

Short Title

AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY IN RURAL FRENCH CANADA: 1820-67

by

John B. Thompson

Title: The Evolution of an English-speaking Community
in Rural French Canada: 1820-67

Author: John Beswarick Thompson

Department: History

Degree: Master of Arts

Abstract

The social development of a small English-speaking community surrounded by French-Canadian settlements is described between 1820 and 1867. The district studied comprises today the villages of Come, Hudson and Hudson Heights in the County of Vaudreuil.

The origins of the British immigrants and their motives in choosing to settle among French Canadians are probed. A picture of the community as it was in the 1830s is presented and the changes brought about by the Rebellion of 1837-38 are described.

Following the conflict the community consolidates itself, and special attention is paid to local leadership in this period. Other factors studied include seigneurialism, politics, agriculture and education. The study concludes at Confederation and the contrast between the frontier settlement of 1820 and the established village of 1867 is drawn.



THE EVOLUTION OF AN
ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY
IN RURAL FRENCH CANADA

1820-1867

by

John B. Thompson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts.

Department of History
McGill University
Montreal

July 1967

Preface

This work is a study of a small part of the English-speaking minority in French Canada during a relatively short period of its existence. It is the story of the community of Cavagnal from the era of the "Great Migration" following the Napoleonic Wars to the period of Confederation. Today, three separate municipalities—Como, Hudson, and Hudson Heights—compose the area once known as Cavagnal. They are located in the County of Vaudreuil, thirty miles west of Montreal on the Ottawa River.

Two reasons prompted the selection of Cavagnal as the subject of this thesis. A major aim of this work was to study the relations between French and English-speaking Canadians immediately before and after the Rebellion of 1837-38. Cavagnal was eminently suited for this purpose, for unlike many of the English-speaking settlements in Lower Canada which were founded in townships surveyed after the Conquest far from French-speaking communities, Cavagnal was located within the old French-Canadian seigneurie of Vaudreuil. It was an English-speaking island in a French-speaking area.

The second reason for the choice is a personal one. The author grew up in the English-speaking community of Vaudreuil. A boyhood curiosity led from questions about the age of old houses to questions about the people who once lived in them;

broadened to include inquiries about society in Vaudreuil a century ago; gradually concentrated on social aspects such as seigneurialism, education, religion, politics, and local leadership; and the result is this study—the answer to those questions.

Many of the people whose efforts created the community and whose lives are scrutinized here, lie forgotten in the quiet cemeteries of the place. Many of the places they built, however, still stand. Schneider's Inn, Mathison's School, DeLesDerniers' house and Dejardins' Store are familiar landmarks in an increasingly suburban area. This work is the story of small men who lived in a small place.

I would here like to thank all those from whom I have received personal kindnesses which enabled me to complete this study. Among those who allowed me to see unpublished family papers and manuscripts, I must record my indebtedness to Miss Ethel Kyte of Darien, Connecticut; Mr. Gustave Wilson and Mr. John Simpson of Côte St. Charles, Quebec; Mr. A. Blenkinship of Hudson; Mrs. R. W. Shepherd of Como; and Mr. H. de L. Harwood of Vaudreuil. I am also in the debt of Mr. Yves Quesnel of Rigaud and Curé Adhémar Jeannette of Vaudreuil who allowed me to search for information in their collections of manuscripts, and who gave me help and encouragement.

I acknowledge the ready help of Mr. John Archer and his staff at the Redpath Library of McGill University, and Dr. W. Kaye Lamb and his courteous staff at the Public Archives of

Canada. In particular I want to thank Archivist William Naftel for constantly guiding me to helpful sources of information.

Of all the assistance I received, none is more appreciated than that of the Rev. E. C. Royle, rector of St. James' Anglican Church in Hudson Heights. His book on the history of his parish prompted my first real interest in history; his friendly advice and constructive criticism throughout the long period of the preparation of this manuscript was unfailingly given and unquestionably important.

In preparing the maps for this thesis, I was aided by the advice of Mrs. Robert McConnachie of Stanstead, Quebec. I wish also to thank my typist, Mrs. Alex Philip of Stanstead, for her patience and effort. Any errors remaining in the manuscript are mine.

Finally I wish to thank my wife. Her aid in compiling a bibliography, in tracking down elusive sources and in mercilessly editing my work is appreciated. Her ability to encourage me to keep on is beyond thanks.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	ii
List of Abbreviations	vi
 Maps	
Vaudreuil and Area	vii
The English-speaking Community in Vaudreuil	viii
 Chapter	
I. VAUDREUIL IN 1820	1
II. THE RICH IN HOPE AND POOR IN PURSE.....	12
III. THE GROWING COMMUNITY	25
IV. THE REBELLION OF 1837-38	45
V. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNITY	63
VI. THE PASSING OF POWER	84
VII. NEW LEADERS AND A NEW SPIRIT	100
VIII. THE COMMUNITY AT CONFEDERATION	112
Appendices	119
Bibliography	130

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

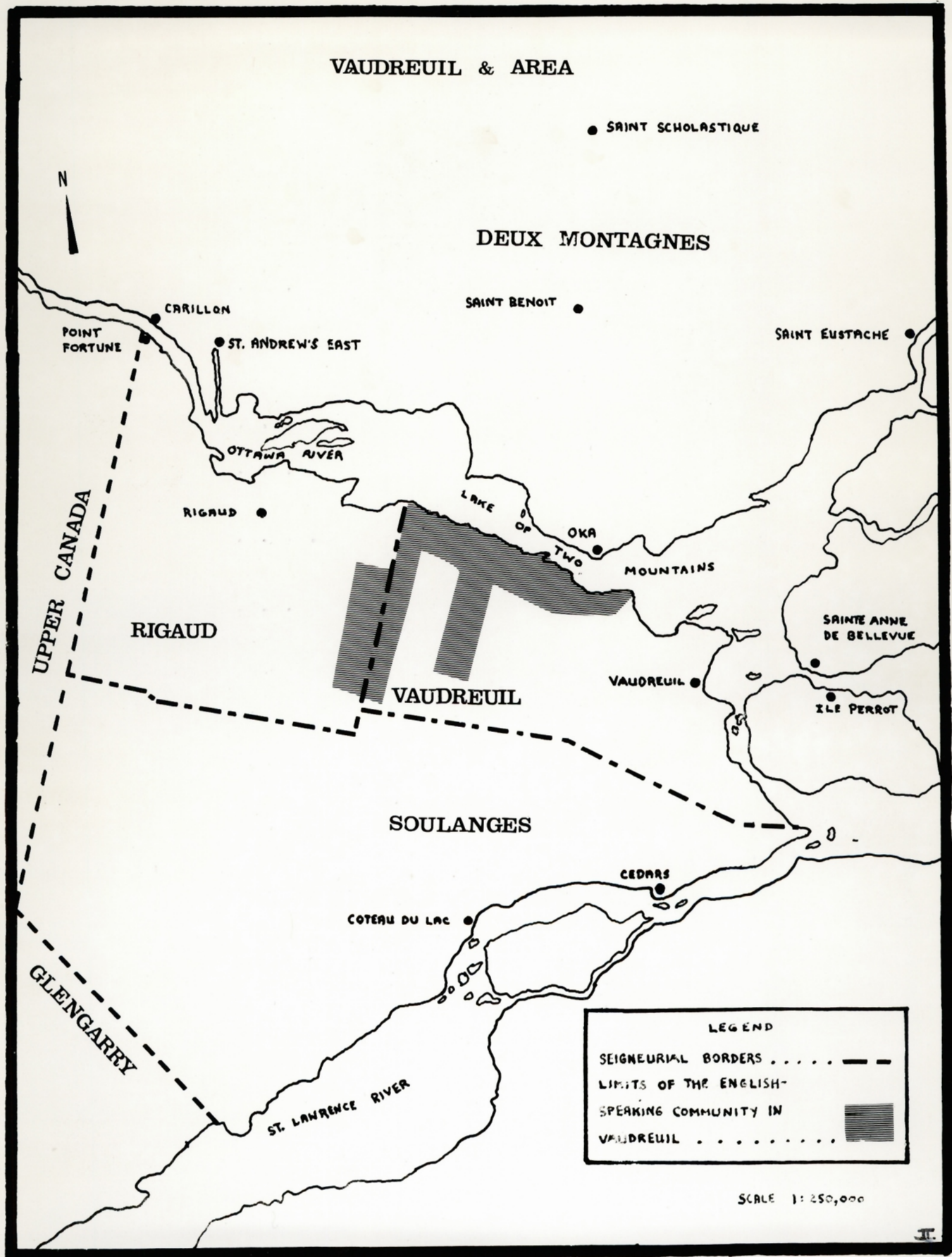
The following abbreviations have been used:

A.A.Q.	Archives de l'Archevêque de Québec
A.P.Q.	Archives publiques de Québec
CHAR	Canadian Historical Association Report
CHR	Canadian Historical Review
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada
R.A.P.Q.	Report of the Archivist of the Province of Quebec
R.I.A.L.	Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

In the appendix:

CSC	Côte St. Charles
Cv.	Cavagnal
H	Côte St. Henry
N	North
S	South
E	East
W	West

VAUDREUIL & AREA

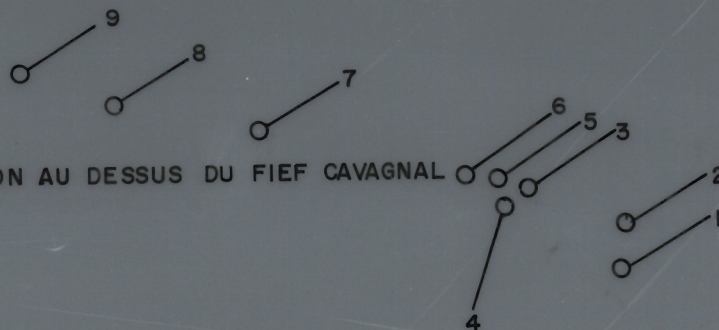


FIEF
CHOISY

LA PREMIERE CONCESSION AU DESSUS DU FIEF CAVAGNAL

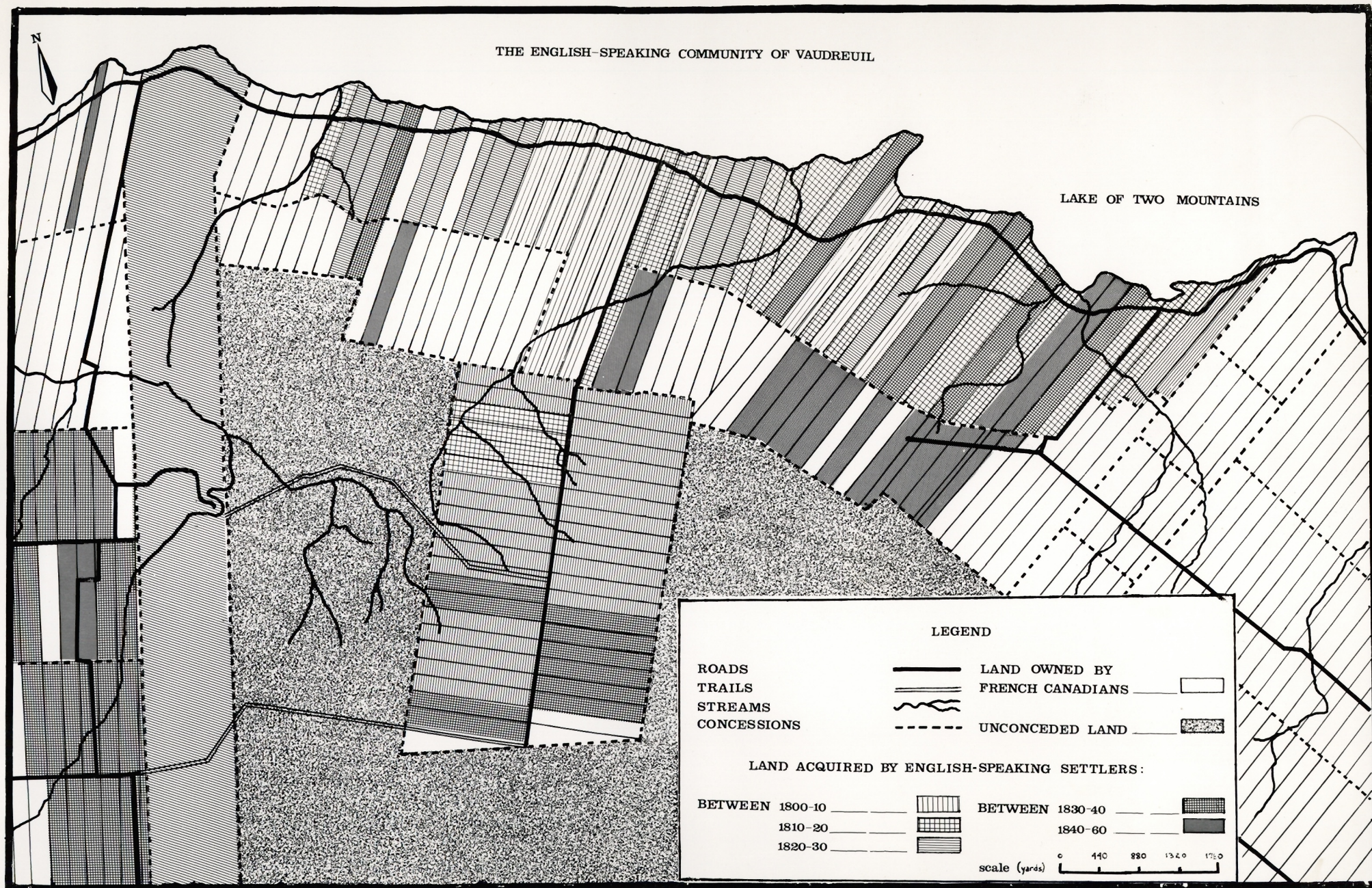
COTE ST-CHARLES

ST-HENRY



THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF VAUDREUIL

LAKE OF TWO MOUNTAINS



LEGEND

ROADS
TRAILS
STREAMS
CONCESSIONS

LAND OWNED BY
FRENCH CANADIANS
UNCONCEDED LAND

LAND ACQUIRED BY ENGLISH-SPEAKING SETTLERS:

BETWEEN 1800-10
1810-20
1820-30
BETWEEN 1830-40
1840-60

scale (yards) 0 440 880 1320 1760

KEY TO MAP

1. Ottawa Glassworks (eastern location)
2. F. -X. Desjardins' Store
3. P. F. C. DeLesDerniers' Store
4. St. Mary's Anglican Church
5. Schneider's Inn and Wharf
6. Ottawa Glassworks (western location)
7. Canada Glassworks
8. Mathison's School
9. St. James' Anglican Church
10. Côte St. Charles Methodist Church
11. Whitlock's Saw Mill

CHAPTER I

VAUDREUIL IN 1820

On June 13, 1820 Michel Eustache Gaspard Alain Chartier de Lotbinière was informed that a farm within his Seigneurie of Vaudreuil had changed hands. Alexander Forbes had sold Lot 31 in La Première Concession Au Dessus du Fief Cavagnal to John Augustus Mathison for £ 200. Lotbinière's interest in the transaction hinged on the arrears in rent which were owed him— a sum amounting to £ 15— and he duly recorded the sale in his Register. It was a seemingly routine matter.¹ Yet, the arrival of John Mathison in Vaudreuil was the drop of a stone in a pool from which many circles would spread.

Lotbinière was spending the summer of 1820, like so many before it, in his quiet rural Seigneurie of Vaudreuil in the delightful company of his wife and three young daughters. He had been the Seigneur of Vaudreuil, Rigaud and Lotbinière for almost a half-century ever since he had purchased his father's holdings in 1771.²

¹Terrier de Vaudreuil, (2 vols.), I, La Première Concession Au Dessus du Fief Cavagnal, Lot 31. This is the Seigneurial Register in which all changes of land ownership were recorded. The first volume starts in 1781 and was used by Lotbinière. The second belonged to R.U. Harwood and commences in 1829. Both are now kept in the Registry Office in the village of Vaudreuil. Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent references to the Terrier will concern only La Première Concession Au Dessus du Fief Cavagnal (hereafter called Cavagnal).

²C.A. Harwood, L'honorable M.E.G.A. Chartier de Lotbinière (Montreal: C.A. Marchand, 1910) p. 1.

Of his three Seigneuries, Lotbinière was the oldest, but he saw little of it now and allowed his agent De la Chevriotière to administer it for him. He preferred to live in Vaudreuil and had built his Manor House there on the banks of the Ottawa River. Ten miles to the west was his third Seigneury, Rigaud. Of these two, Vaudreuil was the older and more thickly populated— although only three quarters the size of Rigaud. It had been first granted in 1702 to Phillipe de Vaudreuil and had later passed to his son Pierre de Cavagnal de Vaudreuil. Even in 1725, the Seigneury had been partly surveyed and thirty-eight censitaires had rented farms along the river. The Seigneury of Rigaud had been granted in 1732 to another of Phillipe de Vaudreuil's sons, Rigaud de Vaudreuil, and although it contained over 65,000 arpents of land, these had remained virtually unsettled for over fifty years.³

With the British Conquest of Quebec the brothers Vaudreuil, both prominent in colonial administration, hastened to France and never returned the colony. Instead they sold their land to their cousin, Chartier de Lotbinière, in 1763. His interest in the Seigneuries flagged after only seven years and he in turn sold them to his son Michel Eustache Gaspard Alain, and left for England.⁴

Young Lotbinière, however, did not immediately secure clear title to the land. In taking Vaudreuil and Rigaud from his father,

³Terrier, I, avant-propos.

⁴A. de Lery Macdonald, The Seigneurie of Alainville on Lake Champlain (Baltimore: 1929), pp. 28-35.

he had also assumed the burden of paying the Vaudreuil family the sum of 16,016 livres tournois "et plus de leurs faire par le futur leurs rentes et pensions".⁵

In those early years long ago Lotbinière had encountered great difficulties in fulfilling his obligations. Not long after his purchase while fighting on the British side against the Americans at St. Jean, he was captured and taken to Connecticut where he remained a prisoner-of-war for almost two years.⁶ Absent and unable to collect his rents, he had nearly lost his Seigneuries. Finally in 1781 he paid his debt to the Vaudreuils and became the Seigneur of Vaudreuil and Rigaud.⁷

Lotbinière was a busy man in the decade of the eighties. In Vaudreuil he renewed and revised his censitaires' contracts which had suffered a quarter-century's neglect.⁸ He repaired his Manor House, built a new grist mill, and donated both money and land to construct the Church of St. Michel in the blossoming village of Vaudreuil.⁹ Under his firm hand, life in the Seigneury of Vaudreuil gained a new shape.

⁵Terrier, I, avant-propos. He was also obliged to pay the Crown a Quint (one fifth of the purchase price) amounting to 3,200 livres tournois, or £ 133.0.0. The British pound was equal to twenty-four livres.

⁶Harwood, p. 4

⁷Terrier, I, avant-propos.

⁸Terrier, I. There were 239 habitants in the Seigneury of Vaudreuil in 1781.

⁹McGill University, Lotbinière Papers. The mill was completed in 1787 and the church in 1789.

Turning his attention to the Seigneurie of Rigaud in the late eighties, Lotbinière extended the river road, which was the backbone of settlement in Vaudreuil, westward along the Ottawa until in 1793 it reached the Upper Canadian border. He ordered lots surveyed along it and granted these to French Canadians desiring new land. Throughout the 1790's the frontier of settlement was pushed steadily westward and by the close of the eighteenth century, the little village of Rigaud had been hewn from the woods.¹⁰

As the years passed, Lotbinière met with both public honours and personal disappointments. His censitaires elected him as their first representative in the Assembly after the Constitutional Act of 1791 had granted Lower Canada a provincial legislature. There he gained fame for his eloquent defence of the use of the French Language and became the colony's second Speaker.¹¹ His prestige was further heightened in the War of 1812 when the Vaudreuil Division of the First Battalion, which he commanded, helped repulse the Americans when they attacked Chateaugay in October 1813.¹²

¹⁰ A. de Lery Macdonald, "La Seigneurie de Rigaud Sous le Régime Seignorial" (1933). Typewritten MS in the possession of M. Yves Quesnel, Ville La Salle, Quebec.

¹¹ Harwood, pp. 6-7. Vaudreuil was part of the County of York which also included Deux Montagnes, Argenteuil, Soulanges and all the north shore of the Ottawa Valley. Lotbinière succeeded Panet as Speaker and was later appointed to the Legislative Council.

¹² P.A.C., Muster Rolls and Pay Lists of the Embodied Militia in the War of 1812, Vaudreuil Division, Vol. 20.

But family tragedies marred these achievements. His first wife died in 1799. Remarried, he first lost two small daughters and then his only son.¹³

In 1820 he was almost seventy-two. Death was not far away and he knew there would be no son to take his place. He was the last of the Lotbinières. His three daughters would some day divide his estate, but the eldest had not yet reached sixteen. He feared their "self ruin by folly of youth" and "the wicked counsel of the wretches who would abuse their young hearts". Thus his will dictated that they would receive only an allowance until they reached the age of twenty-five.¹⁴

Now it was June in the year 1820, and the colony seemed to be prospering under its new governor, Dalhousie. Certainly the Seigneury of Vaudreuil was flourishing. The Seigneur's main concern was the operation of his new grist mill. He had confidently hoped a year previously that, "le moulin placé au centre des bleds [sic] et où les chemins qui y conduisent sont bien fais et très beaux me donnera un très gros intérêt de mon argent".¹⁵ Its profits by June were already proving him right. The Seigneury's population now

¹³Harwood, pp. 8-9. His only son, George, was born in April 1812 and died two months later. His three surviving children were Louise, Charlotte and Julie Christine, all born of his second wife.

¹⁴R.A.P.Q., 1951-53, "The Last Will and Testament of M.E.G.A. Chartier de Lotbinière", p.397. The old Seigneur also kindly asked that thirty bushels of wheat be distributed to the poor in each of his three Seigneuries.

¹⁵McGill, Lotbinière Papers, Lotbinière to De la Chevriotière, 8 March, 1819.

numbered over 2,000 and one observer described it as "a very fine thriving area".¹⁶ Indeed, Lotbinière himself was pleased. "Je suis assez heureux," he had written, "de ne pas avoir à Vaudreuil, n'y dans les environ [sic] de les envieux et de les intriguants qui ne cherchent qu'à nuire et à faire tort à leur prochain."¹⁷ Life in Vaudreuil was quiet and orderly when the Seigneur's old, but still firm, hand noted that Lot 31 was now owned by John Mathison.

Lot 31 in La Première Concession Au Dessus du Fief Cavagnal was much larger than most farms in the Seigneurie. The average lot was sixty arpents in size. Lot 31 contained 140 arpents— more than the combined area of two farms. Correspondingly it paid a higher rent to Lotbinière— about nine shillings and 5½ minots of wheat per year.¹⁸ Until 1816, the tenant owning the farm had neglected to pay the Seigneur his due, and in that year Lotbinière had evicted him, and others like him, from the Concession. It was not a pleasant duty, but too many of the French-Canadian censitaires of La Première Concession had left their rents unpaid and the situation had become intolerable. Geography had been partly to blame. The Concession lay exactly between the village of Vaudreuil and the village of Rigaud— far from the mills and far from the churches. It had been attractive mainly to voyageurs. Caring little for farming, these

¹⁶P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 151, Report of Thomas Burnett on the Improvement of Navigation on the Ottawa leading into the Lake of Two Mountains, 24 November, 1820.

¹⁷McGill, Lotbinière Papers, 8 March, 1819.

¹⁸A minot was slightly larger than a bushel.

men had cleared only a few acres near the river where they sowed a subsistence crop and grazed a few cattle. Some of the land was poor— swampy or rocky— but most of it was arable, and unused. Since the tenants had not cared to pay their rent, Lotbinière cared not to have them.¹⁹

Alexander Forbes had acquired Lot 31 in 1816 for a song. He paid the former owner a mere £ 2. and agreed to clear away the arrears owed the Seigneur. In the same year Lotbinière granted him an additional sixty arpent continuation in the rear of the farm for a sum which he agreed to start paying three years later. Forbes, a lumber merchant, never had to bother.²⁰ Having cleared the land of timber, he sold both the farm and the continuation to John Mathison for the tidy sum of £ 200.²¹

Mathison was by no means the first English-speaking settler in the Cavagnal Concession, for by 1820 about ten non-French families had purchased farms there. (See Appendix I.) Among the first was John Mark Crank DeLesDerniers, whose strange Swiss-French name belied

¹⁹Terrier, I. Many of the habitants of Cavagnal appear in "Les Répétitoires des Engagements pour l'ouest" listed in R.A.P.Q., 1945-46. Of one such, Lotbinière wrote "Condon n'a jamais payé les rentes. Je fis un Sacrifice sur les arréages et laisserai ce que cette terre devait pour la somme de 120 livres." The Cavagnal Concession, comprising fifty-five farms, was the largest in the Seigneurie.

²⁰F.J. Audet, "Les Députés de la Vallée de l'Ottawa," C.H.A.R., 1935, pp. 13-14.

