of interest to archaeologists is scanty and complicated. The ironworks went through four periods of development:

- First major development, 1736-1760;
- Sporadic, indeterminate development, 1760-1793;
- Renewed major development, 1793-1845;
- Decline and deterioration, 1845-1883.

The period for which the most historical data is available is the first, but this data might not help the archaeologist as development in the three following periods of which we know less, might have superceded the work of the first period. Beyond the expected looting of the site for construction material there apparently have been a few 'digs' for alleged buried treasure which have doubtless disturbed the site. Also, as photo #1 shows clearly, a sawmill, of apparent recent construction, straddled the creek in 1921.

Note should be taken that the measurements cited are all French standards; the French foot, for example, is 12¾" long, and the French inch is therefore, 1 1/16" long. The French measurement, le toise

equals 6 feet, 4 1/2 inches, English measurement.

The following, in any case, is an analysis of the information in the preceding appendices.

FURNACE

A furnace was built near the creek around 1736 but De Léry had it torn down and rebuilt in 1740, presumably mostly of stone. Near it was a dam holding water for the forges below. Estèbe's description of 1741 is very confusing; the furnace seems to:

- have had footings 28' square and 7' deep;
- have had above that, a platform 27' square, but of indeterminate height;
- have had another platform above that 25½' square and 15', 4" high;
- have had above that a square chimney 9½' high with walls 22" thick; Selkirk claims, however, that it was 12' high in 1804;
- have had openings near the tap-hole, below the bellows and on each corner of the North East side.

Buildings attendant to the furnace included:

- a hall at the front of the furnace, 30' long, 27' wide and 12' high, made of thick planking;
- a moulding mill, 28' long and 19' wide, of heavy timber frame and transverse logs;
- a chimney presumably for the moulding mill, 23', 10" high, 4', 11" wide at the bottom on two sides and 3', 10" wide on the other two; the footings were 6' square and 3' deep. The jamb and lintel of cut stone;
- beside this building was a storehouse, 12' long and 9' wide, built of wood;
- a foundryman's house, 30' square; two sides pièces-sur-pièces, the other two sides formed by the frame of the hall and by the bellows, built of wood;

- a bellows building, 27' on the side of the waterway and 30' on the side joining the tower of the furnace, built of wood;
- a wall to the North East of the bellows building, 15' long, 10' high including the foundations, 3' thick at the foundation tapering to 2' thick at the top;
- The moulder's quarters (it is not known in which building) has a chimney 21', 11" high; the chimney was 4', 7" by 3', 4";
- two walls under, the bellows, 30' long, 15' high and 3' thick, with two smaller walls 10' long, 15' high and 3' thick;
- a small wall supporting the bellows-spindle, 8' long, 4' high and 3½' thick;
- a wall to the North East of the big wheel, 36' long, 21½' high and 3' thick at the foundations tapering to 2' thick at the top;
- a wall joining a buttress 15' long, 10' hgi and 3' thick at the foundations tapering to 2' at the top;
- a masonry pillar to support the trunnion of the water wheel 21½' high, 5', 8" wide and 3' thick;
- a wall on the face of the waterway 12' long, 7' high and 3' thick;
- a retaining wall to the North East of the furnace 40' long, 21½' high, 3' thick at the foundations tapering to 2' at the top;
- a wall set obliquely at the discharge of the waterway 10' long, 21½' high, 3' thick at the foundations tapering to 2' at the top;
- the waterwheel operating the bellows 30½' in diameter, including the pieces of wood notched into the wheel;
- a building sheltering the wheel built of upright posts and transverse logs.

Also, de Rouville mentioned, in 1760, a building for charcoal, measuring 80' by 30'.

UPPER FORGE

- It is difficult to determine whether Chaussegros de Léry built the upper or lower forge. De Léry's plan shows his forge to be approximately 66 French feet by 36 French feet. The Upper Forge was 70' long, 30' wide and 17' high to the eaves; it was built of upright planks and mudded posts. The Lower Forge was 80' long, 36' wide and 15' high to the eaves and also constructed of wood planks. Therefore, it is difficult to determine to which forge the plan relates.
- The forge sat on a foundation sill 70' long, 3' high and 2' thick. The foundation sill at the two gables is 30' long, 4' high and 2' thick; the other on the side of the waterway, besides another parallel wall serving the waterway are both 70' long, 8' high and 3' thick.
- The waterway was 70' long, 14½' wide and 17½' high to the eaves and made of wood.
- A lean-to for storing charcoal and iron adjoined the forge and was 70' long, 15' wide and 9' high to the eaves.
- The chimney, including the chimney-plates was 9' wide on 3 sides and 10' wide on the other at the bottom, and at the top, was 4' 8" on 2 sides and 5' 3" on the other two sides. The chimney was 40' high and had footings 12' square and 11' deep.
- The chimney was reinforced by two iron-plates at the lintels, 9½' long 14" wide and 2" thick; and by another 10½' long, 14" wide and 2" thick, and by five iron bars complete with bolts crossing the chimney to keep it aligned; and by 7 squares of cast-iron weighing a total of 2000 lbs., used in place of masonry in one pillar of the chimney.

- The forge also included 4 bellows; a hammer and anvil; a bridge 120' long and 24' wide used to move along the iron sows; a wooden dam, including an overflow, in a 25' wide embankment 130' long with 19 girders of which the strongest were 20' high; a waterway 70' long, 10' high and 5' wide carrying water to cleanse the ore; and another waterway discharging the water 25' long, 12' high and 8' wide.
- There was also another chimney, for some unknown purpose, which included its chimney plates, which was at the bottom, 9' 10" wide on two sides, 9' 4" on another and 8' 10" wide on the fourth side; at the top it was 6' wide on two sides, and 5' 3" on the other two sides. The chimney was 40½' high and had footings 12' square and 11' 7" deep.
- There was various masonry supporting the large hammer and one wall 14' long, 8' wide and 6' deep; another wall 14' long, 3' high and 3' thick; another 8' square and 2½' deep; and lastly, two walls 10' long, 4½' wide and one foot thick.
- The forge supposedly included a tilt-hammer.

LA GRANDE MAISON

- The wall of la grande maison nearest the river was 80' long, 25½' high, 3' thick for the first 10 feet of height and 2' thick for the last 15½' in height. The wall on the other side was, for some reason, only 74½' long, but had the same height and thickness. The two gable walls on the end were 46' long and also had the same height and thickness. But, a description of 1760 says the house measures 82' x 52'.
- Inside, the house had a central bearing wall from one gable wall to the other, 76' long, 20' high and 2' thick. And in the cellar were three more bearing walls (presumably to support the chimneys mentioned below), on the breadth of the house 41½' long, 10' high and 2½' thick. These three walls diminish to 35' 3" long, 15½' high and 2' thick as they continue through the ground floor to the eaves.
- Five chimneys were set on the gable walls and bearing walls, 50' high from their foundations to the top; the jambs and lintels of cut stone.
- There was also a wall 21' long, 9' high and 2' thick, forming the descent to the cellar.
- Attached to the grande maison was a wing probably including two cupola-shaped roofs, 24' long, 25½' high, and being 3' thick for the first 10 feet in height and 2' thick for the last 15½' in height. The side walls of the wing were 20' long, presumably 25½' high and having the same measurements of thickness as well. In the wing was a chimney 39' high of which 25½' included part of the wall of the wing.

- On the northwest side of the house, attached to the gable wall was a kitchen 16' long, 23½' wide and 15' high, with walls 2' thick. In it was a brick oven set on a foundation sill 8' long, 4' wide and 8' high.
- Around the house was 174' of a possibly ornamental cut stone wall.
- The house and wing each had an attic. Also many of the windows of the house were casement windows.
- Beside the grande maison is a bakery, 15' square and made of transverse posts, lathed inside and out and rough-cast with mortar. It had a stone chimney 4' 10" on the side of the lintels and 3' 4" on the other. It was 17' high and sat on footings 5½' long, 4' wide and 3' deep. It contained a brick oven covered with masonry 10' long, 7' wide and 5' high.

LOWER FORGE

- It is difficult to determine whether Chaussegros de Léry built the upper or lower forge. De Léry's plan shows his forge to be approximately 66 French feet by 36 feet. The Lower Forge was 80' long, 36' wide and 15' high to the eaves and built of wood planking. The Upper Forge was 70' long, 30' wide and 17' high to the eaves and also wooden. Therefore, it is difficult to determine to which forge the plan relates.
- A lean-to adjoining the forge to store charcoal and iron, 80' long, 12' wide and 10½' high to the eaves and built of wood.
- The two buildings sat on foundation sills 80' long, 6' high and 2½' thick.
- There was a wall 52' long, 14' high and 3' thick near the gable of the building and the waterway and another wall 42' long, 6' high and 2' thick near the gable of the building and the charcoal storehouse.
- There was a wall for the foundation sill of the building which was also used for the waterway 80' long, 8' high and 3' thick, besides another wall of the same dimensions strictly used for the waterway.
- The chimney, complete with iron chimney-plates was 38', 8" high, and had footings 11" square by 10' deep; at the bottom it was 9½' wide on two sides, 8½' on another side and 10' on the fourth and at the top it was 5½' on two sides and 5', 2" on the other sides.
- Another chimney containing air holes in several places, was 14½' high and stood on footings 11½' square and 10' deep. At the bottom it was 10' wide on two sides and 9½' on the other two sides, and at the top, it was 4' wide on two sides, and 3', 5" on the other two.

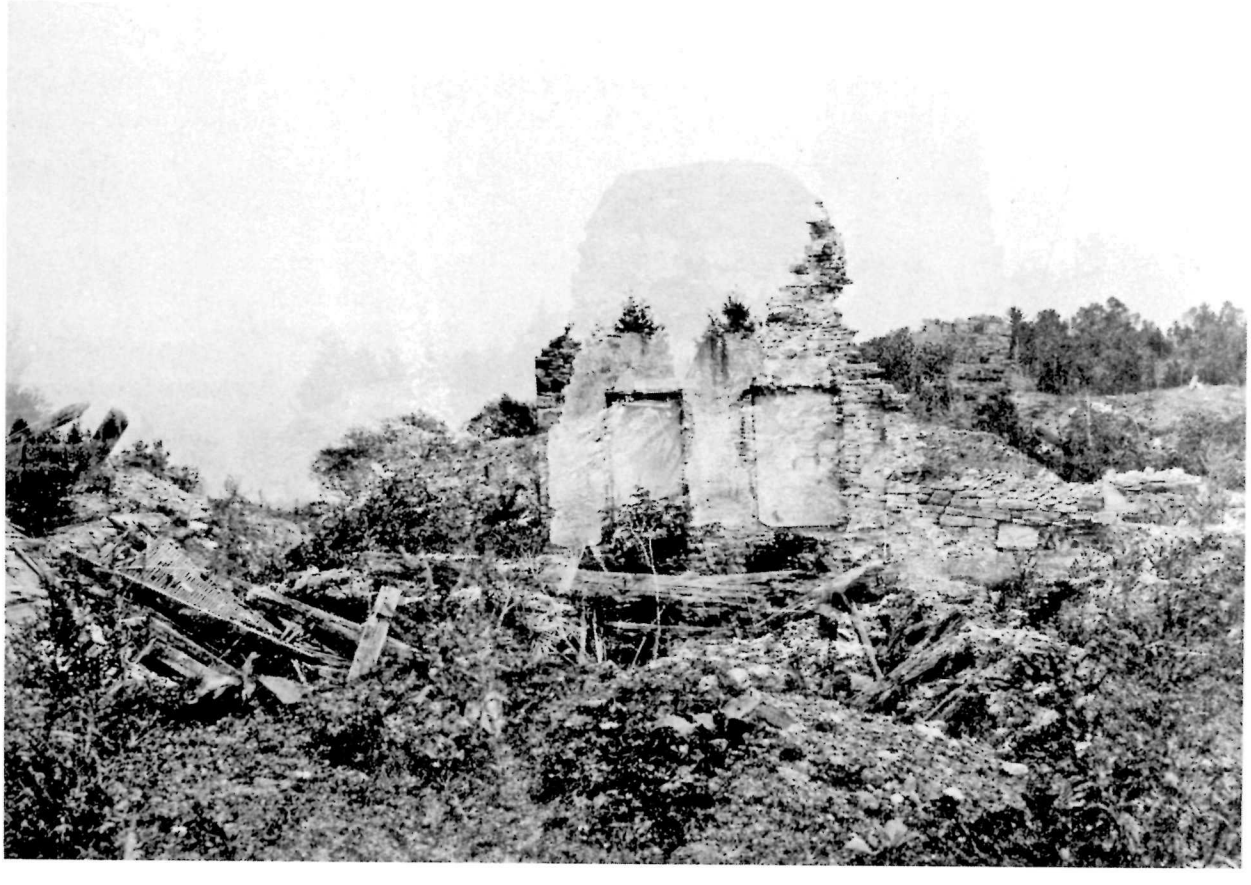
- In the forge were four bellows, two mounted with blast pipe, spindles and wheels.
- On the other side of the forge is a heavy timber frame waterway, 80' long, 12' wide and 15' high.
- Another waterway, 118' long, 5' wide, and 5½' high was also made of wood, was used as the outlet for the water and was covered by a planked lean-to 80' long. On the waterway was a bridge of squared logs 110' long, used to bring the iron sows to the stoke-hold.
- A masonry dam 95' long of unknown depth and thickness, with an over-flow.
- A trough where the ore was cleansed, made of heavy timber and caulked on the bottom and sides, 30' long, 11' wide and 7' high, having also a retaining wall of some sort 30' long, 17' high and 3' thick.
- Supporting the frame of the large hammer was one wall 4' long, 8' wide and 6' deep; another 14' long, 3' high and 3' thick; another 8' square and 2½' at the bottom; and two more walls under the buttress of the stoke-hold 10' long, 4½' wide and one foot thick.
- The forge supposedly included a tilt-hammer.

1. Photograph of the creek or gorge in 1921. The Sawmill at centre is of recent construction.

2. Ruins of la grande maison, 1921

1

2



3, 4 Photographs probably of the ruins of the furnace, 1921

3

4

WILLIAM TWISS: ROYAL ENGINEER

(1745-1827)

by

John C. Kendall

June, 1966

William Twiss: Royal Engineer (1745-1827)

William Twiss (1745-1827), general, colonel-commandant royal engineers, entered the Military Department of the Ordnance at the Tower of London on the 22nd July, 1760, and, on leaving it on the 21st of May, 1762, was appointed in July of that year to be overseer of the king's works at Gibraltar.[1] On the 19th of November, 1763, he received a commission as "practitioner engineer" and ensign which he took up in 1764. He was at the time 18 years of age. He remained as an engineer in the garrison at Gibraltar until 1771, when, on promotion on April 1st to be sub-engineer and lieutenant, he returned to England. From 1772 to the end of 1775 he was employed on the new fortifications then being constructed for the defence of the dockyard at Portsmouth.

Early in 1776 Lieutenant Twiss embarked with the reinforcements sent out under Major-General John Burgoyne to General Carleton, then in Canada. He landed at Quebec late in May of that year, and on the 10th of the next month a General Order from Sir Guy Carleton at Three Rivers, states that "Lieutenant Twiss of the Engineers is appointed an Aide de Camp to Major General Phillips."[2] Phillips himself was instructed to take the Departments of Artillery and Corps of Engineers under his command (June 6th, 1776). Twiss was with the army in pursuing the Americans up the St. Lawrence River, and took part in the affair against Benedict Arnold at Three Rivers on the 8th of June. He proceeded with the army until the Americans were driven out of Canada and embarked in their fleet on Lake Champlain in July, 1776.

He was then appointed by Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester), the commander-in-chief in Canada, to be Comptroller of Works, and to superintend the construction of a fleet on Lake Champlain, with gun-boats and batteaux to convey the army over the lake. It was on Twiss and Lieutenant John Schank of the Royal Navy that the hopes of General Carleton rested of beating the Americans in the shipbuilding race which England must win, if British armies were to force the Lake Champlain gate during the campaign season of 1776. Each of the men was an inventor. Twiss had invented a square-bowed landing craft for infantry: a shield in front, pierced with loopholes which could be dropped like the drawbridge of a castle, making a ramp to shore on which troops, dry shod and with powder dry, could land in ranks to the assault. [3] For the British, it was regrettable that this invention, practical though radical, was not sanctioned by General Carleton, or by Captain Douglas, the British naval commander.

The arduous undertaking of bringing larger vessels, partially completed in England, along with four hundred batteaux down the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain was completed in three months, beginning in the middle of July when the British government had neither vessel nor boat on Lake Champlain, nor the smallest building for barracks, store-houses, or work-shops. Notwithstanding all difficulties, a fleet was built and on October 11th the British lake fleet partially engaged the enemy naval force off the island of Valicoeur and, following it on the 12th, gained a decisive victory, thus winning for Great Britain the naval supremacy on Lake Champlain, which it retained throughout the war. Sir Guy Carleton's order, issued from Isle aux Noix,

October 4th, 1776, relating to "a disposition being made for the army to proceed in search of the enemy," states that "Captain Pringle, Captain Dacres, and Captain Schank and Starke of the Navy, and Lieut. Twiss of the Corps of Engineers, deserve particular distinction in this acknowledgement, it being to the indefatigable attention of these gentlemen that the surprisingly expeditious advancement of the important works carried on is owing." [4] One can well visualize Lieutenant Twiss at the dockyard, preparing stocks for the Thunderer and the Carleton, and launching-slips for the two vessels coming up overland, and his personal supervision of the construction of twelve single-gun artillery boats at St. John's (St. Jean), although his work load was greatly reduced when it was decided to build elsewhere the 560 batteaux needed to carry the army up the lake. On the 15th of October Twiss disembarked with the army at Crown Point, the enemy having evacuated it. He remained there until the 3rd of November, 1776, reconnoitered Ticonderoga, and returned with the army to winter in Canada.

General Burgoyne returned from England with supreme command, in the spring of 1777. Burgoyne's was not the largest, but it was the best appointed army that had yet appeared in America. For example, Lieutenant William Digby reported that the "brass train" that was sent out on this expedition was perhaps "the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied as to officers and men, that had ever been alloted to second the operations of an army". [5] Burgoyne appears to have had what one writer has termed "a brilliant staff" and a substantial number of his junior officers on that campaign, including Twiss, later attained the rank of general officers. [6] Two officers of the Royal Engineers accompanied Burgoyne, the senior being Twiss, the other Andrew Durnford who was taken prisoner at Bennington when his service with Burgoyne terminated.[7]

There were apparently some 200 artificers, both civilian and military, who were engaged for Burgoyne's expedition and of which Twiss most certainly was in charge. Infantry and artillery officers were sometimes detailed to serve as assistant engineers also.

Twiss was appointed commanding engineer, and on the 16th of June left St. John's with the army which reoccupied Crown Point, and arrived before Ticonderoga on the 2nd of July. Twiss was ordered to reconnoitre the fort, and he reported that it was completely commanded by Sugar Loaf Hill, that the ground there might be levelled so as to receive cannon, and that a sufficiently good road, though extremely difficult, might be established within twenty-four hours.[8] Burgoyne determined to act on the engineer's advice, and ordered a battery of light 24 pounders, medium 12's, and 8" howitzers to be thrown up. Twiss ordered a pioneer corps and a force of sappers and miners to clear a road for the gun-crews. He pushed the work with such energy that in the course of the next day, July 6th, the battery was ready to open fire. The enemy, perceiving this, abandoned the fort. It was at once occupied by the British force.

As soon as the American evacuation of Ticonderoga was discovered by the British, Brigadier-General Fraser's mixed force of some 800 men started in pursuit and Twiss was apparently with Fraser when an American force was defeated at Hubbardton.[9] The next day the British van, under General Phillips, reached Fort Anne, and routed the Americans in another engagement. On July 28th the British reached Fort Edward in the upper valley of the Hudson River. Burgoyne had earlier made his decision to reach Fort Edward by road rather than take the traditional route of armies across Lake George. He based his decision on a favourable report made by Lieutenant Twiss on the feasibility of rebuilding the road the Americans had destroyed during their retreat from

Ticonderoga, the road that would allow the British Army's advance to the Hudson. With a patrol of rangers and engineers, Twiss made a survey of the demolitions, measuring the streams, counting the bridges and culverts to be rebuilt, and staking out long stretches where it would be necessary to build corduroy causeways. Writing on his knee, the engineer officer then made an estimate of the time, in man hours, required to repair the damage. His report on the twenty-three miles of road to Fort Edward was a formidable one, but not discouraging. Burgoyne made his final decision on the basis of this report. [10] The army began its march to the Hudson the the 24th of July. As usual, Fraser's advance corps led on the arduous journey. Twiss, as Engineer, was often to be found with Fraser's Light Brigade, which included Rangers, Highlanders, Grenadiers, and Indian allies.

Twiss took part in the action of Stillwater, and in the various operations of the march to Saratoga in September and October of 1777, and was one of the force under Burgoyne which surrendered to General Horatio Gates. He was included in the convention of Saratoga on the 16th of October, becoming a prisoner of war, but was exchanged a few days later and returned to Ticonderoga. A Royal Navy Lieutenant, Stowe, mentions that Twiss was in one of the last batteaux to leave Ticonderoga on the morning of November 8th, when the fort was evacuated and destroyed by General Powell, under orders from Sir Guy Carleton.[1]

On July 28th, 1778, he was sent by Major-General Sir Frederick Haldimand to Lake Ontario to form a naval establishment on the east side of that lake. Haldimand also sent a party, comprising three companies of the 47th Regiment in Canada under Captain Aubrey, a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Corps (King's Royal Regiment of New York), and twenty-eight artificers, up river from Montreal to build the post. In charge of selecting the site and the construction were Twiss, to plan the works, and Lt. John Schank, Royal Navy,

to advise on naval matters and to build gunboats.

Twiss, who with some artificers had preceded the force, wrote Haldimand from Oswegatchie that he would go to Cataraqui by the south channel past Grande Island (the present Wolfe Island), examining the post at Buck Island en route. Twiss had with him a junior Royal Artillery officer named Glenie who had camped on Buck Island with St. Leger's force in 1777.

Twiss examined Buck Island, "(I think I may say) thoroughly", and decided that this location was to be preferred over Cataraqui as a site for the post, although Twiss wrote to Haldimand that he would "wait the return of an Express, which in that case we will forward for your Excellency's Approbation, before we proceed on any Fortifications." [12] Two days later, on August 10, 1778, Haldimand replied to the "Engineer at Cataraqui on Buck Island" that he would rely upon Twiss's judgement about the location to be fixed upon for the intended fort. [13]

After assessing the advantages of this site over Cataraqui, the soldiers quickly commenced clearing trees and on August 17 Glenie was sent by Twiss to Haldimand with a report of the decision, and a plan of the projected fort. Twiss stated his confidence that "experience will prove the advantage of possessing this Island...." [14] The Engineer Lieutenant also proposed to rename Buck (Deer) Island "Carleton Island" after the last governor and to call the post "Fort Haldimand" after the present governor. [15] Haldimand, then in Montreal, quickly approved these actions.

Twiss immediately laid out the defences and started work to make the new post habitable, although he regretted the lack of rum and requested that soldiers on fatigue duty should receive six pence extra a day until spirits were available. [16] As Governor Haldimand requested that Twiss report on the

state of defences at Niagara Twiss hoped to leave Carleton Island by September, by which time he expected "to have every essential point of Defence for the Island arranged." He intended to leave Lt. Glenie with full instructions for the execution of his plans. By August, 1778, Haldimand had changed his plans for Twiss, ordering him not to go to Niagara but to return to Montreal as the Governor was "impatient to see him respecting works in other parts of the Province." [17] However, Twiss wrote to Haldimand on September 8th, 1778 stating that despite his "utmost diligence" he had not yet been able to get the works and barracks in such a state as to enable him to leave the post "with propriety." By October Twiss hoped "to explain matters personally" to Haldimand. These "matters" also included Twiss's desire for leave to return to England which he was confident the Governor would not refuse when he reflected that Twiss was still only a lieutenant after eighteen years of service.[18] On the 18th of December, 1778, he was promoted to be "engineer extraordinary", captain-lieutenant, and captain, which gave him the full rank of captain of engineers. He was to remain in Canada until late in 1783.

