

François-Xavier Garneau



1809-1866

9
Nébeu 18 février 1850.

Cher Monsieur,

Il y a long temps que je voulais vous
écrire, mais la multiplicité de nos affaires municipales,
nos élections, etc. ne m'en ont guère laissé le loisir jusqu'à
ce moment. Et puis pour tout dire je commence à me
sentir vieux et ne tiens plus si bien à l'ouvrage. Une
multitude de petites affaires baldaient dans mes yeux et
je ~~passais~~ ^{suivis} la plus grande partie des soirées au Conseil
ou aux Comités dont je tiens les procès verbaux et
fait tous les rapports. Quoique la besogne soit
souvent d'une faible importance, elle n'en est pas
moins fatigante.

Malgré cela je trouve de temps à autre quelques
moments pour travailler à mon livre que j'ai achevé.
Il sera achevé en 1852. J'ajouterais une conclusion
dans laquelle j'exprimerai à grands traits les événements
jusqu'à l'Union. Le marche néanmoins souvent à contre-
Cours, car j'en retire peu de profit de mon entreprise.
J'ai usé ma santé et ma bourse. Quoique ce ne
soit pas bien flatteur pour un auteur je suis obligé



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FRANÇOIS- XAVIER GARNEAU

1809-1866

1977

COVER:

Recto: No. 1 François-Xavier Garneau. Lithograph made in Paris, from a photograph taken by Jules Livernois in Quebec City in the 1860's.

Verso: No. 143 Letter to Étienne Parent. Written by Garneau on February 18, 1850.

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No. 89 Garneau's home on Canardière Road. Photograph from around 1900.

Preface

Simple justice dictates that all peoples should honour their great men. In the case of Garneau, admittedly, it cannot be said that we have forgotten or failed to appreciate him: monuments have been erected in his honour, his work has been republished several times and he has been the subject of a number of studies. One might ask why the National Library of Canada is devoting a major exhibition to him at this time. The reason is that the unceasing interest in Garneau has received fresh impetus as a result of the critical edition of his complete works, which professors Wyczynski and Savard, of the University of Ottawa, have been working on for a number of years. While preparing this monumental edition, they came across much unpublished material, including manuscripts, letters and pictures. I seized the opportunity to ask these two experts to assemble and catalogue the most interesting and meaningful pieces of material for an exhibition, in order to give the general public an overall view of the personality, works and influence of Garneau.

On behalf of the National Library of Canada and all those who will view this exhibition, in Ottawa and elsewhere, I wish to thank these two scholars for having successfully depicted so many aspects of the life and work of Garneau, our greatest nineteenth-century French-Canadian author, whose influence, enormous in his time, is still being felt today.

Guy Sylvestre,
National Librarian

Ottawa, 1977

Angelique Vincent

Pierre Parent

Théophile L.

Ant. Tabeau

B
François Xavier
Garneau

Le quinze juin mil huit cent neuf j. vicairc soussigné ai baptisé François Xavier ne le même jour du légitime mariage de François Xavier Garneau journalier de cette ville et de Marie Gertrude Villeneuve. Parvenir Charles Gingras, Marie reine Marguerite Grénier qui ont déclaré avec le père me savoir signer.

Ant. Tabeau

+
Charles
Gauthier

Le quinze juin mil huit cent neuf j. vicairc soussigné ai inhumé dans le cimetière des Picotés Charles Gauthier, journalier, époux de Marie Angelique ~~Normand~~ Normand, décédé en cette ville le jour précédent âgé de quatre-vingt sept ans. Présens François L'Ecuyer et Laurent Hmiot soussignés, un notaire nul, un autre entre les signés.

L. Hmiot F. L'Ecuyer

Ant. Gagnon

Profile of Garneau

A historian, poet, memorialist, sometime journalist and of necessity a letter writer, François-Xavier Garneau was undoubtedly the outstanding writer of the nineteenth century in French Canada. For this man of humble origins, acquiring what was at the time a remarkable degree of literary erudition required a good deal of effort. His travels to the United States (1828) and Europe (1831-1833), where he visited London and Paris, helped broaden his self-education. He settled down in Quebec City in July, 1833, where he devoted himself to writing, a vocation to which he was to remain faithful for the rest of his days.

Garneau's situation as a writer was a difficult one, requiring perseverance on his part to compensate for lack of financial assistance. He was employed successively as a secretary, notary, bank teller, translator and Clerk of the City of Quebec, with only evenings, nights and weekends in which to write his poetry and his monumental *Histoire du Canada* (*History of Canada*).

A photograph taken in the 1860's is the only remaining picture of Garneau. He appears pensive and somewhat forlorn, and his placid face is an indication of his reserved nature. A staunch nationalist, Garneau appears to have been a man whose rational nature in no way precluded a deep sensitivity: his world view was shaped by both the Enlightenment and the Romantic period. Many of his contemporaries, including Casgrain, Darveau and Chauveau, attempted to portray the famous historian for posterity's sake. Of these portrayals, Chauveau's seems to us closest to the truth:

Mr. Garneau was a man of integrity, a hard worker, economical but not parsimonious, a family man, regular in his habits, modest but with a not unwarranted sense of pride and nobility. Timid in appearance, he was courageous when the need arose. He displayed normally a quiet confidence, but on some subjects he could be very firm and almost stubborn. He had an abundance of literary talent, along with a keen business sense. With patience and in the face of a good deal of inner conflict, the extent of which perhaps only he knew, he was able to combine unceasing study on the highest plane with the assiduous performance of work that was very prosaic. This dual nature had the happy result of making him a well-rounded person.

Seeing him for the first time, those who knew him only by his writing must have felt somewhat disappointed. He had a certain nervous hesitation and a reticence which, without appearing as awkwardness and without marring his impeccable urbanity, caused one to wonder whether this was in fact Garneau, the intrepid defender of French-Canadian rights. But the intelligent face beneath the high forehead was brought to life by ideas, and as soon as he began speaking in lively tones on some favourite subject, one could

recognize a man who was not only superior, but who was convinced of the worthiness of his life's work. In pictures of him, his pensive face, marked with a gentle and modest gravity, creates the same impression. Although he was usually rather serious, he could be lighthearted and share a good laugh with his friends. He did not enjoy elaborate social functions, pretentious parties or sumptuous dinners, but he welcomed intimate gatherings, card parties and the frequent improvised receptions that are so greatly appreciated by the inhabitants of good old Quebec City. However, his studies allowed him to indulge in these innocent distractions only on rare occasions. Any spare time he had after completing his official duties — which he performed conscientiously — he spent either on his great work, which, as has been seen, was his constant preoccupation, on his extensive literary correspondence or reading his favourite authors. We know who these were during his youth, and in the last years of his life they consisted mainly of Tacitus, whom he read in an excellent translation, and Thierry, whom he was so fond of quoting. A walk on the terrace, around the ramparts of the city or along Sainte-Foy Road, visits to libraries or to reading rooms of the Literary and Historical Society, the Institut canadien, the University or the Parliament to meet and talk with other men of letters, completed his day. Often, especially near the end of his life, these walks would end with a visit to the old, historic cathedral of Notre-Dame, where he could be seen in the darkness of an out-of-the-way pew, humbly kneeling in ardent prayer.

Garneau appears to have typified the man of his social milieu and of his day. His lifestyle was that of the French-Canadian middle class of the nineteenth century; his times were those of Papineau and LaFontaine. At the same time, however, the depth and expansiveness of his mind put him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He spoke with confidence and authority on major issues such as political and religious freedom, and was an eloquent defender of the language and constitutional rights of his countrymen. The Act of Union of 1841 convinced him that French Canada was being threatened, and this gave him one more reason to write about the history of the French in North America. The famous conclusion he published in 1852, in which he advised French Canadians to shun the adventurism which can be dangerous for a small nation, was indicative of the line that his historical thinking had taken over the past ten years.

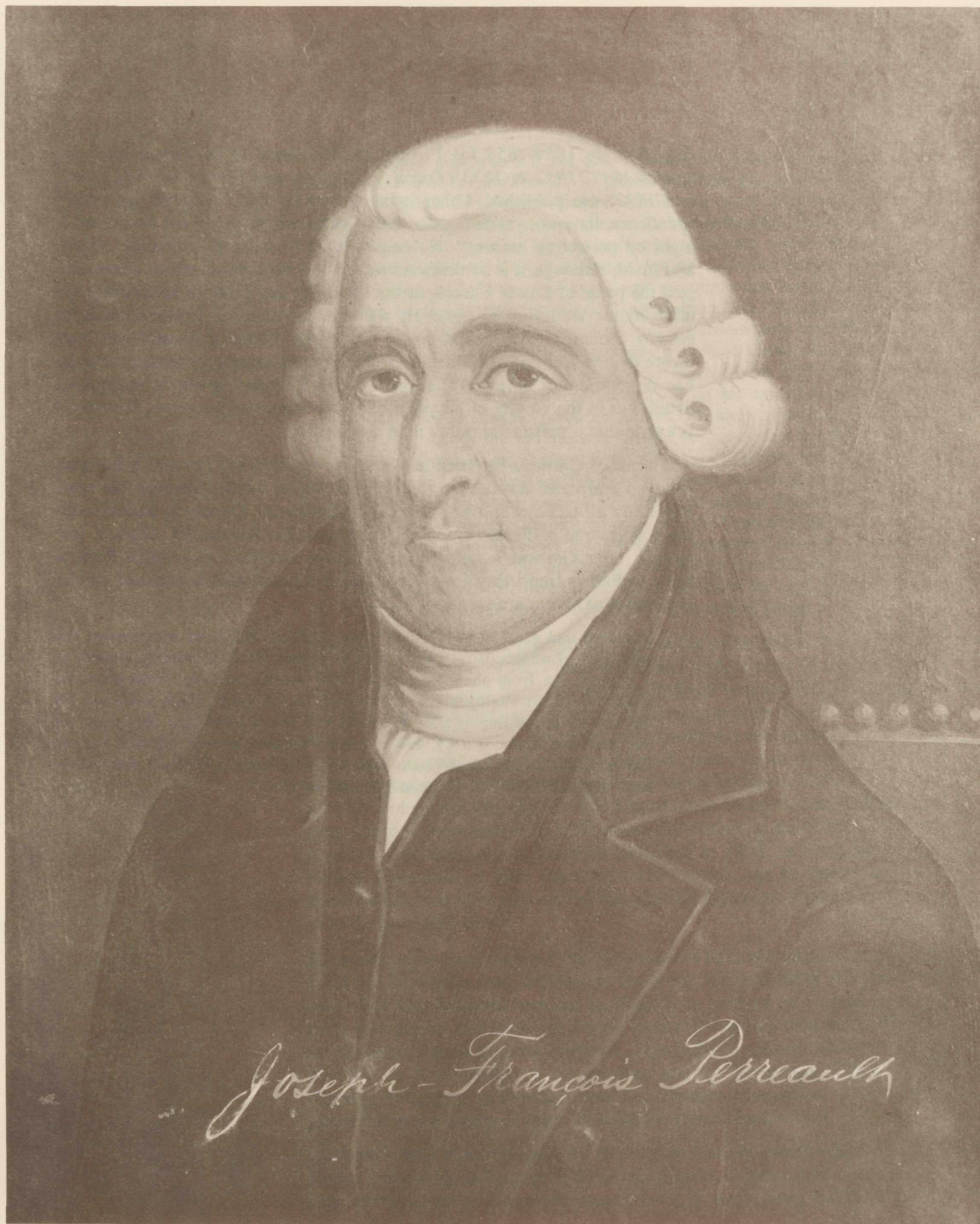
Garneau's ideas stem mainly from the erudition he acquired as a result of his thirst for knowledge and devotion to his work. He read many classics, encyclopedists and romantic writers, in English as well as in French, plus the daily newspapers and books on a wide variety of topics. In the field of history he preferred contemporary authors, especially Augustin Thierry, whose *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (*History of the Norman Conquest of England*) was his constant companion. He was also interested in the history of the United States, Ireland and Poland.

Garneau's main contribution is his *Histoire du Canada*, which was the authoritative work on the subject prior to Lionel Groulx. Garneau also wrote poems, only twenty-eight of which are extant, most of them being published in *Le*

Canadien. In 1854-1855 his *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833* (*Travel in England and France in 1831, 1832 and 1833*) was published. Other items written by him, including his correspondence, have not yet been published. Garneau burned a good deal of midnight oil perfecting his work. He endeavoured to make his language simple and lucid, although it is at times subject to the weaknesses which characterized the prose of Lower Canada at the time. But any flaws in vocabulary are offset by the vitality of his style. He was the first writer in Lower Canada to employ romantic rhythm and colour in poetry. Garneau himself was well aware that he was not a polished writer. He would constantly rework what he had done and was never satisfied with it. His hallmark is not in meticulous detail, but in the vitality of his poetry and the vigour of his prose. Garneau's is a style that is persuasive rather than spectacular.

The work of Garneau has been acclaimed in Canada and abroad; it has also received sharp and at times unjust criticism. On the whole, however, his work is seen by all to be of lasting value. The *Histoire du Canada* is undoubtedly the cornerstone of French-Canadian literature. On August 10, 1866, a few months after Garneau's state funeral, Octave Crémazie sent from Paris a letter to Father Henri-Raymond Casgrain. In it he admirably summed up the sentiments of his countrymen:

Our dear and great historian died while working. He never experienced the splendour of wealth or tasted the wine of power. He lived humbly, almost as a pauper, far from the pleasures of this world, carefully concealing the brightness of his intelligence and focussing on the work which devoured his life and gave him immortality. Garneau was like a torch that shed light on our short but heroic history, and it was by burning himself out that he was able to enlighten his countrymen. Who will ever know how much disappointment and pain one must suffer in the name of glory?



No. 9 Joseph-François Perrault. Portrait.

Dates and Events

1659:

Louis Garnault, the first of the Garneaus to live in Canada, arrives in Quebec. In July, 1663, he marries Marie Masoué, and the couple move to l'Ange-Gardien in the Parish of Château-Richer near the Montmorency River.

June 15, 1809:

Birth in Quebec City of François-Xavier Garneau, son of François-Xavier Garneau and Gertrude Amiot-Villeneuve, who were married in Saint-Augustin on July 25, 1808. Garneau belonged to the seventh generation of his family in Canada.