²¹Terrier, I. Lot 31. The continuation was simply the un-granted land between the southern boundary of the farm and the northern border of the first farm in the neighboring concession.

the fact that he had been born in Nova Scotia and was thoroughly Anglicized. Arriving in Vaudreuil in 1801, DeLesDerniers farmed Lot 15 in Cavagnal and later opened a small store there.²²

Three years later a former Captain in the Queen's American Rangers who had fought on the losing side in the American Revolution, John Whitleck, bought Lots 32-33-34. Following the War of Independence he had moved to Nova Scotia, and, like DeLesDerniers, later came to Lower Canada.²³

In 1804 another military figure, William Schneider, a former Hessian mercenary, settled in Cavagnal. Later during the War of 1812 he and his eldest son Charles served as lieutenants under Lotbinière's command.²⁴ Although the Schneiders owned six farms in the Concession by 1820, William Schneider's chief occupation was keeping an inn. A visitor to Schneider's Inn in 1817 happily reported that it was kept "in a style of neatness and elegance" and catered especially to fur traders:

Northwesters...always stopped at his house on their journeys to and from the interior, and no matter how other customers might fare, a Northwesters should always have the best bed and bottle in the house.²⁵

²²E.C. Royle, The History of the Anglican Parish of Vaudreuil (Hudson Heights: 1955), p.7.

²³E.C. Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick (Fredericton: 1955), p. 342.

²⁴P.A.C., Pay Lists, 1812, Vol. 20.

²⁵"Description of voyage by Ross Cox down the Ottawa: Sept. 18, 1817," cited by E.C. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns (4 vols.; Toronto: Ontario Publishing Company, 1956-58), II, 121.

Some of the Northwesters treated to Schneider's hospitality later settled down in Vaudreuil. John Thomas, a former chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Moose Fort and a relatively wealthy man, purchased four farms near the Inn in 1814.²⁶ By 1820 Robert Longmoor, James Halcro and Thomas Knight— all fur traders— had also acquired property in Cavagnal.²⁷

Finally there was one English-speaking family in the new Concession of Côte St. Charles, south of Cavagnal, which Lotbinière had ordered surveyed in 1811. These were the Grouts, Solomon and Ebenezer, who came from New Hampshire.²⁸

Only ten English-speaking families in 1820; but they were the foundation of a community— "an association", Tocqueville claimed, "so perfectly natural that wherever a number of men are collected it seems to constitute itself."²⁹ By then John Whitlock had been appointed Justice of the Peace.³⁰ By then an occasional Anglican service had been held in Cavagnal. By then Whitlock and Schneider

²⁶E.E. Rich (ed.), The Moose Fort Journals (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1954), p. 370. He needed four farms— fourteen others were in his retinue which left Moose in June 1814. Included was Thomas' nine year old grandson, Richard Robins, who was later to gain prominence in Vaudreuil.

²⁷See Appendix I.

²⁸Royle, p. 12. Côte St. Charles was located one mile south of Cavagnal.

²⁹A. de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, ed. by J.S. Commager (Oxford: University Press, 1946), p. 56.

³⁰Quebec Almanac (Quebec: John Neilson, 1810), p. 32.

had purchased "a piece of land to be employed and used as a burial ground for all Protestants in the Seigneries of Vaudreuil and Rigaud".³¹ The first seeds of an English-speaking community had been sown by the time Forbes sold Lot 31, which lay at the junction of the riverfront road and the Côte St. Charles concession road, to Mathison in 1820.

The principal figure in the transaction, of course, was John Augustus Mathison who at the age of thirty-nine was embarking on a new career after having spent most of his life in military service in England. Born on Christmas Day 1781 in London, he joined the British navy at the start of the Napoleonic Wars and was present at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805.³² Later he left the navy and after serving in the West Yorkshire Militia, joined the army as an ensign in His Majesty's 77th Foot Regiment. There he saw action against Napoleon's troops in the bloody Spanish Peninsular campaign of 1811-12 and was wounded in battle.³³ Later promoted to lieutenant, Mathison remained in the Army until 1817 when he retired on half-pay.

³¹Original deed in the Archives of the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, cited by Royle, p. 14.

³²"Funeral Oration for J.A. Mathison preached by the Rev. Mr. James Pyke, November 15, 1868." This manuscript is contained in a collection of papers and artifacts belonging to John Augustus Mathison in the possession of his great grand-daughter, Miss Ethel Kyte of Darien, Connecticut. Cited hereafter as Mathison Collection.

³³Mathison Collection, Medal presented to J.A. Mathison inscribed "To the British Army 1795-1814: Tollouse, Orthes, Nive, Nivelle, Vittoria, Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo." These were the battles in which Mathison took part.

With his military career unable to provide him the means of making his fortune in post-war England, Mathison, like many of his fellow half-pay officers, must have been impressed by the possibilities of the new land where, they were informed, the establishment of an "estate" on a scale impossible in Britain was a matter of no difficulty. In 1820 he sailed for Canada;³⁴ in June of that year he purchased his estate— Lot 31 in La Première Concession Au Dessus du Fief Cavagnal. It was to be a significant purchase.

³⁴Ibid. Contained in the collection is a copy of the Montreal Transcript and Commercial Advertiser of February 19, 1850 in which there appears a letter from "A Faithful Subject of the Queen" in which the correspondent recounts his "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada". The writer of the letter was John Mathison. There he states, "In the year 1820, I arrived in Canada".

CHAPTER II

THE RICH IN HOPE AND POOR IN PURSE

Chartier de Lotbinière passed away on the first day of the year 1822. An era had ended. He had been Seigneur of Vaudreuil and Rigaud for over fifty years and during those many years he had earned the loyalty and respect of his French-speaking habitants through his constant paternal regard for their welfare. Even in his will he had decreed that his wheat be distributed amongst the poor of his seigneuries. Few could recall when he had not been Seigneur; hundreds paid their last tribute to the old gentleman before he was buried in the seigneurial vault of his beloved Church of St. Michel de Vaudreuil.¹

A few of Lotbinière's tenants, however, could not have realized the significance of the Seigneur's passing or shared the sense of grief. Like Mathison, they were newcomers to Vaudreuil who had only recently arrived, for by the time of the Seigneur's death the great exodus of people forced by poverty to flee from the British Isles was well underway and several of these British immigrants had settled in Vaudreuil.² Unlike Mathison, they were

¹P.A.C., Series C, Vol. 198. According to Lt.-Col. C.M. de Salaberry, Lotbinière left his widow in "circumstances not very affluent".

²J.M. Shepperson, British Immigration to North America (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1954), Appendix I, "Emigrants sailing from the United Kingdom: 1815-50". By 1822

simple farmers— men of little means.

Among the first to come to Vaudreuil was John Hodgson. He was a native of Little Salkeld, Cumberland— a hamlet in the Vale of Eden six miles north-east of the old market town of Penrith.³ Like most of the inhabitants of his former home in Northern England, Hodgson was a farmer. In May 1819 at the age of twenty-six, he left with his wife and small daughter and sailed for Canada. Within a year they had settled on a small farm in the Côte St. Charles Concession of Vaudreuil.⁴

Others followed. In the next seventeen years over fifty British families bought land in Côte St. Charles and Cavagnal. A few were Scottish, but the majority were Englishmen who came from the same area as did John Hodgson— the Vale of Eden in Cumberland. In all, almost thirty families emigrated from Penrith and the small villages around it during the twenties and thirties.⁵

If any one man was responsible for inducing the first Cumbrian immigrants to come to Vaudreuil, it was the Rev. Joseph Abbott.

over 80,000 English-speaking immigrants had made the voyage across the Atlantic to Canada since the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

³William Whellan, The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland (London: Whittaker & Co., 1860), pp. 500-577. The Vale of Eden literally means the Valley of the River Eden.

⁴Note in family Bible owned by Mrs. G.L. Parsons, Como, Quebec, and cited by Royle, p. 15.

⁵A list of the English-speaking settlers in Côte St. Charles, Côte St. Henry, and Cavagnal is given in Appendix I. These immigrants came from the Parishes of Addingham and Dacre, and from the villages of Culgaith, Kirkoswald, Ousby, Skirwith and Winskell— all within a ten-mile radius of Penrith.

Arriving in Canada in July 1818, he "immediately went out to that part of the country inhabited by English-speaking settlers"⁶ as the minister in charge of the Mission of St. Andrew's. Vaudreuil was part of his Mission. An ardent colonizer as well as a zealous missionary, Abbott encouraged others to follow him.⁷ It is very likely that his enthusiastic descriptions of Lower Canada were heard by many around his old home— Little Strickland, about six miles south-east of Penrith— and served to lure many to escape to North America. Some came to Vaudreuil.

Once one or two had settled they sent letters home urging others to join them. As more came, the process repeated itself, Indeed, most of the immigrant farm families in Vaudreuil had known each other in England. When Thomas Parsons left Cumberland in 1829 it was with "the object of joining friends on the Côte St. Charles in Vaudreuil".⁸ A letter to Joseph Blenkinship of Côte St. Charles from a friend near his old home in Penrith specifically requests "to hear how your neighbours the Hodgsons and Birds families are getting on".⁹

⁶Immigrant Farmer [Joseph Abbott], Memoranda of a Settler in Lower Canada (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1842), p.8.

⁷Abbott's interest in colonization motivated him to write three books in the 1840's dealing with the subject. In one of these publications, Memoranda of a Settler in Lower Canada, is included a glowing account of life in Lower Canada dated November 29, 1827. It seems highly probable that Abbott had sent such an account back to Penrith fifteen years before publishing his book in 1842; if so, this would explain the renewal of immigration from Cumberland to Vaudreuil in 1828.

⁸Royle, p. 20.

⁹Letter of John Spedding of Culgaith, Cumberland to Joseph Blenkinship, Côte St. Charles, September 16, 1847. In the possession of Mr. A. Blenkinship, Hudson, Quebec.

Finally, a Methodist Missionary reported that "Côte St. Charles... is settled mainly by friends from England".¹⁰

In some cases a whole family, including the aged grandparents arrived in Vaudreuil; however, most of the English-speaking immigrants were young, unmarried, and penniless.¹¹ The Rev. Joseph Abbott wrote, "At Côte St. Charles...the inhabitants are excessively poor".¹² Discussing the financial resources of the farmers in the back settlements in 1825, he wrote, "They will not be able to pay a single farthing in money they would not even raise as much at the moment."¹³ They were, as one pioneer writer said, "the rich in hope and poor in purse".¹⁴ All could have echoed the plaintive words of one Cumbrian writing to a friend in Vaudreuil: "If you think i can don any thin thane i will come for i can turn my hand to any thin... My wife has one littel chield as yet and i can not tell what ma

¹⁰ Methodist Missionary Report of 1854 cited by Douglas Walkington, "A Progress Report on the Early Days of Methodism in Vaudreuil," Paper read before the meeting of the Hudson Historical Society, March 20, 1965, p. 3.

¹¹ See Appendix I. Two large families of Lancasters came out in 1828 but most of the new settlers were considerably less than thirty-five years old when they emigrated.

¹² McGill University, The Correspondence of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, Abbott to Mills, November 19, 1824. Cited hereafter as R.I.A.L. Papers.

¹³ Ibid., Abbott to Mills, January 24, 1825.

¹⁴ This pithy quotation is credited to Susanna Moodie, author of Roughing it in the Bush.

follow and England is don for a poor man." [sic]¹⁵ Arriving in Canada with nothing, the Cumbrian settlers of Vaudreuil found that the land itself provided them with the basic riches and the promise of the future:

They were comparatively poor, as new settlers generally are and yet strange as it may appear to a dweller in the old country, they were well off in the world. Still they were poor as far as the ability to pay money was concerned.¹⁶

The English immigrants' meagre financial resources caused them to settle mainly in Côte St. Charles rather than along the Ottawa River in the Concession of Cavagnal. Because Lotbinière had not granted the back concession until 1811, there were no large arrears in rent owing on these farms. Furthermore, the Seigneur had granted many of the farms to his aristocratic associates who left them uncleared and uncultivated.¹⁷ Naturally such land was

¹⁵Letter from Robert Haswell to Joseph Blenkinship of Côte St. Charles, October 20, 1850. In the possession of Mr. A. Blenkinship, Hudson, Quebec.

¹⁶Philip Musgrave [Joseph Abbott], Memoirs of a Church of England Missionary in the North American Colonies (London: John Murray, 1850), p. 20.

¹⁷Yves Quesnel, "L'Histoire du Deuxième Pont, Rivière-à-la-Graisse, Village de Rigaud: 1829-30" (Mimeographed, 1958). Lot 11 Côte St. Charles West was owned by the heirs of John Mure, a former Scottish merchant of Quebec City who had represented the County of York in the Assembly from 1805-1810. Lotbinière at this time was a member of the Legislative Council. Another aristocratic associate of the Seigneur who owned land in Côte St. Charles was Colonel A. A. Fillion, the son-in-law of the Seigneur of nearby Soulanges. Neither of these two gentlemen were likely to have cleared their land.

much cheaper than even partly-cleared farms in Cavagnal. In fact the difference in land costs between the two Concessions was startling. The average price per arpent¹⁸ of a farm in Cavagnal at the time was £1.9.6. John Mathison had, for example, paid £200 for 140 arpents. On the other hand, Thomas Jackson, "a farmer...from England", spent five dollars— a little more than one pound— and acquired a sixty arpent farm in Côte St. Charles.¹⁹ Economic factors forced the impecunious Cumbrians into the wooded lots of sandy-soiled Côte St. Charles.

Poor as they were, the immigrants valued education. In early 1825 "the heads of Families in the Côte St. Charles settlement" under the leadership of the Rev. Joseph Abbott forwarded a petition to the Royal Society for the Advancement of Learning. It requested a grant to pay a teacher.²⁰ Abbott himself verified the existence of a small eighteen-foot-square schoolhouse, "erected at the expense of the inhabitants", and was satisfied with the qualifications of the teacher employed, John Benson.²¹ "Because the children in the back

¹⁸ See Appendix II. An arpent contained 3,600 square yards— roughly three quarters the size of an acre.

¹⁹ Deed of Sale by Joseph Bedard to Thomas Jackson of Lot 20 West, Côte St. Charles, September 7, 1830 for cinq piastres. In the possession of Mr. Gustave Wilson, Côte St. Charles, Hudson Heights, Que.

²⁰ McGill, R.I.A.L. Papers, Petition of Côte St. Charles for a Schoolmaster, December 30, 1824.

²¹ Ibid., Abbott to Mills, November 19, 1824. It is possible that Benson's school was started earlier than 1825; the school report for 1829 states that it was established in 1820. There is, however, no other proof to corroborate this fact.

settlements without scarcely an exception cannot read or write," Abbott wrote, "I have paid more attention to the moral and religious characters of the teachers than to their education."²² Benson was Anglican.

The Royal Institution granted Benson a salary of £20 per year— "little enough", said Abbott— and appointed three School Visitors to check the progress of the school. One of them, naturally, was the Rev. Joseph Abbott. Education and religion dovetailed in the pioneer community. "When I visit the neighbourhood settlement in my capacity of missionary," Abbott wrote, "I always make it a point to visit and examine the schools at the same time."²³ But Abbott lived across the Lake of Two Mountains in St. Andrews. He could only visit Côte St. Charles a few times each year. Without a resident minister, there was always the possibility that the itinerant Methodist preachers would gain converts from among the Anglicans.²⁴ To avoid this happening, Abbott's hand-picked schoolmaster was required to double as the Anglican pastor in the community:

The masters read the sermon but are too poor to purchase the selections and the people are so indifferent about it to assist them...At Côte St. Charles...I have

²² Ibid., January 24, 1825.

²³ Ibid., Abbott to Mills, May 2, 1826.

²⁴ Walkington, pp. 4-5. The Methodists were active in the Ottawa Valley during the twenties. One text states that the Rev. William Case, Presiding Elder 1815-28, borrowed a book at Point Fortune and "read it on his horse's back riding to and from Côte St. Charles".

given the most strict injunctions that this rule be observed...important in these settlements so far distant from the church.²⁵

The connection between the Anglican church and the schools helps explain the absence of social contact between French and English in education. When in 1822 Monseigneur Lartigue of Montreal learned that several Roman Catholics were attending the two Protestant Schools founded by Abbott in the Parish of Rigaud, he wrote the curé. "Il faudra employer tous les moyens possibles pour les en détourner."²⁶ Later reiterating the point he warned, "Il vaud mieux qu'ils n'aient pas d'éducation littéraire que de risquer une mauvaise éducation morale."²⁷ This advice explains the absence of French-speaking pupils in the Côte St. Charles School.

Eastward in the village of Vaudreuil in 1824, a group of inhabitants, including the curé of the church of St. Michel de Vaudreuil, Paul-Loup Archambault, petitioned the Royal Institution for the establishment of a school in order to secure "the benefits of English education for the coming generation".²⁸ A year later the school was established with Christopher Purcell, an Irish Catholic, serving as master.²⁹ The school soon languished after Curé

²⁵ McGill, R.I.A.L. Papers, Abbott to Mills, February 1, 1826.

²⁶ R.A.P.Q., 1941-42, p. 389, Bishop Lartigue to the Rev. Clement Amable de la Broquerie, February 22, 1822.

²⁷ Ibid., March 7, 1822.

²⁸ McGill, R.I.A.L. Papers, Petition from Vaudreuil, March 8, 1824.

²⁹ Ibid., Letterbook, April 1, 1825.

Archambault withdrew his support from the institution because he had been cautioned by Lartigue:

Quoique tout soit catholique pour le moment, d'un instant à l'autre vos enfants peuvent avoir un maître protestant et, s'il y a quelques enfants protestans [sic] par la suit, les vôtres seront exposés à entendre qu'il n'y a que deux sacremens [sic].³⁰

Although this fear of social intercourse had validity, it explains in part the lack of communication between the English and French-speaking inhabitants of Vaudreuil in this era. The Vaudreuil Village school was unceremoniously closed in 1827 and the school-master bitterly commented, "There was a prospect of this being a flourishing school but the priest objecting to become a visitor injured it."³¹ Furthermore, he complained of "a premeditated plan to have the school exterminated" instigated by Curé Archambault which succeeded "because the inhabitants obey him."³²

If there was a growing mistrust between French and English in the realm of education in Vaudreuil during the twenties, so too was there an increased antagonism between them in politics. The Seigneury of Vaudreuil was located in the County of York which elected two members to the Legislative Assembly. In 1824 E.L. Dumont of St. Eustache and John Simpson of Coteau du Lac, a village about ten miles south of Vaudreuil, were elected to represent York. The latter

³⁰ A.A.Q., Registre des Lettres, Vol, 12, pp. 516-17.

³¹ McGill, R.I.A.L. Papers, Purcell to Mills, October 12, 1826.

³² Ibid., January 27, 1827.

appealed to the growing English-speaking community in Vaudreuil. He was a thirty-six year old Englishman who had emigrated in 1815 and had served as Governor Dalhousie's private secretary before being appointed Collector of Customs at Coteau.³³ Simpson and Dumont soon lost their appeal in French Canadian eyes, for during their terms in office, both consistently supported the governor in his disagreements with Louis-Joseph Papineau, the leader of the Assembly.

Their conduct aroused opposition. In 1827 when they sought re-election, their political rivals met in St. Eustache and nominated J.B. Lefebvre of Vaudreuil and Dr. Jacques Labrie of St. Eustache to oppose them. Simpson and Dumont retaliated by causing those officers in the militia who had attended the meeting to be stripped of their commissions.³⁴ As the summer weather got hotter, so did the political climate in the County of York. The election became a contest between two factions— the Tories, whose main support came from the English-speaking electors, and the Papineauists backed by French Canadians. Simpson, fearing a violent clash of nationalities, withdrew his name after the first day of voting:

My Canadian supporters unaccustomed to such scenes of tumult and excess were afraid to approach the Hustings—

³³F. J. Audet, "John Simpson (1788-1873)", CHAR, 1936, pp. 32-35.

³⁴Lower Canada, Assembly, Rapport du Comité Special Auquel a été référé cette partie de la harangue de Son Excellence relative à L'Organisation de la Milice (Quebec: Nelson & Cowan, 1829), Examination of Jean-Joseph Girouard. A Special Committee was set up to probe the abuses of power in the militia following the election of 1827. Many of those stripped of their commissions by Simpson and Dumont later played important roles in the rebellion— including Girouard, Dumouchel, and Scott.

My English, Irish and Scotch were determined to lose their rights but with their lives, and vowing vengeance were collecting themselves in a body resolutely determined to take the Poll...in such a cause— so encouraged— murder must have ensued.³⁵

Simpson claimed that the battle had "descended from a Political to a Religious warfare", blaming the curés "who have not remained idle spectators but have contributed their influence and their arts to this unholy excitement".³⁶ Although the clergy, including Curé Paul-Loup Archambault of Vaudreuil, demanded Simpson retract his charges or be liable to the penalties provided by law, the whole matter was dropped after the election. It was not, however, a promising sign of things to come in relations between the established French-Canadian settlers and the ever-increasing number of English-speaking farmers.

From 1820 to 1824 the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil grew. Geographically the settlement was limited to the two concessions of Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles. Physically it very much resembled the French-Canadian owned countryside around it. Crude log farmhouses dotted the two concession roads and behind them stood rough-hewn shanties and barns. Here and there a substantial stone house stood out in bold relief; however these were rare, and were owned by the long-established families like the Schneiders and Grouts.³⁷

³⁵Montreal Gazette, August 20, 1827, Simpson to the Electors of York.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Royle, pp. 8-11. Schneider's Inn was stone. John Schneider, a son of the Innkeeper also owned a stone house which was built in 1807. The Grouts' stone house was in Côte St. Charles. Both families were veterans of Lotbinière's Militia Division in the War of 1812-14.

One stone house stood out above the rest— a newly-built mansion regally overlooking the Ottawa. It was located on Lot 31 and it belonged to John Augustus Mathison. Compared to the rough abodes of the other newcomers, Mathison's house was palatial. It marked him as a squire of importance in the community.

Having arrived in 1820, Mathison soon after met "the beautiful American niece" of his neighbour, John Whitlock, and they were married on July 1, 1822.³⁸ In 1826, following the retirement of Whitlock from his position of Justice of the Peace, John Mathison was appointed in his stead.³⁹ The retired British Army Officer had become the community's most important citizen. In his capacity as a magistrate, Mathison was empowered to maintain law and order in the English-speaking settlement. If a crime was committed he could arrest the offender and conduct the preliminary examination. After taking information, he was required to bind the witnesses and offenders over to the next session of the Court of Queen's Bench. In essence he was a police officer— a keeper of the peace.⁴⁰

³⁸Church of Scotland Registers, St. Andrew's East, Quebec. Volume for 1822, folio 29. Marriage of John Augustus Mathison and Harriet Vanderburg, July 1, 1822. See also Royle, p. 17.

³⁹Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada". This is confirmed by the Quebec Almanac (1828), p. 69.

⁴⁰For a complete discussion of the office of Justice of the Peace see Charles Austin Beard, The Office of Justice of the Peace in England In Its Origin and Development (New York: Columbia, 1904).

In the same year as Mathison's appointment as Justice of the Peace, the government received a petition from 100 freeholders of the Parish of St. Michel de Vaudreuil requesting that a Commissioner of Small Causes be appointed there. This post, like that of Justice of the Peace, was the means used by the colonial government to administer local affairs in Lower Canada. A Commissioner was required to own immutable property valued at no less than £300. He was empowered to hear and judge personal suits involving amounts of not more than £6.5.0. Again the government turned to John Mathison and appointed him Commissioner of Small Causes in Vaudreuil.⁴¹

Both Mathison's offices were unpaid, but both involved the exercise of discretion and power. Six years after he bought Lot 31 in Cavagnal, John Augustus Mathison had become the leading citizen of the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil, enjoying "the popularity and general good opinion of the people of the County".⁴²

⁴¹Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada". This appointment is confirmed by P.A.C., Series S, Appointment of J.A. Mathison as Commissioner of Small Causes, November 30, 1826.

⁴²Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWING COMMUNITY

Because Chartier de Lotbinière had willed that his estate could not be claimed by his three young daughters until the eldest had reached the age of twenty-five, the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil was virtually leaderless for six years. During that time, it was administered in caretaker-fashion by the Seigneur's old agent, André Dominique Pambrun. Finally in the year 1829 Louise Josephte de Lotbinière came of age. In January she and her two younger sisters met to divide their father's three Seigneuries— Lotbinière, Rigaud and Vaudreuil.¹

Of the three, Lotbinière was the poorest. It became the property of the youngest of the sisters, Julie Christine, who was only nineteen at the time. The Seigneurie of Rigaud was the next choice. It was larger than Vaudreuil but contained less arable land, fewer conceded farms and "one old flour mill in very bad condition".² Marie Charlotte de Lotbinière and her husband William Bingham, the son of a Pennsylvanian Senator who had befriended her

¹P.A.C., Joly de Lotbinière Papers, Partage de la Seigneurie, January 17, 1829. On microfilm; the originals at Leclercville, Quebec.

²Ibid., Vaudreuil contained 377 conceded farms and a total area of 49,392 arpents in 1829. Rigaud comprised 316 lots and 65,504 arpents.

father during his American capture in 1776, received the Seigneurie of Rigaud. The last and best was Vaudreuil. It contained the family Manor House, two grist mills and the Seigneur's canal which had been built to overcome the rapids at the mouth of the Ottawa and was profitably rented to a forwarding company. These and other advantages made Vaudreuil the first choice. The eldest of the three girls, Louise Josephte, inherited the Seigneurie.