A letter from John Clunes, "Clerk and Foreman", written at Carleton Island on March 24th, 1779, to M. Goring at Niagara voices an opinion on the results of Twiss's labours at Carleton Island.

> Last fall I came to this place along with the Commanding Engineer Lieutenant William Twiss who is my friend..... This Garrison is very near finished and I may venture (to say) is the strongest post in North America. I hope it will be an honour to our Engineer and a credit to the other Master Carpenters and me and every Artificer concerned in the building of it.[19]

Twiss recommended the formation of a corps of military artificers for service in Canada, but little real action seems to have been taken. Haldimand did approve of his plan but felt that Twiss should not withdraw

the men concerned entirely from their corps as the best artificers were generally the best soldiers, and that any arrangements which Twiss might make "were not to interfere with more essential services." [20]

By the end of September, 1778, Twiss had departed for Sorel where there were barracks to be built before winter. Twiss is heard from once more, in regard to Carleton Island, in 1781. During the winter of 1780-81, Major John Ross came up from Coteau du Lac at the end of November with one hundred men and took over the fort. He found the fortifications weak, the "parapets only six feet thick, Partially filled with Rubbish and Stones," and set his men to work to strengthen the fort. From Quebec Twiss pointed out that a ditch should be excavated in the rock and bomb-proof buildings made, and the bomb-proofs were completed during the spring. [21] The lime kiln, saw pit, store-house, carpenters and blacksmith shops, general hospital and barracks built by Twiss in 1778 were renovated. Although this post is today more than half forgotten, it was from 1778 to the peace of 1783 one of the most important places in Canada.

The high opinion entertained of Twiss by his superior officers is shown in the two following letters from General Haldimand, then Commander-in-Chief in Canada, the first to Lord Townshend, and the second to Lord George Germaine.[22]

Quebec, June 18th, 1779.

> ....Capt. Marr, who is at present the senior engineer in the Province I found stationed at Quebec by General Carleton, and the entire direction of all the other Forts &c. put under Lieut. Twiss. I continued this Regulation both because I thought it for the good of the service, and as far as I could learn, that it was also your Lordship's intentions it should be so. A more thorough knowledge of these Gentlemen has convinced me that I was right, and as Capt. Marr is old and infirm, I have this summer consented to the request (he made last fall tho. too late) of returning to England, and I shall order him to lay before your Lordship his remarks upon Cape Diamond together with

> his Proposals for a Citadel, and I do earnestly request that your Lordship will apply to His Majesty to have Lt. Twiss appointed the Chief Engineer of this Province, as I have found his zeal, activity and abilities equal to the important trust, and although he has the Misfortune of being low in Rank, I am informed he has been 19 years in the service, and being actively employed during the whole of that time.

Quebec, June 18th, 1779.

> ....I have the satisfaction of informing your Lordship that every Branch of the Engineer Dept. which is carried on under the direction of Lt. Twiss is performed with great judgement and economy, and I have such confidence in his abilities and integrity that I request he may be appointed the Chief Engineer for this Province, and Capt. Marr who has been employed as Engineer at Quebec having applied for leave (tho. too late) last Fall to return to England I have now permitted to go home by the next ship.
>
> The several posts established for the security of the Country are so very distant, that it not only requires an uncommon share of activity in the Chief Engineer, but also great dependence upon the application of each officer under him, as they have separate stations....

Governor Haldimand, in 1779 selected Captain Twiss for another major task of military construction in Canada. This was the plan to overcome the boiling waters of the upper St. Lawrence by means of a lock canal patterned after early efforts in England. It was to be the first lock canal in North America. Haldimand knew the perils of the rapids in the region of Coteau du Lac well, having seen the white water take its toll of human life and valuable cargo when he had descended the river in 1760 as a member of Amherst's army.

It would appear that during the summer of 1779 Haldimand, in consultation with Twiss and possibly Colonel Thomas Carleton (younger brother of Sir Guy), Commander of the city and garrison of Montreal, formed the plan for the construction of a fortified canal across a narrow peninsula of land at the site of Coteau du Lac, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. By the end

of the season in 1779, the canal at Coteau could be used, though not completed. As the work had progressed well to date, Twiss was able to write to his commander in June, 1780: "I wish Your Excellency could see this post, as I am persuaded it will be formed into locks as useful to navigation as any in the world." [23] In an earlier report to Haldimand dated the 2nd of December, 1779, the Captain was able to report that he had constructed two small blockhouses, "a most excellent storehouse", and minor defence works, regarding the then state of the post as one that would "considerably advance the transport to the upper country", Twiss accomplishing this at a very reasonable cost to the British taxpayer. [24] In 1779 he designed new patterns of pickaxes and shovels for the use of the troops, and these were adopted by the government in the following year.

In February, 1781, he reported that the canal at Coteau du Lac was "very complete and in good order, ...but many difficulties still remain in the navigation about the Cedars, where a little labour, properly conducted, would be a great advantage to the public." [25] The exertions of 1782 and 1783 were designed to conquer the long portage at the Cascades upon which Twiss was engaged through a resident engineer.

It is interesting to note that General Riedesel, commander of the Hessian troops in Canada, drew up a plan in 1781 for General Clinton, concerning an expedition from Canada against the rebellious colonials. After discussing various strategic and tactical aspects of the plan Riedesel goes on to say:

> I believe that there is nothing to hinder this plan, except that it will be impossible to cross the upper St. Lawrence after the month of October; that the transportation of provisions and baggage from Montreal to Niagara, so late in the season, will be connected with difficulties; and that the Indians can only be rallied at a certain season of the year. I, however, also believe that these impediments can easily be overcome. A certain Captain Twiss, who was employed by General Phillips in the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, has solved questions which seemed impossible. He is now in Canada. [26]

In this testament of Riedesel one can see the growing reputation of Twiss and the confidence which another senior officer had in his ability.

Twiss was also responsible for superintending the construction of buildings to provide "secure" accommodations for prisoners of war on Coteau Island opposite Coteau du Lac, late in 1781. By the middle of 1782 Twiss was forced to make further security arrangements on "Prisoner's Island" as, despite his earlier convictions to the contrary, a number of prisoners had escaped from the island. In October, 1783, Twiss was asked to report to Haldimand on further works or land that might be required for the protection of the post itself at Coteau du Lac and went on to assure Haldimand that the "post will always be of essential value." [27]

With the major work at Coteau completed and the arrival at the post of a resident engineer, Twiss was required to spend more of his time on other duties at Sorel, Isle aux Noix, and other points. However, he continued (as Command Engineer of the Field Service) to report on the canal plans and projected fortifications.

During the years 1777 to 1783 Twiss was also engaged in a very wide variety of works including fortifications at Quebec, Sorel, St. John's, and Isle aux Noix; barracks at Point du Lac to lodge 280 men, and at the Loyalist centre, Sorel, for 2300 men although only 230 were quartered there in 1781; a bakery and hospital and windmills at Sorel as well as a general hospital and the improvement of the iron works at Three Rivers; windmills at Lachine, a blockhouse and saw-mill at Yamaska, with further saw-mills and grist mills at LaColle, Machiche, Lachesnaie, and along the St. Francis River. He was responsible for the construction of a dam for a saw-mill at the Chambly rapids,

the arrangement of tolls at Coteau du Lac, a prison at Montreal, the building of new roads and the maintenance of others, and the building of bridges at Berthier, and over Rivière du Loup and the Maskinongé as well as numerous works at other points in the province. [28]

Late in 1778 Twiss reconnoitered and reported to Haldimand on plans for a citadel at Quebec. Twiss, in a letter written to Haldimand from Quebec on November 1st, 1778, estimated that with all in his favour he could not complete the required citadel in less than twelve to fifteen years, due to many problems, especially that of inclement weather. Twiss went on to say;

> The Canadians being now totally ignorant of the proper mode of how to carry on these heavy Works can afford no assistance of Machines to facilitate the transport of Materials, and as every Canadian has his own House and Form, it cannot be expected that he will attend the Publick Works with the same constancy, as Artificers, and Labourers do, who have only their Labour to depend on...many unavoidable delays will arise here, which are not felt in the execution of Works in Europe.[29]

In 1779 Captain Twiss directed the construction of extensive outworks to the front and the rear of the left flank of the old French walls at Quebec, so as to enclose the whole of the highest ground at Cape Diamond.[30] By 1783 only a system of detached redoubts were added and in the same year Twiss took over the citadel designs proposed by Haldimand to England, only to report that Lord Townshend showed no interest in them. Apparently the works constructed by Twiss upon the rock of Quebec and on Cape Diamond were not of a permanent nature as by 1807 they were reported to be in such a state of decay that they could not possibly withstand an enemy's fire. Nevertheless the present citadel, constructed in 1823, was based on the plans of Holland and Twiss, later to be supplemented by Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford and Colonel Mann. [31]

Twiss was responsible for the building of barracks, storehouses, and iron-works at Sorel which were begun in 1780. It was Haldimand's intention to build up Sorel as a base for counter-offensive operations against enemy advances in the Richelieu and St. Francis River areas.[32] A proposed fortress was not constructed but a number of barracks to house a considerable body of troops did get off the ground. Twiss remarks that he had not had much opportunity for discovering the principles of the inhabitants, but believed that many Canadians dreaded the approach of the French and Americans and "few wish it."[33] However, Twiss did send plans for the checking of a possible enemy advance into Canada which were favourably received by General Haldimand.[34]

In 1782 it was decided that a stronger fort with a larger garrison was required further down the Richelieu at St. John's and Twiss was also charged with this task. The plan of Bourlemaque with some additions was continued by Twiss.[35] The work was done under adverse conditions but he was able to report that it was completed in the summer of 1783.

Twiss accompanied Sir Guy Carleton to Isle aux Noix early in June, 1778. On the 13th of July, 1778, he was instructed by the Adjutant-General at Quebec to proceed again to the Isle aux Noix to supervise the building of fortifications. During this year Twiss prepared plans for a small fort to be built around several blockhouses constructed there in the winter of 1776-77. On December 21, 1779, Twiss reported to Haldimand that he considered Isle aux Noix as "very secure against any attack except a regular siege", and on th 31st of May, 1780, states that the Isle aux Noix "is in perfect good order." A third letter to Haldimand, of the 4th of February, 1781, again reiterates

that "the Works at the Isle aux Noix are in very good order...we are preparing many articles for Quebec, such as Sides for Garrison Carriages, Wheelbarrows, hand-farrows, Timber Wheels, Cart Wheels etc....." [36]

In 1782 Major-General Riedesel returned to Canada and was placed in command of Isle aux Noix and the surrounding area, with his headquarters at Sorel. An increased emphasis was placed on the importance of Isle aux Noix and its defences as Riedesel saw this island as the "most appropriate place for defending Canada from the South." Riedesel mentions in a letter of the 31st of August, 1782, that he "this morning, reviewed with Captain Twiss, 'the new-begun works"! Three days later Twiss also reported to the Governor, stating that he "found the works as much advanced as could be expected from the few troops employed here" and further regarded it as evident that "it will require the addition of 80 to 100 good axmen to keep the present number of Fatigue properly employed." A further letter from Twiss to General Haldimand from St. John's, dated August 31st, 1783, states that he left Isle aux Noix the day before and "everything is very satisfactory." Twiss also remarked on the advantages of the Canadian carts, built at Isle aux Noix over the artillery built carts, in respect to lightness and mobility.[39] In the previous year Twiss also presented a detailed report on the state of the posts on Lake Champlain.

Although Riedesel, writing to the Duke of Brunswick in 1782, mentions that Twiss was constructing the fortifications at Isle aux Noix "strongly of stone", the engineer, Gother Mann, in a Report on Isle aux Noix in 1791, states that although the fort was finished and three of the redoubts were brought to "a considerable degree of forwardness", that by 1791 they were in such a shape as to render them scarcely repairable. Mann goes on to say some interesting things on Twiss's work, showing that a notable fellow engineer was not so impressed with his as were Haldmand and Riedsel.

> On considering the whole of the System designed I confess it did not appear to me as the best which might have been chosen. The Fort is rather insignificant, of very little interior space, and of a contemptible Profile. The Redoubts though for the most part well constructed as far as they have been executed, and respectable individually as Redoubts, yet their proximity, their strength and their Georges closed, might have been the means of rendering them liable of being perverted to the annoyance of each other as soon as any of them were forced by the Enemy." 41

However, Mann seems to have grasped the earlier view of Haldimand, carried into effect by Twiss, that the functions of Isle aux Noix was only to retard an enemy attack. Many of Twiss's works seemed to lack permanency but this was perhaps a fault of British policy in America. Sir James Craig, Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Quebec, wrote Lord Castlereagh in 1809 that "...the works on the Isle aux Noix, and the Fort at St. John's are no longer in existence...." 42 Such seems to have been the fate of many other projects on which Twiss was employed in British America.

Captain Twiss was apparently entrusted with the task of accompanying Haldimand's friends, the Baron and Baroness Riedesel, off to England in 1783. The Baroness mentions in her Journal that after General Haldimand had seen them off at Montreal for Sorel it was "Major" Twiss who took her aboard the large West-India three decker, the Quebec, at Sorel.

> I was shown over the entire ship and asked what space I would need, for I would certainly have need of a dining room and a sitting room. I laughed and asked, 'Where could you find such accomodations?' 'Let me alone about that,' replied the 'Major', and he gave orders to clear away the cannons that were on the gun-deck, a large window to be cut through above it and room on either side of it for the gentlemen in which their beds, table, and chairs were all made fast,...In short, everything was as good as could be had in such a floating prison. 43

It appears that Captain Twiss was not one of the "gentlemen" to set sail for England in this "floating prison". He took passage on the Integrity, in October of 1783, after twenty-three years of service, eight of which had been spent in North America. On October 10th, 1783, Haldimand wrote that he was satisfied with Twiss's "integrity and fidelity". In 1783 came the peace that Twiss wished for and he prayed it would be a happy one. [44]

After the peace of 1783 Twiss thus obtained leave to return to England, and was again employed upon the Portsmouth defences. In 1785 he was appointed secretary to the Board of Land and Sea officers, appointed under the King's Sign-Manual to report upon the defences of the dock yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. From 1785 to 1792 he served as an engineer at Portsmouth where new works were being constructed, particularly Fort Cumberland at the entrance to Langston Harbor. In 1790 Twiss was given the command of the company of sappers and miners at Gosport. On the 1st of March, 1794, he was promoted to be brevet major, and on June 1st of the same year to be lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Engineers. He took up the duties of the latter position on July 16, 1794. In this year he was a member of a committee on engineer field equipment, and expressed a preference for the stuffed gabion used at the siege of Valenciennes over other patterns of mantlets.

On December 26th of 1794 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, the duties of which position he assumed January 1st, 1795, in succession to Colonel Stehelin. This office, which was worth 300 pounds sterling a year, he continued to hold until he became colonel commandant of the Royal Engineers. In 1809, by the rules of the service, he was superseded, Lieutenant-Colonel Mudge of the Royal Artillery being appointed his successor (August 19, 1809). During all this time, however, he had been employed on various services and thus its duties did not prevent his employment in other way.

Between 1792 and 1803 he was commanding/ royal/ engineer of the southern military district, and was engaged from 1792 to 1799 in increasing and strengthening the defences on the coasts of Kent and Sussex, particularly at Dover Castle where Sir Thomas Hyde Page of the Royal Engineers carried out his instructions.

In 1798 he was employed by the government to report upon a tunnel under the Thames at Graveshead, and so favourably was he impressed with the proposal that he joined the directorate of a company formed to carry it out. A shaft was sunk, and a good deal of money also, when the project was abandoned in 1802. In the spring of that year he was consulted as to the destruction of the sluice-gates and basin of the Bruges canal at Ostend; and his assistance in preparing the necessary instruments was warmly acknowledged by Major-General Eyre Coote in his dispatch of the 19th of May, 1798.

In September of 1799, when Colonel Hay of the Engineers was killed in Holland, Lieutenant-Colonel Twiss was sent there as commanding Royal Engineer, and served under the Duke of York, remaining there until the evacuation of that country was completed in November. [45] The reputation of Lieutenant-Colonel Twiss with his brother officers at this time is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter written by the Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross. The Marquis, after referring to Colonel Hay's death says:

> The force destined to serve in Holland which is one of the most considerable in number of our national troops that has ever been employed on the Continent, has no Engineer of rank or of character. Should not the Ordnance say something to the Duke of York, even if H. R. H. should make no application? I should have thought that Twiss, who is certainly our best, should have the direction, with some assistants who would be more able in point of bodily fatigue. [46]

Twiss at the time was fifty-four years of age.

On January 1st, 1800, Twiss became a colonel in the army, and during that year he was sent to visit the islands of Guernsey and Jersey and report on their defences. On April 18, 1801, he was promoted to be a colonel of Engineers, and the next year, in accordance with repeated representations made to the government by Cornwallis during his term as viceroy, that the advice of Twiss on the defence of Ireland would be of great benefit, Lord Chatham sent Twiss to make a tour through the country and report upon the subject. In 1803 he was again sent to the coasts of Kent and Sussex. On the 11th of February, 1804, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and on October 30, 1805, a major-general. During this latter year he was directed to carry into execution the system of detached redoubts and martello towers for the Kent and Sussex coasts which the government had adopted for the defence of some of the sea coast, during the period of the Napoleonic Wars. A redoubt still existing (1909) on the coast near Dungeness was named, after him, Fort Twiss.[47] He was also one of the engineers sent to report how far the same system of defences was applicable to the coasts of the eastern countries. These coast works were completed about 1809.

In 1805 he was a member of a committee which determined, by experiments conducted at Woolwich Warren, the best construction for traversing platforms for the heavy nature of ordnance. The form of platform recommended--with the centre of the traversing are in the middle, front, or rear of the platform, as the situation might require--was approved and the principle continued to be used in the service to the late 1900's.

William Twiss became colonel commandant of the Corps of Royal Engineers on June 24th, 1809; and in 1810, after an active service of fifty years, he obtained leave to remain unemployed and retired into the country. In 1811 he was a member of a committee on the Chatham defences then in progress--Chatham Lines and Fort Pitt. Twiss was promoted to lieutenant-general on January 1st, 1812, and a general on the 27th of May, 1825.

His only child, Katharine Maria, wife of Walker Ferrand, Esq., died on February 15th, 1827.[48] General Twiss survived her scarcely a month, as he died at Harden Grange, Bingley, Yorkshire, on the 14th of March, 1827, at the age of eighty-two years. There was only one officer above him on the Royal Engineer List at the time of his death.

APPENDIX A

Problems over the Chain of Command in the Engineers Corps in Canada, 1776-1781.

Appendix A:

Perhaps the two most interesting items in the Correspondence with the Officers of the Engineers, 1777-1783, in the Haldimand Papers is, firstly, the insistence of Haldimand upon adequate fortifications at St. John's and at Isle aux Noix, and secondly, the hints at trouble over the chain of command in the engineer corps.

Apparently, Captain Marr succeeded Major Gordon in Command of the Engineer's Department as of the 29th of March, 1776, according to the Roll of the Brigade of Engineers appointed on the field service in Canada. However, a letter written from Quebec, to be found in the London Chronicle for August 7-9th, 1777, says that "Major Gordon, Chief Engineer, goes home, and is succeeded by Captain Twiss (although not a captain until December, 1778) of the same corps." [1]

There is a Certificate by Major-General Phillips of the Royal Artillery, that Lieutenant Twiss was Commanding Engineer (of the Field Service) in Canada, which was dated at Albany on the 24th of October, 1777.

> "By the Letters from Lord Viscount Townshend and Lord Amherst, the Master and Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Ordnance it was positively declared that Lieutenant Twiss was to remain Commanding Engineer in Canada-consequently Captain Marr should go to Europe....Should His Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton, be in Canada, there needs no explanation on this, as His Excellency is well acquainted with the fact, but in case the Command in Canada has devolved to any other person, and that Sir Guy has gone from Canada, I think it necessary to Certify, and I do hereby certify, that by every letter from the Master General of the Ordnance to me, I apprehend Lieutenant Twiss to be actually Commanding Engineer in Canada." [2]

In response to inquires on this subject by Captain Marr, Haldimand replied that there is no question of his (Marr's) seniority in the corps of engineers, yet Lieutenant Twiss was to have the direction in Canada and for this reason Marr was continued in command in the town of Quebec, and that he was employed to prepare plans for a citadel at that site.[3] Two months later Marr wrote, from Quebec, to Haldimand complaining that reports were not made to him as Commanding Engineer and that he was being treated as a cypher, apparently by Carleton's orders.[4] When Marr informed him of a dispute regarding engineers stores in which Marr's authority was questioned Twiss replied: "From knowing that an engineer can never do his duty if his authority is lessened, I am determined never to see that done and continue in the corps."[5] Marr in July of 1778 asked General Haldimand for leave to go to England to prevent the effects of the treatment he had received, "and appealed to the evidence of those who were cognizant of his services" at St. John's in 1775.[6] On August 4th, Marr writing again from Quebec, thanked Haldimand for the leave of absence and pointed out what he believed to be an injustice done to him by the appointment of a junior officer to the command of the Engineers.[7] Captain Twiss became both the senior and commanding engineer in Canada at the age of thirty-six, when Captain Marr finally departed for England in 1781.[8]

APPENDIX B

Captain William Twiss of the Indian Department.

Appendix B:

William L. Stone, in his Memoirs of Major-General Riedesel (Albany, 1868), states that a Captain Twiss was employed by the Indian Department. Whether this was the same William Twiss dealt with in this paper is doubtful as Twiss did not arrive in America until May 10, 1776. Further research would be required if this question is to be answered definitivly.

This "Captain Twiss" is given the credit for gaining the allegiance of those Indian tribes, who had been prejudiced against the British by the Iroquois Joseph. Due to the exertions of this Twiss they thought better of their conduct and sent deputies to General Carleton expressing their willingness to serve under him. The meeting took place on the 30th of April, 1777, at Quebec. This Captain Twiss had been, the previous year, with the army of General Howe, but upon the latter going into winter quarters, he "returned to his regular duties, which were to look after those tribes in the upper country", who might be on the side of the king.[1] "Being an energetic and eloquent man", Twiss at last succeeded in effecting the favourable change mentioned above. The Indian tribes referred to were located in the vicinity of Niagara.

Stone also mentions that the German General, Baron von Riedesel, was at Quebec, when Captain Twiss returned from the upper country, and was present when the latter reported to General Carleton the results of his last mission, and the condition of General Howe's army.[2] This Twiss had apparently been with General Howe's army up to the time he dealt with the Indians in the lake country. Riedesel makes several references to this meeting and report of Captain Twiss in his Journals. It is interesting to note that ten pages after these references to Captain Twiss of the Indian Department, Stone refers to "Captain Twiss of the engineers" at the investment of Ticonderoga

by the British in 1777, and makes no distinction between the two men. [3]

APPENDIX C

Imaginative paintings containing William Twiss
(Public Archives of Canada)

a) Painting by Rex Woods of Captain Twiss at Coteau du Lac.

b) Painting by Sir Benjamin West of The Death of Simon Fraser. It is possible that Twiss is one of the figures in this painting as he was often found with Fraser's corps in the campaign of 1777.

References

1) Artillery officers were sent to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, the headquarters of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and entered as gentlemen cadets. Those ranking highest in attainment during their cadet course, entered the Royal Engineers, the others the Royal Artillery. See Rogers, Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books, p lxxvi.

2) Hadden, pp 172, 235, 274.

3) Bird, Harrison. Navies in the Mountains, p 186. See also, Hadden, pp 169-171, (Brigade Orders of Major-General Phillips, June 3, 1776).

4) Hadden, pp 296-297.

5) Digby, Lt. W., The British Invasion, p 226. See also, Atkinson, p 9, and Hitsman, p 27.

6) Hadden, pp xlviii, li; Stanley, p 27.

7) Digby, The British Invasion, pp 338, 346. Also, Hadden p lxxvi, Porter, p 8.

8) Anburey, T., With Burgoyne from Quebec, pp 137, 190. Also, Porter, p 205, Stone, Burgoyne, p 16.