1814-1822:

François-Xavier attends two schools in Quebec City, one located at the entrance of Saint-Réal Street, and Joseph-François Perrault's school in the basement of the Chapelle de la Congrégation, on what is now Auteuil Street.

1823-1825:

Garneau employed in the office of protonotary Joseph-François Perrault.

1825-1831:

Garneau studies and apprentices in the profession of notary with Archibald Campbell in Quebec City. In August, 1828, Garneau visits the United States for about three weeks. He receives his notary's commission on June 23, 1830. He is to work one more year with Campbell for a yearly stipend of 180 pounds.

July, 1830:

Garneau writes his first poem, the Bonapartist-inspired *La Coupe*. Until 1845, he would be known mainly as a poet. In all he wrote twenty-eight poems, the best known being *Le Canadien en France* [*A Canadian in France*] (1833), *Pourquoi désespérer?* [*Why Despair?*] (1834), *Les Oiseaux blancs* [*The White Birds*] (1839), *Louise* (1840) and *Le Dernier Huron* [*The Last Huron*] (1840). Most of his poems were first published in *Le Canadien*. James Huston included eighteen of them in his *Répertoire national* [*National Repertory*] in 1848.

1831-1833:

Stay in London and two two-week visits to Paris. Garneau is appointed secretary to Viger, Member of Parliament and envoy of Lower Canada to the British government.

Dec. 7, 1833:

Publication of the magazine *Abeille canadienne*, founded and edited by Garneau.

May, 1834:

Notary Garneau becomes an associate of Louis-Théodore Besserer; he also works part-time as a translator at the Quebec Legislature.

Aug. 25, 1835:

Marriage of F.-X. Garneau and Marie-Esther Bilodeau in Québec City's Saint-Roch Church. They were to have ten children, only four of whom would reach maturity: Alfred (poet and future translator for the Senate in Ottawa), Honoré, Eugène and Joséphine.

May, 1836:

Garneau and his wife move to la Canardière, near Québec City, in the valley of the Saint-Charles River.

1840-1841:

Garneau opposes the Act of Union, which he sees as being disastrous to French Canada.

March-May, 1841:

Along with lawyer David Roy, Garneau launches and directs *L'Institut*, a "scientific, industrial and literary" weekly, which is discontinued after twelve issues.

Sept. 27, 1842:

Garneau appointed as French translator to the Legislative Assembly of United Canada.

Aug. 1, 1844:

Garneau appointed Clerk of the City of Québec, a position he is to hold for twenty years.

Aug., 1845:

Publication of the first volume of the *Histoire du Canada*, followed by two others, one in 1846 and the other in 1848. This is Garneau's major work, destined to be reworked and polished continuously and published in two further editions during the author's lifetime, in 1852 and 1859.

Summer, 1847:

Garneau falls dangerously ill.

Winter, 1848:

Garneau participates in meetings of the Institut canadien de Québec, of which he is to become president in 1852.

Nov., 1849:

Garneau welcomes French writer Xavier Marmier to Quebec City.

Sept., 1851:

French writer Jean-Jacques Ampère (1800-1864) visits Garneau.

Jan. 29, 1852:

Meeting in Boston with the American historian, Francis Parkman.

Nov. 18, 1854:

Le Journal de Québec publishes, in serial form, Garneau's *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833* (*Travel in England and France in 1831, 1832 and 1833*). The final installment is published on May 29, 1855. The work, published in book form in the fall of the same year, was almost completely destroyed by the author, who saw too many flaws in it.

July 17, 1855:

Paul-Henri de Belvèze, commander of the French corvette *La Capricieuse*, sent by Napoleon III, lands in Quebec City and meets Garneau, to whom he refers as "Canada's national historian."

1860:

English translation of Garneau's *Histoire* by Andrew Bell: *History of Canada from the Time of its Discovery till the Union Year*. A second edition is published in 1862.

May 1, 1864:

Garneau resigns from his position as Clerk of Quebec City.

July 1, 1864:

Garneau's *Une conclusion d'histoire* (*Historical Postscript*) published in *La Revue canadienne*.

Feb. 2, 1866:

Death of Garneau in Quebec City, from pleurisy contracted a few days previously.

Feb. 8, 1866:

Funeral of Garneau at the Notre-Dame de Québec Basilica.

March, 1866:

Father Raymond-Henri Casgrain publishes a biography of Garneau.

Sept. 15, 1867:

Unveiling of the Garneau monument at Belmont Cemetery in Quebec City.

Oct. 19, 1912:

Unveiling of Garneau monument, a work by the French sculptor Paul Chevré, near Saint-Louis Gate, Quebec City.

April 23-27, 1945:

History week organized by the Société historique de Montréal [*Montreal Historical Society*] to commemorate the centenary of the *Histoire du Canada*.

March 29, 1966:

Commemorative evening at the University of Ottawa to mark the centenary of Garneau's death; organized by the French-Canadian Civilization Research Centre.

Works by Garneau

POEMS

Le Voltigeur, 1812 [*The Rifleman*] (1831); *Dithyrambe* (1831); *La Liberté prophétisant sur l'avenir de la Pologne* [*Liberty Prophesying on the Future of Poland*] (1832); *Elégie* [*Elegy*] (1832); *Souvenirs d'un Polonais* [*Memories of a Pole*] (1833); *La Harpe* [*The Harp*] (1833); *Le Canadien en France* [*A Canadian in France*] (1833); *L'Étranger* [*The Outsider*] (1833); *Châteauguay* (1833); *La Coupe* [*The Cup*] (1833); *Le premier jour de l'an 1834* [*New Year's Day*] (1834); *Chanson. Québec (Pourquoi désespérer?)* [*Quebec Song (Why Despair?)*] (1834); *Le marin canadien* [*A Canadian Sailor*] (1836); *Le Tombeau d'Émilie* [*Émilie's Tomb*] (1836); *Au Canada* [*To Canada*] (1837); *À lord Durham* [*To Lord Durham*] (1838); *À mon fils* [*To My Son*] (1838); *Le Rêve d'un soldat* [*A Soldier's Dream*] (1838); *Poésie du jour de l'an* [*New Year's Poem*] (1839); *Les Oiseaux blancs* [*The White Birds*] (1839); *Louise* (1840); *L'hiver* [*Winter*] (1840); *Le Dernier Huron* [*The Last Huron*] (1840); *Les Exilés* [*The Exiles*] (1841); *Le Papillon* [*The Butterfly*] (1841); *Le vieux chêne* [*The Old Oak*] (1841); *Hymne de Jean-Baptiste à sa Patrie. Au Canada* [*Hymn of Jean-Baptiste to his Homeland. To Canada*] (1840).

NEWSPAPERS

L'Abeille canadienne: December 7, 1833 — February 8, 1834.

L'Institut: March 7, 1841 — May 22, 1841.

HISTORY

Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours
(*History of Canada from its Discovery till the Present*)

Quebec, Aubin (3rd vol. by Fréchette), 1845-1848, 3 vol.

2nd ed: Quebec, Lovell, 1852, 3 vol.

3rd ed: Quebec, Lamoureux, 1859, 3 vol.

4th ed: Montreal, Beauchemin et Valois, 1833, 3 vol. + Vol. 4, *Notice biographique* (*Biographical Introduction*) by Chauveau, 1883.

5th ed: Paris, Alcan, 1913-1920, 2 vol.

6th ed: Paris, Alcan, 1920, 2 vol.

7th ed: Paris, Alcan, 1928, 2 vol.

8th ed: Montréal, Éd. de l'Arbre, 1944, 8 vol. + Index (Vol. 9).

9th ed: *Histoire du Canada français* [sic] (*History of French Canada*), Montreal, Les Amis de l'histoire, 1969, 6 vol.

History of Canada from the Time of its Discovery till the Union Year, by Andrew Bell, Montreal, John Lovell, 1860, 3 vol., 2nd ed. in 1863.

Abrégé de l'Histoire du Canada, depuis sa découverte jusqu'à 1840, à l'usage des maisons d'éducation (Abridged Version of the History of Canada from its Discovery till 1840, for Use by Educational Institutions), Quebec, A. Côté, 1856, iv, 248 p. Several editions.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTARY

Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833 (Travel in England and France in 1831, 1832 and 1833) in *Le Journal de Québec*, 1854-1855. In book form: Quebec, Augustin Côté et Cie, 1855, 252 pp. In abridged form in *La Littérature canadienne de 1850-1860 (Canadian Literature from 1850-1860)*, Quebec, Desbarats et Derbishire, 1863, pp. 179-257. With title changed: *Voyages*, Quebec, Léger Brousseau, 1878, 168 p. In critical edition, by Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1968, 377 p.

Garneau published a number of historical studies and miscellaneous articles in Canadian newspapers. He also exchanged many letters with Canadian and foreign correspondents. His correspondence and miscellaneous writings will be published in book form in a critical edition entitled *Oeuvres complètes de Garneau (Complete Works of Garneau)*, now being prepared at the French-Canadian Civilization Research Centre at the University of Ottawa.

List of abbreviations

ANQ	Archives nationales du Québec
BM	British Museum
BN	Bibliothèque nationale (France)
FCCRC	French-Canadian Civilization Research Centre (University of Ottawa)
IAW	Inventory of Art Works (Department of Cultural Affairs of Quebec)
MC	Musée Carnavalet (Paris)
MMFA	Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
MQ	Musée du Québec
NLC	National Library of Canada
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
QCR	Quebec Court Records

Chapter I

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH IN QUEBEC CITY

(1809-1831)

"My first memories are of various wars, and of travel. The old men liked to tell stories about the exploits of their fathers and about the Seven Years' War."

(Voyage, introductory pages)

The man who during his lifetime was referred to as the "national historian" of French Canada, and who without question stands out as the major figure in the history of nineteenth-century Quebec literature, was born into a humble family in 1809. His father, a jack-of-all-trades, came from his native village of Saint-Augustin to the suburb of Saint-Jean, at the gates of Quebec City. It soon became evident that his son, François-Xavier junior, was a gifted child. Joseph-François Perrault, a well-known figure in the community, who was interested in the education of young people, saw Garneau's promise and enrolled him in his school, organized along the lines of the Lancaster method. He fostered a love of learning in the child, who was to remain eternally grateful to him. Another of the young Garneau's benefactors was Archibald Campbell, King's Notary, under whom he learned the profession of notary and fulfilled his clerkship. Campbell generously gave free access to his library to his young clerk, whose literary tendencies were already obvious.

1

François-Xavier Garneau

Lithograph made in Paris, from a photograph taken by Jules Livernois in Quebec City in the 1860's. FCCRC

This framed lithograph belonged first to Mrs. F.-X. Garneau and subsequently to the historian's descendants. It was donated to the French-Canadian Civilization Research Centre in March, 1966, by Mrs. René Labelle (Jeanne Brodeur), granddaughter of Joseph Marmette and Joséphine Garneau Marmette.

2

Simplified genealogical chart of historian F.-X. Garneau

Ancestors, family and descendants of F.-X. Garneau. Prepared by Paul Wyczynski and Pierre Savard. FCCRC

Historian F.-X. Garneau belonged to the seventh generation of the Garneau family in Canada (also spelled "Garnault"). The first Garneau to emigrate to Canada from France was Louis Garnault, "son of Pierre and Jeanne Barrault de la Grimaudière" (diocese of Poitiers), who came to Quebec City around 1660. Among their direct descendants and their relatives by marriage, there are eight who became writers: François-Xavier Garneau, his son Alfred and his grandson Hector; Joseph Marmette, François-Xavier's son-in-law; Louyse de Bienville (Mrs. Donat Brodeur); Simone Routier; Hector de Saint-Denys Garneau; and Anne Hébert.

3

Marriage contract of Louis Garnault and Marie Masoué

Registered by Guillaume Audouart, Quebec City. ANQ

Prepared by notary Audouart in Quebec City on July 23, 1663. The young couple made their home at l'Ange-Gardien on the Beaupré shore.

4

The ancestral estate of the Garneau family

From an early 18th-century map by sieur de Catalogne. FCCRC

In the 1660's, Louis Garnault received a piece of land on the Beaupré shore, in what used to be part of the Château-Richer parish and is now the parish of l'Ange-Gardien. The property of the national historian's first Canadian ancestor is the fourth strip east of the Montmorency River and is marked in red on the map. The name was spelled "L. Garno" by the clerk.

5

Marriage contract of F.-X. Garneau and Gertrude Amiot-Villeneuve

Copy. QCR

The historian's father, François-Xavier Garneau (1781-1831) married Gertrude Amiot-Villeneuve (1781-1835) in Saint-Augustin on July 25, 1808. Shortly afterward, the couple moved to Quebec City's Saint-Jean district. The future historian's father worked first as a coachman, then as a saddler and finally as an innkeeper.

6

Birth certificate of F.-X. Garneau

Registers of Notre-Dame de Québec Cathedral. QCR

Born in Quebec City on June 15, 1809, François-Xavier Garneau was baptized the same day at Notre-Dame Cathedral.

7

Model of Quebec City

By Jean-Baptiste Duberger, 1808. IAW

This model was constructed around the time of Garneau's birth. In the foreground is the walled part of the city; at the upper left is the Saint-Jean district, where Garneau was born in 1809. Clearly indicated are Notre-Dame Cathedral, where Garneau was baptized; Saint-Jean Street; and Saint-Jean Gate, leading to the district in which the Garneau family lived.

8

Part of map of Quebec City

By Jean-Baptiste Duberger. Fragment. PAC

The Saint-Jean district can be seen in the centre. During the years 1810-1820, the Garneau family lived at 80 Aiguillon Street, in a house belonging to Jean Dussault. To the left are the fortifications around the old part of the city, and near the top of the map is the Saint-Roch district.

9

Joseph-François Perrault

Portrait. Photograph. ANQ

Joseph-François Perrault (1753-1844), protonotary and Clerk of the Court of the King's Bench, was in his time considered "the father of Quebec education." Garneau received a major part of his education under his tutelage.

10

"Asyle Champêtre"

Sketch. 1812. Anonymous. ANQ

The "asyle champêtre," as it was called, was the residence of notary Joseph-François Perrault. The property was located on the highest part of the Plains of Abraham, in the vicinity of what is today the Saint-Coeur-de-Marie Church. Perrault raised experimental crops here and taught history and penmanship to a few students, one of whom was Garneau.

