MONTRÉAL CAPITAL CITY

The Remarkable History of the Archaeological Site of St Anne's Market and the Parliament of the Province of Canada



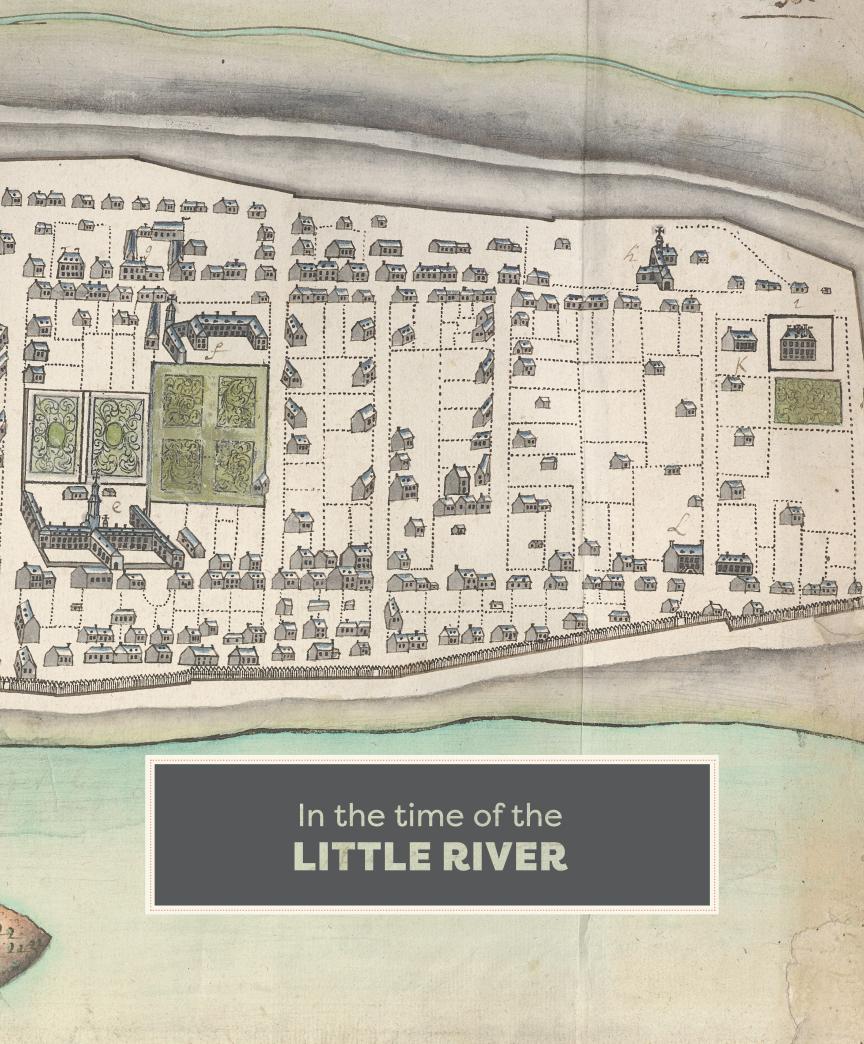


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword 9			
Introduction Montréal, Capital City			
LOUISE POTHIER 10			
In the time of the LITTLE RIVER14	In the time of ST ANNE'S MARKET34	A changing WORLD80	In MONTRÉAL, CAPITAL of the province of Canada 112
On both shores of the	St Anne's Market	The British Empire in an era	1844-1849
Little River	A long-awaited project	of nations and modernity	Montréal, the new seat
Montreal emerges and evolves ALAN STEWART16	JOANNE BURGESS36	ALAIN ROY82	of government ALAIN ROY114
	High-end architecture	Keys to the Union Act of 1840	
A murky river and the artisans who lived along its banks	FRANÇOIS GIGNAC41	YVAN LAMONDE87	Montréal, where two of Canada's great knowledge
CHRISTIAN ROY22	The cholera epidemic	Under the Union	institutions were founded
1800 to 1830	of 1832 JEAN-CLAUDE ROBERT48	Responsible Government CHRISTIAN BLAIS88	ALAIN ROY119
Montréal, budding British metropolis	Ct. A	Form on a Defermint	Montréal, hospitable capital
•	St Anne's Market and its	From one Reformist	city
JEAN-CLAUDE ROBERT24	underground waters Imagination and innovation	government to another CHRISTIAN BLAIS	ALAIN ROY 122
1815 to 1834 Public markets in Montréal	HÉLÈNE CÔTÉ50	A very partisan press	A guiding principle: sociability
JOANNE BURGESS28	At St Anne's Market	HAROLD BÉRUBÉ96	YVAN LAMONDE 124
	(1834-1844) All kinds of products,		The Rasco: Five-star hotel
	all kinds of meetings	Faster, faster! SHERRY OLSON101	before stars were awarded
	JOANNE BURGESS60	SHERRY OLSON101	CHRISTIAN ROY128
	Two public markets, two realities for city butchers	Reactions to the 1843 strikes The bill for the discouragement of secret societies	
	(1848)	ROLAND VIAU102	
	SHERRY OLSON		
	With the collaboration of MARY ANNE POUTANEN and	Moving the seat of Parliament From Kingston to Montréal	
	MATTHEW SHIELDS66	GILLES GALLICHAN106	
	Everyday life at	A parliamentary precinct	
	St Anne's Market	project in Montréal as early	
	Very, very unsanitary!	as 1839	