9) Kingsford, W., Vol. VII, p 183. Also, Palmer, pp 140-143, Garneau, Vol. III p 30.

10) Bird, Harrison, March to Saratoga, p 67.

11) _____, Navies in the Mountains, pp 251, 248.

12) P. A. C., Haldimand Papers, B 154, p 30.

13) P. A. C., B 154, p 132. See also, Preston, Kingston Before the War of 1812, p 322.

14) P. A. C., B 154, pp 40-43.

15) P. A. C., B 154, p 37.

16) P. A. C., B 154, p 40.

17) P. A. C., B 154, p 46.

18) P. A. C., B 154, p 48. See also, P. A. C., W. O. 28, Vol. 6, p 30.

19) Stone, W. L., Journal of Captain Pausch, p 151.

20) P. A. C., B 154, pp 183-188, 206, 216, 218, 231, 234. Also, Porter, p 8.

21) Bond, Major C. C. J., Ontario History, Vol. LII, pp 12-13.

22) Hadden, p 170.

23) P. A. C., B 154, p 266.

24) P. A. C., B 154, p 219.

25) P. A. C., B 154, p 316.

26) Riedesel, Major-General, Memoirs, p 255.

27) P. A. C., B 154, p 465.

28) P. A. C., pp 2-475. Correspondence with Officers of the Engineers, 1777-1783.

29) P. A. C., B 154, p 100.

30) Hitsman, J. M, Defence of Canada, p 38. See also P. A. C., B 154, (Report from Twiss, in French)

31) Sulte, Benjamin, A History of Quebec, pp 336-37.

32) Hitsman, J. M, Defence of Canada, p 38.

33) P. A. C., B 154, p 322.

34) P. A. C., B 154, pp 302, 384. (Haldimand to Twiss, in French)

35) Caldwell, W. L., A Brief History of the Richelieu River, p 85.

36) P. A. C., B 154, p 301.

37) Riedesel, Memoirs, pp 131-132.

38) P. A. C., B 154, p 399.

39) P. A. C., B 154, p 439.

40) P. A. C., B 154, p 401.

41) P. A. C., Q 50 (Part I).

42) P. A. C., Q 109, p 13. See also, Creighton, p 141, on the state of Coteau du Lac by 1795.

43) Brown, Marvin, ed., Baroness von Riedesel, p 129.

44) P. A. C., B 154, p 450. See also B 154, p 445.

45) Phillipart, John. The Royal Military Calendar, Vol. II, p 231.

46) Hadden, p 171. See also, Porter, Vol. I, p 222.

47) Dictionary of National Biography, p 1324.

48) Hadden, p 171.

Appendix A

1) P. A. C., B 154, p 111. Also, Hadden, p 172.

2) P. A. C., B 154, p 3. The Master-General and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance were, ex officio, the two highest in command of the sister corps of Engineers and Artillery.

3) P. A. C., B 154, pp 165, 175.

4) P. A. C., B 154, p 23.

5) P. A. C., B 154, p 126.

6) P. A. C., B 154, p 23.

7) P. A. C., B 154, p 27.

8) Marr did not leave in 1778 as he was concerned about the arrival of a French fleet on the coast and felt that his services may have been required. P. A. C., B 154, p 95.

Appendix B

1) Riedesel, Major-General, Memoirs, p 94.

2) Ibid, p 95.

3) Ibid, p 113. See also, pp 121, 132-33, 159.

Appendix C

1) P. A. C., Picture Division, C 1096.

2) Ibid, A-3097

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A BRIEF SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE COTEAU DU LAC AREA

by

John Thompson

July, 1967

Introduction

Much research has been done on the history of the British fort and canal at Coteau du Lac; relatively little work has been directed towards the study of the area around the military establishment. This report attempts to present a picture of the community which surrounded the fort, and where possible, to examine the effects the fort had on this community.

The community to be considered includes the present-day villages of Coteau du Lac and Coteau Landing, as well as the Municipal Parish of St. Ignace du Coteau du Lac. This is deemed necessary because the actual establishment of the village of Coteau du Lac did not occur until the early 1900s which precludes the possibility of studying census statistics of the town before that date. Furthermore, the effects of the establishment of the British fort were felt not only in Coteau du Lac, but also in Coteau Landing.

A BRIEF SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE COTEAU DU LAC AREA

The French Regime: 1702-60

Coteau du Lac is situated in Soulanges, a seigneury granted in 1702. Coteau Landing is located in Nouvelle Longueuil, the most westerly seigneury conceded on the St. Lawrence, granted by the French Crown in 1734. During the last fifty years of the French Regime both these seigneuries were frontier areas, remote from from Montreal and sparsely settled. It is very likely that there were land grants made to censitaires in the Coteau area between 1702 and 1760; however, this could only be verified by a study of the seigneurial register (which may or may not still exist).[1] It is known that there was settlement in the eastern part of Soulanges and that a small chapel to serve settlers there was erected in Cascades in 1728.[2] If there was settlement around Coteau, it would have been limited to riverfront farms, three arpents in front, twenty arpents in depth.[3] There was some river traffic along the St. Lawrence, and undoubtedly a portage route along the shore to avoid the rapids, but there was no canal at Coteau during the French Regime.[4]

Early British Rule: 1760-1775

Western expansion of Quebec and settlement along the Ottawa and upper St. Lawrence rivers began in earnest after the Conquest. The dates of the establishment of parish churches to serve the burgeoning area testisfy to this. St. Joseph de Soulanges (Cedars) was founded in 1767. St. Michel de Vaudreuil in 1773. By this time French Canadians had definitely settled in what is now Coteau. According to the Census of 1765, there were 309 people in Soulanges in 1765, but this estimate is a crude one, and is likely inaccurate.[5]

The Revolutionary Period

Coteau du Lac became a place of some importance during the American Revolution. In 1779 "the British authorities decided to establish a provision-forwarding post at Coteau du Lac to implement the transfer of supplies from the depot at Montreal to the forts and posts of the interior"[6] and construction of the post and the Coteau Canal were well underway by 1780.

The British establishment at Coteau brought two types of newcomers to the area. The first were bateau men— French Canadians familiar with the river. They were housed by the British near the canal. Many of these men and their families might have stayed in the Coteau area; Bouchette wrote in 1832 that many of the men of Soulanges were voyageurs who left agriculture "neglected, in a deplorable state".[7]

The second group of people to arrive at Coteau during the American Revolution were English-speaking. Some were temporary residents— soldiers and artisans used by the British to build the canal, fort, and nearby prison— but others were permanent settlers. Again it is difficult to state with certainty that Loyalists settled in Coteau because the Seigneurial Register has not been studied; however, a strong case can be made to substantiate this theory.

First, the Haldimand Papers repeatedly list families living "at Coteau du Lac".[8] It should be remembered that Upper Canada was not created until 1791. Before that time there had only been the Province of Quebec. Coteau housed a British fort and many of the farms in the area had been partly-cleared by French Canadians. The enticement of settling there must have been as great to some Loyalists— especially those who had been stationed at Coteau and who were familiar with the area— as the desire to settle on a free (but uncleared) farm in a new township in the upper part of the Province along the St. Lawrence. In fact the following four cases uphold the theory that Loyalists settled at Coteau.

a. William Fraser. Joined the British Army in 1777 and served with Sir John Johnson's Regiment as Lieutenant. Settled at Coteau du Lac in 1784.[9] This man was explorer Simon Fraser's eldest brother. Two of William Fraser's sons, William Malcolm and Simon, as well

as his daughter, Mary Grace Fraser, are reported owning farms in Coteau in the 1850s.[10]

b. Gershom French. According to the Haldimand Papers, "He suffered much in Prison, he would be hanged by the Rebells for inlisting (sic) men for His Majesty's service if he had not made his Escape, he is a brave and good subject."[11] Listed as Lieutenant in Jessup's Rangers.[12] Gershom French is not a common name. According to the Census of 1825, Gershom French and five of his family were living a short distance west of the fort.[13] The Census of 1851 reports another Gershom French, age thirty-three, living in Coteau. The latter was probably the former's grandson.

c. Alex Perry. Listed as Staff Serg'T. Queen's Rangers in the Haldimand Papers.[14] The same name appears in many documents relating to Coteau (Census of 1825, 1841 1851). In addition an Alex Perry is mentioned in 1841 as being a farmer and "beef contractor for the fort at Coteau".[15] It seems likely that Perry was another former officer who settled at Coteau.

d. Nathaniel Pease. Listed as a Private, Loyal American Regiment. Although there is no record of Nathaniel Pease living at Coteau, there was an Orton Pease there in 1839.[16] Pease is not a common name.

These four cases seem to indicate that Loyalists did settle near the fort, and this means that Coteau was an early English-speaking Quebec community. It was, however, a very small settlement— little more than a line of farms— and remained so for many years.

Between the American Revolution and the War of 1812, the village of Cedars grew and developed. It was the centre of society in Soulanges and it contained the church, stores, and artisans which served the Coteau area. In those years the fort was left to decay. The canal, however, gained in importance as Upper Canada grew, and a Customs Station and post office was established there before 1800.[17]

The War of 1812 and After

The War brought change to Coteau. The fort was reconstructed and enlarged. The addition of new buildings made it a community within a community. Coteau had always been an important centre of water transportation; during the War of 1812 it became the junction point of the old riverfront road and a new road running up the DeLisle River to the Upper Canadian border.[18]

In 1814 a Royal School was established at Coteau.[19] It was the first mark of a community. This brought a complaint from the people of Cedars. They declared their

village to be the "most populous, the most susceptible from its commercial advantage to increase", and seemed annoyed that "the public school house is at Coteau du Lac where there is a comparitively small population."[20] Cedars soon received a grant to start their own school; the school at Coteau du Lac, located at the eastern end of the present-day village, kept running. It was mainly an English school, and in fact a serious controversy erupted in 1831 becasue of it. A school inspector threatened to close it because the school master, William Irvine, was unable to speak French and therefore unable to instruct the majority of children in the Coteau area. A committee of English-speaking resdients disagreed, and stated that although the English population of Coteau was small, nevertheless it was large enough to keep Irvine employed.[21]

The years following the Napoleonic struggle in Europe brought a flood of immigrants to North America. Most of those who came to Canada travelled up the St. Lawrence to settle in Upper Canada. The vast majority of these newcomers passed by Coteau on their way up-river. The growth of Upper Canada brought the growth of the Coteau area. Because of the rapids, travellers had to transfer from boat to wagon at Cascades, travel by road to Coteau and there resume their voyage by boat. Naturally the area at the southern end of this portage grew.

Stores and an inn were built at the landing place a few miles south of the fort above the rapids. This was the start of the village of Coteau Landing.

A traveller in 1823 described Coteau Landing as being "a small cluster of houses at the lower end of Lake St. Francis".[22] In 1832, another traveller stated that at Coteau "the dense settlements along the north shore of the lake form a scattered village for two or three miles, but there is no church here."[23]

If there was no church at Coteau in 1832, there was a Protestant chapel and Roman Catholic church a few years later. Both show that the community around the fort was developing. Until 1829, Protesants in the Coteau area had been served by a missionary from Cornwall in Upper Canada.[24] In that year an Anglican minister was posted at Coteau, and in 1833 the congregation petitioned the government to be allowed to use Commissariat Officers Quarters at the fort as their place of worship. By 1834 the building had become an Anglican chapel.[25]

Efforts of the Anglicans were matched by efforts of the sizable Roman Catholic congregation in the area to build a church. The project was begun by Godfroi Beaudet, an influential newcomer to Coteau who opened a store there in the late 1820s. Elected to the Assembly in 1830, Beaudet

in that year asked Roman Catholic authorities in Montreal for permission to open a chapel in Coteau du Lac.[26] In 1833 the Parish of St. Ignace de Coteau du Lac was formally created and the church was begun.[27] This was of great significance. No longer did the French Canadians of Coteau need to travel to Cedars every Sunday. This existance of a church inevitably led to the creation of a village around it. In Coteau this is precisely what happened. Stores and cottages were built on lots near the church at Coteau. East of the DeLisle River became a French Canadian village; west of the river were located the Loyalist farmers, and English immigrant shopkeepers, as well as French Canadians.

The Rebellion of 1837 witnessed a serious schism between the English and the French of the area, with the English fearing attack by the rebels and taking over the fort. They were led by John Simpson, the Customs Collector at the Coteau canal. Later he gained notoriety in the election of 1841 when he was elected to Parliament after his supporters (all English-speaking) took over the poll at Cedars and beat off French Canadian voters "with fists and sticks".[28]

Following the War of 1812 and the Great Migration from England, the Coteau area thus developed into two villages, Coteau du Lac and Coteau Landing. The fort stood between the two; it was part of neither.

The Mid-Nineteenth Century

The 1830s had brought expansion to the Coteau area; the 1840s brought stagnation. In that decade the Beauharnois Canal was opened and Coteau lost its river traffic. Later in the 1850s the British government turned the fort over to Provincial authorities and the military establishment vanished from the area.

It is difficult to assess the exact short term effect these happenings had on the community around the fort and canal; however, it does not appear to be either dramatic or drastic. The Nominal Census of 1861 differs from that of 1851 only in the absence of ten soldiers who had been stationed at the fort before it was closed. As for the rest of the community, it changed little. The same merchants who were running stores in both Coteau du Lac and Coteau Landing in 1851 were also listed in 1861. The same farmers who owned land in 1851— both English and French— were still in the Coteau area in 1861. In addition, the Protestants of the area had become affluent enough to erect both a Presbyterian and Anglican church in the village of Coteau Landing, and both were served by a resident minister in both 1851 and 1861.[28]

Therefore the conclusion is reached that the closing of the fort and canal did not materially effect the community. Both had developed independently of the surrounding settlement and both died independently of the area.

To the Present

It is not within the scope of this study to trace in any detail the social history of the area following the demise of the fort; however, a few general comments are necessary.

A study of the Census statistics of the Coteau area from 1851 up to the present shows that there was very little change in the population of either Coteau du Lac or Coteau Landing during the last century. The coming of the railway and the creation of the important junction near Coteau leading to Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal and New York state brought the establishment of a new community, Coteau Station, in that period; however, this seems somewhat divorced from the study of the area surrounding the fort.

A more significant trend in the one hundred years since 1861 has been the gradual decrease (one is prompted to say death) of the English-speaking segment of the population of the Coteau area. Never exceeding 200, in 1951 the number of English-Canadians in the district had declined to seventeen in Coteau Landing and twenty-seven in Coteau Station. The churches which had once served the English-speaking settlers have been torn down; their burying ground is overrun with weeds.

This is significant because it seems that the English were attracted to Coteau because of the fort and canal.

Many of the English farmers, as it has been pointed out, were Loyalists. Others worked on the canal, as Landing Waiters and attendants. If there was one long-term effect of the closing of the British fort and the canal at Coteau, it was the decline of the English-speaking community in the decades that followed. It may be argued that the Soulanges Canal, opened in the 1890s did not attract English-speaking residents, so why should the maintenance of the old Coteau Canal have done so. It is more to the point to speculate what effect an establishment such as Fort Henry at Kingston, would have had on Coteau. The answer would probably be that there would still be a sizable English-speaking community in Soulanges County today.

Conclusion

Geography and rivalry with the United States determined the location of the fort and the canal. Both had an early effect on the development of the area surrounding, but did not decisively alter life when abandoned. The old French Canadian community at Coteau maintained itself as it might have done had there never been either a fort or canal. The almost equally-old English-speaking community gradually withered and died in the decades following the demise of the fort.

Further Suggestions

An interesting study might well be made on the lives of the men who were active in the society of Coteau especially during the period of existence of the fort and the canal. A list of men who might be studied would include:

a. A. Wilson, Customs Collector until 1822.

b. John Simpson, Customs Collector, 1822-41.

c. Henry Roebuck, step-son of the former, farmer of Coteau.

d. Henry Evatt, postmaster, officer at the fort.

e. Godfroi Beaudet, merchant, dignitary.

f. A.A. Fillion, Seigneur's agent.

g. Saveuse de Beaujeu, Seigneur of Soulanges and Nouvelle Longueuil.

f. The Curé of St. Ignace de Coteau du Lac.

g. Rev. John Leeds, Anglican Minister, 1829-46.

h. John Bell, postmaster, adjutant of the fort.

i. Alex Perry, beef contractor to the fort, farmer.

j. Georges Beaudet, son of Godfroi, mill owner.

k. Daniel A. Wilson, son of A. Wilsom, merchant at Coteau.

l. Stebbin (?) Revans, Doctor at Coteau.

m. William O. Dunn, doctor at Coteau, Municipal Councillor, for Coteau, 1850.

Their lives would add to this social history of the Coteau area, and would illuminate the dark spots left by mere statistics.

FOOTNOTES

1 If it does still exist it will be in the Registry Office in Coteau Landing.

2 E.J. Auclair, "Les Origines des Cèdres, 1702-1767", Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, series 3, XX, p. 72.

3 An arpent was a French measure equal to three quarters of an acre.

4 W.Folan and G. Ingram,"The Fort at Coteau du Lac: A Preliminary Report". See also Report of the Canadian Archives (Ottawa: 1887), pp. xx-xxi.

5 Ivanhoe Caron, La Colonization du Bas Canada, (Quebec: 1927), p. 273.

6 W. Folan and G. Ingram.

7 Joseph Bouchette, A Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada (London: 1832), Seigneury of Soulanges.

8 Haldimand Papers, see for instance, MG 21, B 167, Part 2. Return of Unincorporated Loyalists Victualled in the Province of Quebec.

9 W. Kaye Lamb, The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser 1806-1808, (Ottawa: 1959), p. 7 & 259.

10 Cadastre Abrégé de la Seigneurie de Soulanges, Montreal: 1863), p. 600.

11 Haldimand Papers, MG 21, B. 168, pp. 96-98.

12 P.A.C., C Series, Vol. 634.

13 P.A.C., On Microfilm, C 718.

14 P.A.C., C Series, Index.

15 Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1843, JJ, Testimony Concerning the Election of 1841 in Vaudreuil, Testimony of Alex Macdonald of Glengarry.

16
P.A.C., Series C, Vol. 1868.

17
William Smith, A History of the Post Office in British North America (Cambridge: 1920), p. 89. The date of the establsihment of the Customs House is not known by the author; however, the post office was established in 1789.

18
Bouchette, Seigneury of Nouvelle Longueuil. There was "a great swamp" not far from Coteau Landing and so the road in front of the fort did not lead to Kingston, but to the boat landing at Coteau. To avoid the swamp the road leading up the River DeLisle was built to the Upper Canadian border.

19
L.P. Audet, La Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec (Quebec: 1952), III, pp. 141-2.

20
P.A.C., School Records, Lower Canada, RG 4, B 30, Vol 5.

21
Audet, pp. 284-287.

22
John J. Bigsby, The Shoe and Canoe (London: 1850), p. 45.

23
Thomas Fowler, The Journal of a Tour through British America to the Fall of Niagara, (Aberdeen: 1832), p. 133.

24
T.R. Millman, The Life of Bishop Charles James Stewart (St. Thomas: 1953), p.

25
Folan and Ingram.

26
E.J. Auclair, L'Histoire des Cèdres

27
Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1843, JJ, Testimony of the Returning Officer.

28
P.A.C., Census of 1851, On Microfilm, C 1148; also Census of 1861. The Protestants of Coteau Landing also had a school.

POPULATION OF SOULANGES AND AREA 1765-1961

	1765	1790	1825	1831	1844	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
ANGES																	
langes Seigneary			3,506	3,914	4,851	-	-										
velle Longueuil "			2,295	2,754	4,130	-	-										
AL (County)	309	771	5,801	6,668	8,981	12,000	12,221	10,808	9,753	9,608	9,928	9,400	10,065	9,099	9,328	9,233	10,075
IGNACE DE C DE L																	
nch-speaking						1,989	2,102	1,582	1,406	1,260	1,409	811	739	644	745	674	
lish-speaking						154	14	59	37	16	54	19	25	28	13	2	
AL						2,143	2,116	1,631	1,443	1,276	1,463	830	764	672	758	676	828
AU DU LAC VILLAGE																	
nch-speaking												423	424	418	440	503	
lish-speaking												5	11	10	5	0	
AL												428	435	428	445	503	699
\U LANDING																	
ıch-speaking							344	303	424	463	503	368	338	326	358	370	
.ish-speaking							144	97	87	44	75	17	27	16	23	17	
ıL							488	400	511	507	578	385	365	342	381	387	544
ıU STATION																	
ıch-speaking										365	497	540	677	708	686	966	
.ish-speaking										25	56	103	174	138	110	27	
ıL										390	553	643	851	846	796	993	1,032

EXCAVATIONS IN THE CORPS DE GARDE, FORT CHAMBLY, P.Q.

(1) HISTORY
by
David E. Lee

(2) ARCHAEOLOGY
by
Elizabeth Wylie

January, 1967

HISTORY

The archway recently discovered in what was originally the west corps de garde of Fort Chambly is likely part of a cellar dating from the construction of the fort. Beaucour's specifications of February, 1710, provide for "caves de cinq pieds sous poutre" (beams). There seem to have been few changes during the French period of the fort's history and during the War of 1812 period it was the buildings outside the fort which were important: so the only major changes in the fort seem to have been performed by the British during the Revolutionary War period (though they do not seem to be connected with the Americans burning the fort). The fill found covering the archway could date from the replacement of floors in 1781.

Guy Carleton reported that the Americans had burnt the fort when they evacuated Chambly in June, 1776,[1] but it must not have been badly damaged. An American who was present at the evacuation only mentions row galleys and schooners being burnt; he adds that the evacuation was rushed in order to escape before the British arrived.[2] There is no mention of any major construction at the fort after the arrival of the British who immediately occupied it. Indeed, by September plans were being made to winter 150 to 200 men in the barracks of the fort.[3] Repairs to the fort, then, did not occur until a few years later.

In 1779, due to the escape of some prisoners being held at Chambly, Brig.-General Powell ordered "two rooms to be properly fitted up for the reception of prisoners."[4] Haldimand replied that he wished "to have them on the ground floor where there are no cellars."[5] Powell later reported that "there were only three rooms in the Fort without cellars under them, which were fitted up agreeable to your order."[6] It is possible then that the prisoners had been held in those rooms which, until at least 1752, were used as "corps de garde", and that they had escaped through the cellar below. Subsequently, the jails were likely moved to other rooms which had no cellars.

We have no plans of the fort between 1752 and 1800; the latter plan shows the "corps de garde" now as men's barracks. This could have been the result of moving the prisoners to rooms which had no cellars. It is likely that the fill could have been deposited in the cellar in 1781 when it is reported that "we are laying new Floors over the Barracks" in the Fort, which will form excellent granaries or other Storehouses."[7]

One should expect to find similar cellars beneath most of the rooms of the fort, then, including the guardroom on the east side of the gate. There are further mentions of cellars during the Revolutionary War in connection with thefts of rum. The thefts "proceeded not from the weakness of the building but its standing so high on stone pillars as to admit the thief to creep underneath and pierce through the floor and cask with a gimblet."[8]

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1 Carleton to General Riedesel, 17 June, 1776, Haldimand Coll., B39, p. 13; same to Brig.-General Fraser, 17 June, 1776, p. 12.

2 Charles Cushing to his brother, 8 July, 1776, American Archives, Series 5, vol. 1, pp. 130-131.

3. Carleton to Mr. Murray, 21 September, 1776, B39, p. 176.

4. Powell to Haldimand, 28 April, 1779, B133, p. 94.

5. 29 April, 1779, B135, p. 40.

6. Powell to Haldimand, 3 August, 1779, B133, p. 133.

7. Twiss to Haldimand, 26 February, 1781, B154, p. 322; N.B., the next plan we have after 1800 is 1842 and it shows the partition wall in the room in a different place.