11

Chapelle de la Congrégation

Watercolour by J. P. Cockburn. Photo: Royal Ontario Museum.

This chapel, located on Auteuil Street, was built in 1818 by master mason Pierre Giroux. It housed a school established by J.-F. Perrault, where the teaching was based on the Lancaster method, in which advanced students taught the less advanced. Garneau attended this school from 1821 to 1823 and became head teaching assistant. He then began working as a clerk in J.-F. Perrault's protonotary office.

12

Archibald Campbell

Oil portrait by Théophile Hamel. Photograph by Luc Chartier. MQ

Archibald Campbell (1790-1862), a Scotsman, was King's Notary and director of several banks and companies. A patron of the arts, he also had a large legal practice in Quebec City.

13

Clerkship certificate of F.-X. Garneau

Agreement drawn up by notary C. Huot. PAC

Clerkship agreement between Garneau's father and Archibald Campbell, King's Notary, Quebec City. Garneau agreed to study the profession of notary for "five full and consecutive years," beginning on June 25, 1825.

14

Edmund Kean reciting to Indians at Quebec City

Oil painting by Joseph Légaré. Horsley and Annie Townsend Bequest. MMFA

In September, 1826, British actor Edmund Kean (1787-1833) played a part in Shakespeare's *Richard III* in Quebec City. Garneau attended the performance. Here, the artist has depicted Kean reciting to some Indians at the time of his visit to Quebec City. The scene of the painting may be the western end of the Ile d'Orléans.

15

"Rhetoric for young ladies"

Manuscript, 235 pages. FCCRC

This manual of rhetoric, which Garneau copied over a period of three months (January-March, 1827), is the oldest copy we have of anything written in his hand.

16

Old Quebec: cathedral and market place

Chromolithograph by C. Hull Mandel, from a drawing by W. Walton based on a sketch by Robert Auchmaty in the 1830's. Coverdale Collection. IAW

One of the town's main centres of activity. From 1820 to 1830, Garneau's father was a carter, like the man depicted in the foreground of the picture.

17

A trip to the United States

a) Itinerary. Interior of North America. Aaron Arrowsmith. 1819. PAC

In August, 1828, Garneau visited the United States with a friend of Archibald Campbell's. They travelled from Quebec City to Boston by boat, stayed in New York for three weeks and returned to Quebec City via Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Toronto and Kingston.

b) Niagara Falls. Engraving. PAC

Writes Garneau, "I was eager to see Niagara Falls, whose majesty owes less to the depth of the chasm than to the mass of water plummeting into the mile-wide precipice." (*Voyage*)

18

"Letters, Satires, Songs, Epigrams and Other Verse"

Poems by Michel Bibaud, published at the *Minerve* press in 1830 by Ludger Duvernay, 178 p. NLC

This was the first collection of poems published in French by a Canadian in Lower Canada. The author was forty-six years old. The publication in May, 1830, of this work, coincided with the first attempts at poetry writing by F.-X. Garneau, who in July, 1830, was to compose his first poem, *La Coupe*.



No. 16 Old Quebec: cathedral and market place. Chromolithograph by C. Hull Mandel, from a drawing by W. Walton based on a sketch by Robert Auchmaty in the 1830's.

19

Map of Quebec City

By Joseph Bouchette, 1830. IAW

The walled upper town is on the right. In the centre, from bottom to top, are the Saint-Louis district, home of Joseph-François Perrault, Garneau's patron; the Saint-Jean district, where Garneau lived as a child; and the Saint-Roch district in lower town, Garneau's home for a few years after his marriage. La Canardière, where Jean Bilodeau, Garneau's father-in-law, lived, lies north of the Saint-Charles River, along the Beauport Road, which leads to the Beaupré shore.

20

View of Quebec City

Watercolour by James Pattison Cockburn. IAW

Quebec City viewed from the left bank of the Saint-Charles River, downstream from the Dorchester Bridge. The Dorchester Bridge linked the Saint-Roch district with the Beauport or Canardière Road.

21

Quebec City: Saint-Jean Gate

a) Watercolour, artist unknown. PAC

View from Saint-Jean Gate, looking out of the city. On the left are the slopes and first buildings of the Saint-Jean district, where Garneau lived as a child and a young man. Beyond this, in lower town, lies the Saint-Roch district, which extends to the Saint-Charles River. The Laurentians can be seen in the background.

b) Painting by A. J. Russell, in *Hawkin's Picture of Quebec*, 1834, plate facing p. 165. Photograph. PAC

Saint-Jean Gate and the fortifications in the 1830's. In the centre is the Chapelle de la Congrégation, the basement of which housed Perrault's primary school, which Garneau attended from 1821 to 1823.

22

Notre-Dame de Québec

Drawing by William H. Bartlett, June 3, 1838. IAW

Façade of the cathedral prior to the 1844 restoration. Buade Street is on the right.

23

Château Saint-Louis

Sketch. PAC

View of Quebec City, with the Château Saint-Louis in the background, lower town to the right, and the St. Lawrence River and the Laurentians in the distance.

24

Quebec City

Watercolour by C. Hunt, from a drawing by James Pattison Cockburn. ANQ

View of Quebec City from the promenade level, around 1830. The Château Saint-Louis is in the background; at left is the edge of upper town; at right the lower town and the harbour; and in the distance the Beaupré shore and the Laurentians.

25

Application by F.-X. Garneau to take notary's examinations

Letter from Garneau to Governor James Kempt, June 14, 1830. PAC

Written in a conventional style, this letter is the earliest we have of Garneau's.

26

Jonathan Sewell

Portrait. ANQ

Garneau took his examination before Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell (1766-1839) and notaries Pierre Laforce and Louis Panet, and was commissioned as a notary on June 23, 1830.

27

Notary's commission of F.-X. Garneau

Notarized documents. June, 1830.

- a) Attestation by Jonathan Sewell, Chief Magistrate of Lower Canada. PAC
- b) Attestation by Archibald Campbell, King's Notary, Quebec City, certifying Garneau's having met the clerkship requirements. PAC
- c) Oath taken by Garneau. PAC
- d) Notary's commission granted by Governor James Kempt on June 23, 1830. FCCRC

28

Literary contest

In *Le Canadien* of May 7, 1831. NLC

Le Canadien, which at the time was under the direction of Étienne Parent, held a literary contest on the occasion of parliamentary representative Denis-Benjamin Viger's departure for London to defend the interests of the French-Canadians. Entries were to be in verse, consisting of no more than "150 alexandrines or 200 lines of another metre."

29

"Le Voltigeur"

In *Le Canadien*, June 8, 1831, p. 1. NLC

F.-X. Garneau's first published poem. This unsigned piece was to appear with the author's signature in 1858, in the *Nouvelle lyre canadienne*.

30

Record of clerkship of F.-X. Garneau

Certificate written by Archibald Campbell, June 16, 1831. FCCRC

Archibald Campbell, King's Notary for the Quebec City district, attests that Garneau has completed his notary's clerkship with him and that he has carried out to Campbell's entire satisfaction all of the duties assigned to him.

31

A farewell letter

Letter from Joseph-François Perrault to F.-X. Garneau, June 13, 1831. FCCRC

One week prior to Garneau's departure for London, his friend and former teacher, J.-F. Perrault, wrote, asking him to make arrangements in Paris for the printing of a primer for his schools.

32

Leaving for Europe

Canada and Nova Scotia. Map. 1821. PAC

Garneau left for London on June 20, 1831, on the sailing vessel *Strathisla*. The countryside between Quebec and the Ile aux Grues inspired him to write the following: ". . . Quebec and its environs never fail to provide a spectacle replete with grandeur and poetry. The Saint-Charles River, Pointe-Lévy, Île d'Orléans, Beauport and the Laurentians, with the great basin of the St. Lawrence in their midst, all combine to create for the city a setting whose magnificence makes one's regrets even stronger when the time comes to leave." (*Voyage*)



No. 36 Church of Saint Martin, Ludgate Hill. Engraving by S. Jenkins, from a drawing by G. Shepherd.

Chapter II

DISCOVERY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

(1831-1833)

"Europe will always be a great attraction for the people of the New World. It is to them what the East was at one time to Europe itself: the cradle of man's genius and of civilization."

(Voyage, I)

Everything seemed to point to Garneau's settling down to a tranquil life as a notary in Quebec City or some neighboring parish. But as soon as he obtained his commission, Garneau decided to leave, to travel in England and France. What had been planned as a visit of a few months stretched out to a two-year stay in the British capital. It was in London that Garneau met and became secretary for Denis-Benjamin Viger, the Member of Parliament for Lower Canada sent to protect French-Canadian interests in the Colonial Office. These two years in London, punctuated by two visits to Paris, did much to enlarge the young Quebecer's cultural horizons, as he himself pointed out in an account of his travels published twenty years later.

33

Reading at sea

Lord Byron: engraving by C. Turner, from a portrait by R. Westall. BN

During the month-long crossing, Garneau immersed himself in the study of English, reading books he had brought to learn the language of one of the countries he was to visit. He read Byron, Prior and Newton. In his *Voyage* (I) he included a long quotation from the beginning of the first canto of Byron's *Corsair*, which begins as follows:

O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
Our thoughts as boundless and our souls as free
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam
Survey our empire and behold our home!

34

Denis-Benjamin Viger

Drawing by an unknown artist. ANQ

Shortly after his arrival in London, Garneau met Denis-Benjamin Viger (1774-1861). Viger, one of Lower Canada's most active politicians, had been in London for ten weeks as an envoy from the House of Assembly, petitioning for the dismissal of Attorney-General James Stuart. He engaged Garneau as his secretary for almost two years, beginning in August, 1831.

35

Somerset House, on the Strand

Engraving, artist unknown. BM

The palace, with its two façades, one overlooking the Thames and the other facing the Strand, was the home of the Royal Society and other learned bodies. "I spent some very pleasant hours in the rooms of the Antiquarian Society and those of the Academy of Painting," Garneau was to write (*Voyage*, I). Garneau lived on Cecil Street in the vicinity of Somerset House.

36

Church of Saint Martin, Ludgate Hill

Engraving by S. Jenkins, from a drawing by G. Shepherd. Guildhall Library.

A district well known to Garneau during his two years in London. In the background is Ludgate Hill, leading to Saint Paul's Cathedral. The Church of Saint Martin, which, like Saint Paul's Cathedral, was designed by Christopher Wren (1632-1723), is also visible. Denis-Benjamin Viger, Garneau's employer, stayed at the London Coffee House, which may be the first house to the left, with the two men standing in front of it.

37

Saint Paul's Cathedral

Drawing by G. F. Robson. BM

Saint Paul's Cathedral seen from Blackfriars Bridge. Garneau lived in this district of London and described this church at length in the first chapter of his *Voyage*.

38

"Eulogy. Upon the mission of Mr. Viger, Canadian envoy to England"

Le Canadien, Vol. 1, No. 34, August 31, 1831. NLC

Occasional poem. Garneau was the prizewinner of the literary contest announced by *Le Canadien* on May 7, 1831. The poem was published in Quebec City during Garneau's stay in London.

39

Regent Street

Drawing by T. H. Shepherd. BM

"I spent July 22 and 23 [1831] sightseeing in the western part of the city and its environs. I walked along Pall Mall, Regent Street, Piccadilly and Oxford Street." (*Voyage*, II)

40

St. James's Park

Anonymous drawing, 1835. Guildhall Library.

"London's parks are among its most beautiful attractions. Almost all of them are in the western section of the city, along with a large number of squares, another source of beauty and health-giving fresh air, light and space in centres of heavy population." (*Voyage*, I)

41

Westminster Abbey

Engraving by W. Wallis, from a drawing by H. Shepherd. BM

Garneau visited the "church of Westminster" on several occasions during his stay in London.

"I came out of Westminster applauding the idea which had brought together the remains of the princes of thought (poets) and the princes of the earth (politicians and soldiers), in this common monument built in honour of the One who brings light and power to nations according to his pleasure, by bequeathing to them men of undying fame." (*Voyage*, I)

42

Canterbury Cathedral

Engraving by H. Adlard, from a drawing by H. Gastineau. BM

Garneau passed through Canterbury on his way from London to Paris in late July, 1831. He toured the city and penned these original lines:

"Silent and grave despite several factories there, [the city] seemed to have retained the episcopal quality which permeated daily life and civilization when the crozier made the swords of princes and nobles tremble in the battlemented castles of the Middle Ages." (*Voyage*, III)

43

The Bank of England

Anonymous engraving. BM

This monument, situated in the "banking and commercial district, where the most solid foundations of England's power and wealth lie," made a strong impression on Garneau, who described it at length. (*Voyage*, I)

44

The Tower of London

Drawing by F. Nash. BM

"Those towers [. . .] to which poetry and history have given a character that makes them more interesting to the foreigner than the capital's finest monuments." (*Voyage*, II)

45

St. James's Palace

Drawing, 1827, by Buckles. BM

At the time of Garneau's stay in London, St. James's Palace was the royal residence.

"This palace," wrote Garneau, "a mass of brick structures with towers and battlements [. . .] evoked in me, despite its simplicity, distant and moving memories. For hundreds of years, the genius which has presided over England's greatest moments has been nurtured in the shadows of the sombre, quiet turrets of St. James's and Westminster Abbey." (*Voyage*, II)

46

The British Museum library

Engraving by H. Melville, from a drawing by T. H. Shepherd. BM

"The British Museum library [. . .] contains a large number of rare and priceless works. I visited this institution on a number of occasions, and some of my most interesting memories of Europe are of the times I spent there." (*Voyage*, II)

47

Letter to a friend in Quebec City

Manuscript. ANQ

On September 1, 1831, Garneau wrote to Pierre Winter, a law student in Quebec City and a future lawyer and judge, informing him that Viger had taken him into his service. The young notary was "thinking of spending the winter in London" instead of returning after visiting London and Paris, as planned. This is one of the earliest letters we have by Garneau, and one of the few contemporary sources of information on his visit to France and England.

48

Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847)

Drawing by A. Leclerc, from a painting by F. Gubbins. BM

This famous Irish patriot had held a seat in the House of Commons since 1829. Garneau had the opportunity to hear him there, defending ideas on liberty that he also cherished.