	CHRISTIAN ROY71	ALAIN ROY110	
	Left out of the official history The women of St Anne's Market		
	MARY ANNE POUTANEN and SHERRY OLSON74		

N PARLIAMENT, n Montréal	130	WHEN THINGS TURN UPSIDE DOWN174	Lost and FOUND212
A building transformed From market to Parliament FRANÇOIS GIGNAC132	Parliament in Montréal: Place of work, place of culture ALAIN ROY154	Two commemorative pitchers, or the end of an era 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws LOUISE POTHIER176	For our collective heritage Nothing is lost forever HÉLÈNE CÔTÉ
Discovering Parliament in Montréal FRANÇOIS GIGNAC138	Parliament: Where Cardinal and his family called home FRANÇOIS GIGNAC and HENDRIK VAN GIJSEGHEM	1847. Typhus JEAN-CLAUDE ROBERT180	The restoration and identification of burned books GILLES GALLICHAN and LOUISE POTHIER220
The opening of Parliament, November 28 and 29, 1844 MATHIEU TRÉPANIER144	Parliament in Montréal:	A tense international political climate 1848. The People's Spring	An amazing find: the Coat of Arms of the House of Assembly
From deliberations to libations FRANÇOIS GIGNAC and	Witness to the evolution in health standards HÉLÈNE CÔTÉ160 Kingston to Montréal	HENDRIK VAN GIJSEGHEM182 1849. To the Parliament House!	Epilogue Montréal, Metropolis of Canada
HENDRIK VAN GIJSEGHEM147	Inside the Parliamentary libraries	Destruction of the libraries in	PAUL-ANDRÉ LINTEAU 224
What went on at Parliament n Montréal? Ask the artifacts	Montréal, heart of	the Parliament Buildings: "notre désastre d'Alexandrie" GILLES GALLICHAN188	Conclusion The importance of accessibility LOUISE POTHIER
HÉLÈNE CÔTÉ and CHRISTIAN ROY150	Indigenous diplomacy MATHIEU ARSENAULT168	After the fire comes the investigation	
The postmark stamp of the Legislative Assembly HENDRIK VAN GIJSEGHEM		Citizens give testimony DAN HORNER194	Bibliography
152		In response to the unrest, petitions in support of the Queen poured in Denouncing the Tories to save the Empire	Acknowledgments 237
		ALAIN ROY197	
		Rebellion Losses Bill: Mere pretext or the real cause of the burning of Parliament?	
		JEAN-FRANÇOIS LEBLANC	
		The evolution of political parties under the Union	