8. J. Singer, to N. Day, 11 April, 1781, B191, p. 174; also 20 March, 1781, B191, p. 154.

ARCHAEOLOGY

On January 4 and 5, 1967 I reported to Fort Chambly to record a feature uncovered in the corps de garde during an operation to replace the floor. With a pneumatic drill, the men had penetrated what appeared to be a vaulted roof of a drain or underground chamber. We removed about an inch of soil which was covering it and dug a 4' x 8' trench on its east side to investigate the depth and nature of the feature. The fill here is a black ashy wet loam with mortar inclusions. The feature turned out to be a small vaulted chamber of very fine workmanship typical of french masonry. Its purpose is uncertain, although a badly rusted key was found about a foot beneath the arch. Since only frontal access is possible for it to have any use, it must be part of a basement. This would indicate that the fill was later than the occupation period of the building, or that the basement was prematurely filled in. There is no mention that prisoners had escaped, utilizing the basements beneath their cells. But is is not clear whether this building was one of those involved. A series of drawings on the following pages illustrates the location and extent of the feature. Unfortunately space did not permit a trench which could indicate anything significant in the stratigraphy. There are no stairs directly in front of the chamber, but there would be elsewhere in the room. Due to lack of space and time we could not reach the bottom of the chamber. We dug to a depth of 33" beneath the arch and probed another 2' without hitting any stones. This last foot penetrated the water table, making it unlikely that the feature or even a basement could have been deeper. Taking this into account, the basement could not have been deeper than a point $4\frac{1}{2}$' below the arch or $7\frac{1}{2}$' below what is now ground surface outside the building. I think it is safe to assume that the first floor elevation of the corps de garde would have been the same as the top of the arch.

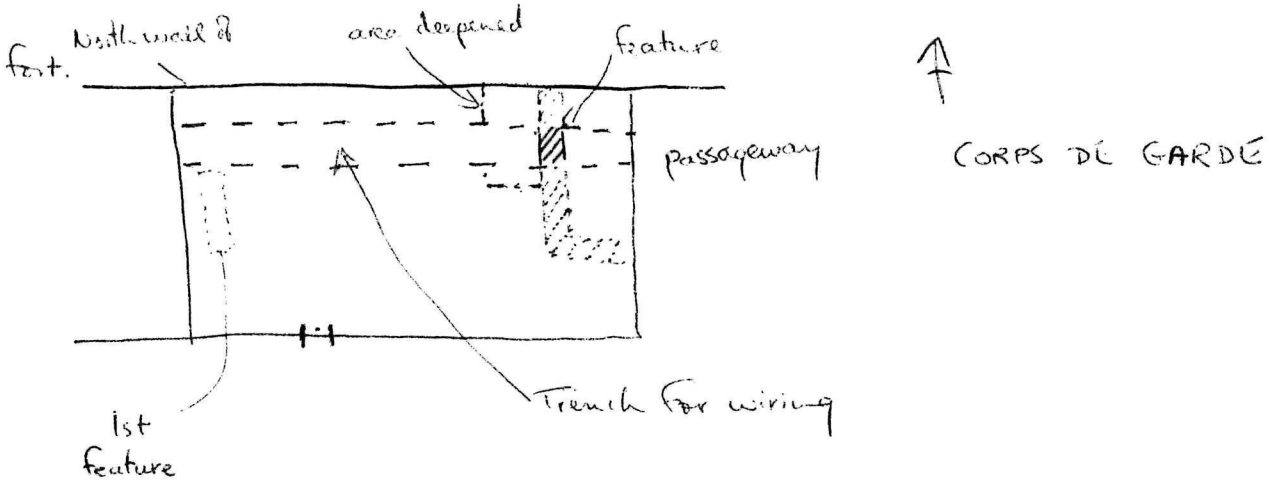
Another question raised was the nature of the joint of the N.E. wall of the corps de garde with the north wall of the fort. From observation I would say that only the first two feet or so above the ground surface of the interior of the building is original and even this seems to have been repointed. Everything above this appears to be reconstructed. Cement cracks when it is added to another structure and does not adhere properly. The line thus created can be observed on the north wall of the fort, and the east wall of the building.

The first three feet of the building wall appear to be butted to the north wall of the fort. The reconstructed part of the walls has been bonded with concrete.

The implication is that the building is part of a different building phase though not necessarily a different period than the north fort wall.

On January 18, I returned to Fort Chambly to investigate and record a wall uncovered when a trench was dug to accommodate the electrical wiring.

The trench put in was $2\frac{1}{2}$' wide and 2' deep. Its northern side is $2\frac{1}{2}$' from the north wall of the fort. The stone feature is part of a 2' thick wall built of mortared field stone. It runs n-s, its western side being 4' from the east wall of the building.



We deepened the existing trench to 4' on the west side of the feature. This revealed that the wall was butted to the north wall of the fort and extends deeper than the 4' we dug.

We then followed the wall south and found a corner 9' from the north wall. At this point the wall turned and ran east. It did not join the east wall of the building, but disturbance in this area could account for this.

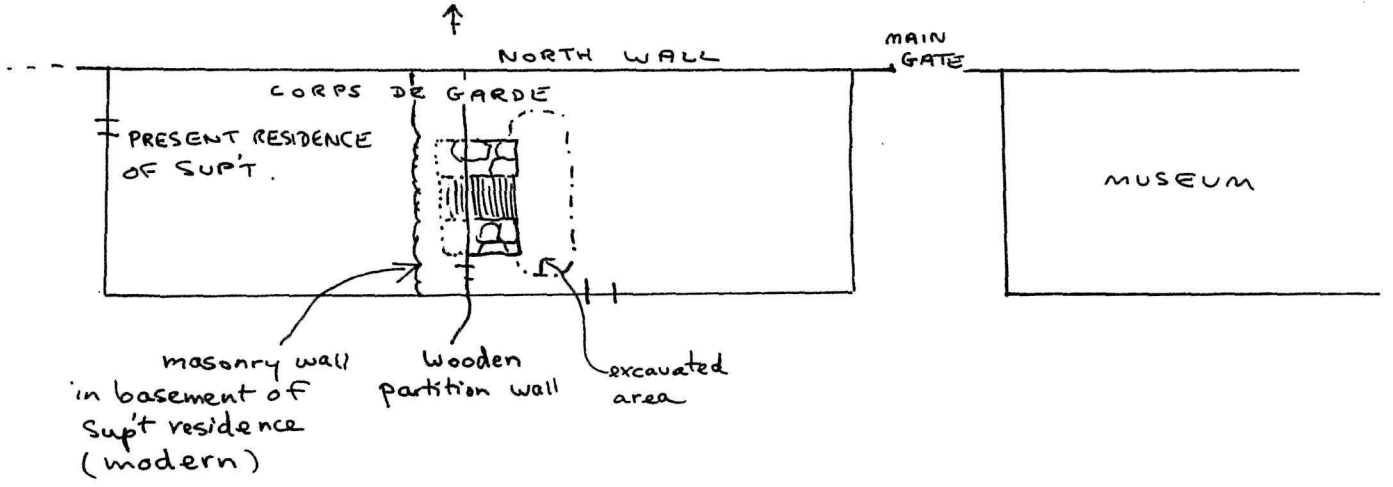
The whole feature covers an area 9' x 4' in the N.E. corner of the building. It begins 1' below the present ground surface and descends another 3', this being $3\frac{1}{2}$' courses of wall. It appears as a walled enclosure filled with loose rubble stone. There is also a quantity of rubble stone in the fill to the south of the feature, something not found at the west end of the room and possibly indicative of collapse before the fill was deposited.

The trench dug for the wires revealed no stratigraphy. There is no sign of a trench to indicate that the feature postdates the fill.

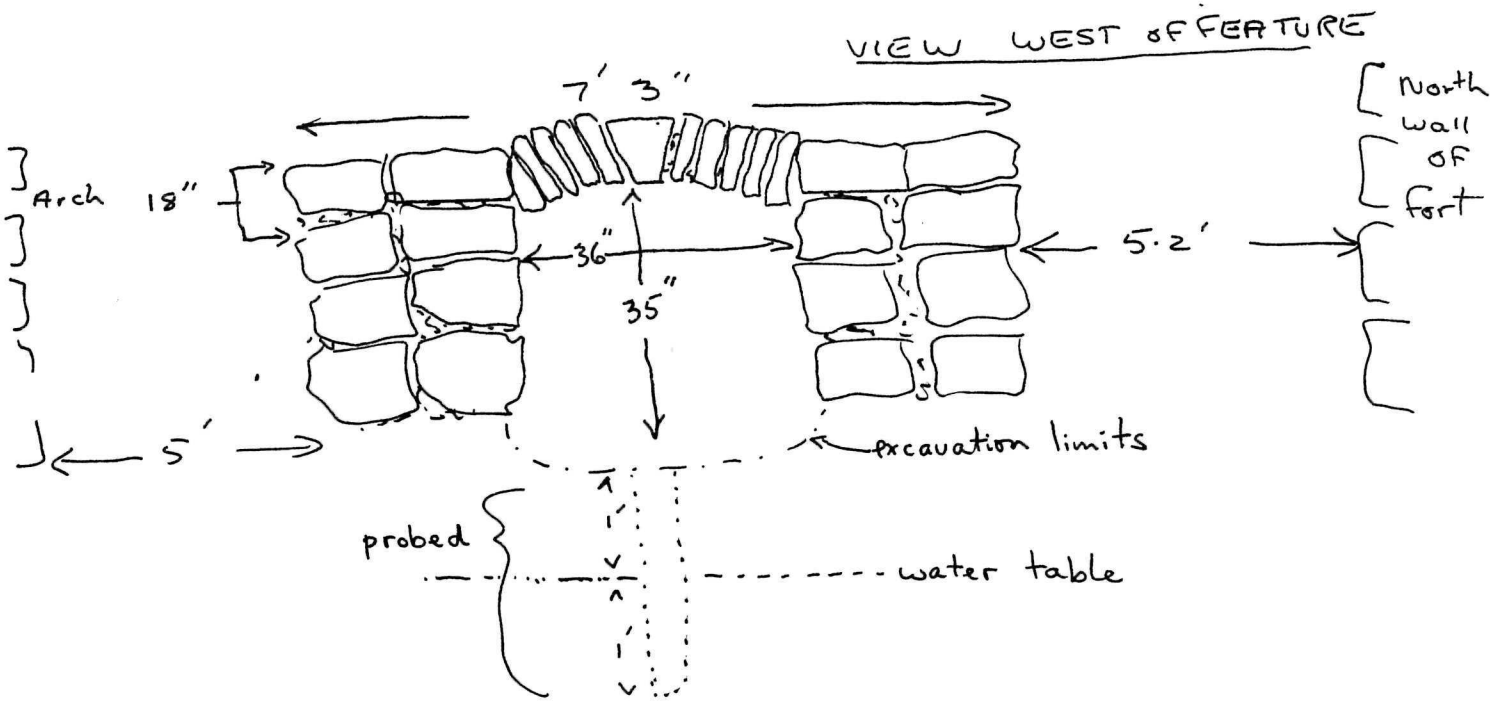
The feature lines up with a staircase, visible on plans in varying form from 1734 to 1842. In fact, the plan of 1843 gives its dimensions as 4' x 9.3'. According to a succession of plans access to the corps de garde was made from the passageway.

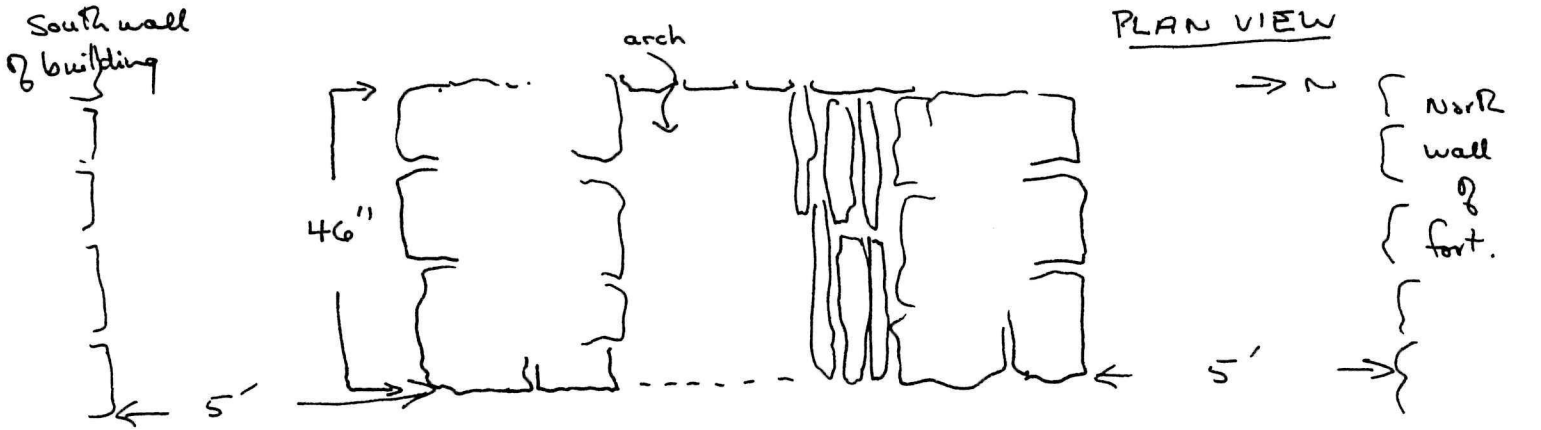
Since I could distinguished no difference between the fill covering the wall and the fill surrounding it, I conclude that the wall was dismantled and covered as part of the same operation. Thus the elevation of the dirt floor now (except for the surface dust) may be the result of scraping away this fill, but is not the result of later deposition.

1. Location of feature within Fort (continued in Fig. 2).


NORTH WALL
MAIN GATE
CORPS DE GARDE
PRESENT RESIDENCE OF SUP'T.
MUSEUM
masonry wall in basement of Sup't residence (modern)
Wooden partition wall
excavated area

2. Location of feature within Fort (continued from Fig. 1).



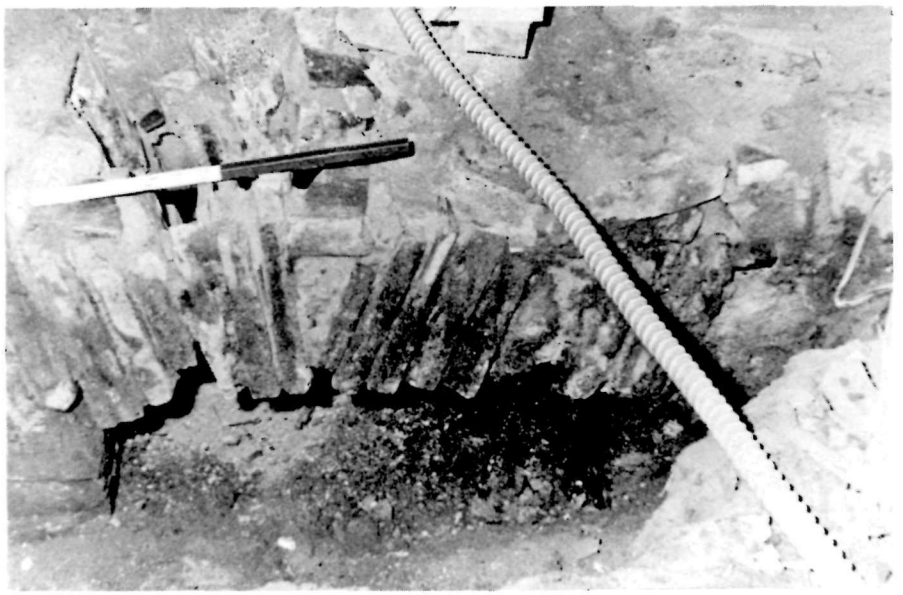


see notes 1966-67 pp. 343-347.

3. View west of feature showing keyed arch and hole made by pneumatic drill.

4. View west of finished corner of the feature indicating its completeness as found.

3



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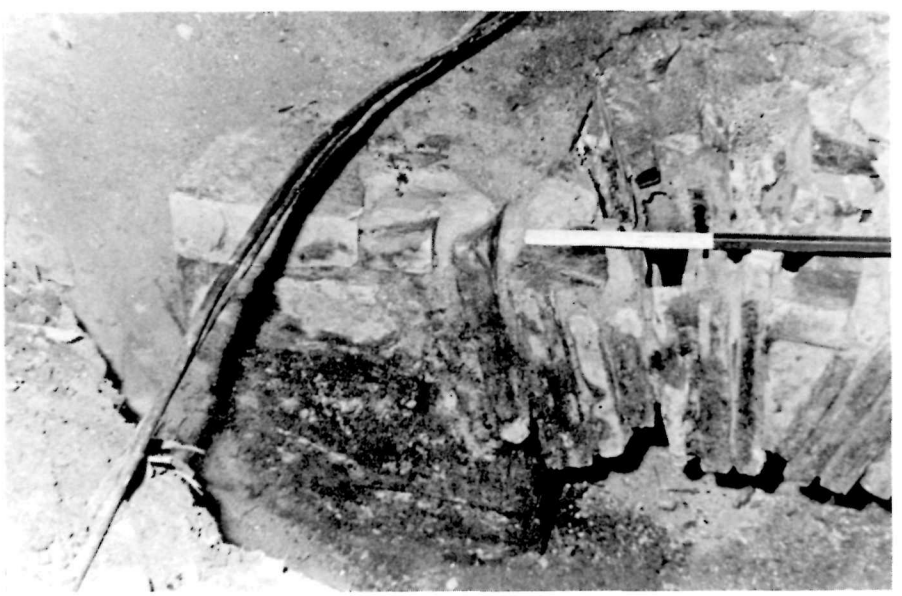


5. View west of the interior of the chamber.

6. Corps de garde. View NE of the staircase foundation.

5

6

SALVAGE EXCAVATION AT FORT LENNOX, P.Q.

by
Elizabeth Wylie
1967

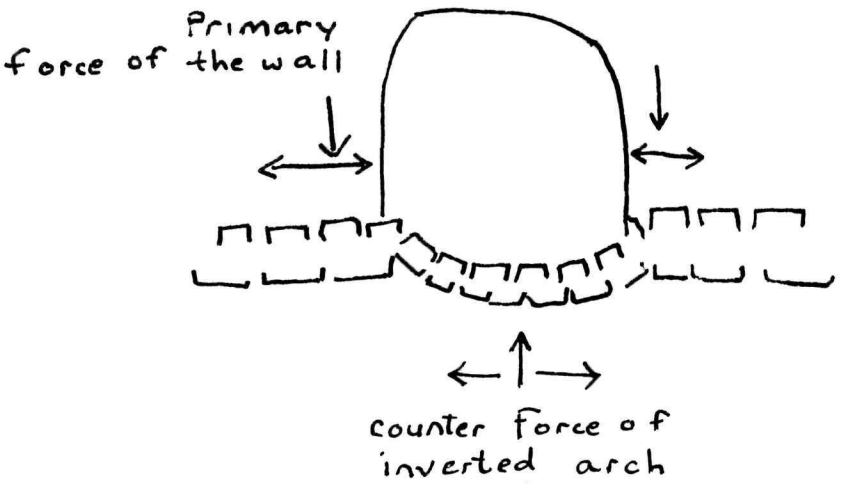
FORT LENNOX 5G58 AND 5G59

For one week from July 21 to 28, 1967 salvage excavation and recording were conducted at Fort Lennox.

The ground floor of the Barracks was removed, an operation called 5G58 (A-N). In addition a steam shovel was brought to the island to put experimental cross-sections through the moat on the west and north sides of the fort. These I have called operations 5G59A and 5G59B.

When I arrived the floor in Op. 58 had already been removed. Each double cell was labelled a suboperation from A to N beginning at the north end.

There were several notable features in the barracks. The sills between the cells were unusual. The sill, instead of continuing in a straight line across the arch, takes the form of an inverted arch. Mr. Richard Fairweather of the Parks Engineering Section suggested that the inverted arch would resist the tendency of the earth in a swampy area to push up against the downward force of the walls. This would prevent the walls moving laterally in the soft soil.



In the fifth cell, 5G58E, a 1.3' thick dividing wall has at some time been removed, leaving its sill and an impression on the ceiling and the walls of the adjoining cells. This wall would have created a hallway between the interior of the barracks and the outside door leading to the interior place d'armes.

In 58G an unusual mound of earth enclosed by three upright posts was found. The identity and purpose of this feature is not known.

In 58H, a drain 1' deep and 1.3' wide was found running east-west through the room 5' from the south wall of the cell. Its purpose was to carry water from the barracks and/or the interior place d'armes towards the casemates and the moat on the west side of the fort. The Drain was capped with slabs of sandstone in a multitude of sizes undoubtedly wasters from another area. The drain was filled to a depth of six inches with sludge and humus. It had been cleaned out before I arrived but a stain remained to indicate the depth.

A few artifacts were found by the fort personnel in OP. 58 although the exact provenience was not noted. They include 2 pipe bowls, one decorated, both 19th Century; a pair of broken scissors, a piece of a stem glass probably sherry type; a carved bone, handle of a piece of flatware, part of a door latch; a small stoneware container, possibly a mustard dish; a pipe stem W. & D. Bell, Quebec, also 19th Century.

The steam shovel began trenching in the moat on the S.W. end of the fort about 75 yards from the S.W. bastion. This trench was 8' wide and about 6' deep. The mud was emptied onto a chute, and the artifacts were removed as hoses washed the mud. This mud was put into a hole 30' x 20' x 6' dug to the West of the trenching area which was filled in when the excavation was complete. Among the artifacts found was a complete jug, 19th century ironstone, and several blacking bottles of salt-glazed stoneware.

The second trench 59B was located in the moat about 300' east of the main entrance of the fort. On this side the chute deposited the mud back into the moat about 75' West of the trench. Among the artifacts found were pieces of wine bottle, dating from 1760 to the end of the 19th Century, and the rammer from a 12 pound cannon.

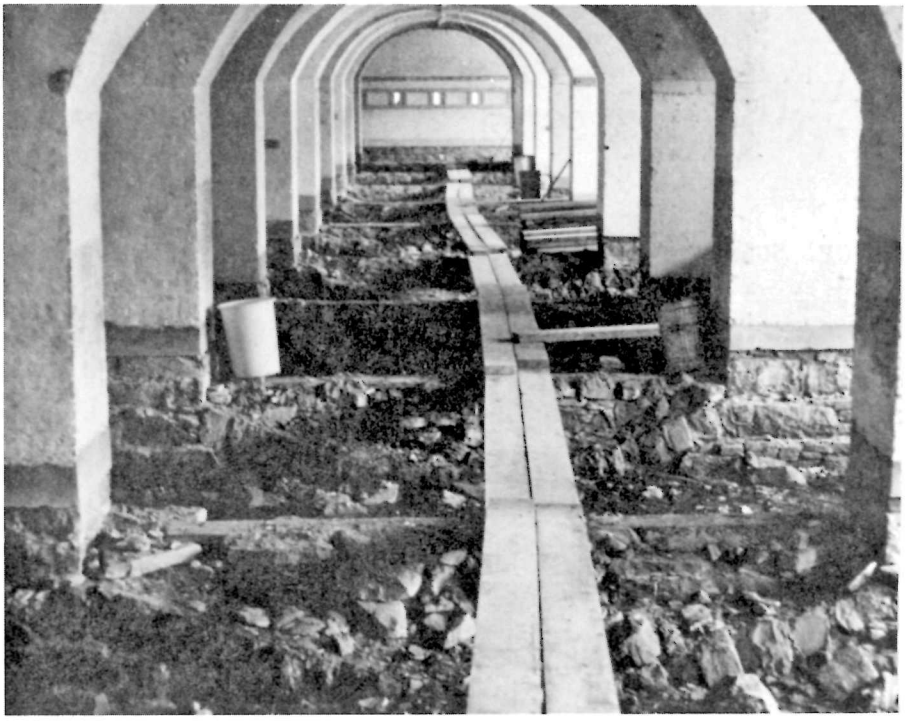
There is no real stratigraphy in the moat although the artifacts cover a period of 200 years. The first material to come out is a thick brown mud filled with leaves and decomposing vegetation. Beneath this is about a foot of soupy gray clay in which were found most of the artifacts of the fort period. Below this is the compacted gray natural clay characteristic of the rest of the island. Therefore dredging the moat to a depth of 2' is all that is required to extract the 200 years deposition.