"Listening to him, one could immediately recognize O'Connell as an orator whose words were inspired. Everything about him — his ideas, his voice, his gestures — indicated that here was a man of genius." (*Voyage*, I)

49

Lord Henry Brougham (1779-1868)

Engraving by Thomas Lupton, from a painting by James Lonsdale. BM

Garneau was deeply impressed by this great British jurist and politician. In his *Histoire du Canada* he quotes Brougham's moving address to the Parliament in London on behalf of Canada's patriots. During his stay in London, Garneau attended a session at which Lord Brougham, who at the time was Lord Chancellor, was presiding. He was impressed by the "friendly, affectionate courtesy" of the great judge.

"Before me was one of England's most knowledgeable men, the holder of the highest judicial position in the kingdom, discussing the points at issue with lawyers as if they were his peers or his personal friends."

Garneau concluded: "This was an indication to me that in an advanced civilization, true erudition minimizes the distinctions between men and the positions they hold." (*Voyage*, V)

50

Lord John Russell (1792-1878)

Engraving by J. G. Murray, from a painting by Robert Bowyer. BM

A statesman identified with the Whig party, and a good friend of Garneau and his employer, Denis-Benjamin Viger.

51

John Arthur Roebuck (1801-1879)

Engraving by H. Robinson, from a painting by J. Watts. BM

This British politician, famous for his radical ideas, was interested in the Canadians, as well as in the Irish and the Blacks in America. Garneau often heard him speak in Parliament, to which he had been elected in 1832 to represent the constituency of Bath. The son of a British civil servant, he had studied in Canada and had been admitted to the London Bar in 1831.

52

William Lyon MacKenzie (1795-1861)

From a painting by J. W. L. Forster. ANQ

A picture of the politician in later life. Garneau met him in 1833 in London, when the radical leader of Upper Canada was vigorously attacking "the outdated system which they persist in seeking to maintain in the colonies." (*Voyage*, V)

53

Krystyn Lach-Szyrma (1790-1866)

Drawing by E. Desmaisons, lithograph by Villain. BM

During the winter of 1831-1832, Garneau met in London some Polish emigrants who had fled Warsaw following the insurrection of 1831. He even belonged to the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, founded in early 1832. Doctor Lach-Szyrma, who had been a professor of philosophy in Warsaw, was Garneau's closest friend among the Poles. When he returned to Canada, Garneau dedicated to him his *Souvenirs d'un Polonais (Memories of a Pole)*, a poem published in *Le Canadien*, July 19, 1833.

54

Three Polish friends

Lithographs. BM

During his stay in London, Garneau met three famous Polish exiles: Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861), General Michal Ludwik Pac (1780-1841) and poet Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758-1841). He painted quite a favourable picture of each of them. (*Voyage*, V)

55

"La Liberté prophétisant sur l'avenir de la Pologne (Liberty Prophesying on the Future of Poland)"

The Polonia, No. 3, Oct., 1832. BM

Occasional poem. Before publishing this poem, Garneau first recited it to his Polish, Irish and English friends on September 7, 1832, to commemorate the first anniversary of the fall of Warsaw to the Russians. *The Polonia* was the official organ of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, to which Garneau had belonged since August 15, 1832.

56

"HMS Victory" laid up in Portsmouth

Anonymous. BM

Garneau visited Portsmouth in mid-September, 1832, on his second crossing from England to France and toured Nelson's famous vessel.

"We were received with great courtesy by the officers, who showed us every corner of the ship . . ." (*Voyage*, IV)

57

"Élégie"

Poem. Letter to Pierre Winter, December 29, 1832. FCCRC

Poem written in late 1832 and published unsigned in the *Magasin du Bas-Canada* on December 6, 1832. The manuscript is part of Garneau's letter of December 29 to Pierre Winter.

58

Garneau's passport, 1831

Manuscript. FCCRC

In the summer of 1831, Garneau crossed to France for the first time, stopping in Calais and Boulogne. The French Embassy in London issued a passport to the young notary, described as a "British subject," age 22; five feet, five inches tall, with a "high forehead."

59

View of the Seine

Anonymous engraving. Photo by Jacques Buchholz. MC

Garneau arrived in Paris on July 29, 1831. He stayed at the Hôtel Voltaire at 17, quai Voltaire (to the right in the picture, beyond the bridge). Opposite his hotel was the gallery of the Louvre (to the left in the picture). A plaque commemorating Garneau's stay was placed on the building which was formerly the Hôtel Voltaire.



No. 66 Saint-Martin Gate. Anonymous engraving.

60

The Palace of the Tuileries, garden side

Engraving by Salathé, from a drawing by Gilio. BN

The Palace of the Tuileries was one of the first places Garneau visited in Paris. At the time it was the residence of King Louis-Philippe, who ascended the throne after the 1830 revolution. The palace was destined to be razed in 1870 during the rule of the Commune. The gardens laid out by Le Nôtre formed, in Garneau's words, "a splendid promenade." (*Voyage*, III)

61

Notre-Dame

Engraving by Martens, from a drawing by Schmidt. BN

"Its grandiose and colossal forms rank Notre-Dame among Europe's finest Gothic monuments. Some are more ornate, lighter or, if you will, more serious, but none is more imposing or more apt to make a deep impression on the soul." (*Voyage*, I)

62

The Church of the Madeleine

Engraving by Martens, from a drawing by Gilio. BN

Garneau saw the Madeleine in 1831, when it was not yet completed. He ranked this monument as superlative. In his *Voyage* (III) he wrote:

"Although the Gothic temples are loftier and form a more grandiose mass, so to speak, the temples in the Greek style are indicative of a more cultured and much more refined mind. This is pure, flawless beauty, with a simplicity that enhances its charm. The Gothic style consists of large forms covered with fantasmagoric detail."

63

Saint-Denis

Engraving by Martens. BN

During his second trip to Paris, Garneau visited the Church of Saint-Denis, which houses the tombs of a number of kings and queens of France. When Garneau saw it, the restoration of this temple, which had fared badly during the Revolution, had just been completed.

64

Amiens Cathedral

Lithograph by Engelmann, from a drawing by Chapuy. BN

"The main point of interest at Amiens is its cathedral," wrote Garneau in his *Voyage* (IV). On this occasion, Garneau quoted a lyrical passage by Michelet on the grandeur of Gothic art.

65

Hôtel des Invalides

From Martens' Album. BN

Garneau visited this monument with an old soldier who spoke enthusiastically to him about the glories of the Napoleonic Empire.

66

Saint-Martin Gate

Anonymous engraving. Photo by Jacques Buchholz. MC

"Who has not heard of those famous avenues where men from all nations meet [. . .] These "boulevards" are actually very broad public thoroughfares bordered by houses and gardens, where one can walk at leisure or catch a breath of fresh air, sitting outside the reading rooms and restaurants. Two triumphal arches, situated quite close to one another, enhance these boulevards and are named after the streets facing them, Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin." (*Voyage*, IV)

67

Mademoiselle Mars

Lithograph by Delpech, from an 1825 portrait by Grevedon. MC

Garneau devoted a full page to a description of this great actress, the most famous of her time in Paris, in the fourth chapter of his *Voyage*. The description ends as follows:

"She had already been acting for many years when I saw her, but on stage she had all the supple movements, youthfulness and freshness of a fifteen-year-old when her role required this. Seeing and hearing her made the trip from Quebec to Paris well worth-while, for such actresses are few and far between."

68

"École des vieillards"

Title page of a play by Casimir Delavigne (1793-1843), written in 1823. NLC

Garneau attended a performance of the *École des vieillards* at the Théâtre français in early August, 1831, with Miss Mars playing the lead role.

69

Adolphe Thiers

Anonymous drawing. MC

Adolphe Thiers (1793-1877), whose historical work Garneau was to cite frequently, was a celebrated political orator at the time of Garneau's visit to Paris in 1831.

70

The Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library)

Engraving by Byrne, from a drawing by Bury. BN

In Paris, as in London, Garneau visited the great repositories of knowledge, such as the Institut, the Botanical Gardens and the Bibliothèque nationale, which from 1815 to 1830 was known as the Bibliothèque royale.

71

Broussais

Engraving by Oudet. Photo by Jacques Buchholz. MC

During his visit to the Institut de France, Garneau attended a session at the Académie des Sciences with Denis-Benjamin Viger and Doctor McLaughlin of Quebec City. He was introduced to the celebrated François Broussais (1772-1838), who at the time was France's most famous pathologist.

72

Painter Paulin-Guérin

Self-portrait. Toulon Museum.

Garneau visited the romantic painter Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin (1783-1855), the teacher of Canadian painter Antoine Plamondon (1804-1895).

73

The Palace of Versailles

Engraving by Martens, from a drawing by Schmidt. BN

On Thursday, August 5, 1831, Garneau visited the "Great King's marvel" and bitterly remarked:

"If Louis XIV had used only half of the money he spent on this edifice colonizing New France, half of North America would now belong to the French and would be theirs forever. England used a different system, and more than sixty million people in all parts of the world presently speak that country's language." (*Voyage*, IV)

74

The Père Lachaise Cemetery

Engraving by Martens, from a drawing by Schmidt. BN

"I walked through the cemetery," writes Garneau in his *Voyage* (IV), "in a state of pious contemplation of the past grandeur represented there, and I will always remember the sensation of delight mixed with respect that I felt reading the names on the tombstones, names which are written in the great book of illustrious men of the past."

The tombs of Héloïse and Abélard, Molière and Marshal Ney set him to dreaming . . . "I do not know how long I wandered in this place of memories, which I visited a second time with the same exquisite pleasure when I returned to Paris the following year. The mind grows in the midst of all this genius which will live on as long as civilization."

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L'INSTITUT,

OU

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[N^o 1.

Sommaire : — Poésie : *Les Exilés*. — Un Portrait de Femme, par le Baron de Bazancourt. — Nouvelles de l'intérieur et de l'étranger. — Institut Vattmère. — Compte rendu de deux séances de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, de l'Académie des Sciences de Bruxelles et de Paris. — Une Variante de Proverbe.

POÉSIE.

LES EXILÉS.

I.
Ils étaient assis là près de la mer limpide,
De l'œil suivant le flot qui va vers leur pays.
Il passait lentement ; mais encor trop rapide,
Bientôt il disparut à leurs yeux attendris.
Oh ! s'ils pouvaient ainsi s'éloigner de la rive
De l'exil et des douleurs.
Mais le flot s'enfuit seul. De la troupe captive
Il n'emporte que les pleurs.

O vague fortunée ! ô toi qui de l'orage
Peux laisser la constance et vaincre le courroux,
Ah ! si de Canada tu vas voir le rivage,
Laisse, laisse en passant un souvenir de nous.
Tu diras que les yeux tournés vers la patrie,
Tous les jours nous implorons.
Le ciel pour nos enfants et l'épouse chérie
Que jamais nous reverrons.

Ainsi les exilés adressaient au passage
Le flot calme et tranquille emporté vers le nord,
De l'horizon lointain audessus d'un nuage
L'astre du jour sur lui jetait ses rayons d'or.
Aux pauvres prisonniers le ciel daignait sourire
Pour adoucir leurs regrets ;
Comme en un jour brûlant le souffle de zéphire
Court rafraîchir les bosquets.

Cependant tout s'est tu. Le vieux barde se lève
Déjà, vibre la lyre où palpite sa main.
On dirait le doux bruit de l'onde sur la grève
Quand l'hébraïque du soir ride à peine son sein.
Un chant commence ; chant d'exil et de souffrance,
Comme en répétant autrefois
Dans les toits de Sidon le croisé de Provence
Veut pour venger la croix.

II.
"Heureux le barde, heureux celui qui, sur la rive
Où le destin avait mis son berceau ;
Peut au desir de ses jours où tranquille il arrive,
Dire : aussi là je trouve mon tombeau."

"Heureux celui qui voit à son heure suprême
Autour de lui ses amis du hameau.
Leur présence adoucit pour lui le trépas même
Et lui voit l'abîme du tombeau."

"Heureux il va dormir au milieu de ses pères
Près de l'église à l'ombre d'un coteau.
Ses enfants à genoux diront quelques prières
Avec respect le soir sur son tombeau."

"Heureux—mais nous, hélas ! sans byer, sans patrie,
Qui donc viendra pour nous fermer les yeux ?
Jouets de la tempête, exilés qu'on oublie,
Peut-être, on nous reniera pour ajeux."

Mais j'insulte nos fils. Ah ! le nom de leurs pères
Sera sacré pour eux jusqu'au tombeau.
Car ils ont risqué tout pour que des jots prospères
Fussent le sort de leurs fils au berceau."

"Ils ont osé, naguère, et sans chefs et sans armes
Jeter le gant au géant des combats.
Le colosse ébranlé, le cœur ainsi d'alarmes
A Saint Denis un jour fêcha le pas."

"Mais le nombre bientôt écrasa la vaillance ;
Avec Chénier tombèrent nos héros
Heureux, aux bords chéris, témoins de leur naissance,
Ils vont en paix dormir dans leurs tombeaux."

"Pour nous pauvres bannis, c'est l'exil, le servage.
Tel le lion des déserts africains,
Par le maître vaincu, traîne son esclavage,
Chargé de fers, dans les pays lointains."

"Arrachés pour jamais du sol qui nous vit naître,
Comme ces bois dont l'ombrage nuisait.
On nous jete en des lieux où l'on croyait peut-être
Qu'en peu de temps tous l'on disparaîtrait."

"Hélas ! oui, l'air natal manque à notre poitrine.
Ici, la sève est lente pour nos corps.
Où sont nos monts, nos pins, nos caps dont l'aubépine,
Comme une frange, aime à couvrir les bords ?"

"Où sont les verts penchans de nos riches vallées,
Où l'œil se plaît à suivre les cordons
Que forment sur les bords des ondes argentées
Les toits nombreux de nos blanches maisons ?"

"Où sont donc nos hivers et leurs grandes tempêtes,
Géants du nord que je regrette ici ;
Et ces frimats épais et ces joyeuses fêtes
Où la lèze éloigne le souci ?"