KATÉRI LALANCETTE......210



On both shores of the Little River

MONTRÉAL EMERGES AND EVOLVES

ALAN STEWART

On May 17, 1642, on the point of land mapped by Samuel de Champlain, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, Jeanne Mance and some fifty other French women and men landed and founded Ville-Marie—a mission aiming to evangelize the local Indigenous peoples. But it was on the opposite bank of the Little River that the young city began to thrive under the French, and later the British, Regime.

FROM FORT VILLE-MARIE...

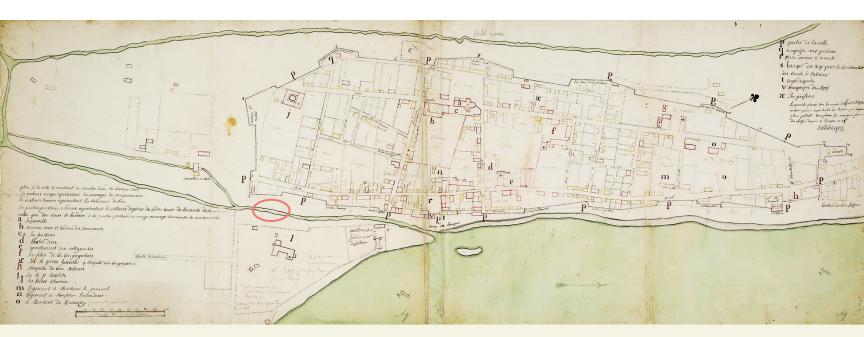
In the second half of the 17th century, the two shores of the south section of the Little River developed quite differently. On the point, Fort Ville-Marie housed Governor Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve's residence, as well as other buildings. Outside the compound, there was a cemetery and a vast vegetable garden. But as early as 1648, as Maisonneuve started granting lands on the opposite bank, an embryonic town began to emerge. The initial core grew less and less important, and the fort eventually fell into disuse. The governor's residence was demolished around 1675.

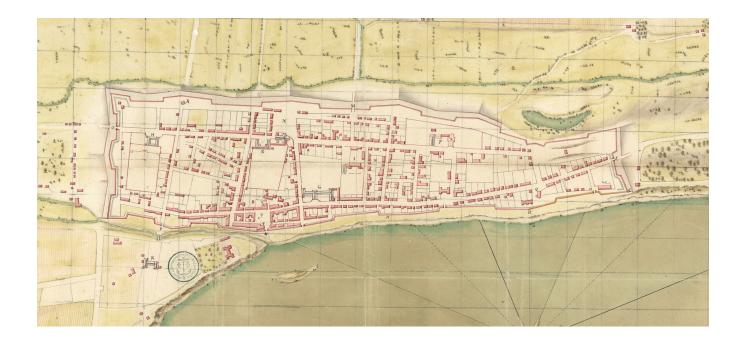
...TO FORTIFIED TOWN

Capitalizing on its higher elevation, the left bank slowly transformed into an urban space around a new hub: the marketplace known as Place du Marché. Beginning in the 1670s, the island's seigneurs began dividing up the common—a band of land approximately 60 metres wide along the Little River and St Lawrence that was granted to the locals in 1651 so their livestock could graze. But in 1685, the subdivision was completed hastily when war broke out against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy of Five Nations. A palisade was built around the city.

Previous spread

Anonymous, Nom des Maisons principalles (sic) de la ville de Montréal en Canada, ca. 1705-1709, pencil, ink, and watercolour on paper (369 x 240 mm). This remarkable plan of Montréal, discovered in London by collector François Mandeville and hitherto unknown, portrays the town and its palisade. It was found inserted in an atlas created by Guillaume Delisle (Paris, 1675-1726), Premier Géographe du Roi. The author is unknown, but we know Delisle himself never came to Montréal.