More detailed descriptions appear in the field notes: 67-14-10 to 26 (Book 3)

1. OP. 5G 58. View north of the ground floor of the men's barracks after the floor had been removed.

2. OP. 5G 58. View west showing typical cell of men's barracks after floor removal.

1

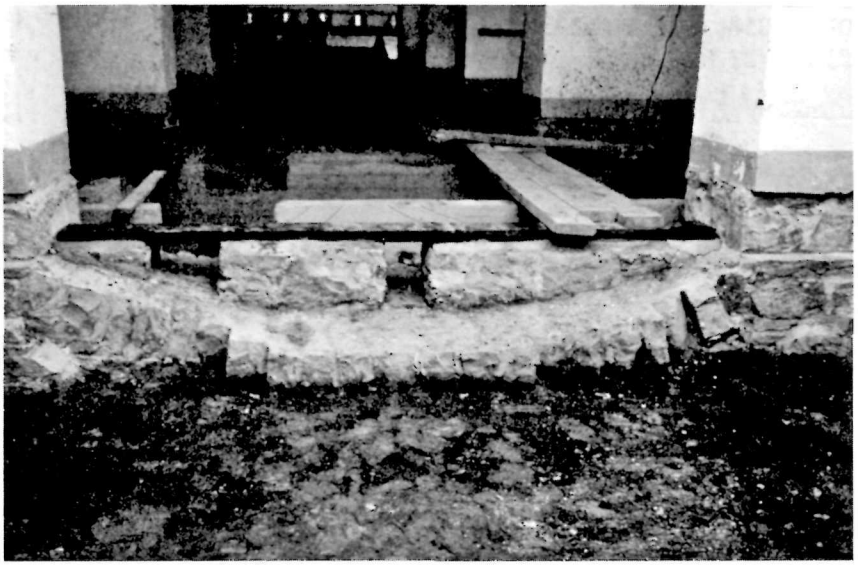


2

3. OP. 5G58. View south of reversed arch sill after modifications for heating ducts.

4. OP. 5G58. View west of top of stone drain at the centre of the barracks, below floor level.

3



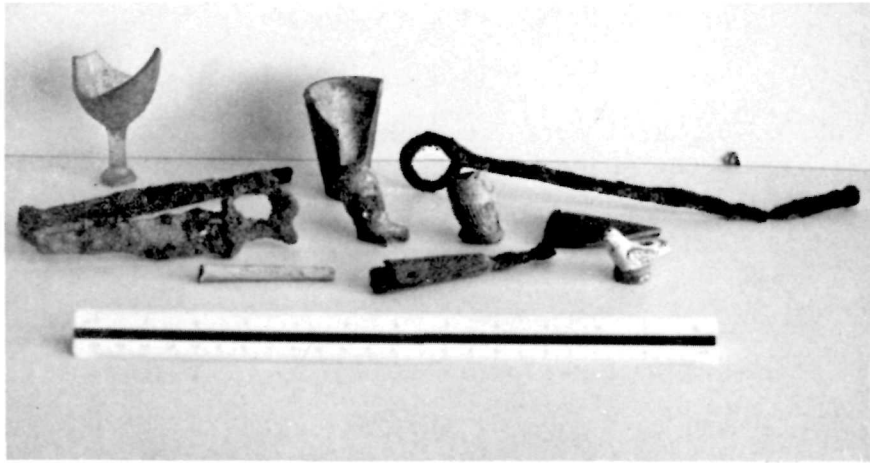
4

5. OP. 5G58. Artifacts found under the ground floor of the men's barracks.

6. OP. 5G59A. Artifacts found in the gray "soupy" layer in the moat.

7. OP. 5G59A. Ironstone jug found in the gray "soupy" layer in the moat.

5



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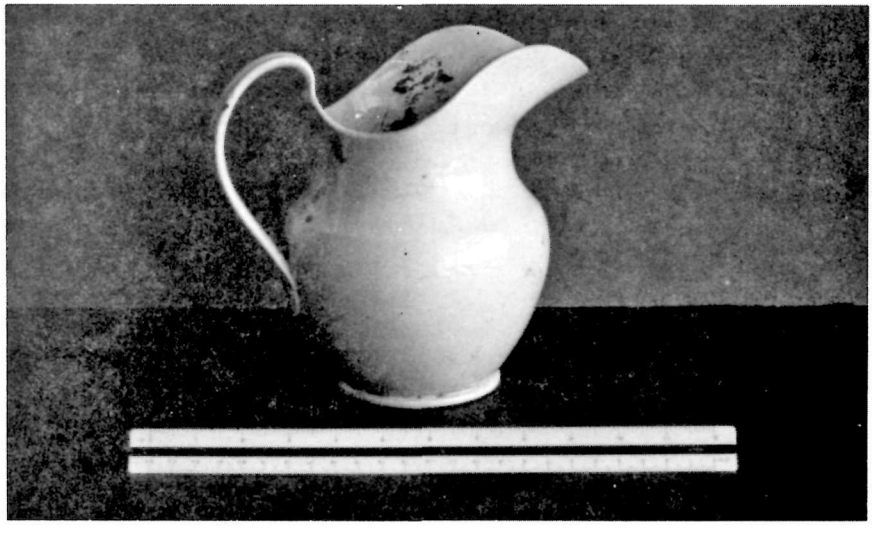
7



LA POUDRIERE

Preliminary Research Report

by

William Naftel

November 1969

La Poudrière

Following the somewhat frenetic and very temporary construction activities on the Quebec fortifications during the American revolution, no improvements were made to the town or citadel works for some twenty years; and the temporary earth and wooden structures thrown up at that time to strengthen the ancient French works became, in the nature of temporary government structures, permanent. As a small part of its later efforts to keep the French Revolution from spreading, the Imperial government began to take a more than sporadic interest in the defense of Quebec City, the gateway to the St. Lawrence River and hence to the interior of the continent. Prodded on by anxious reports from officers commanding the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers, the Imperial authorities, after the failure of the Peace of Amiens came to realize that if they intended to hold British North America, they must make a serious effort to defend it. The fortifications at Quebec after decades of the harsh winters for which the place was notorious, and a minimum of maintenance, were in poor shape. A large proportion of the gun platforms on the city walls for instance, were unserviceable, and the timber and earthen gun embrasures had in many places slowly settled so that the opening was too narrow to admit the muzzle of a gun.[1]

Principally due to the efforts of Major General Gother Mann, a report was made which included recommendations for refurbishing the defences of Quebec. The principle of this report, that the fortifications of the city must be strengthened, was accepted by the Imperial Government, and by the outbreak of war with the United States in 1812 work was underway.

This had included in 1811, for example, the erection of a counterguard before the Ursuline Bastion; the erection of two masonry tenailles (small works usually guarding a postern gate) between the St. Louis and Ursuline bastions; and work on Martello tower No. 4. It was during this construction activity that the powder magazine on the Esplanade was probably built. There is no note of it on plans of the city up to 1808, but it is shown on the next available plan 1815.

There is evidence that the construction of this and similar magazines was planned as early as 1805 for in the autumn of that year instructions were received from England to begin construction of small magazines for the supply of the various batteries. By the time the order was received in Quebec, however, the season was too far advanced to begin construction, but preparations were to be made to start in the spring.[2] If this was in fact done it was not noted on the 1808 plan referred to above.

Built no doubt to supply the artillery and infantry on the Ursuline Bastion and the curtain walls on either side, the magazine was one of the smaller ones which were at various strategic locations around the city. The first documentary note of its existence located thus far is found in a "Return of Buildings occupied by the Department [of Ordnance] at Quebec ...", dated 1 October 1819. It is described herein as Magazine No. 2, a tin roofed structure of a regular bombproof construction 52 feet long, 22 feet wide and 12 feet high with a partition wall in the center. At the time it contained 488 barrels of powder and 16,193 rounds of flannel cartridges filled with powder for field service. It, plus all the other magazines in service, was much crowded with powder and ammunition and could contain no more.[3] Subsequent surveys of Ordnance Department property do not indicate that there was any substantial change in the dimensions of the

magazine over the next few decades. Precise measurements made in 1841 gave the interior dimensions of the two rooms as 24' x 12' x 12 3/12' and 19 8/12' x 12' x 12 2/12'.[4] A plan prepared in 1831 is attached.

During these years, particularly between 1823 and 1832, extensive work was carried out on the entire system of fortifications of both the city and the citadel, according to plans approved by no less than the Duke of Wellington. The end result was the complete rebuilding of the surviving French works and the establishment of the walks and citadel in their present day form.

In 1829 the capacity of the magazine was listed as 632 barrels of powder, although at the time it was (as it had been ten years before) very much overcrowded, holding 777 barrels of powder and small arms ammunition, stacked in the passages and all available space.[5] The artillery supplied by this magazine comprised, in 1837, six 24 pounder guns (regular cannon), three 32 pounder carronades (a light weight, short barrelled and short-range gun), and three eight inch howitzers (a short gun firing shells and intended for horizontal or higher angle fire). All these guns were located on the Ursuline Bastion. Other artillery which may have been served by the magazine included one 32 pounder carronade and one 5½ inch howitzer on the Ursuline curtain wall and possibly those on the St. Louis certain and the St. John's curtain which contained in all twelve pieces of ordnance.[6]

In 1867, a report on the state of fortifications at Quebec noted that the bastioned line from the citadel to the Barrack Bastion was fast crumbling to decay. The writer, Lieutenant Colonel Gallwey, recommended

that this line be demolished, including presumably the powder magazine on the Esplanade, the property sold for building lots, and the fortifications moved outward to the Martello towers which were in a more defensible position.[7]

Nothing came of this expensive proposition and on the contrary the Imperial Government abandoned the entire complex in 1871, withdrawing the garrisons to the naval base at Halifax. The buildings, walls, and much of the ordnance, were turned over to the Dominion Government. In the "Statement of War Department Lands, Buildings & Naval Reserves transferred to the Dominion Government in 1871-72 ...", the magazine on the Esplanade (now named Magazine C) is enumerated with no particular difference from the descriptions of forty and fifty years before in so far as size was concerned. There was, however, associated with it a well and water tank capable of holding 160,500 gallons and worth £700. The magazine itself was valued at only £300.[8]

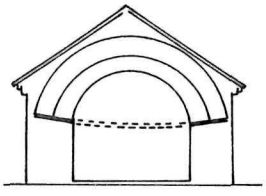
After some thirty years in the care of the Department of Militia and Defence, Magazine C was leased to the City of Quebec as part of the Esplanade, in whose custody it remained until its recent transfer to the National Historic Sites Service.

FOOTNOTES

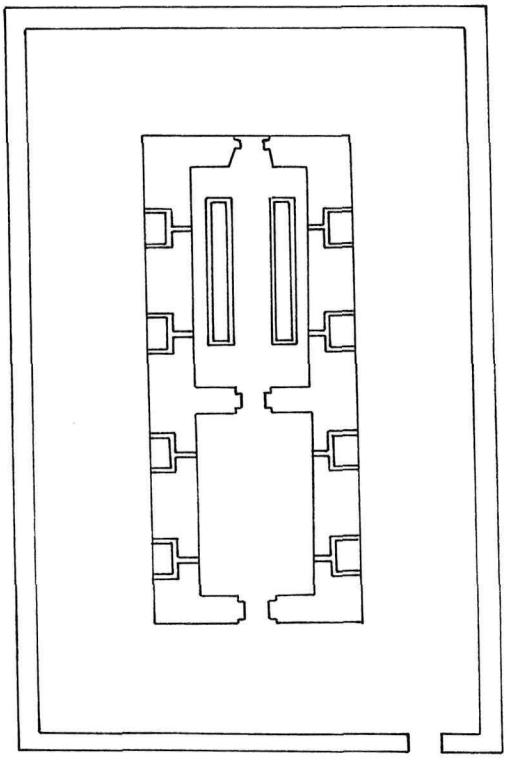
1. PAC, R.G.8, C 744, pp. 166-169.
2. PAC, MG 12, W.O. 55, vol. 857, p.487
3. PAC, RG 8, C 407, pp. 12, 12a
4. Ibid., RG 8, II, vol. 54, p.14.
5. Ibid., W.O. 55, vol. 866, p.281, "Return of the present State of the Magazines .." d. at Quebec, 28 February 1829.
6. Ibid., R.G. 8, C 749, p.62, Extract from a return dated 30 December 1837.
7. Ibid., R.G. 8, II, vol. 29, p.4
8. Ibid., Vol. 84, p.8

From a Drawing

Powder Magazine on Esplanade



Section



Scale 20 ft. to one inch

Front Elevation

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FRENCH CLAIMS TO NORTH AMERICA

David Lee

February 1971

> Selon la coutume européene, il prit possession du pays pour son maître, en élévant, malgré les protestations d'un vieux chef sauvage, une croix de bois....

These are the words of F.X. Garneau describing Jacques Cartier's erection of a cross in Baie Gaspé, in 1534.[1] This is the traditional historical interpretation of Cartier's activities, an interpretation accepted by many modern historians. There are some debatable points in this interpretation, however. Cartier relates[2] that an Iroquoian chief objected to the erection of the cross without his permission for he claimed that "all this region belonged to him." Cartier explained to him that the cross was a symbol of "our redemption" and "by signs" assured him "that the cross had been set up as a land-mark and guide-post on coming into the harbour...."

Cartier's objective in coming to Canada was simply to discover a route to the riches of China; nowhere does he mention that his purpose was to take possession of any territory for the King of France, and nowhere does he claim that he took possession of any territory. Marcel Trudel, however, points out[3] that this was no ordinary cross-raising. He noted that Cartier had, earlier in the voyage of 1534, planted a cross on the Labrador Coast and perhaps another on Ile Brion. These were barely mentioned, but he dwells

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1 F.X. Garneau: Histoire du Canada, (Montréal, 1882), I. p. 19; see also, F.J. Richmond: "The Landing Place of Jacques Cartier at Gaspé, in 1534," Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1922.

2 H.P. Biggar (ed.): The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, (Ottawa, 1924), pp. 64-66.

3 Marcel Trudel: Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, (Montréal, 1963), I, pp. 81-82, 85.

at length on the cross-raising in Baie Gaspé. Trudel feels that since the inscription "Vive le roy de France" was attached to the cross along with three fleurs-de-lys and since the cross was raised with considerable ceremony, it was "equivalent to a solemn affirmation of the rights of France on this land".

Some doubt can be thrown on this interpretation, however, if one considers that the French never subsequently contended that Cartier had taken possession of any land in Gaspé Bay. Father Chrestien Leclercq wrote in 1691[4] that when Cartier erected the cross he

> acquired for the Kingdom of France more than two thousand leagues of those vast countries.

But, as Ganong points out, Leclercq's version of the inscription on the cross was mistaken and considerably stronger than the words which Cartier related. In the 1750's England and France tried to settle the Acadian boundary question by appointing a bi-lateral Commission to investigate the matter. Both sides presented a great deal of evidence to support their respective claims. The French argument was published in four volumes in 1755. In this account[5] the Commissioners barely mention Cartier's voyage of 1534; they found his 1535 voyage more pertinent:

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[4] William Ganong (ed.): Chrestien Leclercq: New Relation of Gaspésia, (Toronto, 1910), p. 50.

[5] Mémoires des Commissaires du Roy et Ceux de Sa Majesté Britannique, Sur les possessions & les droits respectifs des deux Couronnes en Amérique, (Paris, 1755), I, pp. 27-37.

> il hiverna en Canada, fit alliance avec les Sauvages, bâtit un fort & prit possession du pays.

In 1744 Father P.F.X. Charlevoix wrote:[6]

> Cartier visited a good part of the coasts around the gulf, and took possession of the Country in the name of the most Christian King, as Verazani had done in all the places where he landed.

Charlevoix, then, does not indicate on which voyage he felt Cartier claimed Canada for France and, as well, gives equal credit to Giovanni da Verrazzano.

As we shall see below, during the French régime, the French based their claim to North America more on Verrazzano than on anyone else. Verrazzano was a Florentine navigator who was sent by Francis I with four ships in 1523-24 to find a route to China. He sailed along the eastern coast of North America from Carolina to perhaps Newfoundland; he landed several times but never mentions taking possession of the land.[7] Although the French were never explicit they presumably base their claims on the fact that Verrazzano named the land he discovered "Nova Gallia", New France. This information comes, not from his account of the voyage, but from a map published in 1529 (after his death) by his brother.[8]

One of the earliest commentaries on the voyages of Verrazzano and

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[6] J.G. Shea (ed.): P.F.X. Charlevoix: History and General Description of New France, (London, 1902), I, p. 113.

[7] H.C. Murphy: The Voyages of Verazzano, (New York, 1875), pp. 170-186.

[8] Trudel, I, pp. 52, 63.

Cartier was that of André Thevet, cosmographer to the King of France. He wrote two works on navigation. In the first, 1558,[9] he mentions neither Verrazzano nor any land he claimed:

> Pour autant que ceste contrée au Septentrion a esté decouverte de nostre temps, par un nommé Iacques Cartier, Breton, maistre pillot et Capitaine, homme expert et entendu à la marine, et ce par le commandement du feu Roy François premier de ce nom....

In 1586[10] he mentions the voyages of Cabot and Corte-Réal and then comments:

> Par ainsi l'honneur de la descouverte de ces Terres Neuves doit estre principalement attribué à Jean Verazzan Florentin et à Jacques Cartier Pilote Breton (mon grand et singulier amy)....

Again he says nothing about territorial claims.

It is not until the 17th Century when European traders and settlers come to North America in numbers that territorial claims in the new lands become important. In 1616 the Jesuit Father Pierre Biard wrote in his Relation:[11]

> D'avantage tous confessent, que par le commandement du grãd Roy François Iean Verazan print possession de cesdites terres au nom de la France;...
> Outre plus, Iacques Cartier entra premier dans la grande rivière par deux voyages, qu'il y fut, & descouvrit les terres de Canada.

This commentary, as most during the French régime, used Verrazzano's voyage as the foundation for the French claims to North America and

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9 André Thevet: Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, (Paris, 1878), p. 398.

10 Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage d'André Thevet, PAC, MG 7, I, A2, #15452, p. 143.

11 R.G. Thwaites (ed.): The Jesuit Relations, IV, pp. 104-106, (Cleveland, 1896).

mentions Cartier's voyages only for their importance as further discovery of land which had already been named New France. For example, Samuel de Champlain wrote in 1632:[12]

> And it is very certain and acknowledged by all, that his most Christian Majesty took possession of these lands before any Christian prince....
> And it is further acknowledged by all that, by command of King Francis, Jean Verrazano took possession of the said lands, in the name of France....
> Besides this, Jacques Cartier was the first to enter the great river St. Lawrence....

By the end of the 17th Century French and English had already clashed several times in dispute of claims in North America. The French Court found it necessary to prepare lengthy Mémoires on the basis for their territorial claims; the following is a portion:[13]

> Voila ce que nous repondons aux Anglois,
> Et est tres certain et confessé de tous que Sa Ma'té tres chrestienne a pris possession de ces terres avant tout autre Prince, et assure que les Bretons et Normands trouverent premiers le grand Ban, et les terres neuves, ces decouvertes fait en l'an 1504....
> Et d'avantage tous confessent que par commandement du Roy françois, Jean Verazan prit possession desd. terres au nom de France, commençant dez le 33 degré de l'élévation jusqu'au 47. Ce fut par deux voyages desquels le dernier fut fait l'an 1523....
> Outre Jacques Cartier entra le p'er en la grande rivière St. Laurent, par deux voyages qu'il y fut, et descouvrit la plus grande part des costes de Canada, a son dernier voiage l'an 1535. Il fut jusqu'au grand sault St. Louis de lad^{e} grande Rivière.

Most of these Mémoires are quite similar.[14]

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[12] H.P. Biggar (ed.): The Works of Samuel de Champlain, (Toronto, 1936), VI, pp. 191-192.

[13] A.N., C^{11}E, I, fo.104ff.

[14] For example, see (1687) A.N., C^{11}E, I, fo. 155ff; (1688) PAC, MG 8, A 1, Vol. IV, pp. 22-54; (1720) A.N., C^{11}E, II, fo. 38-58.

A Mémoire sent in 1724 to the French ambassador in England for his use in treating with the English is slightly different.[15] (1) It contends for the first time that Verrazzano had claimed all the territory from 34 to 50 degrees latitude. This is correct for Verrazzano specifically states that he voyaged from the 34th to the 50th parellel. It is unknown why the French had misread his account and claimed the more modest extent of land and it is equally unknown how they came to correct the error. (2) This Mémoire of 1724 also mentions for the first time that the French based their claims on Verrazzano's voyage because

> il nomme toute cet Etendue de terre nouvelle France, nom qui luy a demeuré.

The commissioners appointed to argue the French case with the English in the 1750's marshalled all the evidence they could. They began by citing Marc Lescarbot[16] on early Basque and Norman voyages to the Newfoundland fisheries before Cabot. They based their arguments on the voyages of no one man; they cited Jean Denys, Jean de Léry, Verrazzano, Cartier, Roberval, Champlain etc., - everyone they could think of. They played down the importance of early English voyagers. Cabot, they said, had not even tried to settle the land and besides the English had not thought very much of his work, anyhow. Verrazzano, however, had mentioned in his

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15 A.N., Sér. B, 46, fo. 63-67 et seq.

16 W.L. Grant, H.P. Biggar (ed's.): The History of New France by Marc Lescarbot, (Toronto, 1907), II, pp. 394-395.

voyages that the Corte-Réals had sailed along his route before him:

> ...we reached the 50th parallel of north latitude, the point where we turned our course from the shore towards home. Beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic Circle....

Furthermore, it is interesting that throughout the 16th Century and into the 17th Century the French had serious doubts about their territorial rights in North America. Their first attempt at colonizing was that of the expedition led by the Sieur de Roberval. The expedition failed to establish a settlement and European affairs distracted France's attention for more than fifty years thereafter. In 1598, then, Henry IV issued a new commission to the Sieur de la Roche to lead a new colonizing expedition to Canada. The commission[17] begins by saying that the late King François having been told that there were in Canada, Hochelaga etc. good, fertile lands and a people receptive to Roman Catholicism, he had

> donné pouvoir à Jean-François de la Rocque, sieur de Roberval, pour la conquête desdits pays; ce que n'ayant été éxécuté dès lors, pour grandes affaires qui seroient survenues à cette couronne, nous avons résolu... de donner la charge de cette conquête à quelque vaillant & expérimenté personnage .... le sieur de la Roche.

The King claimed that these lands were not "habitées par sujets de nul Prince chrétien".

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[17] In Lescarbot, II, pp. 196-201.

Evidently the French were worried that they had not done anything with the lands which they had discovered. A few years earlier André Thevet had written glowingly about the pleasant climate, rich fish resources and gracious inhabitants of North America; he said that there was no land,

> à la vérité bien plus propre à quelque prince ou grand Seigneur qui désireroit faire nouvele colonnie....

After de la Roche's attempt to establish a settlement resulted in little success the King next picked Pierre du Gua de Monts to do the job. Again the King appears to have been uncertain of his rights in America for in his Commission to de Monts (1603) he noted how useful would be the "possession" of the new lands:[18]

> ...we therefore, being long since informed of the situation and condition of the countries and territory of La Cadie; moved ... to bring about the conversion to Christianity of the tribes inhabiting this country;... having also long since seen, by the report of the ship-captains...how fruitful, advantageous, and useful to us, our estates, and subjects would be the occupation, possession and colonization thereof...we have therefore expressly commissioned and appointed you, ... our Lieutenant-General to represent our person in the countries...of La Cadie, commencing from the fortieth degree unto the forty-sixth; and within the said limits... to subject, submit and render obedient thereto all the tribes of this land....

It was under de Monts that the French at last succeeded in planting a colony in New France; settlers were brought out and the country

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[18] Ibid., II, pp. 211-216.

explored extensively. On one of the exploring voyages along the New England coast (1606) the French stopped twice to raise a cross.[19] The French commissioners used this in 1751 as an additional piece of evidence to support their territorial claims in North America so they evidently thought that it was an event of some importance. It is further interesting to note that Champlain felt compelled to claim the land for France all over again in 1620. At a great ceremony at Québec after mass was celebrated, Champlain's commission from the King was read, and everyone cried

> 'Vive le Roy', le Canon fut tiré en signe d'allegresse, & ainsi ie pris possession de l'habitation & du Pays au nom de mondit seigneur le Viceroy.[20]

Again it seems evident that the French did not feel secure in their possession and occupation of New France.