"Ici, même saison, même ciel monotone ;
Le tems à peine y change quelquefois.
Au milieu d'un air chaud un vent poudreux bourdonne,
Ah ! rendez nous nos neiges et nos froids."

"Avec leur grand silence où sont ces nuits si belles
Quand Phébus brille au loin sur les frimats ;
Et que les astres font, brillantes étincelles
Un long cortège en marchant sur ses pas ?"

"O ma chère patrie ! ô qu'es-tu devenue ?
Nous ne verrons donc plus ton beau ciel bleu,
Et ton fleuve si pur où se mirent la nue
Et le soleil de son trône de feu ?"

"Jamais ! l'homme puissant l'a dit dans sa colère,
O précurseurs vers lui trop tôt venus ;
Vous boirez des bannis long tems la coupe amère
Et périrez sous des cieus inconnus."

"Non jamais !"—A ces mots on voit trembler sa lyre.
Sous les doigts du vieux barde un son plaintif expire,
Le chanfre pleurant.

Quoi ! sous ses cheveux blancs a-t-il des pleurs encore
Qui lui passa peut-être un si rude aurore,
Pour tant couvrir le génie est donc fait ?

III.
Mars nuit sur les flots jetai tes voiles sombres.
L'ennemi sont entrés, comme de pâles ombres,
Dans leurs noirs cachots.
Ses cris joyeux d'enfance, nuls sourires de festins,
Comme autrefois chez eux n'ont rafraîchi leurs ames ;
C'est le silence des tombeaux.

F. X. G.

UN PORTRAIT DE FEMME.

Dernièrement je me trouvais dans le salon de Mme d'H....
et je considérais attentivement le portrait d'un jeune et jolie
personne, peint par Rigaud, ce peintre si élégant, si vrai et
dont le pinceau habile savait si délicatement saisir toutes les
nuances et toutes les expressions. Je le regardais donc,
d'abord parce que ce tableau me paraissait fort beau comme
œuvre d'art, parce que le faire large du maître s'y faisait par-
tout reconnaître, et que les étoffes des vêtements avaient ces
causures soyeuses franchement accusées, et dont les mille
reflets jaillissaient cependant comme les écailles d'un serpent
au soleil ; et puis parce qu'il n'y avait pas cette vaniteuse exa-
gération dont je parlais tout à l'heure, parce que le velours,
l'or, les diamans et les pierres ne ruisselaient pas de droite
et de gauche, sous les pieds et sur la tête, parce qu'il y avait
une louable simplicité d'ajustemens bien sentie, bien posée,
qui accusait un goût exquis et sûr ; et puis encore, faut-il vous
le dire, parce qu'il y avait dans ce beau visage de jeune fille
calme et brun, une expression particulière de vigueur et d'é-

nergie qui me remuait au cœur. Les traits toutefois avaient
une expression douce et sensible, pleine d'âme, et les yeux,
dont le regard à demi voilé par de longs cils luisants tombait
lentement devant elle, avaient une langueur douloureuse et
passive que semblait démentir le reste de sa physionomie.—
D'une main elle tient un buste presque achevé, et de l'autre
le ciseau qui vient de tailler le marbre.

Je me faisais mille réflexions en regardant cette peinture,
et sans me rendre compte à moi-même de l'intérêt que j'y
attachais, je cherchais à deviner quelle pouvait être la pensée
dominante de cette belle et noble figure. Je restai long-
temps, sans doute, dans la contemplation de ce portrait, car
je n'ai aucun souvenir de la conversation qui se tenait dans le
salon, à côté de moi. Tout le monde était parti sans que je
m'en fusse aperçu, et la maîtresse de la maison, s'approchant
de moi, me dit :

—Vous regardez bien attentivement ce portrait.

Je tournai la tête et fus tout étonné de me trouver seul, je
dirai même confus.

—Je vous demande pardon de mon indiscretion, madame ;
répondis-je, mais le peintre a fait là un admirable tableau.

—C'est le portrait de Mlle de Flaville.

—Mlle de Flaville était une bien belle personne, ma-
dame.

—Et bien malheureuse aussi.

—Malheureuse ! interrompis-je, en regardant avec étonne-
ment la personne qui me parlait, j'en avais le pressentiment,
et dans ce regard, si calme et si tranquille qu'il paraissait être,
j'avais deviné une langueur métaphysique qui tient de la souff-
rance.

—Comment reprit Mme d'A...., vous n'avez jamais en-
tendu parler de cette histoire.

—Non, madame, jamais, et je vous avoue que j'ai mainte-
nant le plus grand désir de la connaître.

—C'est une histoire bien triste et bien profondément dou-
leuruse ; je vais néanmoins essayer de satisfaire votre curio-
sité.

Nous nous assimes, moi de manière à pouvoir de temps en
temps jeter les yeux sur ce portrait, Mme d'H.... auprès de la
cheminée.

C'était à l'époque de la régence ; le marquis et la mar-
quise de Flaville, habitants presque toute l'année leur
château de Flaville, en Bourgogne ; ils avaient deux filles,
Claire et Cécile ; Claire, dont il est inutile que je vous fasse
le portrait, puisque c'est elle qui est devant vos yeux ; et
Cécile, la cadette, douce et blonde enfant, exilée presque au
sortir du berceau du bonheur et du sein de sa famille pour en-
trer dans un couvent où devait s'écouler une à une les
plus belles années de sa jeunesse ; car vous devez sans doute
savoir que c'était alors un usage établi, que les filles ca-
dettes restassent au couvent jusqu'au mariage de leurs sœurs aî-
nées, époque à laquelle elles en sortaient pour se marier à
leur tour ; c'était un usage injuste et méchant, qui tuait ain-
si, par l'isolement, l'existence d'une seconde fille, comme si
Dieu n'avait pas laissé dans la vie, entre chaque sillon qu'il
a tracé pour chaque créature humaine, une place assez large
pour qu'elles puissent marcher à l'aise sans se couder.—
Cécile donc était au couvent et sa sœur Claire de Flaville,
belle comme vous la voyez, jeune, grande et énergique, se
livrait à toutes les joies et tous les plaisirs d'une existence ri-
che et brillante ; à la cour elle était accueillie avec un faveur
particulière et fêtée de tous ; dans les bals, c'était la plus
brillante, la plus animée ; dans les chasses, la plus intrépide
amazone, les hommes même avaient peine à la suivre et
tremblaient à la voir franchir comme elle le faisait, tous les
obstacles qui se trouvaient sur son chemin ; il semblait y
avoir dans le cœur de cette femme tout le courage et toute la
force d'un homme.

A fort proche distance du château de Flaville était situé
un autre château appartenant au marquis d'Alaincourt. De-
puis long-temps, la famille d'Alaincourt était liée d'étroite
amitié avec celle des Flaville ; aussi, depuis long-temps,
une union était projetée par les chefs des deux familles, en-
tre Ludovic d'Alaincourt, fils du marquis, et Mlle Claire de

E-9

Chapter III

IN SEARCH OF A VOCATION

(1833-1844)

"The weak man must have two reasons for any single political right he demands."

(Letter from Garneau to Lord Elgin, May 19, 1849)

Upon returning to Quebec City, Garneau began work as a notary. His heart was not in the profession and he gradually abandoned it, earning his living as a bank clerk and then as a translator in the House of Assembly. In 1835 he married Esther Bilodeau, the daughter of a well-to-do farmer. The couple was to have ten children, only four of whom would reach maturity. This was a time of considerable political unrest in Lower Canada, climaxed by the uprising of 1837-1838. There is little doubt that Garneau shared the aspirations of the Patriots. But the young notary was more interested in literature than in politics. Upon his return from London, he launched *l'Abeille canadienne*, a short-lived periodical modelled after London's popular *Penny Magazine*. He was to repeat this experience later with the short-lived *Institut ou journal des étudiants* [sic]. Garneau courted the Muses for some time, and is known to have written one poem before leaving for Europe. Most of his poems were written between 1835 and 1845, including *Le Dernier Huron* (*The Last Huron*), a poem with both epic and symbolic elements, in which Garneau expresses his anguish over the future of French Canada. From 1837 onward, he resolutely pursued his vocation as an historian. He published a few historical studies in the newspapers and then began working with determination on a history of Canada that would refute the statement in Lord Durham's *Report* that the inhabitants of Lower Canada were "a people with no history or literature."

75

The Ursuline chapel in Quebec City

Illustration from C. Smyth, *Sketches of the Canadas*, London 1840. PAC

View of the chancel of the Ursuline chapel, with which Garneau was very familiar. At the time, the Ursuline convent was Quebec City's finest educational institution for girls. Garneau refers to the chapel in his poem *La Harpe*.

76

"La Harpe (The Harp)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 3, No. 35, July 26, 1833, p. 1. NLC

A romantic poem in which Garneau writes about love and his homeland, with the harp being used as a symbol. With reference to the line "Au temple un jour j'ai cru l'entendre," the poet explains that at the Ursuline convent in Quebec City, the Psalms of David were sometimes sung at vespers, with the harp as accompaniment.

77

"Souvenirs d'un Polonais (Memories of a Pole)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 3, No. 32, July 19, 1833, p. 1. NLC

A tribute to Dr. Krystyn-Lach Szyrma. The text, reproduced in James Huston's *Le Répertoire national*, was entitled *La Pologne (Poland)* at the time.

78

"Le Canadien en France (The Canadian in France)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 3, No. 42, August 12, 1833, p. 2. NLC

A patriotic poem echoing the July Revolution of 1830. Garneau participated in the celebration of the first anniversary of this historic event while in Paris in July, 1831.

79

"Le Tombeau d'Émilie (Émilie's Tomb)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 6, No. 31, July 20, 1836, p. 1. NLC

A poem in the style of Lamartine, typically romantic in theme and form. The subject of this poem, written by Garneau at age twenty-seven, is love and nature.

80

"Châteauguay"

Le Canadien, Vol. 3, No. 53, September 6, 1833, p. 1. NLC

A patriotic poem inspired by the battle of October 23, 1813, between the Americans and Canadian militiamen, during the War of 1812.

81

Quebec's "Penny Magazine"

Frontispiece of the first issue of the *Abeille canadienne*. Séminaire de Québec

On December 7, 1833, Garneau launched a weekly magazine intended to "promote the spread of knowledge and love for the written word." The periodical had as many as 300 subscribers, but was discontinued on May 8, 1834. The idea for the magazine came from the *Magazin pittoresque* of Paris, and the *Penny Magazine* started in London the year before.

82

Poems by Mickiewicz

Séminaire de Québec

The February 1, 1834 issue of the *Abeille canadienne* contained a few excerpts from the work of this great Polish poet. Garneau was fond of the poetry of that ravaged country, as it contained some of his favourite patriotic themes.

83

Co-Secretary of the Constitutional Committee

Le Canadien, March 21, 1834, p. 3. NLC

A public assembly was held in Quebec City to discuss the "Ninety-Two Resolutions," which summarized the grievances of the Patriots; Garneau was elected co-secretary of the Constitutional Committee.

84

Partnership agreement between F.-X. Garneau and Louis-Théodore Besserer

Manuscript. FCCRC

On May 7, 1834, the two Quebec notaries, Besserer and Garneau, decided to combine their practices and share the same office in an equal partnership. Clause 7 stipulated that Besserer could be absent during sessions of Parliament, of which he was a member, while Garneau could "translate and work there for his own profit and benefit during and after sessions."

85

Inauguration of St-Jean-Baptiste Day

La Minerve, June 26, 1834, p. 3; *Le Canadien*, June 30, 1834, p. 2. NLC

Prompted by Ludger Duvernay, a prominent French-Canadian journalist, the celebration of St-Jean-Baptiste Day was begun in Montreal and Quebec City. Georges-Étienne Cartier published an "impromptu" piece in *La Minerve*. Garneau composed a patriotic song, *Chanson. Québec*, which was printed in *Le Canadien*.

86

Garneau's wedding in Saint-Roch Church

Drawing by Smillie (1829). ANQ
Marriage Act. QCR. Saint-Roch register.

The first Saint-Roch Church was built in 1811, from plans by François Baillargé. It burned down in 1816 and was rebuilt from the same plans. It was in this church that on August 25, 1835, the marriage of F.-X. Garneau and Marie-Esther Bilodeau was solemnized. The next day's issue of *Le Canadien* reported on the wedding. Several of Garneau's children were baptized at Saint-Roch, which was probably the Garneaus' parish church when they lived on Canardière Road, on the other side of the Saint-Charles River.

87

First child

Register of Saint-Roch. QCR

The young couple's first child was born on December 20, 1836. Christened Alfred, he would later become known as a poet and translator.

88

Home of the Jean Bilodeau family

Photograph. Séminaire de Québec.

Garneau's father-in-law, Jean Bilodeau, owned a farm on Canardière Road. The photograph dates from the late 19th century.

89

Garneau's home on Canardière Road

Photograph from around 1900. Séminaire de Québec.

This photograph, taken at the turn of the century, shows the "Anglo-Norman" style house (in run-down condition) that Garneau had built in 1835-1836 on property given to him by his father-in-law, Jean-Bilodeau. Garneau lived there from 1835 until 1839, and this was where Alfred Garneau, the future poet, was born in 1836. Canardière Road, which was also known as Beauport Road, was out in the country at that time.

90

"Siege of Quebec City in 1759"

Quebec City, Les Presses de Fréchette, 1836, 41 p. NLC

The subtitle of this document reads as follows: "copied from a manuscript brought from London by D.-B. Viger upon his return to Canada, September, 1834 – May, 1835." The text gives an account of the siege of Quebec City from May 10 to September 13, 1759, during the Seven Years' War. The manuscript, property of the Hartwell Library in England, was copied by Garneau during the winter of 1831-1832.

91

"Extraits historiques, ou récits des batailles livrées au Canada et ailleurs . . . (Pages from History, or descriptions of battles in Canada and elsewhere)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 6, No. 120, February 15, 1837, p. 1. NLC

The first of twenty studies by Garneau on military history from 1609 to 1814. The last in the series appeared on August 25, 1837.

92

"Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique . . . (Catalogue of Works on the History of America)"

Quebec City, W. Cowan, 1837, i, 207 p. NLC

The first of its type in Canada, this catalogue was compiled and annotated by Georges-Barthélemy Faribault (1789-1866), a bibliographer, jurist and historian, and friend and confidant of Garneau.