Her husband, Robert Unwin Harwood, a thirty-one year old Englishman who had emigrated from Sheffield in 1821, became the new Seigneur of Vaudreuil. While Lotbinière had lain on his death-bed, Harwood had been a member of a group petitioning the government for a grant of free land in the remote Township of Rawdon north of Montreal. Following his marriage to nineteen year old Louise Josephte de Lotbinière in December 1823, he lost all interest in free land. He knew he would someday be Seigneur.³

When in 1829 he did become the Seigneur of Vaudreuil, Robert Harwood lost little time in establishing himself there. He relieved the old agent Pambrun of his duties and took control himself. During the year every tenant met him personally before Notary J.O. Bastien to renew their Seigniorial contracts. Harwood did not increase the rent each tenant owed him, but did require payment of the arrears owed the Seigneurie.⁴

³De Lery Macdonald, Alainville, p. 35.

⁴Contrat de Concession (renouvelé) par R.U. Harwood, Seigneur, à William Metcalfe, cultivateur Lot 10 Est, Côte St. Charles, July 10, 1829. In the possession of Mr. John Simpson, Côte St. Charles, Hudson Heights, Quebec.

Having collected over £2,000 in arrears and being guaranteed of a minimum annual income of £675 from his Seignury,⁵ Harwood began to spend some of his new-found wealth. In 1830 he and his family moved from their cottage in Montreal to their newly-constructed stone Manor House near Vaudreuil Village. Three stories high and surrounded "by groves of trees and plantations in the English style",⁶ the Seignorial Mansion was a suitably imposing home for the now-dominant family in Vaudreuil.

Harwood's wealth opened the doors to social advancement in the colony. At thirty-five he was appointed to the Legislative Council, the select group of advisers to the Governor who administered the colony along with the popularly-elected Assembly.⁷ From this appointment began a friendship with Lord Aylmer, the Governor, and subsequent membership on several important Commissions in the colony.⁸ In his early years as Seigneur, Harwood displayed an interest in public works— especially those relating to Vaudreuil— suggesting navigational and postal improvements⁹ as well as promoting an

⁵P.A.C., Joly de Lotbinière Papers, Partage de la Seigneurie.

⁶Joseph Bouchette, Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada (London: Longman, Rees, et al, 1832), Seignury of Vaudreuil. There are additional details concerning the Harwood Manor House in the Harwood Papers at McGill University contained in a letter from R.U. Harwood to William MacKay, November 22, 1830.

⁷De Lery Macdonald, Alainville, p. 35.

⁸McGill, Harwood Papers.

⁹Ibid.

abortive scheme to construct a railway through Vaudreuil to the Upper Canada border.¹⁰ His fascination with such projects continued throughout his life.

Occupied with affairs of colonial importance as a Legislative Councillor, and burdened with the administrative details of running the Seigneurie, Harwood did not concern himself with local matters in Vaudreuil. He did accept the Commission of Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Vaudreuil militia in 1831, but this was an honorary title and involved nothing more than an annual report of manpower in the Seigneurie. He refused the more important position of Justice of the Peace in 1830 saying, "my occupations at the present are so great that I could not do my duty as a magistrate".¹¹ Similarly, although the young Englishman must have appreciated the growing community of his fellow-countrymen in his Seigneurie, he did nothing to encourage its expansion.

Indeed by his very position as landlord, he made enemies within the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil. Many disliked being reminded of the arrears in rent they owed him, and Harwood took several to court to obtain his due. Following their purchase of the Fief Choisy¹² in the twenties, the Whitlock family refused

¹⁰The Herald, September 12, 1837.

¹¹P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 244, R.U. Harwood to Lt.-Col. Yorke, Civil Secretary, August 8, 1830.

¹²A Fief was a seigneurie within a seigneurie. Just as the Crown granted Seigneurs' their land, the Seigneur was able to grant portions of his property to others. Fief owners paid the Seigneur no rent but were obliged to pay him one twelfth of the purchase

to pay the required one-twelfth of the purchase price to the Seigneur of Vaudreuil. Harwood took William Whitlock to court over the matter and in 1834 collected the healthy sum of £300 from him.¹³ Three years later Whitlock damned the "tyrannical seignior [who] will tell you that you shall not dispose of your property without his consent and if you do he will fine you to the amount of a twelfth [sic] part of the fruits of your industry".¹⁴ The Seigneur also brought a Scottish settler of Cavagnal, William Manson, to court and forced him to pay sixteen years' worth of back rent on his two farms.¹⁵ Finally there was another who challenged the new Seigneur— John Augustus Mathison. In renewing his contract Harwood had demanded he pay arrears of 748 livres (about £31). Mathison refused and held out for five years until 1834 when at last he agreed to pay a smaller amount— £19— to Harwood. This dispute between the English-speaking Seigneur and the squire of the English-speaking community was the beginning of a long and bitter rivalry which lingered for thirty years more.¹⁶

price if the Fief changed hands. They could divide their Fief into Lots and concede them to tenants like the Seigneur.

The Fief Choisy was a section of land fifteen arpents in width and 200 arpents in depth located near the western boundary of Vaudreuil. It was originally granted to Chartier de Lotbinière's sister in 1768.

¹³ McGill, Harwood Papers, Harwood vs. Whitlock, April 19, 1834.

¹⁴ A.P.Q., Depositions and Papers relative to the Rebellion of 1837-1838, Item 3888, copy of a broadsheet published by William Whitlock, November 21, 1837. Hereafter cited as Rebellion Papers.

¹⁵ Terrier, II, Lots 3 and 4.

¹⁶ Ibid., Lot 31.

Thus Harwood treated his English-speaking tenants with no more favour than he did his French Canadian habitants, and did not play a leading role in the affairs of the English-speaking community during the thirties. His arrival in Vaudreuil, however, coincided somewhat with a renewed increase in the population of Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles. For three years during the interregnum following Lotbinière's death, from 1824 to 1827, English immigration to Vaudreuil had virtually stopped. In 1828 at least three large families from Cumberland bought land in Côte St. Charles, and the flow of immigrants began anew and continued throughout the thirties.¹⁷

The absence of newcomers to Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles during that three year period had repercussions on life in the community. The number of pupils attending John Benson's small school at Côte St. Charles declined from thirty-one in 1825 to only fifteen three years later. On May 13, 1828 Benson received a letter from the Royal Institution which dolefully informed him that its grant to the school would cease. "We find no fault with you," the letter read, "but your scholars are far too few."¹⁸ Without aid, the poor English-speaking farmers could not maintain the school and it was closed.

Without a school and teacher, the community thus lacked a church and pastor. During the bad year of 1828 only the work of

¹⁷Supra, chap. ii, p.13. See also Appendix I.

¹⁸McGill, R.I.A.L. Papers, Letterbook, Mills to Benson, May 13, 1828.

a particularly dedicated individual kept the church going. The Rev. William Abbott of St. Andrew's praised the work of "Major Wray, with a truly pious family, who reads the morning service and a sermon every Sunday morning to his neighbours, who assemble at his house to the number of fifty or sixty".¹⁹ Major Wray, formerly an officer in the Royal Meath Regiment, had moved to Cavagnal from England with his family "in poor circumstances"²⁰ when his regiment broke up. His efforts kept the flame of religion burning in the community.

But the situation changed in the same year that Harwood arrived in Vaudreuil. In 1829 the Assembly passed an Act to Encourage Elementary Education which provided grants to operate schools under certain conditions. In July of that year John Mathison, quick to seize a subsidy for the betterment of his community, wrote to the Civil Secretary:

I beg leave to acquaint you that I have at my own expense erected a school house here, and that I have appointed a Master and have thirty scholars attending, who being for the most part the children of very poor parents do not contribute more than twenty pence a month each for their instruction which will not be sufficient to keep the school open.

I have therefore the honor [sic] to request that as the Proprietor administering the affairs of the school

¹⁹Report of the Rev. William Abbott to the S.P.G., July 4, 1828, cited by Royle, p. 19. The Rev. Joseph Abbott left St. Andrew's in 1826 and was succeeded there by his brother William.

²⁰P.A.C., R.G. 4, A 1, Vol. 311, p. 17, Major Jackson Wray to Governor Lord Aylmer, October 5, 1833. According to the Terrier, Wray lived on Lot 11 in Cavagnal from 1827 to 1832.

that the allowance of the Legislature may be extended to me at the same time I beg to assure you, sir, that I have no view to any private emolument whatever.²¹

With his children ready to attend school but without a school to attend, Mathison had taken educational matters into his own hands and "at the general request of the British Inhabitants of the neighbourhood"²² had built his own school. The small new schoolhouse stood on Lot 31 at the central crossroads of the settlement. It was equidistant from the eastern, southern and western limits of the English-speaking community and in its first three years of operation attracted about thirty students annually. Each paid one shilling eightpence and this, along with the government grant of £15 per annum, paid the salary of the teacher—none other than John Benson.²³

Mathison's schoolhouse became the hub of the settlement. Throughout the week children from five miles in all directions flocked to it. On Saturdays, Mathison, the local Justice of the Peace and Commissioner of Small Causes, used the building as his

²¹P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 215, Mathison to Lt.-Col. Yorke, Civil Secretary, July 28, 1829.

²²P.A.C., School Records: 1829-31, Vol. 80, Report of the English School in Vaudreuil, 1829. Texts used at John Mathison's school included Mavour's Spelling, Murray's Grammar, Pinnoch's Geography, Walkingham's Arithmetic and the Bible.

²³Ibid. It seems likely that the school was in operation in late 1828. The first students registered December 8, 1828. John Benson moved to Lot 29a, near the schoolhouse, in August of that year.

courthouse whenever the need arose.²⁴ In addition, on the Sabbath the schoolhouse served as the community chapel.

No longer was there any need for Major Wray to hold services in his own home. Soon after the building of the school, the Anglican Church recognized the needs of the growing congregation in Vaudreuil and the insufficiency of its being merely a forgotten outpost of the Parish of St. Andrew's. In 1829 Vaudreuil was detached from St. Andrew's and incorporated with the growing English community at Coteau du Lac in Soulanges to form an entirely new Parish. Now instead of an occasional visit from the incumbent at St. Andrew's, the English-speaking community was served by the minister at Goteau. Every two weeks, the Rev. John Leeds, "a man of few words and retiring habits", rode the twenty-five miles between the two settlements and held services in Mathison's schoolhouse.²⁵

After years of neglect, the English-speaking community provided John Leeds with a great deal of work. In the year 1830 he conducted twenty baptisms— a figure which stood for 120 years as the highest in the Anglican Parish of Vaudreuil.²⁶ Not only Anglicans attended church in Mathison's schoolhouse; many Methodists went too. This was partly because only the Anglican ministers were legally allowed to perform the Protestant services of baptism,

²⁴According to law, Small Cause Courts were to be held on the first and third Saturday of the month, whenever necessary.

²⁵Royle, p. 25.

²⁶Ibid., p. 27.

marriage and burial. Partly too it was due to the settlers' need of associating in common with their neighbours. Leeds explained the attendance of so many Methodists by saying, "I have heard that the majority were Methodist, that they attended the service of the Church as thinking it more respectable, the [Methodist] meeting as liking it better."²⁷ Whatever the reason, the schoolhouse was a community meeting place.

Society in the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil began to take new shape in the year 1829. Life, however, still revolved around the axe and the plough. Since the farms in Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles were mainly wooded, or at best only partly-cleared,²⁸ timber provided the English-speaking settlers with their first cash crop. There were two nearby markets for wood in the thirties. The first was the Whitlock Saw Mill located in the Fief Choisy near the western boundary of the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil. The mill had been built in 1820 by Lotbinière's nephew, and was connected to Côte St. Charles by a road across the Seigneur's unconceded lands.²⁹ The Whitlock family had acquired the property in the twenties. The business prospered due to a demand for sawn lumber in the United States, and provided farmers with a ready market for timber. At this time, a cord of wood was

²⁷Report of Rev. John Leeds to Bishop Stewart, June 29, 1833, cited by Royle, p. 26.

²⁸Supra, chap. ii, pp. 16-17.

²⁹Terrier, I, Lot 58. Copy of an agreement between Chartier de Lotbinière and Samuel McKay, September 30, 1819.

worth one dollar— money desperately needed by the newcomers.

Poorer grades of wood were sold to the local potasherie. There were four such pioneer industries in Vaudreuil in 1832, and one was located on Lot 13 in the eastern part of Cavagnal. It was owned by François-Xavier Desjardins.³⁰ Like the farmers who carted their wood to him, Desjardins was a newcomer to Cavagnal. He was, however, the sole French Canadian to move to the area after 1820, and did so because he had married J.M.C. DeLesDerniers' daughter in 1823.³¹ Not long afterwards, he opened a store and potasherie in the English-speaking community. The presence of this enterprising French Canadian was to prove significant in the rebellion of 1837.

Once enough land had been cleared, the farmers planted crops. Wheat was the most important grain sown. It found a good market in Montreal and fetched approximately one dollar per bushel during the thirties.³² If a farmer wished to have it ground into flour, he was obliged to take it to the Seigneur's mill. To the English-speaking farmers of Vaudreuil this meant

³⁰Bouchette, Seigneurie of Vaudreuil. The existence of Desjardins' potasherie is corroborated by an advertisement in La Minerve, 26 jan. 1833.

³¹Robert-Lionel Seguin, Le Mouvement Insurrectionnel Dans La Presqu'île de Vaudreuil: 1837-1838 (Montreal: Librairie Ducharme, 1955), p. 120.

³²Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Laws and Other Circumstances Connected with Seigneurial Tenure in Lower Canada (Kingston: Desbarats and Derbishire, 1844), appendix, "Prices of Wheat in Montreal: 1800-1841".

the inconvenience of travelling ten miles to Vaudreuil Village whenever they desired flour. The Seigneur kept one-tenth of the grain ground as his charge for milling. He also received wheat in partial payment of rents. Each tenant in Côte St. Charles and Cavagnal owed Harwood between one and five minots of wheat each year as well as a small sum of money averaging about fifteen shillings. Wheat was universally grown in Lower Canada. It was the main source of revenue for censitaire and seigneur alike.³³

According to Joseph Bouchette's Topographical Dictionary of 1832, "the English of Côte St. Charles grow the greatest amount of hay", as well as smaller amounts of oats, barley, potatoes and peas. They also kept more cows than did their French-speaking neighbours and Bouchette stated that "butter is principally made by the English farmers".³⁴ Since many of the farmers were natives of Cumberland, where "practically every farmer kept sheep",³⁵ Vaudreuil was a noted sheep-raising area. Finally Bouchette noted that there were twenty apple orchards in Vaudreuil, several on the older farms in Cavagnal, and stated with the tone of one who had

³³Terrier, II. A study of the rents on the farms in the Concessions of Côte St. Charles and Cavagnal shows that William Whitlock paid 3s 12d and 2½ minots of wheat for his sixty arpent Lot 32 in Cavagnal; F.-X. Desjardins paid 9s 10d and no wheat for his ninety arpent Lot 13; Joseph Hodgson paid 7s 6d and three minots of wheat for Lot 10 East in Côte St. Charles. There was a great variation in rents; however, none were unduly high. All were due annually on the twenty-ninth of September.

³⁴Bouchette, Seigneurie of Vaudreuil.

³⁵G.E. Fussell, "Fifty Years of Cumberland Farming: 1800-1850", Cumbria, VI (July, 1956), p. 123.

tasted, "the apples are excellent". Vaudreuil, he concluded, was "in a flourishing state".

The English-speaking community was not only flourishing, but was also growing rapidly during the 1830's. Every year brought new families to the district. In the early part of the decade the community outgrew Mathison's schoolhouse, and because of generous grants made to schools which placed themselves under the control of the Assembly, two more schools were opened. The first was established in 1831 at Côte St. Charles. There the inhabitants erected a new school with a grant of £20 from the Assembly and employed an elderly Cumbrian schoolmaster, Joseph Lancaster, to teach.³⁶ Later another Assembly-controlled schoolhouse was built near the Fief Choisy serving the people of the western area of the community.³⁷ Both were short-lived, however, and closed in 1836 when the Legislative Council refused to approve the necessary funds to support the Assembly-controlled schools. Without the benefit of government grants, the schools in Choisy and Côte St. Charles and hundreds of others— French and English alike— were unable to continue. After the first of May 1836 only Mathison's school survived; only John Benson kept teaching in the English-speaking community

³⁶P.A.C. School Records, 1831, Vol. 80. John Benson reported diminished attendance in his school in May 1831 because of "the recent establishment of two other English schools in the neighbourhood". This is confirmed in 1834, Vol. 96, by Charles Larocque's visit to the Côte St. Charles School.

³⁷Ibid., 1835, Vol. 106. Report of School Visitor Charles Larocque to Choisy School.

in Vaudreuil.³⁸

The Church felt the discomfort of growing pains in the thirties too. As the congregation grew, Mathison's schoolhouse became inadequate for its needs. Archdeacon George Jehospat Mountain visited Cavagnal as Mathison's guest in 1832 and noted:

The schoolhouse where I officiated was crowded, and is very insufficient for the congregation, who were chiefly Englishmen and church-people, and who sang three times, not without an appearance of devotion. I took occasion in preaching to advert them to their situation, and to recommend their making exertions for the erection of a church...I was obliged to stand at one side of the desk on account of a beam in the centre with which my head interfered.³⁹

Again John Augustus Mathison sprang to the forefront, and as Chairman of the Church Building Committee, he organized a highly successful campaign in 1832 which raised \$513.00 (about £115) "from one hundred and ten heads of families in the neighbourhood".⁴⁰ Although the schoolhouse had become too cramped to contain the congregation, disagreement over the site of the proposed church prevented its construction, and for the next decade Mathison's building remained the sole place of worship in the community.⁴¹

³⁸Ibid., 1838, Vol. 115. Note stating that the Côte St. Charles School had been discontinued since 1836, while Mathison's was still in operation.

³⁹Royle, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁰Letter of John Benson, Secretary of the Building Committee, to Archdeacon G.J. Mountain, May 12, 1832, cited by Royle, p.30.

⁴¹Ibid.

Part of the growing English-speaking community spilled over into the neighbouring Seigneurie of Rigaud in the decade of the thirties. Like Vaudreuil, Rigaud had also been acquired through marriage by an English-speaking Seigneur in 1829—William Bingham. In 1831 he ordered six new concessions surveyed and then granted over 475 free farms to those seeking land. One of these new concessions, Côte St. Henry, lay less than three miles west of Côte St. Charles and south of the Fief Choisy. With the lure of free land beckoning, several families moved from the older concessions in Vaudreuil to St. Henry and by 1836 over thirty farms there had been given to men from Côte St. Charles.⁴² More of an extension of the older settlement than a new community, Côte St. Henry was soon linked to the English-speaking area in Vaudreuil by a bush road cut across the Fief Choisy.

Social life in the community revolved around Mathison's schoolhouse in the thirties. Another centre of society, albeit in a different sense, was Charles Schneider's small stone inn on Lot 17 in Cavagnal. Beside it a wharf jutted into the Ottawa River and here boats stopped on their way to and from Montreal.⁴³ Farmers shipping their produce to the metropolitan market and merchants receiving their goods from town met at Schneider's. Near the Inn stood two general stores— one

⁴²Terrier de Rigaud.

⁴³Royle, p. 46.

owned by Peter Francis Christian DeLesDerniers, scion of the pioneer family,⁴⁴ and the other by his brother-in-law, F.-X. Desjardins. The business community, small as it was, nestled around the Inn.

Schneider's also served informally as the local post-office during the thirties. Postal rates were exorbitant and ways were soon discovered to evade the official charges for carrying mail and newspapers. One observer claimed that there was more illicit correspondence between Montreal and Bytown than anywhere else in the colony, because "the Masters of Steamboats are in the habit of receiving and delivering letters at every stopping place on their respective routes".⁴⁵ Thus although the nearest government post-office was ten miles distant in the village of Vaudreuil,⁴⁶ settlers in Cavagnal had easy access to the illegal postal services provided by the Captains. They were able to pick up their mail when they went to Schneider's for liquor.

During the thirties steamboats gradually began to replace the cumbersome bateaux and Durham Boats which had

⁴⁴Terrier de Vaudreuil, I, Lot 16. J.M.C. DeLesDerniers sold his stère and the land on which it stood to his eldest son in 1821.

⁴⁵Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1846, F, Testimony of T.W. Johnson, Postmaster at L'Orignal, Upper Canada, January 13, 1841.

⁴⁶Ibid. The Vaudreuil post-office was established October 6, 1835.

plied the Ottawa for so long.⁴⁷ Steam service was very poor, however, because the firm of McPherson and Crane held the exclusive right to use Harwood's lock at Vaudreuil, and blocked all competition from the river.⁴⁸ Their boats were slow, scheduleless, and often towed as many as six heavy barges behind. Lord Grey, a member of Lord Durham's party, travelled the Ottawa in 1838 and bluntly stated "the last thing they [McPherson and Crane] consider is the comfort and convenience of their Passengers", and damned the monopoly for "retarding the progress of this fine Country".⁴⁹ One of their boats, however, was a constant caller at Schneider's landing, for the steamer Ottawa was commanded by Captain Richard Storey Robins, who had grown up in Vaudreuil and had married Hannah Schneider, the Innkeeper's daughter.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Durham Boats were sluggish craft, propelled partly by poling and partly by sail, capable of hauling as much as ten tons of cargo. The trip between Montreal and Cavagnal took over a day to complete.

The first steamboat on the Ottawa appeared in 1820 and throughout that year the St. Andrew's Packet Boat advertised one weekly trip between Montreal and Pointe Fortune in The Gazette.

⁴⁸William Ormsby (ed.), Crisis in the Canadas: The Grey Journals and Letters (Toronto: Macmillan, 1964), p. 222.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 222-223.

⁵⁰Royle, pp. 32-33. Robins had come to Vaudreuil with his grandfather, John Thomas, from Moose Fort in 1814. At the age of thirty-two in 1837, he was placed in command of the steamer Ottawa.

Thus the wharf and the inn served as the linchpin holding the community to the outside world. To the markets and manufactures of the metropolis, to the cosmopolitan ideas expressed in newspapers, to the old world which the settlers had forsaken and knew now only through letters— to all these the community was linked by the boats which stopped at Schneider's.

By 1837 there were about 400 English-speaking settlers living in Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles— only fifteen per cent of the total population of Vaudreuil, but almost eighty-five per cent of the number of English-speaking settlers in the Seigneurie.⁵¹ It was a concentrated settlement. The English owned an overwhelming majority of the farms in only three concessions.⁵² In the surrounding concessions, the French Canadian farmers owned practically all the land. By the year of the rebellion over seventy-five per cent of the farms in a relatively compact area belonged to men differing in religion and nationality from the majority surrounding them. Because this settlement was limited to a small district and was not scattered throughout the French-speaking area, there was very

⁵¹P.A.C., School Records, 1838, Vol. 115. Contained in these records is an estimate of the French and English population of the various school districts in Vaudreuil made by the school masters. While these statistics are not accurate, they provide a reasonable estimate of the population of Vaudreuil in 1837-38. See Appendix IV.

⁵²Terrier de Vaudreuil, II, also Terrier de Rigaud. The English owned forty-one of the fifty-seven farms in Cavagnal, twenty-seven of the thirty-four in Côte St. Charles, and twenty of the twenty-eight conceded farms in the eastern part of Côte St. Henry.

little dependence of one language group upon the other. In the French schools at the time only French was taught; in the English schools only English.⁵³ Between 1820 and 1837 there were only two mixed marriages in Vaudreuil— an insignificant fraction of the total.⁵⁴ Language and religion separated the two groups and there was little communication between those who spoke French and those who spoke English.

In the years preceding the rebellion of 1837, there emerged two types of leaders in the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil— those with title but without power, and those with both. Among the former were officials responsible for maintaining roads, church leaders, school commissioners and militia officers. Roadmasters in this period included John Grisdale and Ebenezer Grout of Côte St. Charles.⁵⁵ Both men were minor leaders in the community— Grisdale was also a school commissioner while Grout was prominent in the small Methodist congregation. These positions entailed responsibilities, but not the exercise of power. Leadership in the local militia unit was much the same. Being merely a paper army in peacetime, the militia was required to muster only once a year on

⁵³P.A.C., School Records, 1838, Vol. 115.

⁵⁴A study of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Parish Registers shows the infrequency of marriages between French and English-speaking partners. One of these was the Desjardins-DeLesDerniers wedding held in St. Andrew's on December 17, 1823.

⁵⁵Quesnel, pp. 16, 38.

the twenty-ninth of June. A Captain of the Militia acquired the prestige of position but little else. Charles Schneider, the Innkeeper and a veteran of the War of 1812, was the Captain of the Cavagnal unit.⁵⁶ John Mathison had been appointed Major in the Vaudreuil Battalion under Lt.-Col. Harwood in 1831, but his rank provided him with no more real power than did Schneider's in time of peace.

Throughout the rural areas of the colony, the only local leaders able to wield power were the Commissioners of Small Causes and the Justices of the Peace. In the absence of elected officials, these appointed magistrates were empowered to judge and punish.⁵⁷ Literate and respected for the most part, they kept their isolated communities in touch with the officials who governed the colony. John Augustus Mathison was the sole Justice of the Peace in the English-speaking community, and until 1834 he had been the only Commissioner of Small Causes there. In that year he was joined in the latter position by P.F.C. DeLesDerniers,⁵⁸ the storekeeper of Cavagnal. These two men, and especially Mathison, were the real leaders of the community. It was to them the people turned when the crisis threatened in 1837.

⁵⁶Lower Canada, Assembly, L'Organisation de la Milice, p. 57. Schneider was promoted to Captain on September 18, 1826.

⁵⁷Supra, chap. ii, p. 23.