They did, however, feel more secure in their territorial rights with respect to any potential counter-claim by the native Indian inhabitants of the land on which they were settling. Marc Lescarbot put the argument eloquently:[21]

> And as the over-conscientious make difficulties everywhere I have at times seen some who doubted if one could justly occupy the lands of New France, and deprive thereof the inhabitants....

His reply is that the Indians have not obeyed God's wish that Man should use to the fullest the resources which God gave them; so

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19 Ibid., II, p. 561.

20 The Works of Samuel de Champlain, V, pp. 6-7.

21 Lescarbot, I, pp. 16-17; see also, Douglas Sanders: Native Rights In Canada, (Toronto, 1970), pp. 57-58.

> the first title of possession should appertain to the children who obey their Father and recognized Him.

Thus, Lescarbot felt that the French were exempted from the traditional European principle that they should not seize these lands:

> The Earth, pertaining, then, by divine right to the children of God, there is here no question of applying the law and policy of Nations, by which it would not be permissible to claim the territory of another.

THE GUARD HOUSE AT FORT CHAMBLY

David Lee
July 1971

THE GUARD HOUSE AT FORT CHAMBLY

A Guard House often can provide two functions for the garrison of a military post. Firstly, it can provide for the accommodation of cells required in the short term disciplining of the men of the garrison and for the accommodation of the soldiers responsible for guarding them. Secondly, it can provide for the shelter for the officer and men detached to guard the fort and its property. Guard duty is an around-the-clock job and thus a Guard House often provides sleeping quarters for the officer and men involved. The Guard House at Fort Chambly originally served only the latter function but the first-mentioned function was added at a later date. Unfortunately we have only two building plans (Figs. A and B) for the Guard House at Fort Chambly (and one is incomplete) and they do not give a full picture of the room use in the building.

The Guard House at Fort Chambly was built in 1814.[1] At this time there were several hundred troops at the Fort and the Guard House was constructed on a large scale evidently designed to provide for a large garrison (the building measures 48' X 32').[2] But, as happened at many military posts in Canada at the time, the building was scarcely finished when the War of 1812 ended. Fort Chambly quickly reverted to its unimportant pre-war status of a military supply centre and local security post.

From several hundred troops the Fort Chambly garrison had diminished to one or two companies within a year or so. A Guard House on the scale recently constructed was no longer needed at Fort Chambly. On an 1815 ground plan of the military reserve at Chambly the structure was described as a "Stone Building - new Guard Room - now a Mess Room and Kitchen

rearward." Three stoves were requested: one for the kitchen and two for the mess room.[3] It seems, then, that the now superfluous space in the building was employed for functions other than guarding - at least one of the rooms was being used as a mess room for the officers.

It would appear, however, that this change necessitated the construction of an addition on the rear of the building - i.e., the "Kitchen rearward." It is unlikely that the building, as originally designed in 1814, could have been adapted to provide for a kitchen. The building plan of 1823 (Fig. A) shows two fireplaces and no addition on the rear. In fact we have no building plans which show the addition but it is indicated on all ground plans of the military reserve dating from 1815 and after. For the first few years the addition appears to extend along only half of the length of the rear wall. But by 1840 it appears to extend the entire length. Today there is a stone addition extending the entire length of the rear wall of the Guard House and it contains evidence of having had a kitchen chimney.

In 1827 the Barrack Sergeant at the Fort was allowed to use some or all of the building as his lodgings.[4] In 1837 a few, minor repairs were made to the Guard House: "refixing a partition and ... whitewashing the Walls and Ceilings" as well as "building new stone Wall under the Columns of the Colonade for new steps to stairs at entrance."[5] This latter work would refer to the porch-like structure at the front of the building. For some reason porches do not seem to be an uncommon feature of Guard Houses in Canada at this period.

None of the repairs or changes in the use of the Guard House appear to have necessitated any structural alterations in the building.

Figure A should, then, show the building as it was between 1814 and 1849. In 1849 garrison cells were installed in the building and major structural alterations were required.

Until 1849 the Fort itself had its own cells (three) and its own guard room.[6] During the Rebellions of 1837-38 several civilian prisoners were held at Fort Chambly, presumably in the cells inside the walls of the Fort. In the 1840's humanitarian reforms in the British army apparently established new minimum standards for garrison cells. The cells at Fort Chambly apparently failed to meet the standard - the Fort was 130 years old and in very poor shape. When it was decided to provide new cells at Fort Chambly they were installed in the Guard House. The cells were constructed in such a manner as to provide "for solitary confinement at all seasons of the year", for terms of up to one week in duration.[7] The construction also provided for an indoor privy "exclusively for the Prisoners ... instead of their being obliged to mix generally with the Soldiers."[8] There is no reason to believe that the Guard House did not continue to fill its first function of accommodating the garrison guard detachment.

Figure B shows the manner in which the building was altered to accommodate the cells. This plan[9] was drawn up in 1850 (i.e., after the cells were installed) for the purpose of making a few, further alterations. These alterations were minor, however: they involved only the addition of a bell system, angle shelves and wire lattice and winter sashes for the windows. The porch indicated on the 1823 plan is not evident on this 1850 plan but there is no reason to believe that it was removed in conjunction with the installation of the cells. Changes were required in the doors and windows opening out onto the

porch but they would not necessarily have resulted in alterations to the porch. Besides, an 1851 ground plan of the Chambly military reserve[10] shows the porch still standing in its original form. The addition at the rear is not shown on the 1850 plan either but, it too is indicated on the 1851 ground plan. Perhaps the addition was omitted from the building plans of both 1823 and 1850 because it was not considered of sufficiently permanent a nature to warrant inclusion and was not an integral part of the building. The small addition indicated at the corner is probably a structural device for cleaning the water-closet.

In 1851, only two years after the cells were installed, the garrison was completely withdrawn from Fort Chambly. A few troops returned in the 1860's in anticipation of possible trouble arising from the American Civil War and Fenian agitation but this re-occupation was of no great military significance. Around 1880 much of the military reserve outside the Fort was sold to civilians. The Guard House first appears to have come into the possession of the "Fresh Air Fund Committee" in 1893. This committee, later largely run by the Montreal Star, operated to provide rural summer vacations for the poor of Montreal. The Montreal Y.M.C.A. purchased the building and land in 1969.

The building which stands at Chambly P.Q. today appears to be essentially the same as the Guard House of 1850.

Traces of interior partitions and existing doors and windows in the building certainly resemble those indicated on the plan of 1850. This plan is incomplete and includes no profile but, ince the plan of 1850 indicates that one chimney may have been moved or removed in 1849, it is quite possible that the roof structure was significantly altered at that time. We have no evidence of any major changes in the building after 1850 although the roof may be of 20th century origin. The alterations of 1849 had, however, resulted in a building much changed from the Guard House of 1814 (as illustrated on the plan of 1823).

It must be noted in conclusion that the Guard House of neither 1814 nor of 1849 was very important. We have seen that in the years after 1814 the garrison was very small and the space not required for sentry purposes was used in other ways. The garrison was a little larger in the 1840's (after the Rebellions) but by the time the cells were installed in 1849 Fort Chambly was almost obsolescent. Indeed, the garrison was withdrawn only two years later. The re-occupation of the 1860's was of little significance. The Guard House at Fort Chambly was a building of only minor importance and it served at a time when the military post at Chambly was itself of only minor importance. Certainly the period after 1814 is the least interesting in the history of Fort Chambly.

FIG. A PLAN OF 1823

Since we know of no major changes in the Guard House between 1814 and 1849 this plan in effect shows the design of the building for the first 35 years of its existence. Courtesy Public Archives of Canada (H4/350 - Chambly - 1823, Plate 7)

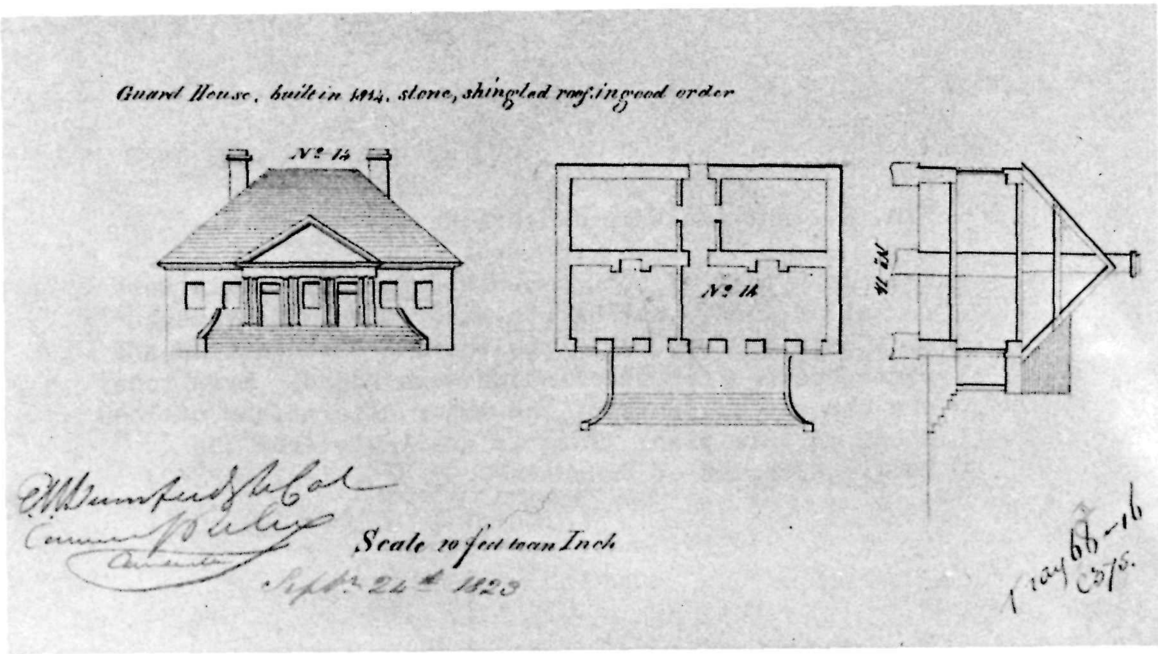
Guard House, built in 1814, stone, shingled roof, in good order
No. 14
No. 14
Scale 10 feet to an Inch
Sept. 24th 1823

FIG. B (Not included in this Report)

This is a plan of 1850 drawn up after the cells were installed (1849) but before such minor improvements as a bell system, angle shelves and wire lattice and winter sashes for the windows were added. Even today one can see evidence of the major alterations of 1849 shown on this plan. This is available from the Public Archives of Canada (WO 55/885, Reel B-2832)

NOTES

1 PAC, RG 8, 1, 'C' Series, vol. 388, p. 123.

2 The dimensions of 1823 (cf: RG 8, II, vol. 81, p. 24) agree with those of today.

3 See Plan of Government Buildings at Fort Chambly, No. 8, in Lee/Nadon: Illustrations of Fort Chambly, (1971), report No. 596; also, 'C' Series vol. 555, p. 210.

4 C1909, p. 65.

5 MG 12, WO55, Vol. 1917, p. 525.

6 C175, p. 243; also, Fort plan of 1842, No. 30 in Lee/Nadon.

7 C348, pp. 44-45.

8 WO55, vol. 883, pp. 529-532.

9 WO55, vol. 885, pp. 26-27.

10 No. 19 in Lee/Nadon.

JULY 1628

KIRKE MEETS ROQUEMONT

David Lee
June 1972

After many years of floundering the French colonies in North America finally seemed, in 1628, to be on the verge of a new age of expansion and development. A new enterprise, the "Compagnie des Cent-Associés", was given control of the colonies to assure them of a strong, permanent and reliable financial basis. The first Spring the Company sent four ships to Quebec filled with supplies, guns and around 400 eager colonists. The ever-optimistic Samuel de Champlain awaited them at Quebec, anxious as he was every year to receive the supplies so badly-needed in his small settlement. There had been no supply ship for two years. Unfortunately for him England and France had gone to war again and the supply ships were again vulnerable to seizure by English privateers.

Indeed, on 17 December 1627, Charles I of England endowed a group of London merchants, headed by Jervase Kirke and William Barthy, with "letters of marque"[1] or official royal sanction allowing them to operate as privateers preying on French shipping in North America. Jervase (or Gervase) Kirke (or Querque) was a native of Dieppe[2] and probably, then, fairly knowledgeable of French colonising operations in North America. The "letters of marque" were applied to three ships:

Abigail of London	300 tons	master, David Kirke
Elizabeth & Magdalen	60 tons	master, John Marten
Charity	200 tons	master, unknown

David Kirke was the eldest son of Jervase, having been born at

Dieppe in 1697;[3] he was chosen leader of the privateering expedition. The third ship involved, the Charity, was probably captained by the second eldest son, Lewis.[4] The other Kirke brothers, Thomas, John and James also probably went along on the expedition which left England around March 1628. Also aboard was one Jacques Michel, ship's captain and native of Dieppe, who had once worked with Champlain in the colony at Quebec.[5] His navigational knowledge of the Gulf of and River of St. Lawrence served the Kirke expedition well.

The three ships may have first touched at Newfoundland but certainly by early July 1628 they were at Tadoussac, not far down-stream from the principal French settlement at Quebec. They destroyed the small French settlement at Tadoussac and burned a few pinnaces which had been anchored there, keeping the largest, however, to add to their fleet.[6] They then wrote an ultimatum to Champlain demanding that he surrender the town of Quebec. It was already 10 July 1628 when Champlain received the note from David Kirke and by this time the annual supply fleet from France was over-due. He was short on supplies and the town was not defensively very strong but he rejected Kirke's demand with great bluster feeling that the supply fleet would soon arrive and deliver him from his predicament. Kirke was impressed by Champlain's spirited reply and turned back down-river. Champlain says that Kirke felt that it was so late in the year that the French fleet must not be coming.[7]

At this time the French supply fleet had, however, entered

the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The "Compagnie de Cent-Associés" had filled four ships with supplies and colonists and sent it to Quebec under the command of Claude Roquemont de Brison, one of the associates.[8] Roquemont had left Dieppe in either April or May.[9] He had three company ships and perhaps four. Trudel says that there was the Estourneau, Magdeleine, Suzanne and one other.[10] Du Creux says that there were four ships in addition to a further ship commissioned by the Jesuits under Father Philibert Noyrot.[11] Sagard says that there were four Company ships accompanied by 13 or 14 smaller ships (some or all of which were probably fishing vessels) which grouped together as a sort of convoy in case they met English war ships.[12] He says that the fleet stopped a few days to fish on the Grand Banks, touched at Anticosti and proceeded on to Ile Percé where they stayed for two days. Here they met a fishing ship which had left Dieppe with them as part of the convoy but which had decided to hurry ahead of the rest, after they had all passed the dangers of English war-ships in the Channel, in order to be first to the rich Percé fishing grounds. Sagard does not mention any others leaving the group but perhaps a few others now left or had already left to fish. The fleet would, then, number four company ships and a few less than the 13 or 14 which had left Dieppe. The fleet then moved on to Petit Gaspé which is on the Forillon-Peninsula shore of Gaspé Bay. It was here that the Indians first told them of the English fleet.

Roquemont sent Thierry Desdames and a few men to reach Quebec in a shallop without being seen by the Kirkes. He was told to advise Champlain that Roquemont would try to slip past the English and meet with Champlain at the Iles St. Bernard, a few leagues below Quebec.[13] Roquemont then lightened his ships a little by unloading some flour[14] and set off into the Gulf to see if he could slip by the English and reach Quebec. He had barely weighed anchor, however, before the English ships came into view and Roquemont tried to flee and escape.[15]

Opinions vary regarding the site of the naval battle which ensued. Trudel says it was "near Tadoussac"; Moir feels that it was "off Gaspé"; Henri Fouquery claims that it was near Anticosti Island.[16] These historians may have used documents unavailable to me to come to their decisions. I know of only two pieces of evidence which are germane. Sagard[17] says that Roquemont and his fleet fled in terror when they saw the Kirkes approaching. He says that the English chased them over-night until 3 O'clock in the afternoon of the next day before the sea-battle began. There is little room in Gaspé Bay for one fleet of ships to chase another so the English must have followed the French out into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and if the chase lasted a day or so the French must have been well out into the Gulf before the English caught up with them. The testimony of Thierry Desdames[18] seems at first to deny this. Desdames reached Champlain a few days later and reported that

just after he and his party left Gaspé he heard several cannon-shots. These shots may have just been the prelude to the chase, they do not necessarily indicate that the battle occurred near shore in the Bay of Gaspé. Moreover, Sagard's account is likely to be more accurate for he says that it is based on "what was told me by eye-witnesses."[19]

The parties were not equally matched and Champlain was subsequently very critical of Roquemont for not having tried to avoid a fight at all costs because of the value of the supplies.[20] Roquemont may still have had a total of 15 to 18 ships with him but most of these were probably small, lightly-armed fishing ships. One was Noyrot's ship which was apparently the only one to escape, so it probably did not join in the fray.[21] The remainder would, then, have been the four larger Company ships. These had been lightened a little by the removal of the flour but they were still packed with non-combattant colonists including women, children and priests. The ships carried 130 or more pieces of ordnance but they were carried as cargo in the hold, destined for the defenses of Quebec and Acadia. The ships had only a few small guns mounted for their own defense.[22] They were no match for Kirke's four ships designed and armed for combat.

Details on the length of the battle differ. Henry Kirke, writing in 1871, says that the "resistance was trifling."[23] Fouqueray says that the fighting lasted six hours.[24] A contemporary English document says that it took "seven or eight

hours" before the French yeilded.[25] Sagard claims that the French fought for 14 or 15 hours until they were out of shot and reduced to shooting fishing lead-weights. He says a total of 1200 volleys were fired between the two combattants but that only two Frenchmen were killed and a few others wounded.[26] Roquemont was shot in the leg.[27] In any case, no one claims that any ships were sunk in battle.

After Roquemont surrendered all the ships concerned seem to have landed on Miscou Island. The leaders of the French fleet were split up on various ships and eventually taken back to England. The crew and passengers were guaranteed passage to France and provisions for the voyage. The most valuable French goods were then divided among the English as plunder.[28] Indians later reported to Champlain that the English had returned to Gaspé after the engagement to disperse the French among the ships and to burn the flour which had been left there.[29] Sagard says, however, that all the ships moved on to Ile St. Pierre where the Kirkes found four Basque fishing ships which had been abandoned by their crews on the approach of the English. From these ships they added more booty but by now they had so much that they had to leave some behind. It appears that the passengers and crew were then given two ships for their voyage home but that the French priests who had been with Roquemont were kept separate and given one of the inferior Basque fishing ships.[30]

Sagard does not, however, mention the destruction of any ships and by this time the Kirkes had captured perhaps as many

as twenty ships, far more than they could take back to England. Henry Kirke claimed[31] (in 1871) that the English captured 14 ships in all (this may, however, not include the four Basque fishing vessels) and that they burned ten of the smaller ships. A contemporary English document, however, says that the Kirkes captured a total of only fourteen French ships including the Basque fishing vessels. Of these

- "some prize ships" were given to the 900 (exaggerated) passengers and crew to return to France;
- "six of the best ships" were brought to England with "all their munition and merchandize";
- and the rest were sunk "having no men to man them."

This is probably the most accurate account.

In conclusion, then, one can say that three English privateers led by David Kirke defeated four ships of the "Compagnie des Cent-Associés" and an unknown number of smaller ships somewhere in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, probably between Gaspé Bay and Miscou Island. No ships were sunk in the engagement but a number were subsequently destroyed at Ile St. Pierre.

The Kirke brothers were back in England by early Autumn and acclaimed as national heroes.[33] Soon they and their financial backers joined together with Sir William Alexander to form a "Company of Adventurers to Canada" to exploit Canada's resources. Their first act was to send the Kirkes back to Canada with a small fleet to complete the conquest of the

French settlements. Having received no supplies for two years Champlain and his people were on the brink of starvation; this time there was no choice, Champlain submitted and was carried to London. Canada was eventually returned to France, however, and Champlain returned to Canada where he died in 1635. David Kirke was knighted in 1633 and became a prominent entrepreneur but Claude Roquemont never seems to have been mentioned again in Company or court circles in France.

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3. Idem.

4. Ibid., 407

5. H.P. Biggar (ed.): The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, (Toronto, 1922-1926), vol. V, pp. 294-295; Marcel Trudel: Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, vol. II, Le Comptoir, 1604-1627, (Montreal, 1966), p. 480.

6. Biggar: Champlain, pp. 287-291.

7. Ibid., 287

8. Marcel Trudel in D.C.B., I, 579

9. Gabriel Sagard-Théodat says April: Histoire du Canada, (Paris, 1866), vol. 4, p. 858; while François du Creux says 3 May: J.B. Conacher (ed.): History of Canada or New France, (Toronto, 1951), vol. 1, p. 39.

10. D.C.B., I, 579.

11. Du Creux, I, 39.

12. Sagard, 4, 858.

13. Ibid., 4, 861-863.

14. Du Creux, I, 41: Biggar: Champlain, V, 292.

15. Sagard, 4, 863.

16. Henri Fouqueray: Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, (Paris, 1925), vol. IV, p. 309; Trudel in D.C.B., I, 579; Moir, ibid., 405

17. Sagard, 4, 863.

18. Biggar: Champlain, V, 291-292.

19. Sagard, 4, 863.

20. Biggar: Champlain, V, 293-296.

21. Fouqueray, VI, 309; Du Creux, I, 42.

22. Henry Kirke: The First English Conquest of Canada, (London, 1871), pp. 62-65; also, Kirke petition, 2 January 1662, PAC, MG 11, CO 217, Nova Scotia 'A', vol. 1, pp. 188-189.

23. Idem.

24. Fouqueray, IV, 309.

25. Great Britain. Historical Manuscripts Commission, 12th Annual Report, (c. 1890), Appendix I, p. 375.

26. Sagard, 4, 863.

27. Biggar: Champlain, VI, p. 2.

28. Sagard, 4, 864-865.

29. Biggar: Champlain, VI, p.2.

30. Sagard, 4, 864-866; Du Creux, I, 42; Fouqueray, IV, 309. Camille de Rochemonteix: Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^{e} siècle, Paris, 1895-96, vol. 1, p. 169.

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Notes for further research:

Several of the people who have written about David Kirke and Claude de Roquemont indicate the existence of documents unavailable (at this time) for examination by this author. For example:

- Marcel Trudel in his short biography of de Roquemont in the D.C.B., vol. 1, mentions the names of de Roquemont's ships. Although his references are not fully clear it is evident that he has had access to information that I have not seen. This information might be revealed when he publishes vol. III of his Histoire du Canada. The first two volumes of this series treat the period up to the arrival of Kirke.
- Henri Fouqueray and Camille de Rochemonteix draw on material from the Archives of the Society of Jesus: "Monumenta historiae missionis novae Franciae." Perhaps this is where Trudel gleaned some of his unattributed information. In any case one can expect that this additional information (and perhaps further data) will appear in the second volume of Lucien Campeau's projected long series Monumenta Novae Franciae. Another excellent possibility is the second volume of Robert Le Blant, René Baudry (ed's.): Nouveaux Documents sur Champlain et son temps. The second volume of this series of collected documents is expected to be published in the next few years.

- Henry Kirke refers to documents in the Colonial Office which are not available in the Public Archives of Canada, viz.:

CO 1, vol. 5, #34, 35, 36, 37, & 49;
6, #12.

As well, The Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, vol. 1, indicates that CO 1, vol. 6, #15 could also be a valuable source. The Calendar unfortunately merely summarizes the document. These documents could, of course, be checked at the Public Record Office, London.