93

The British North American Bank

Fragment of a map of Quebec City in 1858, by Alfred Hamel. PAC

In May, 1837, Garneau began work as a cashier for the British North American Bank, which had opened its doors on the first of that month. He was to remain there until at least 1839. He became increasingly involved in his historical work and practised his profession as notary only intermittently.

94

Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871)

Lithograph by Bourne made in London in 1832 from a painting by John James. IAW

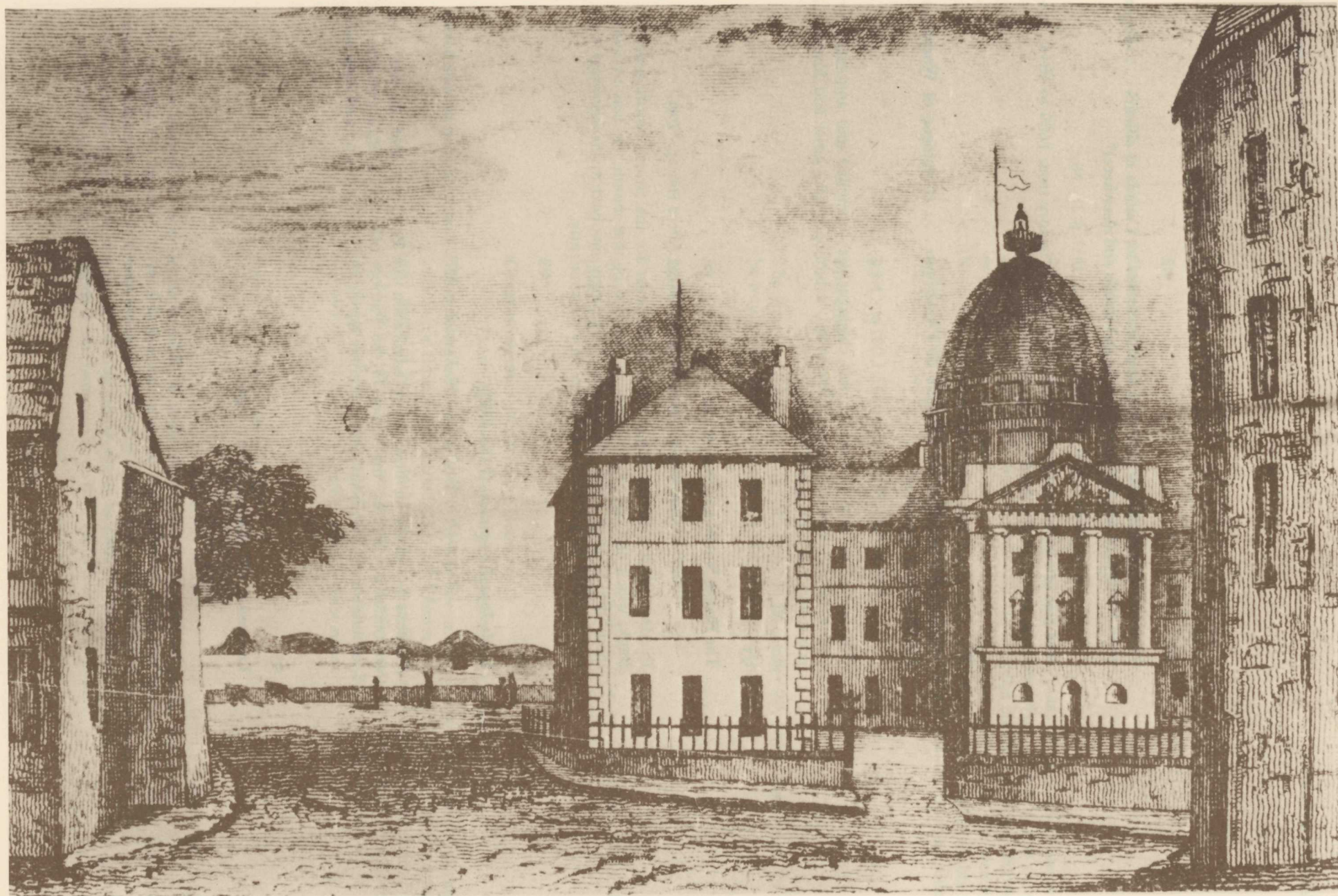
Garneau professed an unwavering admiration for Papineau; and, as their correspondence indicates, the leader of the Patriots offered Garneau considerable encouragement. Papineau led the Patriots during the 1837 uprising and then spent seven years in exile in Paris.

95

Edmund B. O'Callaghan (1797-1880)

Engraving by Bross. IAW

This fiery Patriot of the uprising of 1837-1838 was born in Ireland and died in New York, in exile. He maintained close contact with Garneau. O'Callaghan went to Albany after the failure of the rebellion. He shared with the Canadian historian a love for the study of North American history. He published many historical works including a *History of New Netherland*, the frontispiece of which is shown here.



No. 115 The Parliament Building in Quebec City, 1844. Lithograph from Cowan's Quebec Guide of 1844.

96

"À lord Durham (To Lord Durham)"

Engraving of Durham by C. E. Wagstaff, from a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence. PAC

Le Canadien, Vol. 8, No. 15, June 8, 1838, p. 1. NLC

Occasional poem to mark the arrival in Canada on May 29, 1838, of Lord Durham (1792-1840). Durham was sent to investigate the events of 1837. Garneau was enthusiastic over his arrival, but he came to share in the general disenchantment when this envoy of the British government decided to take all powers into his own hands.

97

Lord Durham's "Report"

The Report and Despatches of the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Governor-General of British North America, London, Queen's Printer, 1839, 459 p. NLC

The first edition of Lord Durham's *Report*, which he wrote in collaboration with Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, his two secretaries. This report was published in London in February, 1839. Its main recommendation, the union of Upper and Lower Canada, caused consternation among Canadians. Etienne Parent translated the report into French and published it in *Le Canadien* in April, 1839.

98

"À mon fils (To my Son)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 8, No. 49, August 27, 1838, p. 1. NLC

Poem dedicated to Garneau's son Alfred, who was born on December 20, 1836.

99

"Les Oiseaux blancs (The White Birds)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 8, No. 137, March 27, 1839, p. 1. NLC

Album musical du Passe-Temps, Vol. 18, No. 464, 1913. NLC

This poem, written in the classical style, is often cited as an example of Garneau's descriptive technique. In 1912, D.-A. Fontaine composed a melody for this text, which was published, with accompaniment by Léon Ringuet, in the *Album musical du Passe-Temps*.

100

"L'Hiver (Winter)"

Manuscript. FCCRC

Le Canadien, May 29, 1840, p. 2. NLC

Text of an elegiac poem by Garneau, rewritten around 1860, the first version having appeared in *Le Canadien* of May 29, 1840.

101

"Le Dernier Huron (The Last Huron)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 11, No. 39, August 12, 1840, p. 1. NLC

L'Album littéraire et musical de la Revue canadienne, Vol. 1, June, 1846, pp. 148-150. NLC

Poem written by Garneau in 1840, inspired by a painting by Plamondon which won the annual prize of the Quebec City Literary Society in 1838 and was immediately purchased by Lord Durham. The painting is a full-length portrait of Vincent-Tharion of a Huron village near Quebec City, the last living full-blooded Huron. Garneau's poem captures the Indian's power as an epic, symbolic figure.

102

"Louise. Une Légende canadienne (Louise. A Canadian Legend)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 9, No. 110, February 17, 1840, p. 1. NLC

This seven-part romantic ballad was inspired by the French victory in the battle of the Monongahela (a tributary of the Ohio River) in 1755, shortly before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. In the poem, Garneau introduced the legend of the "seigneurs of Chambly," which he invented himself.

103

Certificate of membership in the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec City

Original. FCCRC

At the February 6, 1841 meeting, Garneau was named an associate member of the Society, of which William Sheppard was president at the time. The Society had both English- and French-speaking members. In 1848, the French-Canadians founded the Institut canadien de Québec, of which Garneau was to be an active member.

104

Abolition of the French language under the Act of Union of the two Canadas

Le Canadien, Vol. 10, No. 119, February 22, 1841, p. 2. NLC

A long and impassioned plea for the French language. Garneau indicates here his fierce opposition to union.

105

Unpublished poem by Garneau

Copy. FCCRC

Written in 1841, this poem remained among Garneau's papers. It is probably the first version of a meditation on the theme of exile, the fruition of which was, no doubt, his poem *Les Exilés*, published in *L'Institut* of March 7, 1841. The handwriting does not appear to be Garneau's.

106

Frontispiece of "L'Institut ou journal des étudiants" [sic]

Séminaire de Québec

On March 7, 1841, Garneau, along with lawyer David Roy, started a "scientific, industrial and literary" weekly. This was linked with the activities of Alexandre Vattemare (1796-1864), who attempted to set up in Quebec City and elsewhere an "international exchange system" for books and art works, whence the name "Institut." Twelve issues of the periodical were published before it was discontinued on May 22, 1841. In the first issue, Garneau published his poem "Les Exilés," in honour of those who had been deported or had fled following the events of 1837-1838.

107

Jacques Viger (1787-1858)

Portrait attributed to James Duncan. IAW

A collector, historian, journalist, essayist, and captain in the Voltigeurs, a regiment of French-Canadian militiamen during the War of 1812, Viger became the first mayor of Montreal in 1833. He was also known for his interest in arts and letters. His *Saberdache* is an almost inexhaustible source of documents on Canada's history. In 1841, Garneau invited Jacques Viger to contribute to his journal, *L'Institut*. The two men corresponded for a number of years.

108

"Le Papillon (The Butterfly)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 11, No. 56, September 17, 1841, p. 1. NLC

This poem, original in its form, is reminiscent of certain poems in Victor Hugo's *Orientales*.

109

"Le vieux chêne (The Old Oak)"

Le Canadien, Vol. 11, No. 61, September 29, 1841, p. 1. NLC

This poem, the last published by F.-X. Garneau, is similar in its epic tone to *Le Dernier Huron*.

110

Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841)

Copper engraving by F. Engleheart (1814), from a painting by I. D. Engleheart (1814), in *Topographie du Bas-Canada*, London, French edition (1815). IAW
Le Canadien, October 18, 1841. NLC

When Joseph Bouchette died in 1841, J. H. Kerr paid tribute to the famous Lower Canada surveyor in an article in English, which Garneau translated into French and published in *Le Canadien* of October 18, 1841, along with some remarks on literature and science in Canada.

111

Étienne Parent (1801-1874)

Anonymous engraving. ANQ

Garneau was a contemporary of this journalist for *Le Canadien*, who also lived in Quebec City. In 1842 Parent, who was eight years older than Garneau, got him a position as assistant French translator for the Legislative Assembly of the United Canada. Garneau held this position for two years.

112

Assistant French translator for the Legislative Assembly of the United Canada

Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1842, p. 56.
NLC

With the assistance of Étienne Parent, Member of Parliament for Saguenay, Garneau was appointed assistant French translator on September 27, 1842. He worked mainly in Quebec City, but in 1843 he had to go to Kingston, where the Parliament of the United Canada was sitting at that time.

113

“Une page de l’histoire du Canada (A Page in Canadian History)”

Le Canadien, Vol. 13, No. 20, June 21, 1843, p. 3. NLC

Study of the voyages of Jacques Cartier. Published in booklet form, *Une page de l’histoire du Canada* was Garneau’s first treatise.

114

Letter from Garneau to his brother, David-Bénoni

Dated November 15, 1843. FCCRC

This letter was written to his brother, David-Bénoni, a merchant in Quebec City, while Garneau was working in Kingston as assistant translator for the Legislative Assembly. In the letter, Garneau says he has made great progress in his *Histoire du Canada*.

115

The Parliament Building in Quebec City, 1844

Lithograph from Cowan’s *Quebec Guide* of 1844. IAW

The Parliament Building was reconstructed in the early 1830’s from plans by Thomas Baillargé. This was, no doubt, where Garneau worked as a translator from 1842 to 1844.

116

Quebec City Hall

Fragment of a map of Quebec City in 1858, by Alfred Hamel. PAC

On August 1, 1844, Garneau became Clerk of the City of Quebec, a position he was to hold for twenty years. At the time, the City Hall was located on Sainte-Ursule Street, near Saint-Louis Street.

117

Clerk of the City of Quebec

Photo of original document. FCCRC

Excerpt from the minutes of the Quebec City Council meeting at which Garneau was appointed Clerk, effective August 1, 1844.

118

Description of Clerk's duties

Photo of original document. FCCRC

This undated document, probably written by Garneau, enumerates some of the duties of the Clerk of the City of Quebec in the middle of the nineteenth century.

119

Joseph-François Perrault

Drawing and lithograph by Napoléon Aubin. FCCRC

Original drawing done by Aubin in 1842. Perrault, whom Garneau greatly admired throughout his lifetime, died in Quebec City on April 5, 1844.



No. 116 Quebec City Hall. Fragment of a map of Quebec City in 1858, by Alfred Hamel.

Chapter IV

NATIONAL HISTORIAN

(1845-1866)

"I owe nothing in particular to the government or to anybody, and I have not taken part in public events; this gives me complete freedom to speak about men and events as an enlightened, independent, accurate historian."

(Letter from Garneau to LaFontaine, September 17, 1850)

The publication of the first volume of the *Histoire du Canada* in 1845 marked a turning point in the history of literature and thought in French Canada. The work is a revelation with regard both to its impassioned, epic style and to the national ideology underlying it. The "Voltaireian" label attached to Garneau by clerical critics, and certain criticisms of his style, did not prevent his contemporaries from experiencing a feeling of pride in finally having their history recorded. Garneau published the other two volumes of the *Histoire* in 1846 and 1848 respectively. He was constantly improving the work, polishing its style and adding to the documentation, and he published a second edition in 1852 and a third in 1859, covering the period up to the Act of Union. Garneau was employed as Clerk at Quebec City Hall from 1844 onward and led a sedentary, sober existence, enlivened by extensive correspondence, of which unfortunately only scattered remnants are extant. In Canada, Papineau and Chauveau were among his steadiest correspondents. He exchanged a number of letters with O'Callaghan, who had fled to the United States, and with various Frenchmen, including Isidore LeBrun, Rameau de Saint-Père, Hector Bossange and Henri Martin. A worsening state of health, aggravated by overwork, forced Garneau to retire from his position as Clerk in 1864, at the age of fifty-five. He died in Quebec City on February 2, 1866, while preparing the fourth edition of his *Histoire du Canada*. He was given a magnificent funeral.