⁵⁸P.A.C., Series S, Index, Appointment of P.F.C. DeLesDerniers as Commissioner of Small Causes, June 6, 1834.

CHAPTER IV

THE REBELLION OF 1837-38

The years leading up to 1837 had witnessed the growth of an English-speaking community in Vaudreuil separate and somewhat socially isolated from the French Canadian society surrounding it. If there had been little friendly contact between French and English, at least there had also been little unfriendly contact. This changed in 1837.

After years of acrimonious debate, the quarrel between the Assembly and the Governor and Council in the colony was brought to a head in the spring of 1837 when Lord Russell's Ten Resolutions were presented to the British Parliament.¹ Solidly refusing to allow the reforms desired by the Assembly, the Ten Resolutions provided the spark to ignite the fire of agitation in the colony. Inflammatory rhetoric immediately urged popular action:

...Our rights must not be violated with impunity.
A howl of indignation must be raised from one extremity
of the Province to the other...HENCEFORTH THERE MUST BE
NO PEACE IN THE PROVINCE— no quarter for the plunderers.
Agitate! Agitate!! AGITATE!!!²

¹Mason Wade, The French Canadians: 1760-1945 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955), p. 157. Wade provides a comprehensive review of the political situation in Lower Canada in the years preceding the Rebellion.

²The Vindicator, cited in Mason Wade, The French Canadians, p. 158.

And agitation there was. From Saint Ours on the Richelieu to Sainte Scholastique in Deux Montagnes, mass protest rallies were held.

The Governor, Lord Gosford, denounced the assemblies and issued a proclamation urging all public officials to oppose them.³ A few weeks later the magistrates and militia officers of Vaudreuil met and recorded their approval of Gosford's action. To maintain peace and order at the local level, they ordered proclamations banning public meetings of any sort be drawn up and posted throughout the County. Instead of snuffing the flames of discontent, however, this order only added more fuel to the fire. The proclamations were ripped down and destroyed.⁴

In direct contradiction to the official edict, the Reformers, who were now becoming known as Les Patriotes, called a great popular protest rally to be held in Vaudreuil Village on the sixth of August. On the appointed day hundreds from around the County of Vaudreuil poured into the village. Their mood was defiant. Some carried placards reading "A bas Gosford", "Honte à Russell", and "Vive Papineau". They listened to the well-known Patriotes Edmund B. O'Callaghan, Jean-Joseph Girouard, and Vaudreuil's fiery deputy Charles-Ovide Perrault as each

³Wade, p. 164.

⁴Seguin, p. 25.

berated the government and called for reform.⁵ Nine resolutions were proposed and passed at the meeting damning the British Parliament and Lord Gosford, applauding the boycott of imported goods (except from the free and independent citizens of the United States), suggesting the establishment of domestic industry and the improvement of commercial relations with Upper Canada, desiring the abolition of seigneurial rights, and finally warning the clergy not to meddle in political affairs.⁶ It was an impressive list of defiant resolutions. The meeting won many over to the Patriote cause. One such convert was François-Xavier Desjardins who was appointed Cavagnal representative on the Reform Committee of the County.

The meeting had a very different effect on those who supported the government. A few of these so-called "Loyalists"⁷ attended and were ridiculed by the speakers. Later called upon to address the huge and hostile crowd, none of this lonely number rose to defend his beliefs.⁸ The uneasy realization that theirs was a minority voice dawned on the government supporters that Sunday in August.

⁵Ibid., p. 27. Charles-Ovide Perrault was only twenty-four when he was elected as Vaudreuil's Member in the Legislative Assembly. He died after being wounded in the Battle of Saint Denis in November, 1837.

⁶Ibid., pp. 28-30.

⁷Ibid., p. 28. The term "loyalist" is used to designate those who attended the meeting but who looked with disfavour on the reforms requested. These were the men who were satisfied with and loyal to the status quo.

⁸Ibid.

Two Sundays later, Curé Paul-Loup Archambault paid tribute to the newly-proclaimed Queen of England and called for the traditional singing of the Te Deum in her praise. The congregation, almost without exception, walked out; on the church steps they adopted a resolution disapproving of their curé's action.⁹ The placid and faithful inhabitants who had so pleased old Seigneur Lotbinière seventeen years before, now immersed in the spirit of independence, had become bold and contemptuous of authority.

Some expected the reform movement to decline as autumn approached;¹⁰ instead it gained momentum, and its tone became more militant. The local leaders who had emerged in the summer began to organize themselves in military fashion throughout the harvest season. By late fall The Montreal Herald noted a growing fear of the revolutionary movement, "especially among the scattered loyalists of the seigniories".¹¹ Postmaster Joseph Rassette, Notary Hyacinthe-Fabien Charlebois, and François-Xavier Desjardins were the most prominent Patriotes in Vaudreuil. During the fall they travelled throughout the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil securing support for the cause and enlisting men to

⁹Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁰The Herald, a vehemently Tory newspaper, opined as late as October 17, 1837 that the Patriote movement posed "little danger and that the whole thing was "more frost than fire".

¹¹Ibid., November 4, 1837.

fight if need be.¹² Desjardins' store in Cavagnal became a centre of the rebel movement. There scythes were hammered into swords, cash and produce received to buy weapons for the insurgents, and rifles, pistols and ammunition cached in readiness for the strike.¹³

Violence erupted suddenly in Montreal on the sixth of November in a street fight between the Fils de Liberté and the Deric Club. The battle lines were drawn. The Government revised its list of magistrates, purging those of Patriote sympathies, and reappointing only those known to be loyal. John Augustus Mathison was reappointed. His position of leadership in Cavagnal was confirmed.¹⁴

For the next two weeks increased turmoil racked the colony. Then bloodshed—rebellion. In Vaudreuil the Patriotes were ready. On the twentieth of November twenty of them set out on horseback and rode through all the French-speaking concessions gathering recruits for the rebel army. When they returned to Vaudreuil Village that evening they numbered not twenty, but one hundred and fifty. Enthusiastically they decided to reunite the next day, travel through the English-speaking concession of

¹²Seguin, pp. 44-45, p. 117, p. 120. Like the members of the rebellious Fils de Liberté formed in Montreal during the autumn of 1837, the leading Patriotes in Vaudreuil were young. Charlebois was thirty-one; Desjardins was thirty-seven.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴The Transcript, November 11, 1837.

Cavagnal and join forces with their confrères in the Seigneurie of Rigaud.¹⁵

Rumours of the impending march spread quickly throughout the English-speaking community and with the rumours spread fear. A young Cumberland-born maid in Desjardins' employ learned the Patriotes were planning to burn the homes of their enemies, magistrates DeLesDerniers and Mathison, and she sped to the latter with the ominous news.¹⁶ Alerted and alarmed by Mathison, the English abandoned their farms on the twenty-first and fled to the safety of the bush. A witness frantically reported to the Montreal Herald:

About a hundred men are riding about the county spreading terror and threatening vengeance, and brutally ill-using all those who hesitate to join them in their rebellious enterprise. The British, who are loyal, knowing what to expect from such characters have united to a man for mutual defence and have removed their families. Conceive...the scene of eighty families of Britons in this climate and this weather, taking refuge in the woods of Canada against their merciless enemies, and when the men united at night when they expected to be attacked, the wretches, whose cowardice prevented them from appearing in open day, assembled in small parties to plunder our houses; our little children asking us the reason for putting them out of our houses at night and in the cold rain, was truly a heart-rending spectacle.¹⁷

¹⁵Seguin, pp. 48-49.

¹⁶A.P.Q., Rebellion Papers, Item 1062. Testimony of Mary Kirkbride, January 8, 1838.

¹⁷The Herald, December 7, 1837. The letter was dated November 22, 1837 but was delayed "owing to the writer's inability to send it by post". The writer remained anonymous; however, the following appears in a letter written by Mathison to the Transcript on February 19, 1850: "The French party being well organized, and nothing having been done on our side...I formed a retreat for my family and eighty others in the depth of the forest."

Fear had forced the farmers to flee, but the fear was unfounded. When the Patriotes rode through Cavagnal on the twenty-second of November, they did not burn or plunder;¹⁸ instead they distributed a printed broadsheet called the "John Gripe" throughout the community. By doing so the rebels hoped to persuade the English-speaking farmers to disbelieve the prejudiced views of Mathison and DeLesDerniers and to join in the overthrow of the government:

TO THE PUBLIC

There are in this place two men who are continually deceiving you; they wish to impress on your mind that your lives are in danger from the Patriots; they invent and propagate the most absurd falsehoods: they wish to represent the Canadian people as a set of the vilest miscreants, who are capable of any act of enormity however revolting to humanity. What is their [sic] object? Is it your happiness they are endeavouring to promote? No. These men have constantly deceived you: tranquillity and peace are foreign to their minds; and they wish only to make use of the weakness of mankind to accomplish their designs. They are now endeavouring to act upon your fears, one of the most powerful passions which agitates [sic] the human breast. Believe none of their assertions. No longer be the dupes of their artifice, nor endeavour to excite in this place [sic] party dissensions. Do not believe that the Canadians [sic] are so vile as has been represented. The sacred flame of liberty may indeed have taken possession of their bosoms! and the love of freedom, the birth right of man, may warm to life the latent spark [sic] which will yet illumine the Canadian horizon, when the shackles of priestcraft, the bondage of seigneurial vassalage, the squandering of public [sic] revenue upon unworthy syncophants; when the minds of the people shall be enlightened...when all these things are accomplished, and the institutions of the United

¹⁸Had they done so there would have been claims for indemnification submitted to the Rebellion Losses Commission. No such claims appear in any of the Commission's reports.

States (which are the admiration of mankind) implanted, what a happy country will Canada be!¹⁹

Furthermore, the "John Gripe" argued that Mathison and DeLesDerniers had stirred up prejudice to benefit personally:

As for Major Jack and Mr. Calico, what is thir [sic] object in alarming your fears? You must be convinced from their past conduct, that it is not from regard to your prosperity: they pretend loyalty merely to accomplish their shallow designs.²⁰

Thus the English-speaking farmers were forced to choose between the assertions of the magistrates and the counter claims made by the Patriotes in Vaudreuil.

Mathison and DeLesDerniers reacted quickly to the charges made against them in the "John Gripe". They sent a copy of the broadsheet to the Adjutant General in Montreal and charged that it was "exciting the British inhabitants to insurrection and revolution".²¹ They further claimed to know the men responsible for the seditious sheet. The press was under the direction of H.-F. Charlebois and F.-X. Desjardins and, more surprisingly, the author was one of the earliest English-speaking settlers in Cavagnal, a merchant and sawyer whose father had fought on the British side in the American Revolution—William Whitlock.

¹⁹A.P.Q., Rebellion Papers, Item 3888. Copy of the "John Gripe" enclosed in a letter from Mathison and DeLesDerniers to the Adjutant General in Montreal, December 6, 1837.

²⁰Ibid., DeLesDerniers' nickname, Mr. Calico, derived from his occupation as merchant.

²¹Ibid.

News quickly came of the Patriote success at Saint Denis and soon after of the British victory at Saint Charles. Meanwhile, the Patriotes of Vaudreuil had turned their attention away from Cavagnal towards the growing storm centre in Deux Montagnes. This gave the English-speaking community a chance to think. Whitlock, the suspected Patriote wrote:

There are in the immediate vicinity where I reside... about fifty families consisting of English, Scotch and Irish, who, with the exception of a few individuals, have shown themselves generally to be peaceable members of society. But what changes will not political strife and excitement produce; and how often the innocent and ignorant made use of by designing men to compass [sic] their own designs.²²

While the Patriotes were massing in Deux Montagnes, the men of Cavagnal, Côte St. Charles and St. Henry were called to an assembly by Mathison. He had received the following letter from the Civil Secretary:

Sir- His Excellency considers it highly desirable that the loyal inhabitants in your vicinity shall enroll, and when sufficiently organized, he hopes to supply them with arms.²³

There at Mathison's schoolhouse, the "innocent and ignorant" chose the side they would fight on. They chose to remain loyal to the government. No longer was it a question of reform or reaction; now it was revolution or loyalty. They decided to petition the government for arms and ammunition to form a local

²²A.P.Q., Rebellion Papers, Item 3895. William Whitlock to the Editor of The Morning Courier, February 3, 1838.

²³Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada". The letter from the Governor's office was dated December 4, 1837.

volunteer militia unit and in the first week of December they created the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers— under the command of Major John Augustus Mathison.²⁴

Three days later another issue of the "John Gripe" appeared. Again it bitterly attacked the leader of the community:

Indeed we believe the Major bears you no good will...
Ask yourselves the question have those under whose command
you have voluntarily placed yourselves ever endeavoured to
promote your good?²⁵

By this time the English farmers had answered that question for themselves. They had decided that Mathison had done more for them than had the rebels who had just raided the nearby Indian mission at Oka. Whitlock's second broadsheet was wasted paper; by the time it had been printed, unity was a fait accompli within the community. Every able bodied male between sixteen and sixty— about one hundred in all— had joined the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers. They were led by the same men who had been prominent before the Rebellion. Serving as officers under the experienced soldier Mathison were, among others, Charles and John Schneider, Richard Robins, John Grisdale and Ebenezer Grout.²⁶

²⁴Ibid., According to Whitlock the petition was sent to Sir John Colbourne by "the English population" in order to defend themselves "against the attempts of the Canadian population". Not long after "in accordance with the prayer of the petition, a number of arms were sent to arm the English inhabitants, whom Mathison was appointed to command".

²⁵Ibid., Item 3892. Mathison to C. Ogden, Attorney General, December 28, 1837. Also enclosed was a copy of the "John Gripe" dated December 12, 1837.

²⁶P.A.C., Series C, Paylist and Acquittance Roll of the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers, December 1838, Vol. 1039, pp. 104-106.

On the sixteenth of December the Patriotes' hopes for power were dealt a mortal blow at the Battle of Saint Eustache. There they were trounced by a numerically-superior force of regulars and volunteers under the command of Sir John Colbourne. Defeated, the rebels scattered to avoid capture. The Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers did not participate in the battle or in the pillage that followed. Rather, armed with government-supplied flintlocks and clothed in army greatcoats and fur caps, they manned strategic points along the Ottawa in Vaudreuil waiting for Patriotes fleeing from Deux Montagnes. Among the prisoners taken were Charlebois and Desjardins.²⁷

The Rebellion of 1837 was crushed. On the eighteenth the Deputy Adjutant General reported:

Overtures have been made to me from the district on the south side of the River Ottawa, stating that the people en masse were ready to lay down their arms on receiving a protecting certificate...I have appointed tomorrow to commence with the Rigaud parish. Vaudreuil is in like manner to come in.²⁸

With the general submission, Mathison and DeLesDerniers were appointed Commissioners to Administer the Oath of Allegiance, and the defensive role of the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers was altered to one of offence. They were now assigned to disarm the French Canadian inhabitants of Vaudreuil and order them to appear

²⁷ Aegidus Fauteux, Patriotes de 1837-38 (Montreal: Les Editions Des Dix, 1950), pp. 165, 207. Charlebois was captured on the nineteenth of December and Desjardins on the sixteenth. Both were accused of having organized "une force armée dans le comté de Vaudreuil".

²⁸ The Transcript, Letter from Lt.-Col. Eden. December 28, 1837.

before the Commissioners to take the oath. Later it was claimed that in going about this, the Volunteers acted arrogantly and "raised discontent even more".²⁹

There was for Mathison one debt still outstanding and that was for the damage done to his prestige by William Whitlock, who at the time was composing letters to Lord Gosford praying for the release of Desjardins from prison.³⁰ Whitlock's freedom came to an abrupt end at midnight on the twenty-first of December when a group of Volunteers under the command of Charles Schneider broke into his house and searched it. They seized "the utensils used to print the 'John Gripe'" and then they seized Whitlock and brought

²⁹Report of the State Trials (Montreal: 1839), p. 556. Testimony of Dr. J.B.H. Brien. The witness stated the Vaudreuil was one of the areas in which "the volunteers, by conduct, arrogant, and in many circumstances even cruel, have raised discontent".

William Whitlock also alluded to the insolence of the volunteers in his letter to the Editor of The Morning Courier. "Seeing himself thus invested with power, he [Mathison] set no bounds to his pride and arrogance: bands of armed men were kept constantly parading our streets; Her Majesty's peaceable subjects ill treated and insulted."

Mathison would probably have claimed that such behaviour might have been expected from men who had been forced by fear to flee to the woods only weeks before.

³⁰A.P.Q., Rebellion Papers, Item 3889. Petition of William Whitlock to Lord Gosford, December 21, 1837. Whitlock feared that Desjardins, "unless the most powerful intervention is made in his favour...must infallibly suffer death...the fury and malice of his enemies are such that no stone is left unturned to machinate his destruction." There was an ironic family relationship linking the major characters in the Rebellion of 1837 in Vaudreuil. Whitlock's wife and Desjardins' wife were sisters; their brother was Mathison's confrère P.F.C. DeLesDerniers. Mathison's wife was Whitlock's cousin. Wistfully Whitlock wrote, "The ties of kindred and consanguinity are forgotten, and the married relations are arrayed against each other."

him to Mathison. Exercising his power as Justice of the Peace, Major Mathison arrested the suspected rebel and the following day Whitlock was taken to jail in Montreal to await trial.³¹

By Christmas, order had again come to Vaudreuil; for the English-speaking community life regained a stability which had been lacking for some time. For Major Mathison it must have been a very satisfying Christmas. He was celebrating his fifty-sixth birthday. His enemies were safely behind bars and he was proceeding with the collection of evidence to be used against them. He was also extracting the Oath of Allegiance from the same people who had refused to honour the new Queen and had boasted freely about democracy scant weeks before. Major Mathison had rallied the whole English-speaking community of Vaudreuil behind him and now commanded it. He must have enjoyed the opportunity to strut resplendent before the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers in his bright red British Army Uniform as they patrolled the seigneury. William Whitlock later wrote from his cell: "Every obscure place now has its petty military despot who takes advantage of the distraught state of the country to gratify his private passion."³²

³¹Ibid., Item 3892, Mathison to Ogden. See also Item 3890, Deposition of Charles Schneider contra William Whitlock and Item 3895, William Whitlock to the Editor of The Morning Courier.

³²Ibid., Item 3895. Whitlock's bitter analysis of Mathison's leadership was written while he was in jail— a "dismal abode" he called it— and was consequently extremely hostile to his accuser. If Mathison acted despotically, at least his military experience and demand for discipline and order prevented the volunteers from destroying property and committing the outrages perpetrated by their counterparts on the other side of the Ottawa River.

Mathison remained in command of the Volunteers for five months. In April they were ordered to disband. One month later the newly-arrived Governor, Lord Durham, decreed a general amnesty and the prisoners captured during the rebellion were released. Whitlock and Desjardins returned to Vaudreuil. They were watched carefully afterwards. The first bout in the struggle had ended; the Volunteers kept their weapons in case there was to be a second.

The summer of 1838 was quiet. There were no public meetings; there was no inflammatory oratory. Beneath the calm surface, however, hostility was mounting. The majority of the French Canadians in the Montreal area had identified themselves with the Patriote cause. They had been defeated and forced to submit to British authority. The majority of the British inhabitants had remained loyal to the government, and, as in Vaudreuil, had gained new power following the rebels' defeats. If there were no longer any Patriote leaders within the colony inciting the people to act against an arbitrary and unfair government as there had been the previous year, there were now more immediate causes motivating the desire for a radical change in government— the humiliation of the defeated and the arrogance of the victors. Although there were exceptions on both sides, in Vaudreuil the defeated who yielded their weapons to Mathison's men were French Canadian and the Loyal Volunteers who collected the arms and ammunition were English-speaking. The conflict was not only a battle of political ideologies, it was also a clash of

nationalities, and in the summer of 1838, according to one witness, the colony was still "ripe for revolution".³³

There was not, however, complete unity within the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil and the eruption of a dispute between two of its most influential leaders in September pointedly illustrates how extreme the English-speaking leadership had become. Again the controversy centred upon the character of John Augustus Mathison. It was no longer Whitlock who led the opposition to Mathison's anti-French views; it was now Robert Unwin Harwood, the Seigneur of Vaudreuil and a former Tory member of the despised Legislative Council, who condemned Mathison's bias.³⁴ In a strongly-worded letter to the Chief Secretary of Quebec, Harwood called for Mathison's dismissal from his position of Justice of Peace. He claimed Mathison was "very unjust, and partial and arbitrary", and that he had "for years kept the Parish in a constant state of litigation and trouble" and condemned Mathison's "vindictial spirit". Harwood also implied that Mathison's power within the English-speaking community was bad:

The inhabitants generally seeing him retained in

³³Report of State Trials, Testimony of Dr. J.B.H. Brien, p. 556.

³⁴Supra, chap. iii, pp. 26-30. Although his rank in the Vaudreuil Sedentary Militia was higher than Mathison's, Harwood had no part to play in the formation of the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers. During the Rebellion he and his family were isolated in the Seigneurial Manor House and remained aloof from both the French and English-speaking communities in the seigneurie. He was thus able to judge Mathison's leadership impartially.

power...apparently respect him the more for the Power he holds, even to do evil, for with them generally "might is right".³⁵

Criticism such as this from the English Seigneur of Vaudreuil points out the prejudiced nature of Mathison's leadership more dramatically than Whitlock's broadsheet. As a result of Harwood's complaint, Mathison was not reappointed to his position of Commissioner of Small Causes after 1838.³⁶ He remained, however, a Justice of the Peace, and again occupied the centre of the stage in Vaudreuil when rebellion flared up again in the district southwest of Montreal during November. On the eleventh of that month a meeting was held on Ile Perrot and there the curé told of the activity of the rebels at Beauharnois and claimed "that revolution would continue until independence". The ubiquitous Mathison attended the gathering and solemnly warned those in attendance, "Without the power of England, the Canadians would fall under the power of the Americans which would be infinitely more onerous". He then wrote to the Bishop in Montreal and said "the thing smelled of future rebellion".³⁷

³⁵A.P.Q., Rebellion Papers, Item 1064. R.U. Harwood to the Hon. Charles Buller, Chief Secretary, September 4, 1838.

³⁶Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada". Another direct effect of Harwood's criticism was the antipathy which developed between the two men. They remained at odds thereafter. Mathison refused, until 1861, to pay his seigneurial dues.

³⁷V. Carrière, L'Histoire de l'Ile Perrot (Valleyfield: 1949), pp. 99-100.

Again the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers were called to active duty; again they mustered until April; again they did not take part in any actual battles. Major Mathison still commanded the Company. For five months the Volunteers drilled weekly. Each farmer in the unit received two shillings-sixpence for every parade attended— cold, hard cash in a winter of little revenue.³⁸ Stripping it of nationalism, patriotism, and glamour, duty in the Volunteers meant that when disbanded in April, 1839, each farmer had earned enough to purchase five sheep.³⁹

But duty in the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers was almost exclusively the choice of the poor English-speaking farmers—not the French Canadians. Of the 112 officers and men in the unit only five were French-speaking.⁴⁰ The reason for this must lie in the character of the man who remained the leader despite all the attacks made against him, John Mathison.

Lord Durham wrote that at first there had been very little hostility between the French and English in the rural parts of Lower Canada but that year by year it had increased and the rebellion completed the division between the two. Durham concluded, "Since the resort to arms the two races have been distinctly and completely arrayed against one another".⁴¹ The

³⁸P.A.C., Series C, Vol. 1044, pp. 1-3, 53-55.

³⁹Memoranda of a Settler in Lower Canada, p. 28. The author of this book, the Rev. Joseph Abbott, provides a list of the prices of various goods at this time. Sheep sold for ten shillings apiece, while a cow could be bought for £5 and a horse for £17.

⁴⁰P.A.C., Series C, Vol. 1044, pp. 1-3, 53-55.

⁴¹C.P. Lucas, Lord Durham's Report (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), II, pp. 19-20.

events in Vaudreuil during the two rebellions point out the general validity of his statement. It was not a struggle between classes— there were poor men on both sides— after the first shots were fired at Saint Denis, it was a clash of nationalities.

And the epilogue to the affair in Vaudreuil was written by the ever-watchful Mathison in November 1839 when he reported: "very unusual activity along the roads in this neighbourhood. Similar to that...of the years 1837 and 1838, but not near so numerous." True to the distrustful spirit of the times he added:

I beg leave to further observe the alarm is by no means so great as it was the two preceding years as it is well known that the Canadian merchants have filled their shops in the Country with the usual supply of goods for their winter's trade which they did not do the last two years.⁴²

That was the way the rebellions ended, "not with a bang but a whimper".⁴³ Only memories remained.

⁴²A.P.Q., Rebellion Papers, Item 1067, Mathison to T.W.C. Murdock, Civil Secretary, November 10, 1839.

⁴³T.S. Eliot, "The Hollow Men".

CHAPTER V

CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNITY

The Patriotes had challenged the old system of government and had lost the battle, but they had forced England to turn its attention to colonial administration, and during the forties the reformers gradually won the war. A quiet revolution occurred in Lower Canada between the passing of the Act of Union in 1840 (which Durham had hoped would lead to the assimilation of French Canadians) and the achievement of the second of Durham's main recommendations, responsible government, in 1849. The decade witnessed reform in the administration of justice, in the system of education and in the organization of the militia. Parliament spent great sums in constructing overdue public works and subsidizing agricultural societies to improve farming methods. In this era too, the foundations of municipal government in Lower Canada were laid. It was a period of change and every forward stride was felt in the rural parts of the Province.