REPERTOIRE PRELIMINAIRE DES

PRODUITS DES FORGES DU SAINT-MAURICE

par

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Octobre 1973
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RESUME

Le présent travail consiste en une liste annotée des produits manufacturés aux Forges du Saint-Maurice, dressée à partir de journaux, pièces d'archives, récits de voyageurs et de quelques études. Les différents produits sont classifiés selon la méthode de Leroi-Gourhan, en quatre catégories. On trouve dans chacune des sections la liste des produits avec leur référence et un tableau chronologique. Diverses notes explicatives, un tableau récapitulatif et un index des commerçants terminent le travail.

Nous tenons à remercier M. Marcel Moussette qui nous a guidée lors de la recherche et de la rédaction de ce texte.

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TABLE DES TABLEAUX

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INTRODUCTION

Ayant été tiré principalement d'annonces de journaux, cet inventaire des produits des Forges du Saint-Maurice, ne peut prétendre être complet. Il ne constitue qu'une liste préliminaire susceptible d'être utilisée lors d'éventuels travaux.

Les journaux, déjà inventoriés par la section d'Histoire de la culture matérielle ne recouvrent que la période allant de 1800 à 1863 en ce qui concerne les forges du Saint-Maurice.[1] Nous avons aussi utilisé les annonces du dossier Gaumont ainsi que quelques pièces d'archives, récits de voyageurs et études.

Les artefacts ont été divisés en quatre catégories selon la classification de Leroi-Gourhan, ceci afin de faciliter la recherche d'un renseignement en particulier. Cette classification est basée sur l'utilisation et non la technique de fabrication de l'objet. Nous retrouvons ainsi des articles utilisés pour le transport, les techniques de fabrication, les techniques d'acquisition et les techniques de consommation. Dans cette dernière section sont inclus les poêles: on trouve une liste relativement complète des différents modèles de poêles fabriqués aux Forges. Dans cette liste a été intégré le tableau de Marcel Moussette sur les variétés de poêles du Saint-Maurice. Dans chacune des différentes parties se trouvent le nom de l'artefact et ses références aux journaux; des tableaux nous indiquent ensuite à quelles dates précises, chaque objet est mentionné.

Enfin un tableau récapitulatif illustre ce que nous connaissons de la production des Forges du Saint-Maurice durant leur période totale d'existence.

A propos de la classification, on peut ajouter que la première partie de la classification de Leroi-Gourhan, "Moyen Elémentaire d'action sur la matière", a été omise, les objets s'y rattachant ayant pu être intégrés dans les quatre autres sections. D'autre part les sous-sections ne se conforment pas intégralement au modèle, mais sont adaptées selon le genre d'artefacts. A chaque produit correspond une série de références que l'on retrouve sur la même ligne.

Les astérisques renvoient aux appendices des pages 43 et 44. Les définitions ou explications utiles suivent directement l'objet concerné.

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[1] Cet inventaire concerne surtout des journaux de Montréal et de Québec. Les journaux de Trois-Rivières sont encore à étudier et il pourraient nous révéler des données nouvelles sur les produits des forges. MM

1. TRANSPORT

1.1 Transport par terre

1.1.1 Chemin de fer

.Roues de Train: - (Donald 1915: 59)

(International Mining Convention of 1893: 29)

(Tessier 1952: 178-9)

(Courrier du Canada, 4 octobre 1876)

L'industrie ferroviaire étant en pleine expansion à partir des années 1860, il est probable que les Forges du Saint-Maurice aient participé directement ou indirectement à la fabrication des pièces de métal nécessaires à la construction des rails et des trains.

Dans le Courrier du Canada du 14 octobre 1876, il est question de la McDougall Cie de Montréal qui fabrique des roues de train d'acier trempé. Il semble d'autre part que Georges McDougall loua en 1875 la Car Wheel Foundry . Il succéda à John McDougall en 1878 aux forges du Saint-Maurice qui ne produiraient dorénavant que du fer pour la Manufacture de roues de train. (Donald 1917: 108).

Ceci est d'ailleurs confirmé par un article de International Mining Convention (1893: 29):

> "Later on the forges St-Maurice passed through the hands of Mssrs Stuart and Porter of Québec, and finally to Mssrs McDouglall of Three Rivers who operated the furnace until as late as the summer 1883, using the iron thus produced in the

> manufacture of railway car wheels, with the very best of results as far as the quality of the product is concerned".

Y.H. Bartlett remarque en parlant des forges du Saint-Maurice au temps des McDougall.

> "As the product was used chiefly for the manufacture of car wheels the trade in stoves and kettles fell of" (Donald 1917: 45).

1.1.2 Traction animale ou humaine

.Roue de Brouette: Le Canadien, 18 septembre 1854 -

.Clou à Cheval: Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850 - 1^{e} octobre 1851.

.Fer à Cheval: Le Canadien, 17 mars 1843;

Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848 - 15 juin 1852;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856;

Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Chaîne de trait: Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850.

.Boîte à roue: La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794 - 2 février 1818;

Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822.

.Boîte de charette: Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848 *(1).

.Boîte de voiture: La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

.Moyeux de voiture: La Patrie, 5 septembre 1856.

.Rondelle de voiture: Le Courrier du Canada, 24 août 1857.

.Boîte à essieu: Le Courrier du Canada, 24 août 1857.

.Essieu en fer: Le Courrier du Canada, 24 août 1857.

1.2 Transport par Eau

.Ferrure de gouvernail: (Mathieu 1971: 42-43)

.Courbe d'arrière: (idem).

.Fer plat pour les mats: (idem).

.Ferrures du St-Laurent: (idem).

.Manivelle et treuil de bateau: Quebec Mercury, 31 janvier 1857.

L'avènement d'un chantier maritime en Nouvelle France nécessitait l'utilisation de fer Canadien. Au début les forges du Saint-Maurice ne produisaient que les pièces simples et bien souvent que du fer en barre. Une goélette de 60 tonneaux fut construite pour transporter le fer du Saint-Maurice sur le chantier à Québec.

En 1747, des forgerons étaient en mesure de produire des ferrures de gouvernail, des courbes d'arrière ou d'arcasse et du fer plat pour les mats, ainsi que la grosse clouterie. On tenta de fabriquer des ancres et des courbes mais on abandonna vite faute de forgerons compétents (Mathieu 1971: 42-32). L'Orignal dont les courbes avaient été faites au forges, s'échoua, mais on put les récupérer ainsi que les caps de mouton, chaines d'auban, galerie de fer, et les employer dans la construction de l'Algonquin (Fauteux 1927: 269).

Mais vers 1754, la production de fer pour l'industrie navale cessa aux forges du Saint-Maurice à cause de la guerre et de l'attitude de Bigot (Mathieu 1971: 43).

Toutefois en 1806, on fabriqua les ferrures de l'Accomodation, le bateau à vapeur de la famille Molson (Tessier 195: 118).

TABLEAU 1

OBJETS SERVANT AU TRANSPORT, fabriqués aux Forges du Saint-Maurice.

	Train	Traction animale et humaine									Navigation				
années	roue de train	roue de brouette	clou à cheval	fer à cheval	chaîne de trait	boîte à roues	moyeu	rondelle de voiture	boîte à essieu	essieu	ferrure de gouvernail	courbe d'arrière	fer plat pour les mats	pièces de l'Accomodation	manivelle et treuil de bateau
1742 à 1754											X	X	X		
1794						X									
1799						X									
1806														X	
1818						X									
1821						X									
1822						X									
1842															
1843				X											
1848						X									
1850			X		X										
1851			X												
1852															
1854		X													
1856							X								
1857		X						X	X	X					X
1876 à 1883	X														

2. TECHNIQUES DE FABRICATION

2.1 Travail du fer

2.11 Outils de Forge

.Enclume (catégories 1-2) : (inventaire d'Estèbe 1741 in (vol. 112: 133) *(2) ;
La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784 - 24 octobre 1799;
Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822.

.Enclume à maréchal : (inventaire d'Estèbe 1741 in C 11A (Vol 112: 132-3) *(2).

.Marteau: (idem).

.Taque pour Chaufferie: (idem).

.Grande Taque: (idem).

2.12 Fer en barre et acier

.Fer en barre: La Gazette de Québec, 29 juin 1769 - 3 juillet 1820;
Montreal Herald, 5 février 1820 - 2 février 1822;
Quebec Mercury, 23 mai 1840;
Le Canadien, 17 mars 1843 - 16 septembre 1844;
Revue Canadienne, 25 août 1846 - 4 septembre 1848
Morning Chronicle, 7 juillet 1846 - 15 juin 1852;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

.Acier à ressort: Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850 - 1^{e} octobre 1851;
Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

.Acier à bouffie: Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

.77 livres d'acier: (Kalm 1880: 3, 89).

Hocquart tenta de fabriquer de l'acier; on en produit 77 livres en 1742 mais les essais en restèrent là car on ne possèdait ni les ouvriers compétents, ni l'outillage requis (Kalm 1880: 3, 89).

Néanmoins, il est possible que sous les McDougall les forges aient produit de l'acier puisqu'elles fournissaient la matière première à l'usine de roues de train et que ces dernières étaient, semble-t-il, en acier (Courrier du Canada, 14 octobre 1876).

2.2 Travail du bois

.Manivelle pour moulin à scie: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784.

.Haches: Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848 *(1).

Sous les McDougall, les forges produisirent quantité de haches allant de 2½ livres à 10 livres. (Dubé in Tessier 1952: 178-9). La manufacture ferma ses portes vers 1878, période à laquelle l'intérêt des McDougall se concentrait sur la manufacture de roues de train.

2.3 Fabrication de la potasse

.Chaudière à potasse: La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818 - 3 juillet 1820;

Montreal Herald, 5 février 1820 - 2 février 1822;

Daily Advertiser, 1er août 1833;

Quebec Mercury, 17 mai 1833;

Le Canadien: 16 juin 1843.

.Chaudière avec support: Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Chaudron à potasse: La Patrie, 26 sept.1856.

2.4 Fabrication du savon

.Bouilloire à savon: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822.

2.5 Fabrication du sucre d'érable

.Bouilloire à sucre: (catégories 1 à 5) Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822;

Quebec Mercury, 23 mai 1840;

Le Canadien, 18 septembre 1839;

Morning Courrier, 16 août 1839;

Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;

Morning Chronicle, 5 octobre 1848.

.Glacière à sucre: Quebec Mercury, 31 janvier 1857;

Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;

Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848 - 29 juillet 1854;

La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818 -

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856;

Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Chaudron à sucre: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784 - 2 février 1818;

Pilot, 21 septembre 1848;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

.Chaudière à sucre: Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843;

La Patrie, 5 septembre 1856;

Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

Dans le premier quart du 18^{e} siècle, on utilisait une marmite pour faire bouillir l'eau d'érable; plus tard, on suspendait les chaudrons de fonte, originellement fabriqués aux Forges du Saint-Maurice, à desrondins dressés en faisceau, au dessus du feu (Lessard et Marquis 1971: 340).

2.6 Fabrication du Brai

Chaudière à Brai: (Tessier 1952: 89-90);

(Douville et Casanova 1964: 200).

2.7 Outils et machinerie diverse

.Mouvement et Machineries de Moulin: Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818.

.Petits fers pour moulin: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784.

.Goujons et roues pour moulin: La Gazette de Québec, 24 octobre 1799.

Goujon: "Nom d'une cheville de fer à pointe perdue que les charrons utilisent. Il sert aussi à réunir, un peu comme le gond les deux positions d'une charmière, en passant par leur vide" (Lessard et Marquis 1972: glossaire).

.Manivelle: Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

.Tourillon *(2): (Estèbe 1741, in C11A vol. 112: 1, 32).

.Pelle: Le Canadien, 1 octobre 1851;
La Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

.Roue de crible: Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848;
Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;
Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848 - 29 juillet 1854;
La Patrie, 5 septembre 1856.

TABLEAU 2

OUTILS ET MACHINERIES SERVANT A LA FABRICATION,
produits aux Forges du Saint-Maurice

	Travail du fer				Travail du bois			potasse	savon	sucre		brai	divers				
années	enclume et marteau	taques	fer en barre	acier	manivelle de moulin à scie	haches	chaudière	chaudron	bouilloire	bouilloire	glacière	bouilloire	machinerie de moulin	roue de crible	pelle	tourillon	manivelle
1741	X	X										X				X	
1742				X													
1741 à 1769			X														
1769			X														
1784	X		X		X					X	X		X				
1794	X		X														
1799	X		X										X				
1811			X														
1818			X				X			X			X				
1820			X				X						X				
1821	X		X						X	X							
1822	X		X				X		X	X							
1833							X										
1839										X							
1840			X							X							
1843			X				X			X							
1844			X														
1846			X														
1847			X												X		
1848			X			X				X	X			X			
1849										X	X			X			
1851			X												X		
1 52			X														
1854										X	X			X			X
1856			X					X		X	X			X			
1857							X			X	X						
1863-1876						X											

3. TECHNIQUES D'ACQUISITION

3.1 Armes et munitions

.Canon: (Kalm 1880: 88).

.Mortier: (Tessier 1952: 91-92).

.Affût: (idem).

.Boulet (Douville et Casanova 1964: 200).

.Bombe à mortier: (idem.).

.Obus: (Donald 1917: 18).

.Plomb à tirer: La Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847; Le Canadien, 1 octobre 1851.

En 1744, Chaussegros de Léry propose de fabriquer des canons pour la flotte canadienne, pour Montréal et pour le fort du lac Ontario. Le ministre accorde son approbation mais il est impossible de construire de l'artillerie lourde aux Forges du Saint-Maurice à cause de la couche de sable peu profonde. C'est, en revanche possible à Batiscan et à Terrebonne. (Fauteux 1927: 107-8).

De 1750 à 1751, on a cependant construit pour l'île royale 106 affûts, 200 plateformes de campagne, 424 roues de fer et 12 mortiers. (Tessier 1952: 91-92).

TABLEAU 3

ARMES ET MUNITIONS fabriquées aux forges du Saint-Maurice

années	canon	mortier	obus	boulet	bombe	affût	plomb à tirer
1736 – 1741	X	X					
1741 – 1747	X			X	X		
1750						X	
1751		X					
1776			X	X			
1847							X
1851							X

3.2 Instruments Agricoles

.Soc Moulé: (cat. 1 et 2)	La Gazette de Québec, 12 Juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799;
	Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 4 Septembre 1824.
.Soc de modèle Wilkie:	Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849.
.Charue en fonte:	Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.
.Modèle de charue:	(idem).
.Soc de charue:	(idem);
	La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818 - 3 juillet 1820;
	Montreal Herald, 5 février 1820 - 2 février 1822;
	Le Canadien, 16 septembre 1844, 1^{e} octobre 1851.
.Moule de charue:	La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.
.Bêches:	Le Canadien, 1^{e} octobre 1851.
.Plaque de soc:	Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784
	Quebec Mercury, 17 Mai 1833;
	Morning Chronicle, 7 juillet 1848 - 29 juillet 1854.

TABLEAU 4

INSTRUMENTS AGRICOLES des forges du Saint-Maurice

années	soc	charue	modèle de charue	moule de charue	plaque de soç	bêche
1784					X	
1794	X				X	
1799	X				X	
1811					X	
1818	X					
1820	X					
1821	X					
1824	X					
1833						
1844	X					
1848	X				X	
1849	X					
1851-2	X				X	X
1854					X	
1856	X			X		
1857	X	X	X			

4. TECHNIQUES DE CONSOMMATION

4.1 Alimentation

.Four hollandais: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 4 septembre 1824.

Le four hollandais est fait de feuilles de fer.

On le place devant le feu pour faire cuire les aliments.

.Four de camp: Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850.

.Four avec couvercle: Morning Chronicle, 9 octobre 1848 - 29 juil. 1854.

.Glacière: Montreal Herald, 4 octobre 1821 - 4 septembre 1824;
Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850;
Morning Courier, 16 août 1839 - 6 septembre 1849;
Morning Chronicle, 7 juillet 1848 - 15 juin 1852.

.Glacière à fond plat: Pilot, 6 septembre 1849.

.Marmite: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784 - 2 février 1818.

En 1791, on fabriquait aux Forges, 10 grandeurs de marmites contenant: 4/8 gal. - 5/8 gal. - 6/8 gal. - $1\frac{1}{4}$ gal. - 2 gal. $2\frac{1}{2}$ gal. - 3 gal. - 4 gal. - $4\frac{1}{4}$ gal. - $5\frac{1}{4}$ gal. On trouvait aussi 10 catégories d'anses pour marmites que l'on achetait à part.

A l'époque, la marmite servait essentiellement à cuire les viandes (Séguin 1972: 41).

.Tourtière: La Gazette de Québec - 12 juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799;
Le Canadien - 18 septembre 1839 - 30 octobre 1850;
Morning Chronicle, 15 juin 1852 - 29 juillet 1854;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856;
Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849.

Selon Furetière, il s'agit d'"un vaisseau de cuivre rond et plat - qui sert aux pâtissiers à faire cuire leur tourte". Mais en Nouvelle France, elle semble être utilisée pour cuire les viandes. La tourtière porte toujours un couvercle (Séguin 1972: 43).

.Poêlon: Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850 - 1er octobre 1851.

Le poêlon est utilisé comme contenant à confitures. Il possède toujours deux anses (Séguin 1972: 62).

.Ecuelle *(2): (inventaire d'Estèbe 1741 in C11A vol. 112: 1, 34).

Les écuelles servaient d'assiettes jusqu'au deuxième quart du 18e siècle - généralement munies de deux oreilles et d'un couvercle (Séguin 1972: 81).
Après 1741, nous n'avons pas trouvé mention d'écuelles aux Forges du Saint-Maurice.

.Chaudron: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784 - 29 octobre 1810;
Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843;
Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 Sept. 1849;
Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848;

On disposait aux Forges d'une grande variété de chaudrons; d'abord le chaudron simple de $6\frac{1}{4}$ - $9\frac{1}{4}$ - $10\frac{1}{2}$ - $11\frac{1}{2}$ - 16 - $22\frac{1}{4}$ gallons; ensuite le chaudron couvert: 7/8 - $1\frac{3}{4}$ - $2\frac{1}{4}$ - $2\frac{1}{2}$ - $3\frac{1}{4}$ - $5\frac{1}{4}$ gallons et enfin le chaudron double qui existant en deux grandeurs que l'article ne précise pas (La Gazette de Québec, 1er juin 1794).

Le chaudrons servait aussi à faire cuire les viandes (Séguin 1972: 24).

.Culplat: La Gazette de Québec -26 août 1784 - 2 février 1818; Le Canadien - 16 juin 1843.

.Casserole à pain: Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Casserole à sauce: Pilot - 21 septembre 1848; Morning Chronicle - 5 octobre 1848 - 15 juin 1852.

.Casserole à poêle (Stove pan) Le Courrier du Canada - 2 octobre 1857; Morning Courrier - 16 août 1839.

.Casserole à cuire: (Bake pan) Québec Mercury, 23 mai 1840 - 31 janvier 1852; Morning Courrier, 16 août 1839 - 4 septembre 1843; Pilot, 21 septembre 1848, 6 septembre 1849; Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848 - 29 juillet 1854;

.Casserole avec pieds et couvercle: La Patrie, 5 septembre 1856.

.Pot: Montreal Herald, 29 décembre 1823 - 4 septembre 1824.

.Pot pansu: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822.

.Pot avec pieds et anses: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822.

.Bassin : La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799.

Il s'agit d'un grand récipient (fer, fonte, fer blanc, cuivre) que l'on place au centre de la table pour servir les viandes (Séguin 1972: 87). On en vend de $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ et $\frac{3}{4}$ de gallons.

. Poissonnière: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784.

Ustensile dans lequel on fait frire le poisson.

.Poêle à frire: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 29 novembre 1823.

En général, on plaçait la poêle sur un trépied (Séguin 1972: 34).

.Bouilloire à rebord: (Flanged boiler) Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849.

.Bouilloire à thé: (no 1 à 4) Quebec Mercury, 31 janvier 1857;
Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850 - 1^{e} octobre 1851;
Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;
Morning Chronicle, 5 octobre 1848 - 15 juin 1852;
Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Plateau: Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Pilon: (cat. 1 et 2) La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794 - 24 oct. 1799.

.Mortier: La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818.

4.2 Consommation des excitants (pipe à tabac)

.Pipe guard : Morning Chronicle, 15 juin 1852.

.Pipe ring : Pilot, 6 Sept.1849.

Nous ignorons à quels objets correspondent ces noms.

Le pipe guard pourrait désigner le couvercle que l'on met sur une pipe.

Ou s'agirait-il simplement d'articles de plomberie?

TABLEAU 5

OBJETS SERVANT A LA CONSERVATION ET A LA CONSOMMATION DES ALIMENTS ET DES EXCITANTS – Produits des Forges du Saint-Maurice

années	glacière	bassin	écuelle	four hollandais	four de camp	marmite	tourtière	poêlon	chaudron	culplat	casserole	poissonnière	bouilloire	poele à frire	mortier pilon	plateau	accessoires de pipe
1741			X														
1784						X			X	X		X					
1794		X				X	X		X						X		
1797									X								
1799		X				X	X		X				X		X		
1811						X			X	X							
1818						X				X			X		X		
1821	X			X										X			
1822	X			X										X			
1823				X										X			
1824	X			X													
1839	X						X				X						
1840											X						
1843	X					X	X		X	X	X						
1848	X				X		X		X		X		X				X
1849	X						X		X		X		X				X
1850	X				X		X	X					X				
1851								X					X				
1852	X				X		X				X		X				X
1854					X		X		X		X						
1856							X				X						
1857											X		X			X	

4.3 Habitation

4.3.1 Construction

.Tôle du Canada: Le Canadien, 1er octobre 1851.

La plus grande partie de la tôle était utilisée pour recouvrir la toiture des maisons. (Lessard et Marquis 1972: 140).

.Clou du Canada: Le Canadien, 1er octobre 1851.

.Clou à rosette: (idem).

.Clou à patente: (idem).

.Poids de fenêtre à guillotine: (Sash weight) Pilot, 21 septembre 1848.

.Chassis de fenêtre à guillotine: (Window sash) Pilot, 6 septembre 1849.

.Conduit d'eau: Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848* (1)
Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;
Morning Chronicle, 15 juin 1852.

.Rouleau de Jardin: Pilot, 6 Sept.1849.

.Peinture: Le Canadien, 1er octobre 1851;
La Gazette de Québec, 11 septembre 1850.

On retrouve dans plusieurs annonces de journaux la mention de vente de peinture parmi les objets des Forges du St-Maurice: Peinture blanche, rouge, borax, métallique et de plomb.

D'autre part l'article de E.D. Ingall (Geological Survey 1890: V, 94ss) consacré à l'étude des pigments minéraux, note la présence de gisement d'ocre dans la rivière Saint-Maurice. L'auteur nomme les trois

compagnies qui exploitent ces gisements et qui possèdent des hauts fourneaux à Saint-Malo (pour faire brûler le minerai). Nous trouvons la Saint-Maurice metallic Paint Co., la Radnor Paint Co., et la Johnson Paint Co.

Il est donc possible que la peinture constitue un sous-produit des Forges; mais à part ces deux indices, nous ne possèdons aucun renseignement sur la question. Il en est ainsi pour les vitres que l'on présente dans certains annonces de journaux comme un produit des Forges du St-Maurice, notamment dans la Gazette de Québec (11 septembre 1850).

4.32 Mobilier

.Lits de fer:	Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.
.Couchette:	La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.
.Sommier peint et de couleur bronze: (bedstead painted and bronzed)	Québec Mercury, 31 janvier 1857; Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.
.Fer à repasser:	(Estèbe 1741 in C11A; vol. 112: 1, 33) *(1).

TABLEAU 6

OBJETS ENTRANT DANS LA CONSTRUCTION ET L'AMEUBLEMENT DES MAISONS - fabriqués aux forges du Saint-Maurice

	matériaux et articles de construction								mobilier		
années	tôle du Canada	clou	poids de fenêtre	chassis de fenêtre	conduit d'eau	peinture	pompe	rouleau de jardin	lit	sommier	fer à repasser
1741											X
1848			X		X						
1849				X	X		X				
1850					X						
1851	X	X				X		X			
1852					X						
1854										X	
1856									X		
1857									X	X	

4.33 Chauffage

4.331 Articles divers servant au chauffage

.Trou de tuyau de poêle: Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848*.

Il s'agit peut-être d'un anneau isolant en métal.

.Plaque de Cheminée: La Gazette de Québec, 24 octobre 1799.