City plan of Montréal (partial reproduction), 1735, drawn by military engineer Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, who designed the plans for the fortifications.

A WALL GOES UP

The divide between the town and neighbouring territory deepened when the palisade was replaced with stone ramparts. Begun in 1717 and completed in 1736, the walls aimed to enclose the city in more permanent and more robust fortifications that met military engineering standards.

In late 1733, the entire sector between the city's southwest corner and the market place was protected by a wall that rose 4.5 metres high, with a parapet pierced with loopholes that added another 1.95 metres. Along the rampart's front, the Little River served as a defensive obstacle. The width of the river at its broadest point was used to delineate a military reserve, from the walls to the fencing around Callière's land and the hospital, on which all construction was prohibited.

Following the sudden death of its founder in 1719, the Hôpital Général entered a period of decline exacerbated by the mismanagement of hospital funds and loss of a royal grant. Even so, in 1747, a women's association led by Marie-Marguerite Dufrost de Lajemmerais, Widow d'Youville, breathed new life into the institution. The Grey Nuns restored the hospital and built a new chapel and yard.

Left

Gédéon de Catalogne, Map of the City of Montréal in Canada, surveyed in the year 1713. Built with cedar stakes, the palisade was nearly five metres high.

In 1688, the seigneurs ceded the site of the former fort to Louis-Hector de Callière, who was then governor of Montréal and later governor of New France. He built his residence on what would become known as Pointe à Callière, Callière's point. To the west, a large plot was granted to François Charon de La Barre, who, after making his fortune in the fur trade, chose the site to found a general hospital, the Hôpital Général, for the destitute, disabled and elderly. On this map (circled in red), the site of the future St Anne's Market that will become the Parliament of the Province of Canada.

THE FAUBOURGS SPRAWL

With the construction of the ramparts, and following several devastating fires, orders prohibiting wooden structures within the walled town pushed many of the least fortunate to move outside the walls. Along the roads leading out of the Quebec Gate to the east, St Lawrence Gate to the north and Recollet Gate to the west, *faux bourgs* (meaning *false towns*) cropped up and were settled by artisans, carters, day labourers, market gardeners, *voyageurs* and more.

Located south of the town, the point contributed little to this growth. In 1746, part of Callière's land was sold to surveyor Paul Jourdain dit Labrosse, who rented it to gardeners, adding to the increasing number of growers who supplied the fortified town's market with fruits and vegetables.

Indigenous nations in Montréal

From the start of British rule, Indigenous peoples often frequented the territory around the Little River. The meetings between the Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee and Wendat peoples and the Montréalistes after the founding of Ville-Marie in 1642, the fur fair that was held nearly every year between 1665 and 1680 and the gathering of delegates from 39 First Nations that culminated in the Great Peace are all well documented.

Indigenous delegations continued to arrive in the town after 1701, especially in times of war, to cement alliances and prepare for military expeditions. From 1740 to 1745, colonial accounts refer to work to repair a wooden shed used to house Indigenous women and men.

In 1749, Paul Jourdain dit Labrosse, who owned the former Callière residence, rented the great house to the King to provide accommodations for Indigenous groups. Eleven years later, he presented a town plan to General Amherst that included seven cabins for the First Nations near the curtain wall, facing the hospital.

Paul Jourdain dit Labrosse, Map of the City of Montréal [...] (partial reproduction), 1760. The arrow indicates a cluster of seven Indigenous cabins.





George Heriot, Montréal, Porte de Québec, ca. 1793. At the time, the ramparts, seen here from the east, were in such a poor state that engineers called for them to be torn down.

CRUMBLING FORTIFICATIONS

In 1760, the surrender of Montréal to the British army led to new colonial rule. In addition to the ensuing uncertainty, a 1765 fire blazed through the neighbourhood around the market, destroying over a hundred homes. The point was not spared, as the winds carried sparks all the way to the former Callière residence and Hôpital Général, which were reduced to stone shells. The Callière house was demolished but the market gardening continued, and the Grey Nuns rebuilt their hospital.