The decade brought the consolidation of both French and English-speaking settlements in the countryside. French-speaking Canadians united under the threat of assimilation; the English under the fear of being engulfed by the majority whose power increased with every advance in responsible government. In this period of progress there was stress—memories of the recent

conflict motivated both French and English alike.

In Vaudreuil the rebellion and its aftermath had united the French-Canadian settlements surrounding Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles. Year by year the youthful Patriotes emerged from defeat to gain new power in their communities. The menace of assimilation caused them to become more conscious of their identity.

The rebellions marked the end of the influx of immigrants to the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil. According to the Census of 1844 there were 522 English-speaking inhabitants living in the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil, comprising approximately eighteen per cent of the total population. Although there was a natural increase in the English-speaking population during the next twenty years, the actual percentage of non-French Canadians in Vaudreuil later declined two per cent.¹

The rebellions, however, had united the community and in the 1840's it grew from a scattered settlement into an established village. The consolidation of Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles was directed by the same men who had led during the crisis of 1837-38— Mathison, DeLesDerniers, and a few others.

The Anglican Bishop of Montreal testified to the vital spirit of the English-speaking community when he visited Mathison's schoolhouse in May, 1840 to confirm forty-eight people:

¹Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1846, D, Recapitulation, by districts and counties, of the returns of the enumeration obtained in the year 1844. See also Appendix IV.

The people are surrounded by French Roman Catholics and during the Rebellion their position was harrassing in the extreme. They certainly manifested a very resolute English spirit, and were fortunate to have such an officer to head them as Major Mathison. I hope that there were those among them who felt they could say "The Lord of Hosts is with us".²

Sensing the existence of an esprit de corps, the Anglican prelate reminded the congregation that eight years previously he had urged them to build a suitable church and yet he was still preaching in the confined and cramped quarters of the schoolhouse. He noted that disagreement over the site had "greatly retarded the progress of the undertaking" but again exhorted them to action and "took great pains to unite the minds of the people".⁴

John Mathison, the Chairman of the Building Committee formed in 1832, renewed his efforts in getting the people to decide on a location for the church. He was unsuccessful. Some Anglicans lived five miles west of his school, some five miles east, others four miles south. The heart of the settlement was Schneider's Inn, but a church there would be inconvenient for two thirds of the people. In addition Mathison received little help in the undertaking from the shy and penurious man who took the Anglican services every two weeks in the schoolhouse, John Leeds. Being the pastor at Coteau du Lac, he lived fourteen miles away, and so was only an occasional visitor to the community.⁵

²Report to the S.P.G. for the year 1840 by George Jehosaphat Mountain, Bishop of Montreal, cited by Royle, pp. 36-37

³Ibid.

⁴Supra, chap. iii, p. 38.

⁵Royle, pp. 37-38.

Finally the Bishop himself broke the impasse. Realizing it was a community in need of its own resident minister, he divided the Parish, left Leeds in Coteau and created the new Parish of Vaudreuil. In October, 1841 he posted the Rev. James Pyke to Vaudreuil.⁶ Pyke was newly-ordained and young— only twenty-five— but was no stranger to Cavagnal. His father, Hon. George Pyke, a Judge in the Court of Queen's Bench, had purchased three lots in Cavagnal shortly before the rebellion⁷ and there in 1840 had built "a modest cottage...on beautifully situated property"⁸ not far from Mathison's farm.

The appointment of a member of a prominent Montreal Tory family as resident minister reactivated Mathison's stalled Building Committee. In November of the same year Mathison wrote to the Bishop:

I had been so unsuccessful in my undertakings and had so frequently disappointed your Lordship in realizing the expectations, I thought I was justified in raising relative to the Church at Vaudreuil that I was really ashamed to trouble you further.

I have now however, the happiness to say, that I believe the face of affairs quite changed again...the well timed exertions of Mr. Pyke who is a very general favourite will I hope early accomplish the erection of the Church with which we had so troubled your Lordship.

All my Protestant neighbours have expressed themselves highly gratified with the arrangements as Communicated... and say they will cheerfully contribute to the best of their ability with the rest of the Diocese to the maintenance of Religion.⁹

⁶Ibid, p. 37.

⁷Terrier de Vaudreuil, II, Lots 36-39.

⁸Royle, p. 40.

⁹P.A.C., The Papers of the S.P.G., J.A. Mathison to the Bishop of Montreal, November 9, 1841. On Microfilm, Reel A 207.

Pyke set about his task with unusually apostolic zeal. He immediately visited as many families in his new Mission as he could and reported that there were about eighty English-speaking families in all, of which "members of the Church [Anglican] greatly preponderate".¹⁰ Some, however, were not Anglicans and the young Missionary quickly planned to change this situation:

It is true that of the 63 Church Families- several are not as staunch as they ought to be. This is undoubtedly owing to the Influence and Exertions of the Methodist Preachers- who have been some time among them. They will always I fear Countenance these men by going to their Meetings though they will not join their Communion- thus even among these apparantly ignorant people the Church has some true and faithful sons- who have never left her Bosom... As there are no Dissenting Ministers, residing at the Cote- I hope by being constantly among them- with God's Blessing, Strengthen the Hands of my own if not to weaken the Hands of the Others.¹¹

Pyke hoped "to break up the Methodist meetings...and to keep my own people from them".¹² He took steps to consolidate the Anglican community in Côte St. Charles by appointing Joseph Lancaster Parish Clerk. Although eighty years old, Lancaster had served as Clerk in the Parish of Addingham, Cumberland and had taught school at Côte St. Charles in the thirties. Pyke also noted with pride that his Clerk, "with 23 Sons and Grandsons bore Arms in Defence of the Country"¹³ in 1837-38 under Mathison.

¹⁰Ibid., The Rev. James Pyke to the Bishop of Montreal, November 7, 1841.

¹¹Ibid. Italics are mine.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

The best laid plans, however, oft go awry. Pyke failed to dampen the spirit of Dissent. Six years after he arrived the Methodists built their own small chapel at Côte St. Charles. They were led by another of Mathison's veterans, Corporal Ebenezer Grout.¹⁴

The Rev. James Pyke concluded his first impressions of his new mission on a note of optimism:

I can say but little with respect to the church- from what I have been able to learn from the people, they are to a man anxious for its Erection and willing to do all they can- I trust by this time next year to see it completed.¹⁵

He was not disappointed. After years of procrastination the English-speaking community was roused to action. Pyke waited until December to call a meeting of the Building Committee—owing to the absence "of one of the most active members of it—Captain Robins of the Steamboat Ottawa".¹⁶ The postponement proved wise. The Committee finally decided to build the church beside the Protestant burial ground which had been in use since 1819 and Richard Storey Robins donated a portion of his Lot 35 as the site.¹⁷ It was about a quarter of a mile west of Mathison's schoolhouse, and almost directly across from the Pyke farms. Other familiar names on the Committee were P.F.C. DeLesDerniers

¹⁴Douglas Walkington, "A Progress Report on the Early Days of Methodism in Vaudreuil" (typewritten manuscript in the files of the Hudson Chapter of the Vaudreuil-Soulanges Historical Society), p. 5.

¹⁵P.A.C., Pyke to the Bishop of Montreal, November 17, 1841.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Royle, p. 43.

and Charles Schneider, while a newcomer to affairs of decision was John Hodgson, the first settler from Cumberland. Together they collected £75, which, when added to the amount solicited by Mathison and Benson in 1832, provided £190 to pay for the stone, lime and boards for the church.¹⁸ Outside financial aid was also forthcoming; Anglican Societies in England donated £150 to the community.¹⁹

On the twenty-fourth of August, 1842, the cornerstone of St. James' Church was laid "in a very imposing manner by the Rector of Christ Church, Montreal, John Bethune, with Masonic honours and ceremonies." It was an important occasion for the English-speaking settlers in Vaudreuil— a coming of age— and the whole community and its leaders took part.

The Reverend Joseph Abbott, the man who had played an important role in the community in its early days and who had helped stimulate its settlement, was invited to attend. He recorded his impressions of the day:

The Masons of St. George's Lodge at St. Andrew's.... assembled at Carillon early in the morning, and were gratuitously taken down the river [along with Abbott himself] in the "Ottawa" steamer by Captain Robins, who landed them at Mr. Schneider's wharf, where they were met by the "Oldfield" steamer, with the Rev. Dr. Bethune and others from town.

On landing we were received by F. DeLesDerniers, Esq.; the Rev. James Pyke, Mr. Schneider and others who had provided carriages, etc. for our conveyance about a couple of miles up the Lake shore to the School House where nearly

¹⁸P.A.C., The Papers of the S.P.G., Missionary Report of the Rev. James Pyke, 1846. On Microfilm, Reel A 221.

¹⁹Royle, pp. 43-45.

the whole of the parishioners, men, women and children were collected, it being the place from whence the Procession was to move to the site of the Church about a quarter of a mile further along a beautiful village lane, overhung with fruit trees and creepers, more like a shady walk in a gentleman's park than a public highway.

The site of the Church, on a high and prominent point of land, jutting out into the lake, with a steep descent covered with brush wood down to the water's edge— immediately in front of the mansion of the Hon. Mr. Justice Pyke and the cottage of Mr. Robins, is the most beautiful and picturesque that can possibly be conceived, commanding, as it does a complete view of the whole lake above and below...²⁰

Mathison was there; DeLesDerniers was there, and so was the Hon. Robert Unwin Harwood. The Seigneur made a "neat and appropriate speech" to mark the auspicious occasion in his Seigneurie of Vaudreuil and concluded with a gift of £10 for the Building Fund. The ceremony ended and "all went quietly home, encouraged and gratified".²¹ The new church was a tangible mark of the community's maturity.

Another sign of the development of the area was the establishment of a post office called "Pointe à Cavagnal" on the sixth of July, 1841. Appointed first postmaster was P.F.C. DeLesDerniers. It was hardly a full-time occupation— there was only one mail delivery per week made on horseback from Montreal and postmasters received no wage—²² but DeLesDerniers did get

²⁰Rev. J. Abbott to Rev. J. Pyke, Grenville, August 31, 1842, cited by Royle, pp. 46-49.

²¹Ibid., pp. 49-50.

²²Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1846, F, Report of Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Affairs of the Post Office in British North America.

franking privileges, and these were valuable in allowing him to correspond with his suppliers because he was a merchant.

In the same year, river communications between the English-speaking community and the metropolis were improved when twenty-two year old Robert Ward Shepherd, Captain of the steamer St. David, discovered a channel through the rapids at Sainte Anne de Bellevue.²³ The old monopoly of McPherson and Crane which had so successfully controlled navigation on the Ottawa River was finally broken. Now any steamboat could travel from Lachine to Carillon without having to use their lock at Vaudreuil. The days of expensive and slow river travel were over. Two years later the government-built canal at Sainte Anne de Bellevue was completed, and the era of the steamboat began in earnest.

In the early forties, the English-speaking in Vaudreuil assumed a role of political importance never before known. In 1841 the newly-appointed Governor, Lord Sydenham, called the colony's first election after the rebellion. Unlike his predecessors, Sydenham handpicked his candidates and then assured their election by permitting electoral chicanery at the polls. He took a particular interest in the county of Vaudreuil. Three men, all English-speaking Tories, were proposed to him as suitable candidates in the riding: John Simpson, Collector of Customs at Coteau du Lac and a former Member of the Assembly in the

²³R.W. Shepherd, "Personal History" (in the files of the Hudson Chapter of the Vaudreuil-Soulanges Historical Society), cited by Royle, p. 36A.

twenties; John Bell, Adjutant at the British Fort at Coteau, and Major John Augustus Mathison of Cavagnal. Sydenham personally chose Simpson, preferring "no military officers come forth as candidates".²⁴

Held in early March, the election of 1841 was the stormiest in Vaudreuil's history. Simpson's opponent was André Jobin, a Montreal notary and prominent Patriote, who had the full support of the former Patriotes in Vaudreuil, especially Hyacinthe-Fabien Charlebois and François-Xavier Desjardins of the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil. There was no violence on the first day of voting, but on the second the English saw that the French-Canadian voters were giving a majority to Jobin, "a man who had been in arms against us",²⁵ and all the antipathy of 1837-38 emerged again. A force of 150 British settlers and Glengarrymen took over the poll and beat away Jobin's supporters "with fists and sticks".²⁶

Simpson was elected. It was another defeat for the French Canadians in Vaudreuil and a stunningly unsavoury victory for Sydenham and his English-speaking supporters. Other than Mathison's nomination as candidate, further proof of Cavagnal's

²⁴Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1843, JJ, Report of the Select Committee appointed to investigate and report on the Outrages alleged to have been committed at the General Election in the Counties of Terrebonne, Montreal, Vaudreuil, Beauharnois, Chambly and Rouville. Testimony of John Bell.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid. Testimony of Louis-Michel Lefebvre, Returning Officer.

affection for the Governor is the name Mathison's lieutenant, Robins, christened his new farmhouse— Sydenham Cottage.²⁷

John Simpson was not Vaudreuil's most eloquent spokesman when the first Parliament under Union met in Kingston. As expected, he consistently supported Sydenham and the other Governors who followed, but he did make one important speech in 1842 when he said, "It is absolutely necessary to invite that large portion of our fellow subjects who are of French origin to share in the government of the country".²⁸ It was during Simpson's tenure in office that French Canadians in Vaudreuil did regain some of the power which they had lost. In 1841 the Government established District Circuit Courts, and appointed paid officials to administer them. Appointed to the important position of Clerk of the Circuit Court of Vaudreuil was a French Canadian— Joseph-Octave Bastien.²⁹ Bastien, a thirty-two year old notary in Vaudreuil village, had remained loyal during the rebellion and had already been rewarded by being appointed postmaster to replace the Patriote Rasette, who had been fired.³⁰ A more significant appointment made under

²⁷Royle, p. 33.

²⁸P.G. Cornell, The Alignment of Political Groups in Canada: 1841-1867 (Toronto: 1962), p. 10.

²⁹P.A.C., Provincial Red Book, 1845.

³⁰Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1846, F.

Simpson was that of arch-Patriote H.-F. Charlebois as Registrar of the County in 1844.³¹ This thirty-eight year old merchant and notary had helped organize the ride through the Seigneurie in 1837, and had been imprisoned for six months in 1838. Thus, while John Simpson was the Member for Vaudreuil, French Canadians began to counter the threat of assimilation by emerging from defeat and gaining new administrative power. Simpson's Tory sympathies and his method of election finally caught up to him when Metcalfe dissolved Parliament in 1844. Simpson chose not to run again.

Four candidates were nominated in his place. All were French Canadians; three had taken an active part in the rebellion. To present a united front against a possible Tory candidate, the three former Patriotes retired and left the field clear for Jacques-Philippe Lanthier, "un jeune homme engagé dans le commerce avec une excellente éducation".³² Lanthier, only thirty, had not taken an active part in the rebellion and pledged himself to moderate reform under British institutions:

Je ferai mes efforts pour que nous puissions jouir de la mise en pratique de gouvernement responsable. Comme sujet anglais, je désire que nous jouissions de tous les privilèges qui nous appartiennent, et qu'en accordant au gouvernement ce support si nécessaire au maintien de notre connexion à la mère patrie nous puissions compter sur la protection des lois et jouir de nos libertés de sujets Britanniques.³³

³¹Fauteux, p. 165.

³²La Minerve, Letter from "Un électeur", 7 oct. 1844.

³³Ibid., J.-P. Lanthier aux électeurs de Vaudreuil, 10 oct. 1844.

He was elected by acclamation. The absence of any opposition meant there was no room in Vaudreuil for any political viewpoint other than that of reform and respect for French-Canadian rights.

Lanthier proved to be a representative who looked after the interests of both his French and English-speaking constituents. He immediately showed his goodwill towards the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil by donating ten guineas to the Anglican Building Fund.³⁴ The first request to greet him when Parliament opened was from the farmers of Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles who "carried a good deal of their produce to Montreal",³⁵ and had lost patience with the miserable conditions of the roads in late autumn. It was a petition from "J.A. Mathison and others, praying that the road between Vaudreuil and the Lachine Turnpike road be macadamized".³⁶ Soon Lanthier received similar petitions from other Vaudreuil County communities and brought the matter to the attention of the government. He was appointed to a Select Committee to study the problem of western communications with Montreal and was successful in prompting the government to build better roads between Montreal and the Upper Canadian border.³⁷

³⁴Royle, p. 60. See also p. 62.

³⁵P.A.C., Missionary Report of Rev. James Pyke, 1846.

³⁶Canada, Legislative Assembly, Journals, January 13, 1845, p. 132.

³⁷Ibid., Appendix to Journals, 1844-45, LL, Report of the Select Committee to which were referred various petitions relating to roads on the Island of Montreal. Harwood and Desjardins were called to testify.

Thus in the 1840's travel by both land and water between Vaudreuil and the metropolis was greatly improved by public works, and these linked rural communities like Cavagnal more tightly to Montreal.

Lanthier had acted on Mathison's petition. One year later when the new School Law of 1846 was under discussion, he again argued on behalf of the English in Vaudreuil. The School Law made great strides in providing for universal elementary education but it unfortunately placed Protestant minorities in the uncomfortable position of having to rely on Roman Catholic School Commissions for funds. Lanthier proposed amendments which would have given Dissentients full control of their schools, but was defeated. Protestant dissatisfaction resulted. One of the centres of protest— as we shall later see— was the English-speaking community of Vaudreuil.³⁸

Meanwhile, events in Cavagnal during Lanthier's term in the mid-forties revolved around the growing reputations of four men— Harwood, Desjardins, DeLesDerniers and Mathison.

During this time the Seigneur of Vaudreuil, R.U. Harwood, attempted to eradicate the Tory image he had received due to his role in the Legislative Council and Colbourne's Special Council which administered the Province after the Rebellions. Following the Union of 1841, he had taken no active part in politics, but

³⁸ K.D. Hunte, "The Development of the Educational System of Canada East: 1841-67", unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1962, pp. 123-4.

had acted like a man awaiting the right moment to plunge in again. Harwood actively promoted public works— especially roads and railroads in his Seigneurie— as "a hobby".³⁹ He gave generously to enable Curé Paul-Loup Archambault to found the teaching order of the Sisters of Sainte Anne in Vaudreuil village⁴⁰ and made several munificent donations to help the Anglicans build their church in Cavagnal.⁴¹ In 1846 the Seigneur attempted to commute the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil into free and common soccage, but was thwarted in his move "by parties having claims against the Seigneurie who would not give their consent to such commutation".⁴²

Harwood was not considered merely as a leader of the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil. His closest associates were members of the French-Canadian élite— Notary Bastien, Curé Archambault, and Doctor Henri Cartier, cousin of George-Etienne, and a former Patriote who had established his practice in Vaudreuil around 1840.⁴³ An aristocrat with time to devote to his tenants'

³⁹McGill, Harwood Papers, Harwood to Henry Sherwood, February 17, 1847.

⁴⁰Jeannotte, p. 24. ⁴¹Royle, p.49. See also ibid., p.62.

⁴²McGill, Harwood Papers, Harwood to Felix Fortier, Crown Land Office, Quebec City, April 12, 1851. The objection was raised by one of Harwood's creditors who demanded that the Seigneur pay his debts before purchasing the ungranted lands in Vaudreuil.

⁴³P.A.C., Correspondence relating to the accounts of the Returning Officer for Vaudreuil 1851-56. Testimony of Dr. Henri Cartier, February, 1856. Elections, Canada East, B 62, Vol. 1. See also Fauteux, p. 158. Cartier had fought at Saint Denis in 1837 and had later fled to the United States where he studied medicine and received his diploma in 1839.

welfare as well as his own, Harwood enhanced his respect among his people in the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil during the 1840's.

In the English-speaking community two men who had taken opposite sides in the rebellion and who competed as merchants for the same trade, P.F.C. DeLesDerniers and his brother-in-law, F.-X. Desjardins, gained new prominence in the forties.

DeLesDerniers inherited a considerable estate when his father, former magistrate J.M.C. DeLesDerniers, died in 1843. He used his new-found wealth to buy farms in Cavagnal which had been seized by the Seigneur for arrears of rent and sold at auctions by the Sheriff of Montreal. Between 1844 and 1852 DeLesDerniers acquired seven farms and later sold most of them at a profit.⁴⁴

His influence increased with his wealth. In 1845 Parliament passed legislation creating democratically-elected Municipal Councils in Lower Canada. The new Municipality of Vaudreuil elected seven councillors, two of whom represented the English-speaking community.⁴⁵ In the first democratic election held in Cavagnal and Côte St. Charles, the people chose John Hodgson and DeLesDerniers, "a great favourite and...an upright, honest man".⁴⁶

⁴⁴Terrier de Vaudreuil, II, Lots 43, 44, 46, 10, 28, 27. See also Terrier de Rigaud, Lot 28, St. Henry North.

⁴⁵P.A.C., Provincial Red Book, Vaudreuil. Here is included a list of the Councillors elected in Canada East in 1845. See also Jeannotte, p. 22.

⁴⁶Royle, p. 90.

Ironically, Councillor DeLesDerniers served under Mayor H.-F. Charlebois, one of the Patriotes who had allegedly threatened to burn his house in 1837. The first experiment in civic government proved a failure, however, and after passing a small amount of local legislation, the Vaudreuil Council was dissolved in 1847 and was not revived again until 1855.⁴⁷

DeLesDerniers was not the only heir to his father's estate. His sister Mary also received a share and her husband, François-Xavier Desjardins invested it wisely. Like his brother-in-law he also began buying farms in Cavagnal⁴⁸ but used his land to enter a new business. In September 1845 Desjardins and three partners united to form a glass manufacturing company. They proposed to locate their factory in Cavagnal because of the abundance of gravel-free sand and sandstone there, needed to make glass. Desjardins agreed to provide the land. Legal troubles plagued the firm throughout 1846 and it was not until new and controlling capital was invested by Stewart Derbshire and Georges Desbarats, Montreal printers, that the factory was actually built.⁴⁹ It was located on Desjardins' Lot 11 in Cavagnal. By then, Desjardins' only share in the firm was the ownership of the site, but the former Patriote had played a

⁴⁷Jeannotte, pp. 24-26.

⁴⁸Terrier de Vaudreuil, II, Lot 11 and Lot 14 in the first and second concessions Au Dessus du Fief Cavagnal.

⁴⁹R.-L. Seguin, "La Verrerie du haut de Vaudreuil", Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. 61, No. 3 (juillet-août 1955), pp. 119-24.

leading role in bringing one of the Province's first glass factories to the Cavagnal area and had regained some lost influence within the community. In 1846 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, joining his old enemy, John Mathison, in that position.⁵⁰ A year later he was made Captain in the newly-reorganized militia. His commanding officer was Lt.-Col. Harwood. Mathison's eldest son, Richard Burnaby, was later a Private in Desjardins' unit.⁵¹ Ten years had made quite a change.

For John Augustus Mathison, the mid-forties were good years. Although he was not reappointed to his position of Commissioner of Small Causes after 1838⁵² and had seen his political enemies begin to take control of the county, he remained the senior magistrate in Cavagnal, retained his high ranking authority in the militia, and continued to play a leading role in the affairs of the English-speaking community.

In 1845 Parliament passed an act "to further encourage the establishment of county or district agricultural societies" and provided a liberal sum from government coffers to stimulate farm improvement.⁵³ Sensing the opportunity to obtain a subsidy from

⁵⁰P.A.C., Provincial Red Book, Vaudreuil, 1845-58.

⁵¹P.A.C., Militia Annual Returns, Vaudreuil Battalion 1846-65, Vol. 5, pp. 97-98

⁵²Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada". Mathison stated, "After acting as Commissioner of Small Causes for more than eleven years, I have not been re-appointed since 1838, although many applications have been sent in for that purpose."

⁵³Olga B. Bishop, Publications of the Government of the Province of Canada 1841-67, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963), p. 86.

the government as he had so often done in the past, Mathison called an assembly of farmers to form the Vaudreuil Agricultural Society in February, 1846. He became its first president. On the executive under Mathison were the same gentlemen farmers who had commanded the volunteers in 1837-38— Vice-president DeLesDerniers and Secretary-Treasurer Robins.⁵⁴ It was strictly an English-speaking organization and about fifty farmers belonged to it. Members subscribed approximately £25 each year to the Society and this along with the healthy annual government grant of £80 was used as prize money at the semi-annual events—⁵⁵ the Fall Fair and the Winter Exhibition and Dance. Both were held at Schneider's Inn.⁵⁶ Competition undoubtedly stimulated improvements in agriculture, as did the Journal of Agriculture which the Society distributed, but it was only the English-speaking farmers who benefitted. According to Robins in 1849, there was little immediate hope for French-Canadian farm improvement owing to "le défaut général d'instruction dans ces environs".⁵⁷

Finally, Mathison's prestige was given another boost when he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the newly-formed

⁵⁴Journal d'agriculture et procédés de la société d'agriculture du Bas Canada, Vol. II, No. 5 (mai 1849), p. 139.

⁵⁵Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1851, J, Reports received from Agricultural Societies in Upper Canada and Lower Canada.

⁵⁶Journal d'agriculture, Vol. I, No. 1 (janvier 1848), p. 23.

⁵⁷Ibid., Vol. III, No. 1 (janvier 1850), R. Robins, Secrétaire de la Société d'Agriculture de Vaudreuil au Secrétaire de la Société d'Agriculture du Bas Canada, Montréal, 17 déc. 1849, p. 46.