120

Michel Bibaud

Portrait. Photo by De Guire. FCCRC

Michel Bibaud (1782-1857) — poet, journalist and historian — was a rival of Garneau's, publishing an *Histoire du Canada sous la domination française* (*History of Canada Under the French*) in 1837 and an *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination anglaise* (*History of Canada and her People Under the English*), the first volume of which came out in 1844 and the second, posthumously, in 1878.

121

Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau

Photograph. ANQ

A lawyer, politician, poet, novelist and historian, Chauveau (1820-1890) first became interested in Garneau's poetical and historical work in 1840. He was among those who read part of the *Histoire du Canada* (*History of Canada*) at the manuscript stage, and was partly responsible for its subsequent popularity.

122

Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine

Portrait published in the *Opinion publique* of June 24, 1880. FCCRC
Letter from LaFontaine to Garneau, August 2, 1845. FCCRC

A literary man and eminent politician, LaFontaine had a keen interest in Garneau's work. In their correspondence, they discussed the *Histoire du Canada*.

123

Augustin Thierry

Portrait by Emile Lassoille (1840). BN

One of the authors who had a strong influence on Garneau's view of history was the Frenchman Augustin Thierry. His *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (*History of the Norman Conquest of England*) was Garneau's bedside book.

124

"Histoire du Canada": first edition

Quebec City, Aubin-Fr  chette, 1845-1848, 3 vol. NLC

The first volume of the *Histoire du Canada*, which had been advertised beginning in late 1843 (the prospectus was in *Le Canadien* of January 12, 1844), came out in August, 1845. The second volume appeared in 1846, and the third in 1848. A fourth volume on the 1792-1840 period, which was not covered in the first edition of the *Histoire du Canada*, was printed as part of the second edition, published in 1852.

125

Napoléon Aubin

Drawing by Théophile Hamel (ca 1843-1845), in Raymond Vézina, *Théophile Hamel*, Montreal, Éditions Elysée, 1975, p. 80. NLC

Note from Aubin to Garneau, November 21, 1845. FCCRC

Napoléon Aubin (1812-1890), a Swiss journalist, poet, essayist, printer and editor of *Le Fantasque*, participated actively in the political life of his time and printed the first two volumes of the *Histoire du Canada*. The note of November 21, 1845, concerns the publishing contract.

126

Garneau's approach to history

Letter from Garneau to Papineau, October 25, 1845. Typed copy. FCCRC

Garneau sent a copy of the *Histoire du Canada* to Louis-Joseph Papineau, outlining his beliefs as an historian in these words:

"In this work which I have undertaken, my only intention has been to justify my compatriots, whatever becomes of them, in the eyes of future generations. I want to show them as they really were and are [. . .] I am entitled to do so, for brave, magnanimous, witty and intelligent as they are, Canadians are small in numbers and have never had, nor do they yet have, the power to direct or to be masters of events. They have not yet controlled their destiny."

127

Views of L.-J. Papineau on the "Histoire du Canada"

Letter from Papineau to Garneau, December 5, 1845. FCCRC

Papineau returned to Montreal from Paris on September 27, 1845. He praised Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, the spirit of which he appreciated. Papineau wrote the following encouraging words to Garneau: "Continue your history with the diligence and impartiality which you demonstrated in your first volume and you will produce a fine and beautiful work."

128

Crémazie and the "Histoire du Canada"

Portrait of Octave Crémazie. IAW

Note from Crémazie to Garneau, August 21, 1846. FCCRC

Octave Crémazie (1827-1879), a bookseller and poet, was keenly interested in the *Histoire du Canada*. Later, when in exile in France, he was to pay high tribute to the national historian in a letter to his friend, the priest and writer Henri-Raymond Casgrain, dated August 10, 1866: "Garneau was like a torch which shed light on our short but heroic history."

129

A letter from Paris

Letter from Isidore LeBrun to Garneau, March 27, 1847. FCCRC

Tableau statistique NLC

Garneau met Isidore LeBrun (1786-1860) in Paris during his stay in England and France in 1831 and 1832. A teacher, journalist and historian, LeBrun was the author of the *Tableau statistique et politique des deux Canadas* [Statistical and Political Tableau of the Two Canadas] (1833) and was highly interested in Garneau's historical research. The two men exchanged a number of letters.

130

Garneau's letter of defence to the Quebec City Council

Letter from Garneau to the members of the Special City Council Committee, September 21, 1847. FCCRC

Garneau, who at the time was convalescing at his home on Canardière Road, sent a long letter to the Quebec City Council to refute the accusations made against him by certain councillors and to rectify the contents of a report prepared by a Special Committee. He clearly explained the case of Félix Glackemeyer and Charles Cazeau, whom he had engaged to look after business in his City Clerk's office.

131

Doctor Jean Blanchet to Garneau

Undated letter (September, 1847). FCCRC

This letter from Garneau's doctor, probably written around September 20, 1847, has with it a certificate prepared by Blanchet to justify the historian's absence from Quebec City Hall, where he had been employed as Clerk since July, 1844. It was to his friend Blanchet that Garneau later dedicated his *Voyage en Angleterre et en France*.

132

Letter from a brother

Handwritten letter from Honoré Garneau to F.-X. Garneau. FCCRC

One of few letters by Honoré Garneau, the historian's brother, who was a member of the American Expeditionary Forces and who died at Puebla, Mexico, on November 15, 1847.

133

Garneau: on the death of Amable Berthelot

La Minerve, December 30, 1847. NLC

Following the death of Amable Berthelot on November 24, 1847, Garneau published an unsigned biographical notice on his longtime adviser and patron.

134

Garneau to the Institut canadien de Québec

Le Canadien, January 19, 1848. NLC

Garneau was involved in the initial activities of the Institut canadien, founded by Marc-Aurèle Plamondon and some friends on December 2, 1847.

135

Request for assistance from Lord Elgin

Draft of a letter from Garneau to Lord Elgin, December 14, 1848. FCCRC

Garneau requests of the Governor-General a recommendation to the legislature for financial assistance in publishing his *Histoire du Canada*, two volumes of which have already appeared.

136

Assistance for historical research

Letter from the Secretary of the Province to Garneau, January 11, 1849.
FCCRC

Garneau would receive 250 pounds as assistance for the continuation of his *Histoire du Canada*.

137

Garneau to Lord Elgin

Copy of a letter from Garneau to Lord Elgin, May 19, 1849. FCCRC

Garneau sent the Governor-General a bound copy of the *Histoire du Canada*, accompanied by this letter outlining his views on the country's political situation.

138

"Histoire du Canada" received in Albany

Acknowledgment from New York State Library. FCCRC

Garneau sent copies of his *Histoire du Canada* to France and the United States. The Albany library, where the historian had carried out research in September, 1845, here acknowledges receipt (April 7, 1849) of the third volume of Garneau's work.

139

Two notes by Garneau

Handwritten, undated. FCCRC

Two notes by Garneau, one on Catholicism in England and the other on emigration from France.

7/c.^{er}

P. J. J. J. J.

HISTOIRE
DU
CANADA

DEPUIS SA DECOUVERTE JUSQU'A NOS JOURS.

PAR
F. X. GARNEAU.

TOME PREMIER.

QUEBEC :
IMPRIMERIE DE N. AUBIN, RUE COUILLARD, N^o. 14.

1845.

140

Poems by Garneau appear in an anthology

Letter from James Huston to Garneau, February 9, 1848. FCCRC

Huston explains the concept of his *Répertoire national*; he insists that Garneau include in this listing his *Les Exilés* (*The Exiles*) and *Le Dernier Huron* (*The Last Huron*), which were not on the list prepared by the historian.

141

"Le Répertoire national"

Montreal, Lovell and Gibson, 1848-1850, 4 vol. NLC

James Huston (1820-1854) — typographer, essayist, historian, journalist and translator — published *Le Répertoire national*, a collection of Canadian writings since 1778. The collection contained nineteen poems by Garneau. A biographical note (pp. 200-201) in the first volume was the first published summary of Garneau's life.

142

"Au Canada (To Canada)": a patriotic song for St-Jean-Baptiste Day

Le Journal de Québec, June 30, 1849, p. 1. NLC

Fragments from *Au Canada*, a poem written by Garneau in 1837. Copies of this song, with a different title, were distributed to the people during the St-Jean-Baptiste Day procession in Quebec City on Monday, June 24, 1849.

143

Garneau confides in Étienne Parent

Written by Garneau on February 18, 1850. FCCRC

Garneau discusses his work as Clerk and his *Histoire du Canada*.

144

The past comes alive

Letter from L.-J. Papineau to Garneau, February 26, 1850. FCCRC

Letter from Papineau describing the period of the union of the two Canadas, implemented in 1841. Garneau used this for the second edition of his *Histoire du Canada*.

145

Request to Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine

Draft of a letter from Garneau to LaFontaine, September 17, 1850. FCCRC

Garneau requests access to the government archives in order to continue preparing the second edition of his *Histoire du Canada*.

146

Xavier Marmier and the "Histoire du Canada"

Picture of Marmier. NLC

Comments in *L'Album littéraire et musical de la Minerve*, January-February 1851, p. 17. Library of Parliament.

In *Lettres sur l'Amérique (Letters on America)*. NLC

The French writer visited Quebec and met Garneau in November, 1849. He saw Garneau as "a high-minded young man of unusual erudition."

147

Jean-Jacques Ampère

Portrait by Auguste Lemoine. Photograph by Adam Salomon. BN

Promenade en Amérique, 1853, 2 vol. NLC

Jean-Jacques Ampère (1800-1864), son of the famous French physician, André-Marie Ampère, met Garneau in Quebec City in September, 1851, and praised him very warmly in his book *Promenade en Amérique*, published in 1853.

148

Francis Parkman

Engraving by J. J. Cade of New York. Photograph by De Guire. FCCRC

Letter from Parkman to Garneau, January 29, 1852. FCCRC

Garneau met Parkman in Boston in September, 1851, at a "Railway Jubilee." Afterwards the two historians began writing to one another.

149

Second edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Quebec City, Lovell, 1852, 3 vol. NLC

This work came out in December, 1852. It covered the period up to the time of the union of the two Canadas (1841), whereas the first edition went only as far as 1792.

150

The "Histoire du Canada" in France

Letter from Hector Bossange to Garneau, January 28, 1853. FCCRC

Report on sales of the second edition of the *Histoire du Canada* at the Bossange bookstore in Paris. FCCRC

Two documents indicating Garneau's efforts to have his work distributed in France, efforts which had little success.

151

"La Revue des Deux-Mondes" and the "Histoire du Canada"

Théodore Pavie, *Les Français du Canada (Canada's French Inhabitants). Histoire du Canada* [. . .] par F.-X. Garneau, in *La Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 2nd series, 23rd year, Vol. 3, July 15, 1853, pp. 278-304. NLC

A glowing account of the second edition of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*. A native of Angers and a man of letters, Pavie travelled extensively, visiting Lower Canada in 1829 at the age of eighteen. His article was printed in *Le Canadien* between August 22 and 31, 1853.

152

"Abridged History of Canada"

In 1856, Garneau had his *Abrégé de l'histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à 1840, à l'usage des maisons d'éducation (Abridged History of Canada from its Discovery to 1840, for Use by Educational Institutions)* published by Augustin Côté of Quebec City. Despite its dry question-and-answer format, the work was given ecclesiastical approval, was well received by the press and was enormously successful in the bookstores. It was reissued in 1858, 1875 and 1881.

153

Memories of Europe

Journal de Québec, 12th Year, No. 133, 1854. NLC
Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833 (Travel in England and France in 1831, 1832 and 1833), Quebec City, Côté, 1855, 252 p. NLC

Garneau's *Voyage*, describing his stay in England and France, was published in serial form in the *Journal de Québec* and in book form in 1855. Garneau was dissatisfied with it and had most of the edition destroyed.

154

Commanding Officer de Belvèze

Portrait signed "A.D.B". ANQ

Paul-Henri de Belvèze, Commanding Officer of the French corvette *La Capricieuse*, and an envoy of Napoleon III, landed in Quebec City on July 17, 1855, and met Garneau, a member of the welcoming committee. This event marked the official re-establishment of relations between France and Canada.

155

Third edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Quebec City, Lamoureux, 1859, 3 vol. NLC

Third and final edition of the *Histoire du Canada* published during the author's lifetime. It would be followed by five others prepared by the historian's son and grandson.



No. 168 St-Flavien Street.

156

Garneau in Martin's "Histoire de France"

Henri Martin. Photo by Nadar. BN

Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, Paris. NLC

Henri Martin's *Histoire de France*, the first edition of which was published between 1833 and 1836, was one of the most widely-read works of its type at the time. Martin discovered Garneau's work after 1850 and quoted from the Canadian historian in the later editions of his book. In a letter to Martin dated June 4, 1860, Garneau expressed his thanks to his French colleague for having spoken so kindly of his "humble efforts."

157

Garneau, member of the Conseil de l'Instruction publique (Public Education Council)

Letter from the secretary of the Conseil de l'Instruction publique to Garneau, December 19, 1859. FCCRC

Letter from Chauveau to Garneau, June 2, 1862. FCCRC

Garneau was a member of the Conseil de l'Instruction publique for two and a half years. P.-J.-O. Chauveau was superintendent at that time.

158

Edme Rameau de Saint-Père

Portrait published in Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens français (History of the French-Canadians)*, Montreal, Société de publication historique du Canada, 1884, Vol. 8, p [iv]. FCCRC

Letter from Rameau de Saint-Père to Garneau, December 19, 1859. FCCRC

The French historian sent Garneau a copy of his *La France aux colonies (France in the Colonies)*, published in Paris in 1859. Rameau de Saint-Père and Garneau were to exchange a number of letters, most of which had to do with Canadian history.

159

Andrew Bell's translation

History of Canada . . ., Montreal, Lovell, 1860, 3 vol. NLC

Garneau was displeased with the English translation of the *Histoire du Canada*, the second edition of which was published in 1863, because it was inaccurate and contained many notes which were contrary to his ideas.