Montréal's poor defenses failed again in November 1775, when American rebels invaded as part of their quest to gain independence from the British Crown and make Québec their 14th colony. The town fell and was occupied all winter.

The town's poorly maintained fortifications continued to deteriorate, even though military engineers and a grand jury denounced the state they were in. In 1791, Lord Dorchester, governor of Québec, ordered engineer Gother Mann to investigate. The expert affirmed that the ramparts were in a state of disrepair and recommended they be torn down. The stones could be used in public works, and the land, including the military reserve, could be freed up for new buildings, public spaces and roads, including one along the river. London gave its approval in principle, but Québec dragged its feet so much that, in 1796, Montrealers themselves submitted a petition to the governor to remove the walls. But before inviting the Assembly of Lower Canada to pass a law to demolish the structure, the governor asked the city's justices of the peace to come up with a plan to repurpose the military reserves. The magistrates reiterated Mann's proposals and recommended channeling the Little River to narrow it and create more space for new buildings.

THE COMMISSIONERS COME UP WITH A PLAN

In March 1801, the House of Assembly adopted an act to demolish the old walls and fortifications that surrounded the *Cité de Montréal* and otherwise ensure the health, convenience and beautification of the city. London approved the act in August 1802, and three commissioners were then appointed to implement it. In January 1805, they submitted a plan recommending a long-term development. They were of the opinion that the scale of improvements should not be limited because there were not enough funds to complete them quickly. Some proposals were acted on immediately while others were not, often because money was lacking.

With the ramparts removed, the commissioners planned to open up the urban space and facilitate the flow of traffic. They also wanted to provide better sanitation by building canalization systems for the waterways. Most of the work was undertaken in the town's northern sector, where the military reserves, which were nearly 60 metres wide, provided space for large squares and major arteries. To the south, the commissioners proposed to link the town's two ends on the port side by a road: Commissioners Street (today's Rue de la Commune). And, as the justices of the peace had recommended, the Little River was confined to a channel that was six metres wide.

Louis Charland, Plan of the Town of Montréal shewing (sic) the new projects of embellishing the same, drawn by order of the Honourable James McGill, Joseph De Longueuil & John Richardson Esgre, Commissioners (partial reproduction), [1805]. Charland was the town roads inspector the commissioners had chosen to be their land surveyor. On this plan, the site of the future St Anne's Market (circled in red).

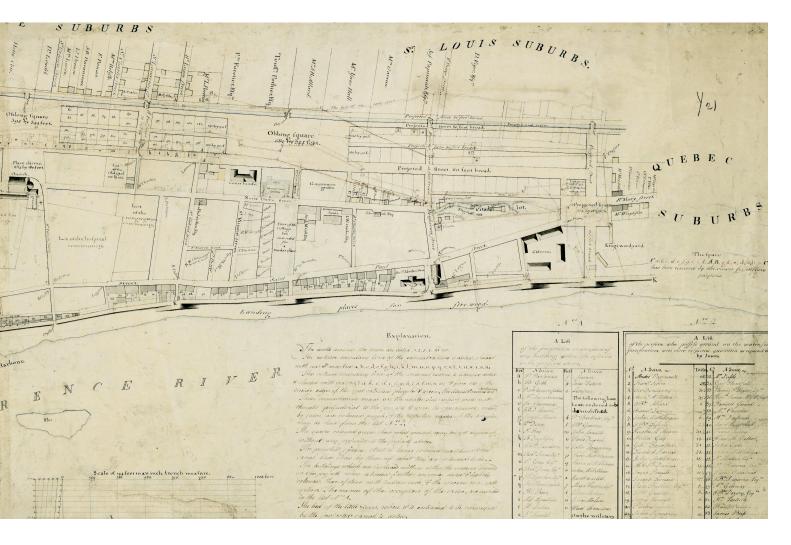


On the west side of the city, the commissioners traced a new street, McGill Street, that joined Commissioners Square (today's Square Victoria) and Commissioners Street. The road was 18 metres wide and was planned to have a central canal that connected the upper and lower parts of the Little River. West of the intersection of McGill and Commissioners Streets, land was reserved for public use.