Rigaud Battalion of the Vaudreuil Militia when a military re-organization took place in 1846. Having spent fifteen years as Major under the command of Lt.-Col. Harwood, at last he had achieved equal rank. Promoted at the same time to the rank of Major and second-in-command was none other than P.F.C.

DeLesDerniers.⁵⁸ Democratic methods had no part to play in these military appointments; both men had been promoted for their services to the Crown in 1837-38; neither man lived within ten miles of Battalion Headquarters in Rigaud.

Much can be written about the men who led the community; little about the people they led. Important dates and significant achievements mark the lives of men like Mathison and DeLesDerniers; but Time has obliterated our knowledge of the others' lives. At best we know when they were born, when they were married, and when they died. Like their French-speaking neighbours, the English farmers were content to follow the élite who had time to spend on running things. Their time was taken up by the never-ending toil of farming. There was wood to be cut, livestock to be reared, fields to be ploughed, crops to be sown, reaped and sold— and young families to be cared for. Life was punctuated with a few leisures— Sunday services in their new churches, trips by boat or sleigh to market in Montreal, and the Agricultural Society's fairs at Schneider's Inn— but these were fleeting and rare. It still took a lot of work just to keep out of debt.

⁵⁸P.A.C., Militia Annual Returns, Rigaud Battalion, 1848, Vol. 3.

In 1846, fifteen years after most of them had come to Canada, the Reverend James Pyke wrote, "With few exceptions they are all peer".⁵⁹

Ten years had brought the community the trappings of society and had given a few men the opportunity to advance publically and materially, but the decade had not altered the life of the others— those T.S. Eliot called, "the small folk who live among small things".

⁵⁹P.A.C., Missionary Report of the Rev. James Pyke, 1846.

CHAPTER VI

THE PASSING OF POWER

The beginning of the end of the old order in the English-speaking community of Vaudreuil came in 1847. In that year the men who had been victorious a decade previously met humiliation. Within five years their once-commanding voices were silent and their once-strong authority had withered. New and younger leaders took their places.

The Province's controversial new School Law came into effect in 1847. It created School Municipalities which corresponded in area to the newly-erected Civil Municipalities, and provided for the election of five school commissioners in each School Municipality. These commissioners constituted the Board of Education and they were empowered to divide the School Municipality into School Districts with at least one school in each district. They were also able to levy a tax on all property owners and to distribute government grants to operate schools in their Municipality.¹

No provision was made in the law for the operation of Dissident Schools within the School Municipality, and so a

¹There is a full discussion of the School Law of 1846 in K.D. Hunte's thesis, "The Development of the Educational System of Canada East: 1841-67", pp. 107-133.

Protestant minority within a predominantly Roman Catholic Municipality found itself under the control of a Roman Catholic Board of Education. The English-speaking community in the Municipality of St. Michel de Vaudreuil found itself in exactly this position. They were taxed directly by the school commissioners, but because they were a minority without representation, they were unable to control the distribution of their tax money.² It was not a comfortable situation. The Protestants of Vaudreuil had no more faith in the Roman Catholic School Commissioners than had Bishop Lartigue in the Anglican-run Royal Institution twenty-five years previously.³ The Dissenters felt that they should have full control of their school house and the right to levy their own tax on Protestants wishing to have a Dissentient School.

Nor was theirs the only opposition to the new School Law. Widespread dissatisfaction which culminated in public disturbances mounted throughout the Province among French and English alike. This reaction has come to be known as "la guerre des Eteignoirs", implying that the opponents of the law wished to snuff out the light of learning in Canada East.

John Augustus Mathison led the opposition to the law in Vaudreuil. Taxation for education was not his main objection.

²It was this problem which Lanthier's amendments had tried to solve. Supra, chap. v, p. 76.

³Supra, chap. ii, pp. 19-20.

For eighteen years he had operated his small school in Cavagnal and even in the impoverished days of the early thirties, he had obliged the English farmers to pay about two shillings per child attending school—no less than the maximum rates allowed by the new school law. Mathison's objection was to compulsory taxation without a guarantee that those who were taxed would benefit. In addition, the compulsory tax spelled an end to his privately-run school which was not eligible to receive money from the Vaudreuil School Board because it was not publically controlled by elected Trustees.

Time has obscured the exact details of Mathison's opposition to the new School Law; however, in early 1847 acting in his capacity of Justice of the Peace, Mathison fined the School Commissioners of the Municipality of St. Michel de Vaudreuil "for acting when unduly qualified".⁴ The Board of Education retaliated by protesting his decision to the Governor, Lord Elgin, who upheld the rights of the Commissioners.⁵ The immediate upshot of the affair was the closing of Mathison's school in June.

Since the people of the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil were no longer able to rely on Mathison's privately-owned school to educate their children, they were forced to consider the problem of education. On July 1, 1847 the English-speaking settlers gathered for the last time at Mathison's schoolhouse and

⁴Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada".

⁵Ibid.

there they elected three School Trustees. Mathison's power was passed to younger hands. The first Trustee elected was John Hodgson, who had gained the community's respect for his service on the Church Building Committee and on the Vaudreuil Municipal Council. The second was a forty-two year old carpenter, William Hodgson. Both men were natives of Cumberland. The last Trustee chosen was Mathison's twenty-four year old son, Richard Burnaby. The people then unanimously resolved that the Trustees "proceed to build a schoolhouse on a lot in Point Cavagnal purchased from A. Cameron, considered to be central and convenient".⁶

That summer a two-storey Model School building was erected on Lot 26, about a mile and a half east of the old schoolhouse thanks to "much free time and effort...contributed by the citizens".⁷ Although the schoolhouse was opened in the fall of 1847, no financial assistance was forthcoming from the government until the School Law was amended in early 1849 to allow "Trustees of Dissentient Schools to collect their share of the assessment, to recieve school fees and to enjoy the general privileges of a corporation".⁸ One such privilege was a government grant equalling one half of the assessed value of the building. In 1850 the Trustees received over £81 and, in addition, the government

⁶Minute Book of the Protestant Dissentient School of Vaudreuil, Meeting of July 1, 1847.

⁷Ibid., Meeting of Trustees, September 1, 1847.

⁸Hunte, p. 142.

provided £30 to build a small elementary school at Côte St. Charles.⁹ With the passing of the 1849 School Law, Dissident Schools were placed on an equal footing with regular schools and Protestant minorities were guaranteed their fair share of both public and local taxes— exactly what Mathison had demanded in 1847.

Mathison had opposed what he considered to be an unfair law. He soon paid the price of his opposition. In July, 1847—the same month as the school moved from his building— John Augustus Mathison was "discharged from the Commission of Peace for the District of Montreal".¹⁰ Having served as a Justice of the Peace for almost twenty-one years, he was ignominiously relieved of his position. A week later the newspaper La Minerve gloated:

Si nous revenons sur le compte de ces individus mal-famés ce n'est pas que leurs menées coupables soient maintenant à craindre. Ils sont tombés dans la dégradation qu'ils méritaient et la loi d'éducation fonctionne partout sans difficulté. Aujourd'hui nous voulons seulement signaler la déchéance de l'un de ces éteignoirs qui vient d'être rayé de la liste des magistrats...C'est M. John A. Mathison...¹¹

The cause of his dismissal was the judgment he had rendered against

⁹Canada, Legislative Assembly, Appendix to Journals, 1851 X, "Return of all moneys advanced by the superintendent of education in Lower Canada in aid of the building and repairs of school houses in the different municipalities."

¹⁰Canada Gazette, July 31, 1847.

¹¹La Minerve, 9 août 1847.

the School Commissioners of Vaudreuil which had been protested to the Governor.¹²

Remarkably, R.U. Harwood, the man who had helped oust Mathison from his position of Commissioner of Small Causes in 1838, had been appointed Justice of the Peace in Vaudreuil only one month before Mathison's dismissal in 1847. There remained only one magistrate in Cavagnal now— the former Patriote whom Mathison had defeated in 1837— F.-X. Desjardins.¹³ The tables of the past decade had been turned.

According to Mathison's own account of the affair, he accepted the decision of the Governor; however, "the loyal inhabitants of the county were not so easily satisfied, and got up a Petition for my reinstatement, without my knowledge or interference".¹⁴ The Governor's decision, however, remained unaltered.

As the year 1847 wore on, the Province began to slip into an economic depression. By harvest time farm prices had dropped startlingly, and farmers throughout the colony felt the pinch of hard times.¹⁵ In the last month of the year, Parliament was dissolved and an election was called. Lanthier, Vaudreuil's moderate sitting member retired due to ill health and in his

¹²Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada".

¹³P.A.C., Provincial Red Book, 1845-58.

¹⁴Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada".

¹⁵Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician (Toronto: Macmillan, 1952), p. 127.

place Jean-Baptiste Mongenais, a forty-four year old Rigaud merchant who had been active Patriote agitator in 1837, was chosen as "le candidat réformiste".¹⁶ Immediately afterwards, Harwood of Vaudreuil declared himself a candidate. Not unsurprisingly, he pledged his support to the liberals of Lafontaine "pour le gouvernement responsable...dans le vrai sens de la constitution Britannique". In proclaiming himself a moderate reformer, the Seigneur of Vaudreuil firmly stated his support for the disputed School Law:

Quant à la loi d'écoles, dont le principe et les détails causent tant d'agitation parmi vous, je pense que les avantages sont d'une importance si grande pour la jeunesse, et pour le bien-être futur de la Province qu'il est du devoir de la Législature d'intervir...et obliger les parents à contribuer aux moyens d'éducation...¹⁷

The contest was not limited to two reform candidates. The English-speaking community of Vaudreuil, still faithful to its old leader, made its voice heard. On the thirteenth of December in Cavagnal "a large and respectable assembly of electors was held at Schneider's Inn in order to choose a worthy and capable person to represent the county".¹⁸ The vote was unanimous. That evening a three-man delegation including School Trustee William Hodgson, farmer Thomas Graham of the Fief Choisy, and

¹⁶La Minerve, letter from "Un du Comté de Vaudreuil", 30 déc. 1847.

¹⁷Ibid., Harwood Aux Electeurs du Comté de Vaudreuil, 20 déc. 1847.

¹⁸Ibid., 27 déc. 1847.

P.F.C. DeLesDerniers, presented a petition from the people to John Augustus Mathison. It requested that he stand for election; he accepted the request.

Mathison's address to the electors was a curious mixture of haughty ascendancy and humble condescension:

My long residence among you and the different positions which I have filled allow you to know my sentiments on all important subjects.

I have been a friend of education, as you all know by my unceasing devotion to this cause for more than twenty years, but I am not a friend of oppression or coercive measures even towards this end. I demand liberty, the liberty of commerce. I do not want monopolies and especially not land-holding monopolies. I demand zealous but at the same time prudent advancement of all works in the Province.

Since I belong to neither party nor declare myself for either I will be able to support useful measures from wherever they come.

Farmer myself, I know and understand the needs of an agricultural county of which the interests are so strangely neglected and badly understood.¹⁹

Mathison did not hide his feelings about Harwood and his Seignorial land monopoly. Both men solicited French-Canadian support by publishing advertisements in La Minerve and one observer claimed "ils sont tous deux affables du bonnet de Jean-Baptiste",²⁰ but reminded readers that both had not long ago belonged to the Tories. La Minerve felt this criticism overly harsh towards Harwood "en assimilant sa politique à celle de M. Mathison".²¹

¹⁹Ibid., J.A. Mathison Aux Electeurs.

²⁰Ibid., 30 déc. 1847

²¹Ibid.

The decline of the voice of the English-speaking community in Vaudreil occurred pathetically on Christmas Day, 1847. Mathison, marking his sixty-sixth birthday, made a deluded venture into Mongenais' stronghold of Rigaud to present himself to the French-Canadian voters there. The scene was vividly described in La Minerve:

Hier Mathison était à la porte de l'église de Rigaud, où il s'était rendu accompagner par son fils et deux autres messieurs pour haranguer les habitants à l'issue de la messe. Grand a été la surprise de M. Mathison de voir que personne ne daignait l'écouter, car à l'exception de cinq ou six curieux.

Voilà la succès brillant qu'a en Mathison à Rigaud et je pense que M. Harwood aurait une réception toute aussi brillante.²²

Those who had humbly taken the Oath of Allegiance a decade before now had their revenge. It was a bitter disappointment for Mathison. His wounded pride did not allow him to venture any further along the road of humiliation. The candidate from Cavagnal withdrew his name from the ballot and lent his support—not to his Protestant fellow countryman Harwood—but to the former Patriote, Jean-Baptiste Mongenais.²³

Mongenais won the election, beating Harwood by 170 votes, but the English-speaking community did not support him. Turning away from the advice of their old commander, Mathison, the voters of Cavagnal preferred their Seigneur. Harwood polled 352 votes in

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., letter from "Un bien informé", 3 jan. 1848.

the Municipality of Vaudreuil; his opponent received a mere three.²⁴ It was a greater defeat for Mathison than it was for Harwood.

During Mongenais' first term in office the Rebellion Losses Bill was passed, marking the advent of responsible government. The achievement, however, was marred by a hostile reaction among the English-speaking population of the Province. The Bill supplied £90,000 to indemnify all who had lost property in the rebellion except those who had been convicted or had pleaded guilty of treason. The loyalists who had united to defeat the Patriotes felt that the measure vindicated the rebels and agitators who twelve years previously had been ready to establish their own republic. A commission of inquiry had been set up in 1846 to investigate the extent of rebellion losses and had heard a variety of questionable claims presented by leading Patriotes who had been imprisoned but never convicted. Clet Raizenne of Rigaud, for example, had been "l'un des principaux lieutenants de Papineau dans les Deux-Montagnes",²⁵ but saw fit to submit a claim for £156. Raizenne reasoned that because he had been studying to become a notary when his books had been burnt in 1837, he had been excluded from his profession for three years, and deserved to be reimbursed. Two others submitting claims were very familiar to the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil,

²⁴Ibid., 13 jan. 1848.

²⁵Seguin, Le Mouvement Insurrectionnel, p. 138.

F.-X. Desjardins and H.-F. Charlebois. Together they claimed £215— a tidy reward for organizing a ride through the Seigneurie, and enough to rankle those who had fled to the woods.²⁶

In 1849 the claimants were to be rewarded. In Montreal the Tory opponents of the Rebellion Losses Bill defeated themselves by burning the Parliament Buildings, following Lord Elgin's approval of the Bill in late April. In the countryside where the English-speaking were a minority, the reaction was less violent, but no less hostile. All over the Province meetings were held and angry petitions were drawn up demanding that the Queen disallow the Bill and recall Lord Elgin. From these meetings stemmed the creation of a new association, the British American League, formed by "Conservatives, shaken in their old faith and absolved from their old loyalties...groping in angry perplexity towards new policies".²⁷ If a petition demanding Elgin's recall was prepared in Cavagnal, it has been lost; however, the English-speaking community gave mute testimony to its feelings when a counter-petition supporting the Governor was circulated in the Seigneurie in May, 1849. There were 366 names on it; not one was English.²⁸ Furthermore the disillusionment of the people of

²⁶First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Losses Occasioned by the Troubles During the Years 1837 and 1838 (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1846), Claims 1651, 1058 and 1891.

²⁷Creighton, pp. 140-141.

²⁸P.A.C., Petitions in support of Lord Elgin, Vol. 259, Nos. 1705-06. These were printed petitions distributed by J.B. Monegnais which regretted the outrages perpetrated against Elgin,

Cavagnal with the government manifested itself in the formation of a branch of the British American League there in June. The organizers of the branch circulated the following handbill:

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTY OF VAUDREUIL

It is deemed that the present is a fitting time to ascertain public opinion on subjects so important as to affect the very existence of the colony itself.

The British American League has been formed to obtain unequivocally the opinion of the people of Canada, too well known, of too grave an importance, and too deeply felt in every British heart to need recapitulation here. The object of this paper is to inform you that a Branch of the League has been formed in Vaudreuil and to request your signature...GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.²⁹

The Treasurer of the Cavagnal Branch of the League was John Hodgson. The Vice President was P.F.C. DeLesDerniers. John Augustus Mathison was President.

In late July the British American League held a convention in Kingston. After flirting with the idea of annexation to the United States as a solution to the political and economic ills of Canada, the delegates affirmed their loyalty to the Crown and proposed protection of native industry and the study of a federal union of all the British North American colonies. Unsatisfied with the results of the convention the extremist Montreal Tery merchants

deplored the conduct of those who had burnt the Parliament Buildings, and approved of his impartial conduct. See also Canada Gazette, May 26, 1849. The following headed the petition from the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil: P.-L. Archambault, vicaire général; H. Cartier, maire; J.A. Desjardins, conseiller.

²⁹Mathison Collection, Handbill of the Cavagnal Branch of the British American League, Vaudreuil, June 26, 1849.

issued in October, 1849 their notorious annexation manifesto, advocating the political union of Canada with the United States.³⁰

To John Augustus Mathison, the thought of annexation was totally repugnant. "In olden time," he wrote in January, 1850, "a traitor was then a traitor...and a Loyal Briton was the opposite. Annexation to any power on earth would have been a disgrace."³¹ Upset by the chaotic political situation, the depressed economic conditions, and the erosion of his influence within the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil, Mathison resolved in the New Year to return to England. He wrote:

Therefore being left alone with my family, a prey to my enemies and accumulating years, I hope I shall not be accused of deserting my post by returning to the land of my birth. So farewell Canada, I leave you "more in sorrow than in anger".

...I can say with Sancho Panza when he looked down at his shoes (they were the same he came with) Ni pierdo ni gano— I have neither lost nor gained, but have made myself as useful as circumstances, and the hatred to my race and country, would admit.

I have only now to conclude with the expression of my full conviction that the present position of Canada is not very much more the fault of one Governor than another, but of a long continued series of misunderstanding, pusillanimity, and unprincipled misrule.³²

Thus the Rebellion Losses Bill and the achievement of responsible government symbolized the defeat of the old order. Mathison did not return to England. He remained in Vaudreuil until his death; however, he never again dominated affairs in the English-speaking

³⁰For a more detailed discussion of the convention of the British American League see Creighton, pp. 140-146.

³¹Mathison Collection, "Official History of Thirty Years in Canada".

³²Ibid.

community as he had before 1849.

In April, 1850 the Commissioners investigating Rebellion Losses Claims, one of whom was Vaudreuil's former Tory Member of Parliament, John Simpson, arrived in Vaudreuil. They awarded a total of fifty-seven requests for compensation; all were for guns delivered to Major Mathison or Captain DeLesDerniers or Mr. Schneider, "and never returned".³³

In the Election of 1851 the English-speaking community had its opportunity to register its disapproval of J.-B. Mengenaïs and to raise its voice again for the last time against the tide of affairs in the Province. The first to declare himself a candidate was the incumbent, Mengenaïs. Seeing no one else challenging its disliked representative, the English-speaking community of Vaudreuil nominated a candidate— Mathison's old associate, P.F.G. DeLesDerniers. Later to check both DeLesDerniers and Mengenaïs, "knowing that both were of the same mind on the question of seigneurial tenure, and that the studies and knowledge of the former were much more dangerous than the absence of the these qualities in the other",³⁴ the Seigneur of Vaudreuil, R.U. Harwood, entered the contest. Finally a fourth candidate, Sauvé of Coteau, declared himself. All four men were nominated at the large "assemblée contradictoire" before Vaudreuil's new

³³P.A.C., Testimony recorded by the Commission on the Rebellion Losses, Vol. 30, pp. 1067-1127. Supra, chap. iv, p. 58.

³⁴La Minerve, 24 déc. 1851.

Returning Officer, H.-F. Charlebois on the first of December.³⁵

Mongenais stood on his record. Harwood declared himself independent and called for reform in the Province's registry laws and for the construction of a railroad through Vaudreuil. Sauvé, a Rouge, represented the discontent of the people of the southern half of the County in Soulanges, rather than the ideas of the radical reformers, and he demanded that the County Seat be moved to Soulanges. DeLesDerniers "n'a avoué aucune politique"³⁶ but claimed sympathy for the aims and ideas of the Rouges.

DeLesDerniers' opponents spared no effort in destroying his chances. La Minerve stated the only Rouge ideas he supported were those of annexation of Canada to the United States.³⁷ Harwood's lieutenant, Dr. Henri Cartier, claimed DeLesDerniers had been on the side of the majority of voters only once— when Simpson won the hated election of 1841.³⁸ Mongenais concurred and pointed disdainfully at DeLesDerniers' past record: "En 1837-38 il était tout tory et il était volontaire alors."³⁹

They were all correct. Essentially DeLesDerniers was the voice of the English-speaking community's confused protest.

³⁵Ibid., 9 déc. 1851.

³⁶Ibid., letter from "Un electeur", 19 déc. 1851.

³⁷Ibid., 9 déc. 1851.

³⁸Ibid., letter from Henri Cartier, M.D., 30 déc. 1851.

³⁹Ibid., 29 déc. 1851.

Once Tory, now half-Rouge, the best analysis was that he represented no true political viewpoint, but rather the distress of those who had seen their power diminish drastically because of responsible government.

Mongenais won the election with an overwhelming 509 vote majority. He received a total of 881 votes; Sauvé was runner-up with 372; Harwood was not far behind him with 262. At the very bottom of the list was P.F.C. DeLesDerniers. He garnered a mere sixty-four votes; forty-seven of them came from the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil.⁴⁰

A remark by one of DeLesDerniers' supporters following the débâcle serves as the obituary of the old order— "Old prejudices and hatreds...should be forgotten".⁴¹

⁴⁰Ibid., 16 déc. 1851.

⁴¹Ibid., 24 déc. 1851.

CHAPTER VII

NEW LEADERS AND A NEW SPIRIT

If the events of 1847 had destroyed Mathison's public career, the humiliating election of 1851 ended DeLesDerniers' prominent role in the affairs of the English-speaking community. Three years later the power of the old leaders had utterly waned. DeLesDerniers died in June, 1854. Ebenezer Greut was already dead. Richard Robins had been broken by the tragically untimely deaths of his only child in 1847 and his wife in 1853. One by one during the decade of the fifties, the old leaders succumbed. Pioneer schoolmaster John Benson died teaching at Côte St. Henry in 1857. Two years later Charles Schneider, the veteran of both 1812 and 1837, passed away at his Inn at Cavagnal.¹ John Augustus Mathison managed to cling until 1859 to the one honour still left him— command of the Rigaud Battalion of the militia— but to avoid retirement, pitifully he had to lop ten years off his age on his Annual Reports.² The old guard had yielded. In their place were other men, the most notable of whom was their old opponent, Robert Unwin Harwood.

The Seigneur was generally liked throughout Vaudreuil.

¹Royle, pp. 90-97.

²P.A.C., Militia Annual Returns, Canada East, 1848, Vol. 3.

No one who was unpopular would have dared contest two elections, or could have won so many votes in his own seignury. One observer in 1851 flatly stated "la conduite de M. Harwood, comme seigneur, a été et est irréprochable".³ Another later wrote:

Il quitta la commerce et vint habiter le Manoir de Vaudreuil. Tournant alors toute son attention vers l'agriculture, il s'appliqua à la faire fleurir et prospère, ce qu'il n'a cessé de faire pendant 36 ans. Dans le but d'encourager la classe agricole, au lieu de dépenser ses immenses revenus à des objets de luxe ou à des voyages de plaisir, il les consacra à favoriser ses censitaires, pour lesquelles nul peut-être ne fit davantage.⁴

Harwood had farsightedly supported the projects of the future while Mathison and the others had fought to preserve the privileges of the English-speaking minority. In 1853 Harwood commuted his Seignury into Free and Common Soccage, one year before Seignorial Tenure was abolished altogether by Parliament.⁵ By then too, the Province's School Law which he had bravely supported had begun to raise the educational level in the Province. Finally, the man who had opted for a railway through Vaudreuil since 1837 must have been pleased to see the rails of the Grand Trunk being laid in his Seignury about a mile from his Manor House in 1854.⁶

Harwood had opposed the ideas of the old guard and had won.

³La Minerve, 19 déc. 1851.

⁴C. Daniel, Familles Françaises de Canada (Montréal: Eusèbe Senecal, 1867).

⁵McGill, Harwood Papers, Letters Patent Commuting the Seignury of Vaudreuil into Free and Common Soccage, March 19, 1853.

⁶Jeannotte, p. 26.

In 1854 he again contested the election in Vaudreuil. This time he was Mongenais' sole opponent; there was no opposition from the English-speaking community. For the third time he lost again, but he had the satisfaction of seeing Mongenais' majority whittled to 146 votes. Furthermore, in his own Seigneurie of Vaudreuil only nineteen of the 292 voters supported his political enemy.⁷ He had rallied most of the English and French-speaking farmers behind him.

Relations between the two groups were improving, aided by the Anglo-French alliance in the Crimean War. Their victory at Sebastopol in September 1855 was the culmination of their co-operation and it was celebrated by both English and French alike in Canada. Significantly, when the victory was announced it was Harwood who rallied French and English together. The Gazette reported, "The Seigneurial Mansion was brilliantly illuminated and notwithstanding the weather, crowds assembled to admire its appearance. Indeed such loyalty and harmony of feeling has seldom been witnessed."⁸

The spirit of the times was changing and this was reflected also in the change of leadership within the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil during the 1850's. The change, however, was not abrupt; it was evolutionary. A few of the men now prominent had first become involved in community affairs during the previous decade. These included John and William Hodgson, both

⁷P.A.C., Elections, Canada East, 1854, Vol. 43.