.Grille: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 29 novembre 1823.

Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

.Anneau de tuyau: La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

.Porte-Poêle: (Stove stand) Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822;

Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;

Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848 - 15 juin 1852;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

.Tuyau de poêle: Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

.Grille à registre: Montreal Herald, 21 décembre 1822;

Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

.Porte de cheminée: Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

.Plaque pour poêle en briques: La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794.

Il s'agit d'une plaque de fonte, percée d'un trou pour laisser passer un tuyau, et posée sur un poêle de briques. (Lessard et Marquis 1972: 161).

.Plaque de centre: Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843.

.Cendrier : La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818;

Quebec Mercury, 13 septembre 1845 -

Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843 - 1 octobre 1851;

Morning Courrier, 4 septembre 1843;

Pilot, 6 septembre 1849;

Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847;

Morning Chronicle, 4 octobre 1848 - 15 juin 1852.

.Dessous de Poêle: Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843 - 1er octobre 1851.

.Chenêt : La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784 - 2 février 1818.

.Trépied: La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818.

Un type de cendrier à trois pattes était aussi appelé "trépied".

Support de métal pour poêle à frire, chaudron, marmite, culplat, etc., placé près du jambage de la cheminée. (Séguin 1972: 59).

.Poignée de Poêle: (Stove hands) Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

.Plaque: La Gazette de Québec, 29 juin 1769.

Les plaques étaient placées contre le mur du foyer pour protéger le mur et réfléchir la chaleur (Morris 1961: p. 242).

TABLEAU 7

DATE DE FABRICATION DES DIFFERENTS ARTICLES DE CHAUFFAGE (sauf les poêles), fabriqués aux Forges du Saint-Maurice

années	trou de tuyau	tuyau	anneau de tuyau	porte de cheminée	plaque de cheminée	grille	grille à registre	plaque de poêle abrique	plaque de centre	devant de poêle	dessous de poêle	plaque	porte-poêle	poignée de poêle (stove hand)	trépied	chenêt	cendrier	plaque de contre-feu
1741																		
1769												X						
1784																X		
1794								X								X		
1799					X											X		
1818															X	X	X	
1821						X							X					
1822						X	X						X					
1823						X												
1824																	X	
1843									X	X	X						X	X
1845																	X	
1847																	X	
1848	X												X				X	
1849													X				X	
1850																	X	
1851										X	X						X	
1852													X				X	
1854		X		X			X							X				
1856			X		X								X					
1857						X											X	

4.332 Poêles

.Simples

A: La Gazette de Québec, 12 Juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799.

V: (idem).

C: (idem).

D: (idem).

FU: (idem).

F: (idem);

Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

L: La Gazette de Québec, 24 octobre 1799.

M: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 13 septembre 1845;

Le Canadien, 14 septembre 1838 - 25 septembre 1839;

Morning Courier, 4 septembre 1843;

Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

K: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 13 septembre 1845;

Le Canadien, 14 octobre 1835 - 25 Sept. 1839;

Morning Courier, 4 septembre 1843;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

Q-17 po: Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

21 po: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 13 septembre 1845;

Le Canadien, 14 septembre 1838 - 25 septembre 1839;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

24 po: Quebec Mercury, 9 septembre 1843.

P: Quebec Mercury, 9 septembre 1843 - 13 septembre 1845;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

R: La Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

1-21 po: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842;

30 po: Le Canadien, 14 septembre 1838 - 25 septembre 1839;
Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 13 septembre 1845;
Morning Courier, 4 septembre 1843;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

O: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 13 septembre 1845;
Le Canadien, 18 septembre 1839.

No 1-21 po: Morning Courier, 4 septembre 1843.

24 po: Le Canadien, 14 octobre 1835 - 17 octobre 1838;
Morning Chronicle, 4 septembre 1843;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

No 1-23 po: La Gazette de Québec, 26 aout 1784.

30 po: La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

indéfini: La Gazette de Québec, 12 Juin 1794

No 2-17 po: La Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

21 po: (référence égarée)

26 po: La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

27 po: Quebec Mercury, 9 septembre 1843 - 13 septembre 1845;
Morning Courier, 9 septembre 1843.

29 po: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784;

indéfini: La Gazette de Québec, 12 Juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799.

No 3-32 po: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1799.

indéfini: Québec Mercury, 9 septembre 1843;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856;

Le Canadien, 14 octobre 1835;

La Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1847.

.Doubles:

A: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 14 septembre 1838;

Le Canadien, 14 octobre 1835 - 18 septembre 1839;

Morning Courier, 4 septembre 1843;

La Revue Canadienne, 10 septembre 1845;

La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856;

Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

W-36 po: Quebec Mercury, 13 septembre 1845.

30 po: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 31 janvier 1857;

Le Canadien, 14 octobre 1835 - 25 septembre 1839;

Morning Courier, 4 septembre 1843;

La Revue Canadienne, 12 septembre 1847;

Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

20 po: La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

B: La Gazette de Québec, 12 Juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799.

N: (idem).

.Poêles étanches:

GR: Quebec Mercury, 31 janvier 1857;
Courrier du Canada, 19 octobre 1857.

AS: (idem).

PW: (idem).

Y: (idem).

Victoria: (idem).

.Poêles de passage étanches: (Air tight hall stove) Morning Chronicle, 29 Juil.1854.

.Poêles de Cuisine

indéfini: Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842 - 9 septembre 1843;
Le Canadien, 18 septembre 1839 - 1 octobre 1851;
Morning Courier, 16 août 1839 - 4 septembre 1843;
Pilot, 21 septembre 1848;
Morning Chronicle, 5 octobre 1848 - 2 octobre 1857;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856;
Le Courrier du Canada, 21 août 1857 - 31 août 1857.

OP4: Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857.

No 4 ind: La Gazette de Québec, 12 Juin 1794 - 24 octobre 1799;
Morning Chronicle, 5 octobre 1848 - 29 Juil.1854.

No 4 36½": La Gazette de Québec, 26 Août 1784.

No 5: Morning Chronicle, 29 Juil.1854.

No 6: Morning Chronicle, 5 octobre 1848.

Premium: Pilot, 6 Sept. 1849.

Improved: Montreal Herald, 29 novembre 1823.

.Poêles divers

Franklin: Morning Courier, 9 septembre 1843;
Quebec Mercury, 16 juin 1843 -31 janvier 1857.

Fantaisie: Pilot, 21 septembre 1848 - 6 septembre 1849;
Morning Chronicle, 15 juin 1852 - 29 juillet 1854;
La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

Poêle de salon: Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843.

Poêle de chambre de Compagnie: Le Canadien, 14 octobre 1835.

Poêle de passage: Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843.

Poêle de goût: Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1850 - 1er octobre 1851.

Poêle de bureau: Morning Chronicle, 7 juillet 1848.

Poêle de salle: Le Canadien, 25 septembre 1839.

Poêle à charbon: Le Canadien, 18 juillet 1854.
D'après l'article, il semble exister 3 modèles de poêles à charbon.

Le foyer laissant perdre trop de chaleur, le poêle fit son apparition au Québec vers les années 1670; les premiers poêles étaient importés.

Il semblerait que le premier poêle canadien fut coulé aux Forges du Saint-Maurice en 1742. Il est cependant possible qu'on en ait déjà produit sous Cugnet puisqu' Estèbe mentionne dans son inventaire un moule de poêle (cf. App. 2).

Quoiqu'il en soit, les premiers poêles, à un pont évidemment, étaient légèrement décorés et possédaient probablement des pattes à griffes de lions. A la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle, le poêle à deux ponts fit son apparition, et ce n'est que vers le milieu du XIX^{e} que l'on utilisera les poêles à trois ponts, qui vraisemblablement n'ont jamais été coulés aux Forges (Lessard et Marquis 1972: 160).

C'est certainement sous Bell, que la production de poêle fut la plus prospère; on les exportait d'ailleurs, dès 1805. Selon Hugh Gray 200 poêles ont été envoyés en Angleterre de 1800 à 1805 (Gray 1809: 221-227). Vers 1840, certains poêles d'Ecosse empruntèrent les initiales des forges du Saint-Maurice:

> "La haute estime dont jouissent dans tout les pays les poêles confectionnés aux Forges de St-Maurice, et leur supériorité de valeur sur les poêles importés ont motivé récemment une grossière tentative d'en imposer contre laquelle le public est respectueusement averti de se tenir en garde.

Cette tentative a été de substituer aux poêles de St-Maurice, des poêles d'Ecosse, moulés sur un des poêles de St-Maurice et conséquemment ayant une si étroite ressemblance avec ceux-ci que ce n'est que difficilement qu'on peut découvrir la différence. Cependant si on les examine attentivement on trouvera, qu'au lieu de lettres sur la porte, qui sont F. St. M. sur les vrais poêles de Saint-Maurice, on a frauduleusement substitué F.St.M sur les poêles importés, la dernière lettre étant mutilée à dessein..."
(Le Canadien, 28 septembre 1840).

Prix relatif des Poêles

1794-99:

180	:	Poêle double	N
183	:		B
120	:	Poêle simple	F - Poêle simple FU
100	:		L
90	:		A D
85	:		C
80	:		V
$ 22	:	Poêle Double	A
15	:		W (30 po)
10½	:	Poêle simple	K
9	:		I (30 po)

$8\frac{1}{4}$	:	No. 3
$6\frac{1}{2}$	:	No. 0 (24 po)
5	:	No. 1 (21 po)

TABLEAU 8

DISTRIBUTION DES DIFFERENTS MODELES DE POELES DES FORGES DU SAINT-MAURICE

longueur en pouces	Poêles simples																	doubles					étanches					de salle		de cuisine						divers		
	A	V	C	D	F	FU	L	M	K	Q	P	R	I	O	No. 0	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	indéterminés	A	W	B	N	indéterminés	AS	GR	PW	Y	victoria	indéterminés	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6	prémium	improved	franklin	charbon	fantaisie
17 po.										X					X																							
20 po.																					X																	
21 po.										X			X		X	X	X																					
23 po.															X			X																				
24 po.										X				X	X																							
26 po.																X																						
27 po.																																						
29 po.																X		X																				
30 po.					X							X			X	X	X				X																	
31 po.							X																															
32 po.																	X	X																				
33 po.																									X													
36 po.								X			X	X								X	X			X						X								
36 1/2																		X													X							
39 po.										X																X												
42 po.																											X			X								
indéterminée	X	X	X	X	X	X	X														X	X	X					X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

TABLEAU 9

DATE DE FABRICATION DES DIVERS MODELES DE POELES, fabriques aux Forges du Saint-Maurice

annees	indeterminés	Poêles simples																																		
		indeter-minés	32 po.	36 1/2	A	V	C	D	F	FU	L	M	K	Q-17po.	Q-21po.	Q-24po.	P	R	I-21po.	I-30po.	O	no0-21po	no0-24po	no1-21po	no1-23po	no1-30po	no1 indeter-mine	no2-17po	no2-21po	no2-26po	no2-27po	no2-29po	no2 indeter-mine	no3-30po	no3-32po	no3 inde-termine
1769	X																																			
1784	X			X																					X							X			X	
1794	X				X	X	X	X	X	X																	X						X			X
1799					X	X	X	X	X	X	X																									
1811		X																																		
1818		X																																		
1820	X																																			
1821		X																																		
1822	X																																			
1823		X																																		
1824		X																																		
1833	X	X																																		
1834																																				
1835													X										X	X										X		
1837																																				
1838												X	X		X				X	X			X													
1839		X										X	X		X				X	X	X	X		X												
1840		X																																		
1842	X											X	X		X				X	X	X	X														
1843	X	X										X	X			X	X			X			X								X			X		
1844	X	X																																		
1845	X	X										X	X		X		X			X	X	X									X					
1846	X	X																																		
1847									X			X		X				X										X						X		
1848		X																																		
1849		X																																		
1850																																				
1851		X																																		
1852		X																																		
1854		X	X																											X				X		
1856												X	X		X		X						X	X		X										
1857		X																																		
1861		X																																		
1864		X																																		

annees	doubles							etanches					de salle			de cuisine							divers		
	indeter-mine	A	W-36po	W-30po	W-20po	B	N	GR	AS	PW	Y	victoria	indeter-mine	42 po	36 po	indeter-mine	improved	premium	no 4	no 5	no 6	OP 4	franklin	fantaisie	charbon
1769																									
1784																			X						
1794						X	X												X						
1799						X													X						
1811	X																								
1818																									
1820																									
1821	X																								
1822	X																								
1823																	X						X		
1824																									
1833	X																								
1834																									
1835		X		X																				X	
1837																									
1838		X		X																					
1839	X	X		X									X			X									
1840																X									
1842		X		X												X								X	
1843	X	X		X												X							X		
1844	X															X									
1845	X	X	X																					X	
1846	X																								
1847																									
1848	X															X			X		X			X	
1849	X																	X							
1850																									
1851																									
1852	X															X									
1854	X													X	X				X	X					X
1856		X			X																				
1857	X	X		X				X	X	X	X	X				X							X	X	
1861	X																								
1864	X																								

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4.4 Jeu

.Haltère: Le Canadien, 18 septembre 1854;

Pilot, 6 septembre 1849;

Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

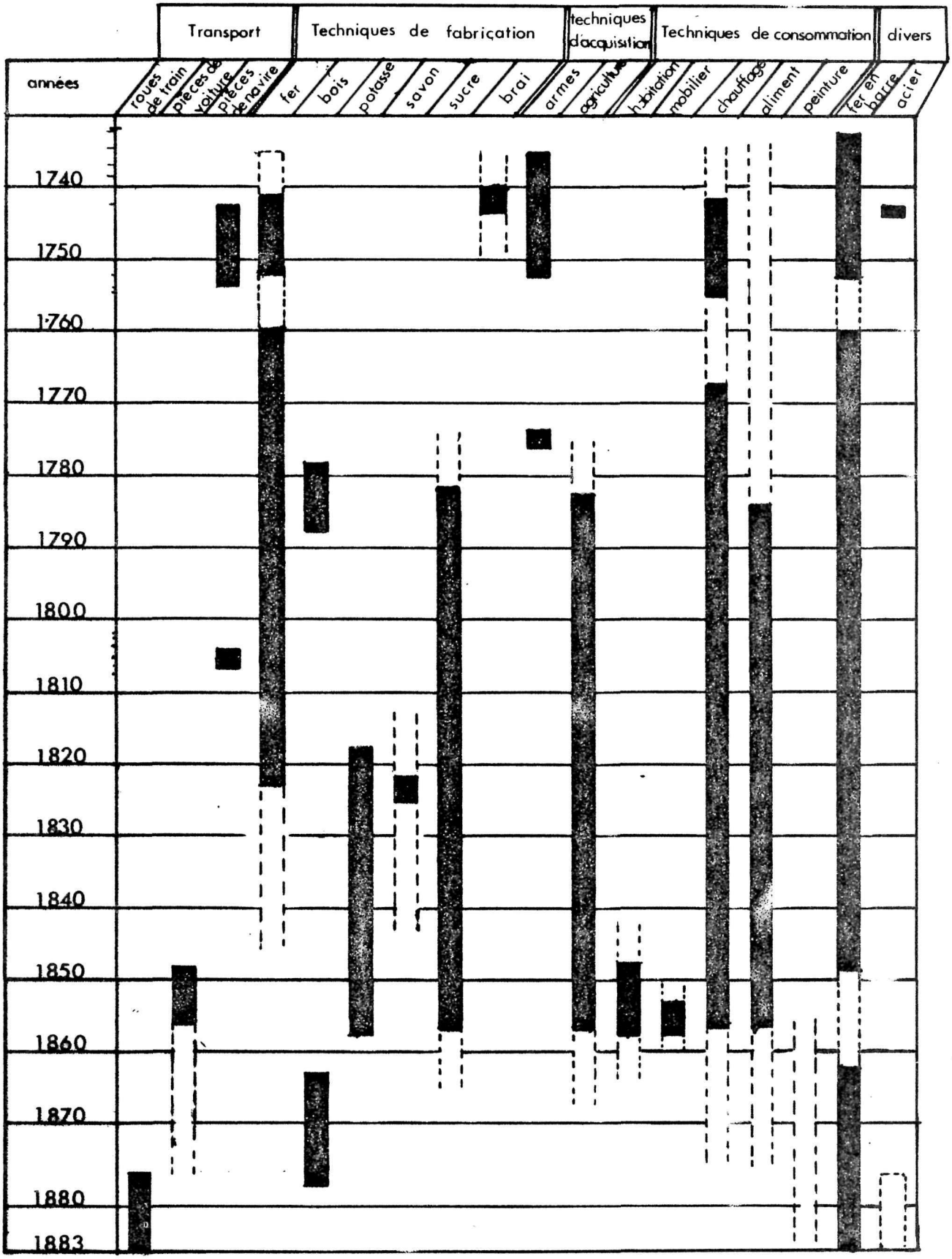
4.5 Commerce

.Poids: Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821 - 2 février 1822.

.Machine à peser à patente de 14 lbs à 30 quintaux *(1):

Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848.

TABLEAU RECAPITULATIF



Le pointillé indique des déductions faites à partir de documents incomplets ou difficiles à interpréter

CONCLUSION

Ce répertoire ne nous permet de tirer que de minces conclusions sur la production des forges du St-Maurice. Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, les sources d'informations étant constituées en majeure partie d'annonces de journaux, les objets énumérés ne représentent qu'une fraction de la production totale; d'autre part, pour la période française nous ne disposons que de pièces d'archives, inventoriées de façon encore incomplètes et peu éloquentes en ce qui concerne les ouvrages manufacturés aux forges.

Nous pouvons cependant déceler à prime abord trois phases particulièrement florissantes, la première se situant entre 1742 et 1750, période pendant laquelle Hocquart développa la production des objets utilitaires, des outils et machineries diverses, et surtout de l'artillerie et de la construction navale. La seconde phase est celle de Bell et dura plus de cinquante ans. Elle représente indéniablement la belle époque des forges pendant laquelle on fabriquait la plus grande variété d'objets. Enfin les McDougall relancèrent les forges en 1863 et tout porte à croire qu'à partir de 1878 ils utilisèrent le fer exclusivement pour leur usine de roues de train.

Le tableau récapitulatif montre que les Forges du Saint-Maurice fabriquaient surtout des objets utilitaires, et du fer en barre, la production d'armes, de pièces de navire et de chemins de fer restant sporadique.

Après cette énumération de produits, tout le travail reste à faire à savoir l'aspect quantitatif et économique de la production, les méthodes de fabrication et l'utilisation des différents objets.

APPENDICE I

Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848:

Le titre de cette annonce étant "vente importante de poêles, d'objets en fonte... de Montréal, des Trois-Rivières et d'Ecosse, il est impossible de savoir, quels sont parmi les objets énumérés, ceux qui sont fabriqués aux Forges du Saint-Maurice. Nous les avons cependant intégrés dans la liste en tant qu'objets douteux.

APPENDICE 2

Inventaire d'Estèbe, 1771

Nous trouvons dans l'inventaire d'Estèbe, l'énumération suivante:

"Dans le fourneau: 3 moules de bois pour enclume, et enclume à maréchal

1 moule à marteau avec chassis pour faire l'amanchure

3 moules de tourillons avec leur empoized de bois

4 moules de taques pour les chaufferies

2 moules à chenays

1 moule à grande taque

1 moule à plaque de poêle

1 moule à plaque de contrefeu

6 tourillons

1 grande taque de devant

236 lbs de fonte en marmites, fer à repasser, mortiers et riats de poulie

2 marteaux neufs pour foyers

Dans la moulerie: 1 moule de bois pour poêle à chauffer

12 moules de bois avec couvert de fonte pour marmites

5 moules de bois à chaudières

3 moules de bois à Tourtières, poêlons, écuelles, mortiers, riats de poulie.

Il serait surprenant que Cugnet et Cie, possédant tout ce matériel n'ait pas produit d'objets d'usage domestique et que les 236 lbs de fonte en marmites, fer à repasser etc.. ne proviennent pas des forges.

C'est pourtant ce que soutient Tessier: "l'usine n'avait pas fabriqué d'articles domestiques, mais elle s'était equipée du matériel requis." (Tessier: 1952: 82).

APPENDICE 3

Liste des Commerçants vendant les produits des forges du Saint-Maurice

A) Montréal

.Begley, Knox et Co.:	Daily Advertiser, 13 août 1833.
.Bridge and Penn:	derrière le Palais de justice; Montreal Herald, 6 octobre 1821.
.Bryson et Ferrier:	Morning Courier, 9 septembre 1843;
.Cuvillier et fils:	Le Canadien, 16 septembre 1844.
.Dupont W.D. et Cie:	Le Canadien, 11 septembre 1850; Morning Chronicle, 5 octobre 1848.
.Forsyth, Richardson et Co:	Morning Courier, 22 août 1838 - 4 sept. 1843.
.Hunt W. et Co:	Quai Hunt; Morning Chronicle, 15 juin 1852.
.Jordan,Jacob:	La Gazette de Québec, 29 juin 1769.
.Judah,Uriah:	Près du marché; La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784.
.Laing,James:	La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794.
.McGie,Daniel:	Quai St-André; Le Canadien, 8 novembre 1848.
.Porteous,John:	39, rue St-Paul; La Gazette de Québec, 30 Mars 1820; Montréal Herald, 4 août 1821.

.Ryan, Brothers et Cie: La Patrie, 5 septembre 1856.

.St-Martin, Dumas: La Gazette de Québec, 15 octobre 1767.

.Shipway, J.G.: La Patrie, 5 septembre 1856.

.Wurtele, C. et W.: Rue St-Paul;
Le Canadien, 11 septembre 1850.

.St-Maurice and Three-Rivers
Iron Ware House: 19, rue Notre Dame;
Montreal Herald, 4 août 1821.

b) Québec

.Baby, Roger: La Gazette de Québec, 20 mai 1812.

.Bell et Munro: 11, rue Sous le fort;
La Gazette de Québec, 29 août 1811.

.Bell et Stewart: La Gazette de Québec, 30 Mars 1820.

.Benning et Barsalou: La Patrie, 26 septembre 1856.

.Dumas, Alexandre: La Gazette de Québec, 15 octobre 1767.

.Dumas, Liberal: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784.

.Forsyth et Bell: Quai Wellington;
Quebec Mercury, 16 août 1842.

.Fraser, Donald: Quai des indes;
Le Canadien, 16 juin 1843.

Fraser, J.M. et Co: La Gazette de Québec, 24 août 1842.

.Langlois, François: Place du Marché de la basse ville;
La Gazette de Québec, 20 mai 1812.

.Leycraft, J.W.: Quai des Indes

Le Courrier du Canada, 2 octobre 1857;

Quai de l'Ile, La Patrie, 26 sept. 1856.

.Naismith: La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794.

.Porteous, John et Thomas: La Gazette de Québec, 2 février 1818.

.Purss and Johnston: Basse Ville;

La Gazette de Québec, 29 juin 1769.

c) Trois-Rivières

.Greive, Edward: La Gazette de Québec, 3 Juil. 1820.

.Leproust, Jos. L. La Gazette de Québec, 12 juin 1794.

.Munro, John: La Gazette de Québec, 30 Mars 1820.

.Pelissier, Christophe: La Gazette de Québec, 15 octobre 1767.

.Proulx, A., fils: La Gazette de Québec, 26 août 1784.

d) St-Maurice

.Zac.McAuley: La Gazette de Québec, 30 Mars 1820.

e) Indéterminés:

.Barrett et Hagan: Montreal Gazette, 17 octobre 1844.

.Burns, A. Morning Chronicle, 9 octobre 1848.

.Collet, Charles: Le Canadien, 6 octobre 1843.

.Huot, Charles: Quebec Chronicle, 27 septembre 1861.

.Paterson, John: 37 Saint-Peter;

Quebec Chronicle, 9 juin 1864.

APPENDICE 4

Pour compléter la liste d'objets fabriqués aux Forges du Saint-Maurice, nous devons ajouter trois noms d'objets qu'il nous a été impossible de classer puisque nous ignorons totalement ce qu'ils sont:

.Vindas (?): Le Canadien, 18 septembre 1854.

.Carts bonces: Morning Chronicle, 29 juillet 1854.

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