All the while, Pointe à Callière continued to develop. Infrastructures including new docks, a shipyard, inns, a distillery and a potash warehouse were built to make the most of the area's unique position between the town and the river.

THE SLOW DEGRADATION OF THE LITTLE RIVER

From the time Ville-Marie was founded, the Little River suffered a slow and unhealthy transformation into an open sewer. While it was still acceptable in 1757 to wash shirts in the river, as did the wife of a man named Joannis, the quality of the water deteriorated with ongoing urbanization and the development of polluting activities along the shoreline. Household sewage from the town, the St Lawrence and Recollet Suburbs and wastewater from the breweries, tanneries, distilleries and other local industries all flowed into the river. In 1818, engineer Thomas Price noted that the waterway was a receptacle for "every species of filth"—an assertion that archaeologists later confirmed. \square



A murky river and the artisans who lived along its banks

CHRISTIAN ROY

Stirred by the radiant summer sun, stinking emanations rose from the banks of the Little River and mingled with the breeze that blew over the fortified town. The brown waters of the modest river—which had to be crossed to reach Pointe à Callière and the western faubourgs—were so filthy from all the waste that was thrown in that they could barely reach the St Lawrence. As early as 1741, locals complained that the watercourse was turning into an open sewer. By the early $19^{\rm th}$ century, there was still nothing pleasant to see or smell around the river, as trash, animal carcasses, food waste and excrement lined the encased shores. Exasperated residents summoned authorities to act.

What does archaeology reveal about the sorry state of the Little River?

The deposits discovered on the banks of the river are, for the most part, subsequent to the 1760 Conquest. Between the last quarter of the 18th century and the late 1810s, the amount of trash (which was often left at the edge of the town) doubled, especially in the north end. Until the river was canalized in 1832, the waste quadrupled and the shoreline became a veritable landfill. These findings all point to

the increased use of the river as a dumping ground, huge population growth and the intensification of the occupations on the point.

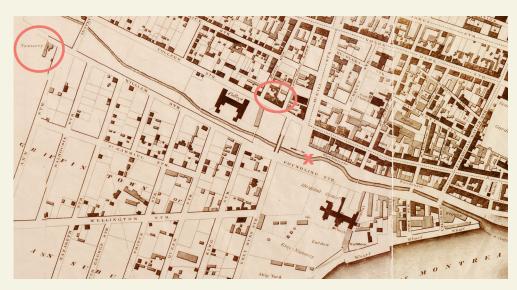
Most of what accumulated there was household waste. Ceramic food containers, glassware, leftover bones from table scraps and oyster shells made up over 88% of the waste that did not decompose. The significant level of fragmentation of the artifacts, presumably due to trampling, seasonal flooding and freezing, suggests an open dump that was used by several homes, as indicated by the diversity of the items and non-matching sets. The carvings and residue from working with horns, leather and tin plate also evoke the presence of artisans in the sector as early as the 19th century.

The deposits reveal little information about horn carving, a craft that is very poorly documented within the colony. The only artifacts are cattle horn cores, whose sheaths were removed by tanners and then used by horn workers as raw material. In district west of the walled town, there were plenty of tanneries that relied on the power of local waterways.



2017. During the archaeological excavations on the site of St Anne's Market about a hundred horn cores were discovered in the riverbed (prior to 1832).

Map of Montréal in 1825 (detail) by John Adams. Facing the markers, left to right: Joshua Hobart's large tannery, the former Shaw tannery (1800-1815) and the location (x) where some 100 horn cores were discovered, at the foot of the meander of the Little River. The objects likely amassed there because of this natural obstacle and weak current. Two horn comb manufacturers also operated in the district.