⁸Montreal Gazette, October 16, 1855.

natives of Cumberland. The former, a merchant, had been elected with DeLesDerniers to serve on the first Municipal Council in Vaudreuil⁹ and replaced DeLesDerniers as Postmaster when the latter resigned.¹⁰ He had also been one of the School Trustees elected in 1847 and the Treasurer of the British American League in Vaudreuil.¹¹ In 1855 his ascendancy within the English-speaking community was officially recognized when he was appointed Justice of the Peace.¹² William Hodgson, a carpenter, who had also served as a School Trustee following 1847, was elected as Cavagnal's representative on the Vaudreuil Municipal Council when it was reconstituted in 1855.¹³ Both men had arrived in Vaudreuil as immigrants; both were representative of the community they served.

⁹Supra, chap. v, p. 78.

¹⁰DeLesDerniers had been the community's first postmaster. Following his resignation from the position a second post-office was established in the area. R.B. Mathison subsequently became the postmaster at "Pointe à Cavagnal", while John Hodgson was appointed postmaster at the "Ottawa Glass Works" post-office, located in the eastern part of Cavagnal and named after the glass industry established nearby.

¹¹Supra, chap. vi, pp. 95-96.

¹²P.A.C., Provincial Red Book, 1845-58.

¹³Vaudreuil, Minute Book of the Municipal Council of the Parish of St. Michel de Vaudreuil, Vol. I. The history of municipal institutions in Canada East between 1845 and 1855 is complicated. In 1845 each parish was administered by a municipal council. In 1847 these councils were abolished and were replaced by a County Council to which each parish elected one representative. The County Council elected one of its members to serve as Prefect of the County. From 1847-55 the Parish of Vaudreuil's delegate to the County Council was Dr. Henri Cartier. He was also Prefect during that time. In 1855 the parish councils were again introduced. Cavagnal elected one councillor to sit on the Municipal Council of the Parish of Vaudreuil. Dr. Cartier served as Mayor of this Council from 1855 until his death in 1861.

Several of the new leaders were farmers, assuming public duties for the first time. One or two were elected to the Executive Committee of the Agricultural Society; others became School Commissioners and Church Wardens, and by 1862 the Canadian-born sons of the Cumberland immigrant farmers were even being elected to serve as municipal councillors in Vaudreuil. After thirty years of anonymity, the men who had followed now began to lead.

There also remained significant connections between the old order and the new. Ebenezer Grout was dead, but his son Ebenezer Jr., carried on. A simple farmer like his father, Grout was a leader in the Methodist Church of Côte St. Charles, and a Councillor for four years between 1858 and 1862. He also served as secretary-treasurer of the Dissident Schools in Vaudreuil in the sixties.¹⁴

John Mathison had retired, but his son was now active in the community. After the school was removed from his building in 1847, Mathison converted it into a store which was kept by his son, Richard Burnaby. Because the old leader had lent his support to J. -B. Mongenais in the election of 1847, Mathison managed to secure the position of postmaster of "Pointe à Cavagnal" for his son. Thanks to its location at the central crossroads of the community and to its function as a post-office, the store prospered.

¹⁴Mitchell's Canada Gazetteer and Business Directory
(Toronto: W.C. Chewatt, 1864), p. 97.

Young Mathison was never the man his father was,¹⁵ but he did participate somewhat in public affairs. He served as secretary-treasurer of the Agricultural Society and of the Dissident Schools in the late 1850's.¹⁶

The link between the old leaders and the new, as well as the difference in spirit which divided them, is most clearly evident in the career of the man who became the community's most prominent leader in the mid-fifties, Robert Ward Shepherd.

Shepherd's story reads like a Horatio Alger novel. Born in 1819 in Norfolk County, England, he had been brought by his poor family to Canada in 1830. At fifteen he had scrounged a job at the King's Arms Hotel and after serving as a volunteer in a Montreal regiment during 1837, Shepherd got a job with McPherson and Crane, the monopoly which controlled navigation on the Ottawa. In April, 1838 he was sent aboard the steamer Ottawa, and for three years sailed the river under the command of the boat's Captain, R.S. Robins.¹⁷

In the fall of 1840 he was refused a promotion, and left the company to work for their newly-formed competitors, Hooker and

¹⁵According to John Augustus Mathison's great grand-daughter, Miss Ethel Kyte of Darien, Connecticut, Richard Burnaby Mathison suffered an unfortunate accident around the age of twenty: "Some boys loosened the cinch of his saddle just as a prank, not knowing that he would be seriously injured. In some way he couldn't get loose after he fell and was dragged for several miles with his head banging on the road. His brain was permanently damaged and he was mentally unbalanced."

¹⁶Canada Directory (Montreal: John Lovell, 1857), p. 90.

¹⁷Shepherd, pp. 1-8.

Jones. Captain Robins provided him with a good reference. In 1841, Shepherd made his name by discovering the monopoly-breaking channel through the rapids at Sainte Anne de Bellevue,¹⁸ and was given command of the new steamer Oldfield. "I lived like a Lord", he said after his stroke of luck. His boat plyed between Lachine and Carillon and made regular stops at Schneider's Wharf, and when the cornerstone of the Anglican Church in Vaudreuil was laid, it was the Oldfield that carried the dignitaries to Cavagnal from Montreal.

Shepherd became further acquainted with the English-speaking community as a member of a driving party bound for Carillon in January, 1843 when it stopped for the night at Cavagnal:

We left Montreal the morning of the 12th January, 1843... and the first evening we were to stop at Mr. DeLesDerniers... We arrived there about eight o'clock and received from our host and hostess a most hearty welcome, such kindness one never forgets. They made room for us all and also provided stabling for our horses.¹⁹

There he met the daughter of P.F.C. DeLesDerniers, "a blooming girl of sixteen, very shy and hard to get acquainted with", and he continued, "After dancing all night at Schneider's Hotel we all returned to our friends the DeLesDerniers."²⁰ The friendship ripened. In 1846 Shepherd "began to think of settling in life... and then was anxious to do something more in life than work for a bare salary".²¹ He pooled his savings with those of three partners

¹⁸Supra, chap. v, p. 71

¹⁹Shepherd, p. 15

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 16

and purchased the Oldfield from Hooker and Jones who were intending "to withdraw from the Ottawa River and exploit the St. Lawrence". Now he owned a share of the boat he commanded. A few months later he made another big decision— he was married to Mary Cecilia, the only child of P.F.C. DeLesDerniers.

By 1854 new capital had been invested in the navigation partnership and Shepherd was the Captain of the modern steamer Lady Simpson which had won the lucrative mail contract between Montreal and Bytown.²² On the third of June, 1854, P.F.C. DeLesDerniers died. Shepherd and his wife inherited his estate: "a large homestead...very valuable property".²³ Keeping one foot in the navigation business and the other on DeLesDerniers' farms, Shepherd soon became the community's most respected leader. Many of the steps in his rise to local prominence paralleled those made by John Augustus Mathison before him. There the similarity between the two leaders ends, for the outlooks and achievements of the two men contrast sharply.

Like Mathison, Shepherd was appointed a Justice of Peace, and accepted the position in 1855.²⁴ Unlike Mathison, Shepherd was not called upon to maintain law and order in a frontier district.

²²Montreal Gazette, December 1, 1851, advertisement for the Ottawa Mail Steamers. The added capital had been invested by Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and a director of the Bank of Montreal— hence the name of Shepherd's steamer.

²³Shepherd, p. 22.

²⁴P.A.C., Provincial Red Book, 1845-58.

He seems to have considered the position to be one of honour and left most of the administrative duties to John Hodgson who had been also made a magistrate in the same year.

Shepherd succeeded Mathison as President of the Vaudreuil Agricultural Society in 1856.²⁵ During ten years of Mathison's leadership the Society had remained an exclusively English-speaking organization. Shepherd attempted to broaden the association's membership and by 1859 when he retired as President, he had welcomed three French Canadians to the executive.²⁶

Shepherd also took an interest in politics but unlike Mathison he was a political ally of Robert Unwin Harwood. In 1856 Harwood and his associates charged that Returning Officer H.-F. Charlebois had fraudulently claimed false expenses for his work in the elections of 1851 and 1854. It was a political move on Harwood's part to remove Mongenais' protégé from his position of influence in Vaudreuil and it was successful. A two-man government commission investigated the charges and found the former Patriote Charlebois guilty.²⁷ He subsequently lost all

²⁵ Canada Directory, 1857, p. 484.

²⁶ Journal d'Agriculture, Vol. XII, No. 4, Appendix: Comptendu par J. Perrault, 1859. In 1859 the Seigneur's second eldest son, R.W. Harwood, became President of the Society. Ed. Lefavre became secretary-treasurer succeeding R.B. Mathison, and A. Campeault and J.-B. Ranger were elected directors.

²⁷ P.A.C., Elections, Canada East, Testimony heard by Commissioners A.M. Delisle and Matthew Ryan Concerning the fraudulent practices of the Returning Officer for Vaudreuil, H.-F. Charlebois, during the elections of 1851 and 1854. Among those called to testify against Charlebois were Curé Archambault, Doctor Cartier and R.U. Harwood. Charlebois was charged with the extortion of over £85 from the government while in his position of trust.

his official positions— Returning Officer, Postmaster of Vaudreuil and County Registrar. Replacing him in these posts was F. DeSalle Bastien, the son of Harwood's old friend, Notary J.-O. Bastien.²⁸

The stage was set for another election attempt by the Seigneur.

When in 1857 an election was called, the old deputy, J.-B. Mengenaïs retired but carefully chose Emery Lalonde to succeed him. Harwood, making his fourth bid for election, was nominated to oppose Lalonde. R.W. Shepherd was one of the electors who nominated him. This time Harwood was finally successful. He won the election with a majority of 101 votes. Led by Shepherd, the English-speaking community of Vaudreuil gave him total support. In the Municipality of Vaudreuil the Seigneur received 503 votes; his opponent got five.²⁹ Working together, the French and English-speaking voters of Vaudreuil provided him with the victory.

Like Mathison, Shepherd was a staunch Anglican and gave the Church his full support. He was elected as one of Vaudreuil's delegates to the first Synod of the Anglican Church held in Montreal in 1859 and represented the Parish at the annual assembly for the next thirty-five years.³⁰ Like Mathison too, he became Chairman of a Church Building Committee, but this time there was no pre-tracted discussion about the site. The second Anglican Church was constructed in 1866 on property Shepherd secured from John Hodgson.

²⁸Jeannette, pp. 21, 28.

²⁹P.A.C., Elections, Canada East, 1857, Vol. 49.

³⁰Royle, p. 96.

Just as the first church (which remained in use) was located near Mathison's home, the new church was very close to Shepherd's residence and served the people of the eastern part of the community.³¹

Finally, like Mathison, Shepherd raised a volunteer militia unit, but unlike Mathison's Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers which had united the English against the French, Shepherd's company brought the groups together in a common alliance against the threat of American attack. The new militia unit, called the Como Rifles, was organized by Captain Shepherd following the Trent Affair. This incident occurred in November, 1861 when an American sloop halted the British steamer Trent which was carrying two commissioners of the southern Confederacy on their way to Europe. Anglo-American relations became hostile, and for a few weeks it appeared that the incident might lead to war. Canada, as part of the British Empire, was threatened. By 1862 Shepherd had recruited fifty-two riflemen— some veterans of 1837, but the majority Canadian-born of both French and English descent— and in July was able to report:

They are regularly drilled three times a week in squads and have weekly company drills on Saturday mornings: four such drills per month and have made very fine progress indeed comparing their proficiency to that of the city corps. About 34 will be uniformed by the 22nd of July, by winter the whole will be in uniform. Arms in good order and well stored.³²

³¹Ibid., p. 101.

³²P.A.C., Militia Quarterly Returns, Return of the First Volunteer Militia Rifle Company of Vaudreuil with headquarters in Como, Vol. 63, April-July 1862.

As the American threat subsided, attendance at drill diminished, but four years later when the Irish Brotherhood known as the Fenians threatened to celebrate St. Patrick's Day by attacking Canada, the Como Rifles, along with 10,000 other militiamen were called to active duty by the government. Shepherd's unit, anticipating sabotage, guarded the Grand Trunk Railway bridge at Sainte Anne de Bellevue.³³ Nothing happened. Throughout April and May the company remained on permanent duty. On May 31, the Fenians attacked, and were defeated in the Niagara Peninsula. Shortly afterwards the Como Rifles again disbanded. The real result of the machinations of the Fenians, according to D.G. Creighton, was "a remarkable outburst of British North American patriotism, a remarkable demonstration of the new British American national feeling".³⁴ This new spirit, the motivating force behind Shepherd's Como Rifles, was far different from that which once spurred on Mathison's Vaudreuil Volunteers.

Although his career had begun under Captain Robins, had been furthered by his marriage to DeLesDerniers' daughter, and paralleled that of John Augustus Mathison, Shepherd was a man of modern mien and moderate views. He discarded the ideas of the old leaders and directed the English-speaking community towards new pathways of action, in concert with, and not against, their French-speaking neighbours.

³³J.A. Macdonald, Troublous Times in Canada (Toronto: 1910), p. 107.

³⁴Creighton, p. 439.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMUNITY AT CONFEDERATION

On July 1st 1867 when Confederation became "a fixed fact"¹ and the Dominion of Canada was born, John Augustus Mathison was still alive. He was eighty-five years old. By then almost fifty years had elapsed since he had bought his farm in Cavagnal, and during that half-century the little English-speaking settlement in Vaudreuil had grown from a pioneer outpost into a relatively mature community. Mathison had witnessed many changes.

He had seen the eastern part of Cavagnal, once the stronghold of his friends the DeLesDerniers and Schneiders, become a busy little village called Como. No longer did the front road link only scattered farmhouses. Now there were small cottages along it clustered on one acre lots around the glass factory there. Como had its own stores, its own tradesmen, and thanks to its most prominent citizen, Captain R.W. Shepherd, it would soon have its own stone Anglican church.² Time had changed

¹John A. Macdonald to Denis Godley, June 1, 1867, cited by Creighton, p. 467.

²Reyle, pp. 92, 101-105. During the fifties the district had been known as "Ottawa Glass Works"; however, after Bytown had been renamed Ottawa in 1855 postal confusion arose and R.W. Shepherd changed its name to Como after the lake in Italy of that name. The cornerstone of St. Mary's Anglican Church there was laid on May 29, 1866 and the building was opened for service in the summer of 1867.

this area. Schneider's Inn had closed and where once F.-X. Desjardins had profited from the pioneers' needs by operating a potasherie, now he prospered from their desire for luxuries and was "a baker, confectioner and general merchant".³

Mathison had seen the central part of Cavagnal east of his farm grow startlingly in the sixties. This development was due to the establishment there of the area's second glass factory, the Canada Glass Works. It was owned by George Matthews, a well-to-do Montreal lithographer who had spent his summers in Cavagnal after buying Judge Pyke's mansion in 1851. At first Matthews' factory, like its nearby competitor, the Ottawa Glass Works in Como, had limited its production to window glass and telegraph insulators. But with the advent of preferential tariffs protecting Canadian-made goods, new capital was added to the firm and its operations were "much extended".⁴ By Confederation the factory had grown in size and was manufacturing even sophisticated items such as lamps and German Flint Glass crystal. In the year 1867 alone, the Canada Glass Works produced \$56,000 worth of glass.⁵ As the business grew artisans

³Mitchell's Gazetteer, p. 130.

⁴"Statements relating to Trade, Navigation, Mining, etc., of the Dominion of Canada; and the Annual Report on the Commerce of Montreal for 1867", cited by Gerald Stevens, In a Canadian Attic (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), p. 145.

⁵Ibid. To produce this much glass the Canada Glass Works used 360,000 lbs. of sand "from the Company's own property in the neighbourhood of the works".

connected with it— glass blowers, moulders, blacksmiths, and coopers— moved to the area. To serve them came tradesmen, shopkeepers and the community's first resident physician, Dr. D.P. McNaughten, whose father owned much of the land around the factory.⁶ Where before there had been only farms, now there was a thriving village. New houses, a hotel, a wharf, and even a telegraph office sprang up around the glassworks.⁷ Sadly for Mathison, this shift in population meant the removal of the "Pointe à Cavagnal" post-office from his son's store to a more central point "to suit the convenience of the glass factory".⁸ With its departure the old name of the area, Cavagnal, had died. Matthews deemed it appropriate to call the new post-office after his wife's maiden name— Hudson— and the name has remained to this day.⁹

By Confederation Mathison had lived to see the back concessions— almost unpopulated when he arrived in 1820— become comfortable and separate sections of the English-speaking community. In 1867 Côte St. Charles had not only a Methodist Church served by a resident minister,¹⁰ but also a newly-built

⁶Mitchell's Gazetteer, p. 97.

⁷Royle, p. 101. The Montreal Telegraph Company opened an office in Hudson in 1865.

⁸Petition of the Inhabitants of Hudson...requesting the return of the post office to the former place, March 1884. Copy in the possession of Mr. Gustave Wilson, Côte St. Charles.

⁹Lois Stephenson, Historical Sketch of the United Church Hudson and Côte St. Charles (Hudson: privately printed, 1947), p. 5.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Anglican chapel.¹¹ Nearby Côte St. Henry had its own Methodist church, albeit humbly built of logs, as well as its own grist and saw mill.¹² Both places had their own elementary schools.

Mathison had seen the Cumberland-born settlers whom he had once commanded gradually raise themselves from poverty to relative prosperity. The men who had once been too poor to provide their schoolmaster with a copy of Scriptures were now beginning to acquire second farms. Even in 1867, however, none of them had yet enough capital to commute their farms into freehold and so they continued to pay the Seigneur the annual pittance due him in rent.¹³ Life was better, but still not easy. Indeed, time and hard work were taking their toll, and the number of English-born inhabitants was slowly diminishing. In 1866 the Rev. James Pyke, marking his twenty-fifth year in the community, deplored "the loss by death of several heads of families, old members of the church."¹⁴ They were yielding to a new generation—

¹¹Royle, p. 115. The Anglican Chapel of St. Joseph's had a short existence and was closed six years later— "the congregation reduced to very few".

¹²Mitchell's Gazeteer, p. 97. This was the old Whitlock mill which had been in operation since the early 1830's.

¹³Terrier de Vaudreuil, II. The only farms commuted were those of George Matthews in 1861 and William Whitlock in 1863.

¹⁴The Report of the Rev. James Pyke to the Montreal Church Society for 1867, cited by Royle, p. 102. However, an amazing number of the pioneer farmers from Cumberland lived to be very old men: in 1885 died Christopher Robinson aged 89 and Joseph Simpson, 80; in 1886 John Thompson, 87; in 1889 John Hodgson, 84; in 1891 Richard Metcalfe, 87; in 1893 Joseph Blenkinship, 87; in 1899 Robert Wilson, 88; in 1900 Joseph Grisdale, 90; in 1901 Isaac Vipond Jnr., 91; and finally in 1903 Thomas Parsons (the last of the Vaudreuil Loyal Volunteers) aged 83. Life expectancy when they quit England was forty-two!

a generation born not in England, but in Canada.

John Augustus Mathison was still alive on July 1, 1867. Indeed, he and his wife were celebrating their forty-fifth wedding anniversary that day. He had outlasted almost all his former friends, associates and rivals. DeLesDerniers, Schneider, Benson, Reverend J. Abbott, Grout, Grisdale and Lancaster— now they lived only in the old man's memory.¹⁵ Curé Archambault, Notary Bastien, Doctor Cartier, and even Robert Unwin Harwood, his old rival, had all passed away before him.¹⁶ He even outlived the former Patriotes, Charlebois and Desjardins, both twenty years his junior.¹⁷ The old leader of the now-forgotten past outlasted them all and had lingered into a new age of which he was not part.

¹⁵Supra, chap. vii, p. 100. The Rev. William Abott died in 1859, the Rev. Joseph Abbott in 1866, Joseph Lancaster in 1864 and John Grisdale in 1866.

¹⁶Seguin, Le Mouvement Insurrectionnel, pp. 113-126. Curé Archambault, incumbent of St. Michel de Vaudreuil, died in 1858 having served there for forty-two years. Joseph Bastien died in 1864, Dr. Cartier in 1861, and R.U. Harwood in 1863 at the age of sixty-five while serving as a member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada.

¹⁷Ibid. Both men, however, were alive on July 1, 1867. Desjardins died in November of that year and Charlebois on New Year's Day, 1868. John Augustus Mathison passed away on the fifth of November, 1868 at the venerable age of eighty-six. At the funeral of the old leader the Rev. James Pyke said, "We all do fade as the leaf. Men may be useful— may be admired— may be great in their generation— but like all things earthly, they must pass away and their place on earth know them no more."

Although the government had decreed that the first of July be set aside as a holiday to suitably mark Confederation, it was up to the people to make the day a festive occasion. Monday July 1, 1867 dawned bright and clear throughout the new Dominion.¹⁸ In the English-speaking community in Vaudreuil that morning, tradesmen left their tools, merchants closed their shops and farmers hurried their chores in order to set off for Como where a gala community celebration was to be held.

Captain Shepherd had arranged the party. The young French and English Canadian volunteers of his Como Rifles had been drilling for a month and were ready to hold a special parade that morning at Shepherd's homestead on the shady banks of the Ottawa. After the military display Shepherd's modern steamboat the Prince of Wales— which had only three days before carried Canada's new governor general up the river— was waiting to take everyone on an excursion picnic to Carillon.¹⁹ The plans had been laid well.

¹⁸Creighton, p. 467.

¹⁹R.W. Shepherd to H.W. Shepherd, commanding the steamer Prince of Wales, 23 June, 1867, letter in the possession of the estate of Capt. E. Percy Shepherd of Riceville, Ontario.

The Prince of Wales was named after Queen Victoria's eldest son, the future Edward VII, who travelled on it between Sainte Anne de Bellevue and Carillon during his state visit to Canada in 1860. Three years later Shepherd became the President of the Ottawa River Navigation Company whose steamers became the most popular mode of travel between Montreal and the new capital of Canada at Ottawa.

All were invited to attend. From Como to Choisy, from Hudson to St. Henry, the people came. Dr. McNaughton, Shepherd's second lieutenant, had to be there earlier than most to supervise last-minute preparations. The Rev. James Pyke and his large family arrived, as did the Methodist minister, the Rev. John Borland. The owner of the glass works, George Matthews and his wife Elizabeth Hudson, came. And one by one the others— shoemakers, school teachers, carpenters, and farmers— met in Como. Prominent among them all was the new Seigneur of Vaudreuil, Alain Chartier de Lotbinière Harwood. Elected to Parliament in 1863, he had spoken eloquently in support of Confederation and had predicted that a magnificent future awaited the new Dominion.²⁰ At forty, this man, who combined the cultural heritage of both his English father and his French-Canadian grandfather, symbolized more than any other, the hopes of the future that day.

After the marching, after the cruise, after the one day's fun; the people began anew.

²⁰John Boyd, Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1914), p. 250.

APPENDICES

- I The English-speaking settlers of Côte St. Charles,
 St. Henry and Cavagnal.
- II The Average cost of farmland in the Cavagnal Con-
 cession: 1805-36.
- III The population of Vaudreuil: 1790-1861.
- IV The distribution of population by religion and nation-
 ality in the Seigneurie of Vaudreuil.

APPENDIX I

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING SETTLERS¹ OF COTE ST. CHARLES, ST. HENRY AND CAVAGNAL

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1801	DeLesDerniers J.M.C. sons: DeLesDerniers P.F.C. DeLesDerniers W.G. DeLesDerniers H.N.	1754 1793 1804	1843 1854 1843	83 61 39	Cv 15	From Nova Scotia. Merchant. Merchant. b. Cavagnal.
1803	Cook Silas sons: Cook Cornelius Cook James	1788	1855	77	Cv 37	Family left district after the Rebellion.
1804	Schnieder William sons: Schnieder Charles Schnieder John	1781 1785	1828 1859 1842	78 57	Cv 17, 19,20.	Hessian. Innkeeper. Innkeeper.
1805	Whitlock John sons: Whitlock William C. Whitlock Charles	1788 1790	1832 1876 1863	88 73	Cv 33, 34.	b. Norwalk, Connecticut. Captain in Queen's Rangers. b. Nova Scotia. Merchant. Grist and Saw Mill owner.
1811	Grout Solomon Grout Ebenezer son: Grout Ebenezer P.	1779	1853	74	Cv 28 CSC 1W	From Charlestown, N.H.

¹Information gathered from the following sources: Family Bibles, Parish Records, Gravestones, Terrier de Vaudreuil, Terrier de Rigaud, Letters from Cumberland, England to settlers in Cavagnal and E.C. Royle's book, The History of the Anglican Parish of Vaudreuil.

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1811	Longmoor Robert				Cv 11	Of the Hudson's Bay Co.
1814	Thomas John son: Thomas Charles also Robins R.S.		1829		Cv 3,4, 8,9.	Chief of H.B.C. post at Moose Fort, 1769-1813. b. London. Left district about 1832.
		1805	1891	86		Grandson of John Thomas. b. Moose Fort, later steamboat captain on the Ottawa River.
1815	Harvey James sons: Harvey William Harvey Alex	1760	1834	74	Cv 28	
		1799	1869	70		
		1801	1849	50		
1818	Halcro James sons: Halcro George Halcro William Halcro Andrew	1773	1856	83	Cv 50	"Of the Northwest". b. Orkney Islands, Scotland.
			1842			
			1878			Steamboat captain.
1820	Mathison John A.	1781	1868	87	Cv 31	b. London. Lieut. 77th Regiment. Retired on half-pay in 1817.
" "	Jackson James				Cv 23	Culgaith, Cumberland.
" "	Lowthian Timothy				CSC 1-2W	? Cumberland, ² (Kirkoswald).

²Where there appears a question mark there is some uncertainty as to the origin of the family. Many of such family names are common in Cumberland, however, and the locality where such names are common is given in parentheses. See William Whellan, The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland (London: Whittaker & Co., 1860).

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1820	Knight Thomas				Cv 22A	Worked for H.B.C. at Moose Fort.
" "	Hodgson John	1793	1865	72	CSC 4E	b. Salkeld, Cumberland. Left May 1819.
	sons:					
	Hodgson John Jr.	1822	1886	64		
	Hodgson George	1833	1898	65		
1821	Cameron Paul	1767	1859	92	CSC 1,2E	b. Perthshire, Scotland.
	family:					
	Cameron Dugald					
	Cameron John	1807	1879	72		
	Cameron Alex				Cv 26	
1822	Sanderson Joseph				Cv 39	? Cumberland. (Skirwith).
" "	Robinson Thomas				CSC 7W	Cumberland. (Addingham Parish).
	son:					
	Robinson Christopher	1796	1885	89		In 1830 moved to Cavagnal (Cv 1).
1823	Foye Peter				Cv 27	Associated with John Thomas at Moose Fort.
1824	Thompson John	1798	1886	88	Cv 41	Keswick, Cumberland.
" "	Bird Joseph	1766			CSC 13E	Cumberland. (Addingham Parish).
	son:					
	Bird Thomas	1797	1860	63		
" "	Benson John	1789	1857	68	CSC 7-8E	Schoolmaster. In 1828 moved to Cavagnal (Cv 29). Cumberland, (Addingham Parish).

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1824	Hodgson George sons:	1783	1846	63		? Cumberland. Related to John Hodgson of Salkeld (1820). Carpenter
	Hodgson William	1815	1878	63		
	Hodgson George Jr.	1821				
	Hodgson Joseph	1826				
	Hodgson Joseph Salkeld	1800	1868	68	CSC 10E	Salkeld, Cumberland.
	Hodgson John	1805	1884	79		Brothers.
	Hodgson Robert	1807	1861	54	CSC 9E	1837: moved to St. Henry (H 1N)
" "	Fletcher John					Steamboat Captain
" "	Irwin Nicholas					Left the district by 1837.
" "	McCuish Donald	1785	1870	85	CSC 3E	b. Invernesshire, Scotland.
" "	McLean Donald				CSC 5-6E	
" "	Warren William				CSC 16W	Cumberland.
1828	Lancaster William sons:	1762	1839	77	Cv 20	Great Salkeld, Cumberland.
	Lancaster Joseph	1787	1864	77		" " "
	Lancaster William	1790	1849	59		" " "
	Lancaster John	1793	1833	40		" " "
	Lancaster Edward	1806				" " "
	Lancaster Joseph sons:	1764	1849	85	CSC 20	Addingham Parish, Cumberland. Sometime schoolmaster.
	Lancaster William	1788				b. Hunsonby, Cumberland.
	Lancaster Joseph	1795				" "
	Lancaster Mark	1801				" "
	Lancaster George	1804	1880	76		" "
	Lancaster James	1807	1807	-	H 10 S	" "
	Lancaster Francis	1807	1807	-		Twins. Died at birth.
	Lancaster Richard	1810				

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1828	Davidson Thomas	1793	1854	61	CSC 12E	Cumberland (Addingham Parish).
" "	Davidson William	1795	1842	47	Cv 20	
" "	Davidson George	1808	1854	46		Brothers.
" "	Tailor Thomas		1859		CSC 19W	
" "	Ashborn John				CSC 11E	
" "	Wray Jackson				Cv 10	Major, Royal Meath Regiment. Moved from Cavagnal by 1832
1829	Blenkinship Joseph	1806	1893	87	CSC 1W	b. Penrith Cumberland 1841: moved to Cavagnal (Cv 23).
	Blenkinship Richard	1811	1872	61		
	Blenkinship Wilfred	1820	1847	27		Brothers.
" "	Parsons Thomas	1797	1878	81	CSC 2W	Cumberland, (Culgaith).
	sons:					
	Parsons John	1818	1898	80		
	Parsons Thomas Jr.	1820	1903	83		
	Parsons Timothy	1828	1891	63		
1830	Metcalfe Richard	1804	1891	87	Cv 49	Cumberland, (Addingham Parish).
	sons:					
	Metcalfe William					
	Metcalfe John		1895			
" "	Vipond Isaac	1787	1854	67	H 14S	Alston, Cumberland.
	sons:					
	Vipond Isaac Jr.	1810	1901	91		
	Vipond John	1815				
	Vipond Thomas	1817	1865	48		

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1830	McNaughten Alex son: McNaughten D.P.	1805			Cv 27	Scotland, (Selkirkshire). First resident doctor, (circa 1860).
1831	Wilson Robert	1811	1899	88	CSC 20	? Cumberland
1832	Grieve George son: Grieve John					Craik, Scotland. Left Cavagnal by 1840.
" "	Goulding Joseph Goulding James Goulding Richard				H 15N	? Cumberland, (Ousby). Later called "Gowling" or "Golding". Great Salkeld, Cumberland.
" "	Clark Stephen sons: Clark Alex Clark George Clark William				H 3-4N 1-3-4S	Granted land in St. Henry in 1836. b. Scotland.
" "	Somers John					
" "	Watterson Francis					
1833	Simpson Joseph Simpson William Simpson Isaac	1805 1812 1815	1885 1850 1881	80 38 66	CSC ?	Appleby, Westmoreland. Brothers.
1834	Awde George				Cv 12	Langleydale, Cumberland.
1835	Eastman Thomas				Cv 43	Later moved to Peacham, Vt.

Date of Arrival		Born	Died	Age	Farm No.	Details
1836	Manson William son: Manson David	1826	1901	85	Cv 3-4	Caithness, Scotland.
" "	McKertcher Charles				Cv 5	"Of Pointe Claire".
" "	Gray Robert ³				Cv 48	Orkney Islands, Scotland.
1837	Graham Thomas son: Graham Will	1793 1818	1842	58	Cv 47	Kirkoswald, Cumberland.
" "	Kirkbride Thomas sons: Kirkbride Robert Kirkbride Joseph	1789 1817 1815	1865 1855	74 38	H 105	? Cumberland.
" "	Stephenson Thomas son: Stephenson William				Cv 46	Cumberland, (Dacre Parish).
1838	Campbell Alex					
" "	Foster Joseph					
" "	Jones John					
" "	Redman John					
" "	Ward Matthew				Cv 43	

³The Gray, Graham and Stephenson families held land in Choisy and because the Terrier of Choisy no longer exists, the dates of their arrival may not be accurate.

APPENDIX II

AVERAGE COST OF FARMLAND
IN THE CAVAGNAL CONCESSION¹

1805-1836

Date	Lot No.	Total Area [Arpents]	Total Cost		Cost per Arpent		
			[Livres]	[Pounds]	[Livres]	[Pounds]	[Shillings]
1805	33	60	600		10		10
1806	32	60	1500		25	1	
1815	28	60	1200		20		15
1818	50	60	3000		50	2	
1820	23	50		150		3	
1820	24	60	3000		50	2	
1820	31	140	4800		34	1	10
1821	26	60	2400		40	1	13
1824	10	120	4800		40	1	13
1824	28	60	1200		20		15
1824	41	40	1000		25	1	
1824	49	30	600		20		15
1828	47	90	2500		27	1	2
1829	44	60	3500		58	2	8
1829	43	60	1500		25	1	
1830	20	90	2400		25	1	
1831	21	90		66			15
1836	36	60		200		3	6
1836	27	60	2400		40	1	13
1836	6	90	2800		31	1	6
<hr/>							
Total						29	6
Average [£/arp.]						£1	9s 6d

¹Compiled from the Terrier de Vaudreuil, 1781-1871.

APPENDIX III
THE POPULATION OF VAUDREUIL
1790-1861

<u>Year</u>	<u>Seigneurie of Vaudreuil</u>	<u>Seigneurie of Rigaud</u>	<u>County of Vaudreuil Including Soulanges</u>
1790 ¹	1579	-	2936
1822 ²	2063	2632	10684
1832 ³	2405	3021	12894
1844 ⁴	2971	3861	16161
1851 ⁵	3812	4762	21429
1861 ⁶	3783	6530	24503

¹Ivanhoë Caren, La Colonization de la Province de Quebec
(Quebec: 1923), I, p. 274.

²R.A.P.Q., 1941-42, pp. 409-410.

³Bouchette, Seigneuries of Vaudreuil, Rigaud, Soulanges
and Nouvelle Longueuil.

⁴P.A.C., Census Returns of Lower Canada, C Series, Vol. 76,
pp. 220-21.

⁵Census of the Canadas 1851-52 (Quebec: John Lovell, 1853), I.

⁶Census of the Canadas 1860-61 (Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1863), I.

APPENDIX IV

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION
AND NATIONALITY IN THE SEIGNEURY OF VAUDREUIL

<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>1838¹</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>
Anglican		382	341	363
Methodist		53	71	71
Presbyterian		72	50	51
"Protestant"		--	97	72
Others		--	73	4
Total Protestant	413	507	632	561
Total Population	2688	2971	3812	3783
Percentage Population Protestant	15.3	17.1	16.6	14.8

<u>NATIONALITY</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>
English		159	171	91
Scottish		30	33	19
Irish		27	14	19
American		10	25	5
Canadian-born not French		330	398	488
Total non-French	413	556	641	620
Total Population	2688	2971	3812	3783
Percentage not French	15.3	18.1	16.8	16.4

¹P.A.C., School Records, 1838, Vol. 115 Estimates of population in Vaudreuil by school masters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Manuscript Sources

A. Archives de l'Archevêque de Québec

Registre des Lettres 1822-24

B. Archives Publiques de Québec

Dépositions Relatives Aux Evénements de 1837-38

C. Local and Privately-owned Sources

Connecticut, U.S.A.

Darien

Mathison Papers and Artifacts

Ontario

Riceville

H. W. Shepherd Papers

Quebec

Hudson

Archives of the Anglican Parish of Vaudreuil

Blenkinship Papers

Collection of the Hudson Branch of the Vaudreuil-Soulanges Historical Society

Minute Book of the Protestant Dissident School of Vaudreuil: 1847-67

R. W. Shepherd Papers

Simpson Papers

Wilson Papers

Rigaud

Quesnel Collection

Vaudreuil

Archives de la Paroisse de l'Eglise de St. Michel de Vaudreuil

Harwood Family Papers

Minute Book of the Municipality of the Parish of St. Michel de Vaudreuil: 1845-47, 1855-67

Terrier des Mutations de la Seigneurie de Vaudreuil: 2 vols. 1781-1829, 1829-67

D. Public Archives of Canada

Records of the Surveyor General of Canada East

General Letter Books 1844-67

Records of the Provincial and Civil Secretaries' Offices

Civil Secretary's Correspondence, 1760-1841
S Series

Miscellaneous Records

School Records 1829-1856

Municipal Records 1830-1867

Post Office Records 1839-1845

Seigniorial Tenure Records 1836, 1842-1867

Correspondence Relating to the Accounts of the

Returning Officer for Vaudreuil County 1851-56

Election Records, Lower Canada and Canada East 1820-67

Provincial Secretary's Correspondence 1820-1867

Numbered Correspondence 1839-1867

C Series (British Military Records)

Subject Files 1767-1870

Half Pay 1815-1845

Land Lower Canada 1820-1851

Militia Rolls and Pay Lists 1838-43

Department of Militia and Defence

Adjutant General's Office, Lower Canada 1812-1847

Retours Annuels des bataillons 1793-1846

Registre des Officiers 1808-46

Adjutant General's Office, United Canada 1846-67

Returns 1846-59

Register of Officers 1846-67

On Microfilm

Colonial Office Papers

Joly de Lotbinière Papers

The Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

E. Redpath Library, McGill University

Harwood Papers

Lotbinière Papers

Papers of the Royal Institution for the Advancement
of Learning

2. Unpublished Material

Graham, R.P. "The Development of Agricultural Societies in Upper Canada and Lower Canada before Confederation," unpublished manuscript in the library of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1933. (Typewritten.)

Hunte, K.D. "The Development of the Educational System of Canada East: 1841-67," Master's dissertation, Department of History, McGill University, 1962.

Macdonald, A.C. de L. "La Seigneurie de Rigaud sous la Régime Seignurial," Rigaud, 1933. (Typewritten.)

Quesnel, Y. "Les Ponds de Rigaud sur la Rivière à la Graisse: 1810-38," 3 vols. Rigaud, 1956-59. (Mimeographed.)

Seguin, M. "L'Agriculture et la Vie Economique des Canadiens: 1769-1850," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Université de Montréal, 1949.

Shepherd, R.W. "Personal History," Come, n.d. (Typewritten copy in the collection of the Hudson Branch of the Vaudreuil-Soulanges Historical Society.)

3. Official Publications

Canada (Province)

Cadastres Abrégés des Seigneuries du District de Montréal.
3 vols. Québec: George Desbarats, 1863.

Canada Gazette 1841-1867.

Census of the Canadas 1851-52. 2 vols. Quebec: John Lovell, 1853.

Census of the Canadas 1860-61. 2 vols. Quebec: S. B. Foote, 1863.

First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the losses occasioned by the troubles during the years 1837 and 1838 and into the damages arising therefrom. Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1846.

Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1841-66.

Parliamentary Debates on the Confederation of British North America. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1865.

Rapport du Comité Spéciale sur l'état de l'agriculture du Bas Canada. Toronto: Rollo Campbell, 1852.

Reports of the Commissioners on the rebellion losses 1837 and 1838. Quebec: Rollo Campbell, 1852.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Laws and other circumstances connected with seigniorial tenure in Lower Canada. Kingston: Desbarats and Derbshire, 1844.

Report of the Superintendent of education for Lower Canada, 1842-66. (In appendices to Journals of the Legislative Assembly; after 1852 in separate publications.)

Lower Canada

Rapport du Comité Spéciale auquel a été référé cette partie de la harangue de Son Excellence relative à l'organisation de la Milice. Québec: Neilson & Cowan, 1829.

Report of the State Trials before a General Court Martial held in Montreal in 1838-39. Montreal: 1839.

Quebec

Liste des Terrains Concédés par la Couronne dans la Province de 1763 au 31 décembre, 1890. Québec: Charles François Langlois, 1891.

4. Newspapers, Journals and Pamphlets

Newspapers (On microfilm)

Montreal

The Gazette
The Herald
La Minerve
The Transcript

Journals

Journal d'Agriculture du Bas Canada

Pamphlets

Harwood, A.C. de L. Discours prononcé le 9 mars, 1865
sur la question de la Confédération, Quebec, 1865.

Trudel, M. The Seignorial Regime, Canadian Historical
 Association Booklet No. 6.

5. Articles

Adair, C.R. "The Church of St. Michel de Vaudreuil, "Le Bulletin
des Recherches Historiques, XLIX, 2 (Feb., 1943), 38-49;
 3 (March, 1943), 75-89.

Audet, F.J. "John Simpson: 1788-1873," Canadian Historical
 Association, Report, 1936, 32-39.

_____. "Les Députés De La Vallée De L'Ottawa, 1792-1867,"
 Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1935, 8-21.

Auclair, E.J. "Les Origins des Cèdres, 1702-67," Royal Society of
 Canada, Transactions, 3rd series, vol. XXX, s. 2 (1926).

Bourinot, J. (ed.) "The Diary of Nicholas Garry: Travels in 1821,"
 Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, 2nd series, vol. VI,
 s. 2 (1900), p. 94.

_____. "Social and Economic Conditions of the British Provinces
 After 1837-38," Royal Society of Canada, Transactions,
 2nd series, vol. VI, s.2 (1900).

Fussell, G.E. "Fifty Years of Cumberland Farming, 1800-1850,"
Cumbria, vol. VI, 4 (July, 1956), 121-3.

- Greening, W.E. "The Lake of Two Mountains," Canadian Geographical Journal, LXII, 2 (Feb., 1961), 67-75.
- Lighthall, W.D. "English Settlement in Quebec" in Canada and Its Provinces, XV, 121-64.
- Seguin, M. "Le Régime Seigneurial au pays du Québec, 1760-1854," Revue d'histoire de L'Amérique Française, I, 4, 382-402; 5, 519-32.
- Seguin, R.-L. "La Verrerie du haut de Vaudreuil," Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, LXI, 3, 119-28.

6. Printed Works

- [Abbott, Rev. J.] Philip Musgrave or Memories of a Church of England Missionary in the North American Colonies. London: John Murray, 1850.
- Abraham, Robert. Some Remarks on French Tenure. Montreal: Armour and Ramsay, 1849.
- Achintre, Auguste. Manuel Electoral: Portraits et Dossiers Parlementaires du Premier Parlement de Québec. Montréal: Ateliers de Duvernay, frères, 1871.
- Auclair Abbé E.J. Histoire de la Paroisse de St. Joseph de Soulanges: 1702-1927. Montréal: Sourds-Muets, 1927.
- Audet, L.P. Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec. 6 vols. Québec: Les Editions de l'Erable, 1950-56.
- Beard, C.A. The Office of Justice of the Peace in England in its Origin and Development. New York: Columbia, 1904.
- Bishop, Olga B. Publications of the Government of Canada, 1841-67. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963.
- Bouchette, Joseph. Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada. London: W. Faden, 1815.
- _____. A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1832.
- Boyd, John. Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart. A Political History of Canada from 1814 until 1873. Toronto: MacMillan, 1914.

- Brown, G.W. Canada in the Making. Toronto: Dent, 1953.
- Brunet, M. Canadians et Canadiens: Etudes sur l'Histoire et la Pensée des deux Canadas. Montréal: Fides, 1955.
- Canada Directory. Montreal: R.W. Stuart Mackay, 1851-52.
- _____. Montreal: Lovell, 1858.
- A Canadian [Dr. Lasalles de La Terrière]. Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada. London: Wm. March & A. Miller, 1830.
- Caron, Ivanhoë. La Colonization de la Province de Québec. Québec: L'Action Sociale, 1923.
- Carrière, V. L'Histoire de L'Ile Perrot. Valleyfield, 1949.
- Chambers, E.J. The Canadian Militia: A History of the Origin and Development of the Force. Montreal: L.M. Fresco, pref., 1907.
- Christie, Robert. A History of the Late Province of Quebec. 6 vols. Montreal: Lovell, 1853-66.
- Clark, S.D. The Social Development of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943.
- Cornell, P.G. The Alignment of Political Groups in Canada: 1841-67. Toronto: 1962.
- Côté, Joseph O. Political Appointments and Elections in the Province of Canada from 1841 to 1865. Ottawa: Lowe-Martin Co., 1867.
(edited and enlarged by his son N. Omer Côté with Appendix for the period 1st January 1866 to 30th June 1867.)
- Craig, Gerald M. Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963.
- Creighton, D.G. Dominion of the North. Toronto: Macmillan, 1957.
- _____. John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician. Toronto: Macmillan, 1955.
- Cummins, Dorothy A. and Royle, Rev. E.C. Church and Community: A Brief History of St. Mary's Church, Como, P.Q. Rigaud: L'Interrogation, 1966.
- Daniel, C. Familles Français de Canada. Montréal: Eusèbe Senecal, 1867.
- David, L.O. Les Patriotes de 1837-38. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1924.

- Day, Catherine M. History of the Eastern Townships. Montreal: Lovell, 1869.
- Dent, John C. The Last Forty Years: Canada Since the Union of 1841. 2 vols. Toronto: G. Virtue, 1881.
- Dubois, Abbé Emile. Le Feu de la Rivière du Chêne. Montréal: Deschamps, 1937.
- Fauteux, Aegidus. Patriotes de 1837-38. Montréal: Editions des Dix, 1950.
- Gerin-Lajoie, A. Dix ans au Canada de 1840 à 1850: l'Histoire de l'Etablissement de Gouvernement Responsable. Québec: L.J. Demers, 1888.
- Girouard, Desirée. Lake St. Louis Old and New. Montreal: Poirier, Bessette, 1903.
- Grœulx, Abbé Lionel. Petit Histoire de Salaberry de Valleyfield. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1913.
- _____. Quelques Causes de Nos Insuffisances. Montréal: L'Action Canadienne Française, 1930.
- Guillet, E. C. The Great Migration. Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1937.
- _____. Pioneer Days in Upper Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.
- _____. The Pioneer Farmer and Backwoodsman. 2 vols. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Company, 1963-4.
- _____. Pioneer Inns and Taverns. 4 vols. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Company, 1955-58.
- Harwood, C. A. L'Honorable M.E.G.A. Chartier de Lotbinière. Montreal: C. A. Marchand, 1910.
- Immigrant Farmer [Rev. J. Abbott]. Memoranda of a Settler in Lower Canada. Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1842.
- Jeannotte, Chanoine Adhémar. Vaudreuil: Notes Historiques. Valleyfield: Imprimerie St. Joseph, 1964.
- Kingsford, William. History of Canada. 10 vols. Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1887-98.
- Langton, John. The Census of 1861. Quebec: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1864.

Lovell's Gazetteer. Montreal: Lovell, 1881.

Lower, A.R.M. Canadians in the Making. Toronto: Longmans Canada, 1958.

_____. Colony to Nation. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947.

Lucas, Sir C. P. (ed.) Lord Durham's Report. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.

Macdonald, A. de Lery. The Seigneurie of Alainville on Lake Champlain. Baltimore: 1929.

Macdonald, J.A. Troublous Times in Canada. Toronto: 1910.

Macdonald, N. Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Grant Regulations. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1939.

Magnan, Hormidas. Dictionnaire Historique et Géographique des Paroisses, Missions et Municipalités de la Province de Québec. Arthabaska: Imprimerie Arthabaska, 1925.

Manning, Helen Taft. The Revolt of French Canada, 1800-35: A Chapter in the History of the British Commonwealth. Toronto: Macmillan, 1962.

Marr, J. E. Cumberland. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

Mitchell's Canada Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1864-1865. Toronto: W. C. Chewatt and Company, 1864.

Morgan, Henry J. (ed.) Canadian Parliamentary Companion. Quebec: Desbarats and Derbishire, 1863.

Merison, J. L. British Supremacy and Canadian Self Government, 1839-1854. Toronto: S. B. Gundy, 1919.

Morten, A. L. A People's History of England. New York: Random House, 1938.

Merten, W. L. The Kingdom of Canada: A General History From Earliest Times. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963.

Munro, W. B. The Seigneurial System in Canada. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907.

Ormsby, W. (ed.) Crisis in the Canadas: The Grey Journals and Letters. Toronto: Macmillan, 1964.

- de Pathmos, Soeur Marie Jean. Les Soeurs de Sainte Anne. Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte Anne, 1950.
- Playter, George F. The History of Methodism in Canada. Toronto: Anson Green, 1862.
- Preston, T. R. Three Years Residence in Canada, from 1837 to 1839. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1840.
- Quebec Almanac. Quebec: John Nelson, 1800-26.
- Québec. Archives Publiques. Rapport de l'Archivist. Beauceville: 1925-53.
- Rich, E. E. (ed.) The Moose Fort Journals. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1954.
- Royle, Rev. E.C. The History of the Anglican Parish of Vaudreuil. Hudson Heights, 1955.
- Ryersen, Stanley. The Book of Canadian Democracy. Toronto: Francis White Limited, n.d.
- Sabine, Lorenzo. Loyalists of the American Revolution. Boston: Charles Little and James Brown, 1864.
- Seguin, R. -L. L'Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin d'Hudson. Rigaud: L'Interrogation, 1947.
- _____. Le Mouvement Insurrectionnel dans la Presqu 'île de Vaudreuil 1837-38. Montréal: Librairie Ducharme, 1955.
- Sellar, R. History of Huntingdon, Chateauguay and Beauharnois. Huntingdon: Canadian Gleaner, 1888.
- Shepperson, J. M. British Immigration to North America. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.
- Smith, William. History of the Post Office in British North America 1639-1870. Cambridge: University Press, 1920.
- Stephenson, Lois I. Historical Sketch of the United Church Hudson and Cote St. Charles. Hudson: privately printed, 1947.
- Stevens, Gerald. In a Canadian Attic. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963.
- Sulte, B. L'Histoire de La Milice Canadienne Française. Montréal: 1897.
- _____. History of Quebec. Montreal: Canada Hist.Co., 1908.

- Thomas, C. History of Argenteuil and Prescott. Montreal: Lovell, 1875.
- de Tecqueville, A. Democracy in America. H. S. Commager (ed.) Oxford: University Press, 1946.
- Turcotte, Gustave. Le Conseil Législatif du Québec: 1774-1933. Beauceville: L'Eclaireur, 1933.
- Wade, Mason. The French Canadians 1860-1945. Toronto: Macmillan, 1955.
- Wales, B. N. Memories of Old St. Andrews. Lachute: Watchman Press, 1934.
- Walkington, Douglas. A Goodly Heritage: The History of the Côte St. Charles and Wyman Memorial Churches of the United Church of Canada, Hudson, Quebec. Hudson: 1967.
- Wallace, W. S. Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Toronto: Macmillan, 1963.
- Whellan, William. The History and Topography of Cumberland and Westmoreland. London: Whittaker and Company, 1860.
- Wood, Louis A. A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1924.
- Wright, Esther C. Loyalists of New Brunswick. Fredricton: 1955.
- Year Book and Almanack of Canada 1871. Montreal: John Lowe and Company, 1873.