The presence of leather workers, which was recorded on the riverbanks as early as the 1800s, is confirmed by the significant number of scraps, strips and shoe fragments.

For the most part, the leather cast-offs were cuts from soles and heels, as well as quarters and uppers. The shoes, which are rarely complete, reveal that shoemakers gradually began replacing peg and sewn heels with nailed heels in the early decades of the 19th century. The leather strips serve as reminders that leather artisans also made straps and belts.

The tinplate scraps and outlines are signs that tinsmiths worked in the sector in the 1820s. Upon further examination, the scraps reveal that they were cut using Whiting shears, which were introduced to Canada around 1825. The tools revolutionized the craft and made tin products less expensive. As for the outlines, they confirm that tinsmiths made items such as drinking and measuring cups and tools for specific purposes, like skimmers.

There is a treasure trove of information on the daily lives of the artisans of the time, all found in the trash!



1800 to 1830

MONTRÉAL, BUDDING BRITISH METROPOLIS

JEAN-CLAUDE ROBERT

The first three decades of the 19th century marked a new chapter in the history of Montréal. The population grew, the economy evolved and the urban landscape transformed. Once the ramparts that surrounded the old town fell under the blows of the demolition crews, the commissioners' plans were set in motion, with a decidedly British character.

A CHANGING CITY

At the turn of the 19th century, things began to change in Montréal. Demographic growth was spurred on by the waves of British (and especially Irish) immigration that only accelerated after Napoleon's defeat. Internal rural migration remained low, and the city therefore became chiefly British between 1830 and 1867, the year of Confederation. At the same time, Montréal asserted its position as a continental hub for import and export trade, as population growth and Upper Canada's fast-paced economic development stimulated the markets.

The city's appearance also began to change with the launch of the commissioners' plan. It was a key moment in Montréal's urban development. Although the plan was not carried out in full, many of the projects it detailed were completed. When the fortifications came down, the territory of the old city was freed up, and the urban fabric could extend all the way to the faubourgs—so much so that the boundaries between the two blurred in certain areas, especially along major streets like the one that ran through St Lawrence Suburb. However, travellers could still feel the divide between the old city and former peripheral districts. Homes in the town centre stood out with their stone façades and impressive sizes, while small wooden houses with sloping roofs and modest yards and gardens were more prevalent in the faubourgs. From the late 18th century onwards, that was where most people lived. The figure grew from over two thirds of the population in 1806 to 90% around 1850.

In the late 1830s, the bourgeoisie was still living in the old centre, where many commercial enterprises and institutions continued to operate. Notre-Dame Street emerged as an axis of religious, legal, civil and military power.

The downtown district grew increasingly British. In their style and decoration, the courthouse (1799–1801), prison (1808–1812) and guardhouse (ca. 1810), which were all located on Notre-Dame Street, reflected the change. Nelson's Monument (1809) dominated the New Market (1808), which became Place Jacques-Cartier in 1847, while the creation of Champ-de-Mars (1812–1814) gave the city one of its first public spaces where people could stroll and the military could carry out exercises. In the garrison city, which Montréal remained until 1870, the British soldiers and officers who occupied the guardhouse and often lived at the east end of the district in barracks near the Quebec Gate were very present.

The ramparts that protected the city disappeared between 1804 and 1810.

In 1821, the merger between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company sparked the decline of the fur trade as one of the city's driving forces.

The number of Montrealers grew from approximately 15,000 around 1815 to 22,500 in 1825 and over 57,000 in 1852.



Robert Auchmuty Sproule, Nelson's Monument, Montréal, Notre-Dame Street Looking West, watercolour, graphite, 1830. To the left, a hall of the New Market. In the background, the new Notre-Dame Church (the first – in the foreground – was demolished in the 1830s, except for the bell tower, torn down in the 1840s). On the right, a sentinel stands guard in front of the guardhouse colonnade.

The character of the British neoclassical buildings also marked the territory. The first third of the 19th century witnessed the diversification of places of worship, as an increasing number of Protestant, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches—often neoclassical or Georgian in style—emphasized Montréal's Britishness. The construction of the new neo-Gothic Notre-Dame Church (1824–1829) accentuated it even further.

MARITIME TRAFFIC PICKS UP

While canoes were perfectly adapted to an economy driven by the fur trade, broader and more dynamic commercial activities required larger ships that had to pass through the Lachine Rapids—and their 13-metre dropdown—before heading west. Inland transportation was challenging and very expensive, and the War of 1812 with the United States confirmed how vital it was to secure communication routes to Upper Canada, between Montréal and Kingston. In that respect, it was imperative to build a canal. Opened in 1825, the Lachine Canal served to transport merchandise, as well as immigrants in transit from Montréal to Upper Canada and the United States. The waterway proved so important that it was enlarged twice, between 1843 and 1848 and then again between 1878 and 1885. The Lachine Canal played a vital role in Canada's economic development.



ESTABLISHING THE PORT

In 1809, businessman John Molson christened the *Accommodation*, the very first steam paddle-wheeler to run between Montréal and Québec. About 12 years later, the very first merchants' association was created. The Committee of Trade (1822) aimed to ensure Montréal's future as a seaport at a time when the area was still a muddy beach that relied on access ramps and private wooden wharves. In 1830, following the founding of the Montréal Harbour Commission, work to build masonry wharves, piers and docks began. The port authority also sought to be declared an official port of entry and break Québec's monopoly, which cost Montréal merchants time and money. Two years later, it was mission accomplished! Soon, a custom house (today, the Old Custom House) was built right near the river. The only obstacle that remained were the shoals in Lake Saint-Pierre. It took some time, but, in the 1850s, the natural channel was deepened to provide sufficient space for larger vessels.

Unknown artist, View of Montréal from the entrance to the Lachine Canal, watercolour and ink, ca. 1850.



A coat of arms for Montréal

In 1833, Jacques Viger, the first mayor of Montréal, designed the city's coat of arms. Surrounded by the motto Concordia Salus ("well-being through harmony") are the English rose, Scottish thistle, Irish shamrock and French-Canadian beaver. In 1938, a fleur de lys succeeded the beaver, which was moved to the top, and the red saltire was replaced with a cross of the same colour.



In 2017, a fifth symbol was added to the centre of the cross. The white pine symbolizes the ancestral presence of Indigenous peoples on the territory of Montréal.

John Ostell, The Custom House of Montréal, view from the port, watercolour, 1839. This beautiful grey stone building is now part of the Pointe-à-Callière Museum Complex.

A MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

In 1764, after the Conquest, Governor James Murray mandated justices of the peace, who were generally leading figures, merchants and attorneys appointed by the colonial government, to sit in pairs and apply Montréal's police regulations. They effectively replaced the intendant, who was responsible for such matters under the French Regime. Beginning in 1796, the group of justices held special municipal sessions.

This way of doing things continued until 1840 with a hiatus between 1833 and 1836, when a bill was passed to create a municipal council led by a mayor. Jacques Viger (1787–1858) was elected in 1833, but the bill was not extended, and the city returned to the system of justices of the peace. Still, despite the fact that there were no elections, municipal governance began to take hold with the gradual implementation of an increasingly complex regulatory framework. The collection of bylaws published in 1821 contained around one hundred articles detailing issues related to construction, roads, public health and markets.

A small number of municipal officers were appointed and approved plans and initiatives. Also, in 1825, the justices of the peace created permanent committees to tackle topics such as finances, railroads and markets and reviewed petitions—citizens' main instruments for action.

Until the reforms of the 1840s, the weakness of the municipal taxation system blocked the justices from freeing up enough capital to meet the city's needs. Even so, in the first three decades of the 19th century, Montréal certainly gave itself the means to create a range of institutions and infrastructures and proudly assert its new status as Canada's metropolis. □