160

Ferland, the historian

Photo by Livernois. IAW

Father Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Ferland (1805-1865) was the author of the *Cours d'histoire du Canada (Lectures on Canadian History)*, the first volume of which was published in 1861 and the second in 1865, after his death. Garneau exchanged a few letters with the priest-historian, who lived in Quebec City.

161

Tribute from an elder

Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, *Les Anciens Canadiens (Canadians of Old)*, 1863, chapter XII, paragraph 3. NLC

Philippe Aubert de Gaspé (1786-1871) pursued his classical studies at the Petit Séminaire de Québec between 1798 and 1806, long before the time of Garneau's historical work. In a page from *Les Anciens Canadiens*, the first edition of which was published in 1863, while Garneau was still living, Aubert de Gaspé pays a warm tribute to the historian who instilled a pride in their national heritage in his countrymen, who until then had been largely unaware of their history.

162

Abridged edition of Garneau's "Voyage"

In *Littérature canadienne de 1850-1860 (Canadian Literature from 1850 to 1860)*, Quebec City, Desbarats et Derbishire, 1863, pp. 179-257. NLC

The same text was published by Father Casgrain in 1878 under the title of *Voyages*.

163

Garneau resigns from his position as Clerk of the City of Quebec

Letter from Quebec City Council to Garneau, January 11, 1864. FCCRC

Letter from Quebec City Council to Garneau, April 30, 1864. FCCRC

Official tribute paid to Garneau by Quebec City Council, which granted him an annual retirement pension of 200 pounds, beginning May 1, 1864.

164

Expression of thanks for life pension

Letter from Garneau to Mayor of Quebec City, January 11, 1864. FCCRC

The former City Clerk thanks the Quebec City Council for the annual pension allotted him.

165

“Une conclusion d’histoire (Historical Postscript)”

In *Revue canadienne*, Vol. 1, 1864, pp. 413-434. NLC

Founded by Joseph Royal in January, 1864, the *Revue canadienne* published Garneau’s *Une conclusion d’histoire*, a scathing indictment of the Act of Union.

166

Father to son

Letter from Garneau to his son Alfred, January 3, 1866. FCCRC

One of Garneau’s last letters, written one month before his death. Alfred Garneau was living in Terrebonne at the time; his wife, Élodie Globensky, was expecting their first child.

167

Death of Garneau

Death certificate of F.-X. Garneau. QCR

Garneau died in Quebec City on February 2, 1866. The funeral was held at Notre-Dame Basilica, four days later. The death certificate was signed by Father Henri-Raymond Casgrain.

168

St-Flavien Street

Photograph. IAW

This house, located at the corner of Couillard and St-Flavien in old Quebec City, was where Garneau passed away on February 2, 1866, after a few days’ illness. The ramparts can be seen at the end of the street. Today, a street named after Garneau is located within a few feet of the house.



No. 180 Garneau Monument in Quebec City.

Chapter V

GARNEAU'S LEGACY

"Our political goal must ever be to conserve our religion, our language and our laws."

(Letter from Garneau to Jacques Viger, January 2, 1857)

The influence of Garneau's work is an immense and lasting one. His son Alfred and grandson Hector prepared, and had published in Montreal and Paris, four editions of the *Histoire du Canada*, between 1882 and 1946. For reference and other purposes, Garneau's is the best-known work on history in French Canada. Many poets, novelists and dramatists have drawn inspiration from it. Admittedly, this work, which for more than a century fed patriotic feeling along the shores of the St. Lawrence, has lost much of its authoritativeness, especially in the past three decades of the "scientific" approach to history. But the message of pride and hope contained in these living pages is one that is still relevant today.

169

Father Henri-Raymond Casgrain

Photo by Livernois. ANQ

Father Casgrain (1831-1906) discovered Garneau's work while in college. In the 1860's, he followed closely the literary life of Quebec City. He knew Garneau and his family, and it was Casgrain who administered the last sacraments to him.

170

Casgrain's biography of Garneau

In *Le Foyer Canadien*, 1866, Vol. 4, pp. 181-243. NLC

Signed "February, 1866", Garneau's biography was published in *Le Foyer canadien* and almost immediately afterwards in book form, by Duquet. It was widely distributed from 1885 onward by the Beauchemin publishing house, in its "Bibliothèque canadienne" ("Canadian library") series.

171

Monument to Garneau at Belmont Cemetery, Sainte-Foy

Photograph. IAW

An impressive ceremony was held in 1867 to mark the transfer of Garneau's remains. P.-J.-O. Chauveau gave one of the best speeches of his career on that occasion.

172

Joseph Marmette and Joséphine Garneau

Joséphine Garneau. Photo by Livernois. FCCRC

Joseph Marmette. Photo. ANQ

Joseph Marmette (1844-1895), Garneau's son-in-law, married his daughter Joséphine (1845-1924) in 1868. He was a civil servant in Quebec City and then in Ottawa, and an author of adventure stories which drew heavily on Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* for their historical background.

173

A novel inspired by Garneau's work

In *l'Opinion publique*, June 19 — November 6, 1873. NLC

Le Chevalier de Mornac, a novel by Joseph Marmette, was published first in serial form, then as a book in December 1873, and by Éditions HMH in 1971.



No. 169 Father Henri-Raymond Casgrain.

174

Garneau in the first "Histoire de la littérature canadienne (History of Canadian Literature)"

In Edmond Lareau, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne*, Montreal, Lovell, 1874, viii, 496 p. NLC

In this book by Edmond Lareau (1848-1890), Garneau is treated as a major figure in the literary movement of French Canada.

175

Death of Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan

Pencil drawing in *The Magazine of American History*, New York, Vol. 9, 1883, p. 63. FCCRC

Doctor E. B. O'Callaghan, former Patriot and former Member of Parliament of Lower Canada, died on May 29, 1880, in New York. The author of several historical works, he was a faithful friend of Garneau's.

176

Garneau's three sons: Alfred, Honoré and Eugène

Alfred Garneau. Photo. ANQ

Honoré Garneau. Photo. FCCRC

Eugène Garneau. Photo. F.-O. Hills (Torrington, Conn.). FCCRC

Alfred Garneau was born at la Canardière, near Quebec City, in 1836, and was called to the Bar in 1860. He began a career as a translator and moved to Ottawa in 1866, remaining there until his death in 1904, at which time he held the position of head translator for the Senate. He wrote poetry sporadically from his youth onward, and his son Hector published these works in 1906. Alfred worked with his father and was a friend of Papineau, Father Casgrain, Chauveau, Gérin-Lajoie and Fréchette. He had one sister, Joséphine, and two brothers, Honoré (1847-1907) and Eugène (1854-1919).

177

Fourth edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Montreal, Beauchemin & Valois, 1882, 3 Vol. NLC

François-Xavier Garneau worked on a fourth edition from 1859 until his death in 1866. He was assisted by his son Alfred, who continued to refine the work, publishing it in 1882, with a biography of Garneau by Chauveau.

178

Biography of Garneau by Chauveau

Fourth volume of the 1882 edition of the *Histoire du Canada*, 14, cccxviii p.
NLC

P.-J.-O. Chauveau. Photo by De Guire. ANQ

This volume, dated 1883, was added to the *Histoire du Canada* of 1882, and included a detailed biography of Garneau and an analysis of his work. It is in this book that we find a now well-known character description of the writer. Chauveau (1820-1890), a lawyer, civil servant, politician and novelist, became interested in Garneau's poetic and historical work at an early age. The historian and the future Premier of Quebec maintained close relations, as is indicated by their correspondence.

179

Death of Mrs. F.-X. Garneau

La Minerve, February 28 and March 1, 1893. NLC

Esther Bilodeau Garneau died on February 26, 1893, at the home of her son Alfred, in Ottawa. She was eighty years old.

180

Garneau Monument in Quebec City

Photograph. IAW

Article in *Le Devoir*, October 21, 1912, p. 2. NLC

On Saturday, October 19, 1912, a statue in honour of the national historian was unveiled in front of the Quebec Parliament Building near St-Louis Gate. Georges-Élie Amyot, a member of the Legislative Council and Quebec businessman, was the patron of the monument. He was related to Garneau through the latter's mother, whose name was Amiot-Villeneuve. The monument was unveiled by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the presence of representatives from the City of Quebec, Laval and McGill Universities, and a crowd estimated at three thousand; the event was covered extensively in the newspapers. The statue was sculpted by Paul Chevré.

181

Hector Garneau, grandson of the historian

Photograph. ANQ

Hector Garneau, curator of the City of Montreal Library for fourteen years, is known mainly for having prepared the fifth (1913-1920), sixth (1920), seventh (1928) and eighth (1944-1946) editions of his grandfather's *Histoire du Canada*. Born in Ottawa in 1871, the son of Alfred Garneau and Élodie Globensky, he died in Montreal in 1954.

182

Lecture on Garneau in Quebec City

Published in the *Bulletin du Parler français au Canada (Bulletin of the French Language in Canada)*, Vol. 9, No. 6, February, 1911, pp. 214-226. FCCRC

Text of a lecture by Hector Garneau at the Institut canadien de Québec.

183

Laurier to Hector Garneau

Letter from Wilfrid Laurier to Hector Garneau, April 12, 1911. FCCRC

Wilfrid Laurier exchanged a number of letters on historical and political topics with Hector Garneau, a man of Liberal sympathies. He maintained that Garneau's history was "incontestably our most complete work on the origins and development of Canada, a monument worthy of French literature in all respects." Hector Garneau appears to have requested Laurier's assistance for the publication of the Parisian edition being prepared at the time.

184

Help from other scholars

Manuscripts. FCCRC

Hector Garneau enlisted the assistance of Canadian and foreign scholars in preparing the fifth edition. Some of the letters he received are indicative of this: a) note from Benjamin Sulte, dated November 25, 1912, on Marie de l'Incarnation's account of the geographical origins of the colonists; b) letter from Pierre-Georges Roy correcting the national historian on the subject of Vaudreuil; c) letter from Father Amédée Gosselin on the primary sources of the exploit of Madeleine de Verchères; d) letter from the American scholar, Reuben G. Twaites, on the first explorers of the Midwest; e) memorandum from the Chief Bibliographer of the Library of Congress, Washington, in reply to a question on military strength in 1758.

185

Preparation of the fifth edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

A page from the *Histoire du Canada*, annotated by Alfred and Hector Garneau. FCCRC

These corrections, consisting of improvements in style, addition of references and other precisions, were made to the printed text of the fourth edition (1882) by Alfred Garneau (fine writing) and Hector Garneau (heavy writing). This is a good illustration of the considerable work done by Hector Garneau, which made the Paris edition (1913, 1920) much more than a mere reprinting.

186

Contract for the "Paris edition"

Original. FCCRC

On July 7, 1912, a publishing agreement was signed between Alcan of Paris and the "lawyer and man of letters" Hector Garneau. The first volume appeared in 1913, and the second, delayed by World War I, in 1920. Two further printings were made, in 1920 and 1928. The "first Paris edition," in reality the fifth edition of the work, had a run of fifteen hundred copies.

187

The fifth edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Paris, Alcan, 1913, 1920, 2 Vol. NLC

The first volume of this edition prepared by Hector Garneau was published by Alcan in 1913 in Paris. The book contained an introduction by Gabriel Hanotaux and was published under the patronage of the prestigious France-Amérique association. World War I caused a long delay in the publication of the second volume, which did not come off the presses until 1920.

188

The "lesson of Canada"

Report in *Questions diplomatiques et coloniales (Diplomatic and Colonial Questions)*, 17th year, No. 402, Nov. 16, 1913, pp. 605-610. FCCRC

In November, 1913, Henri Lorin made mention of the publication of the first volume, fifth edition, of the *Histoire du Canada*. As Gabriel Hanotaux had done in his introduction, Lorin drew attention to the timeliness of this new edition, since the "lesson of Canada" was an important one for France, which had dramatically become a colonial nation once again, under the Third Republic.

189

Henri D'Arles and Garneau's historical work

NLC

In *Nos historiens (Our Historians)*, the text of a lecture given under the auspices of Montreal's *Action française* and published in Montreal in 1921, Father Henri Beaudé painted a laudatory picture of Garneau's historical work.

190

Thomas Chapais and Garneau

NLC

A Canadian History Week was celebrated in 1925 in Montreal. Thomas Chapais, at the time one of our most prestigious historians, was asked to give an account of Garneau's *History of Canada*. Chapais' text is found in the book of proceedings, published by the Société historique de Montréal in 1926 (pp. 10-35).



Hector Garneau

191

Placard advertising the seventh edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

FCCRC

The *Histoire du Canada* was reprinted in 1928 by Alcan, with a few minor corrections to the introduction. The advertising was directed toward Anglo-American, as well as toward French-Canadian and French readers.

192

Garneau as seen by Gustave Lanctot

F.-X. Garneau, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1926, 197 p. NLC

This biography by Gustave Lanctot (1883-1975), who at the time was with the Public Archives in Ottawa, examines the life and work of Garneau in greater depth than the studies by Chauveau and Casgrain.

193

Seventh edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Le Canada, Vol. 26, No. 139, 1928, p. 1. FCCRC

Montreal's *Le Canada*, where Hector Garneau had worked as a journalist, announced in its September 15, 1928 issue the publication of the seventh edition of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*.

194

Garneau as seen by the clergy

Georges Robitaille, *Études sur Garneau, critique historique (Studies on Garneau, historical criticism)*, Montreal, Action canadienne-française, 1929, 253 p. NLC

Father Robitaille was one of the clergymen who endeavoured to denounce and refute the judgments of François-Xavier Garneau on the role of the Catholic Church, as restated in Hector Garneau's re-edition. In 1929, Father Robitaille published in book form his earlier articles on the "Paris edition" of the *Histoire du Canada*.

195

Preparing the eighth edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Letter from Hector Garneau to Mgr. Camille Roy, May 8, 1937. FCCRC

Letter from Mgr. Camille Roy to Hector Garneau, May 11, 1937. FCCRC

Hector Garneau prepared the eighth edition of the *Histoire du Canada* using suggestions from clerical critics.

196

Eighth edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

Montreal, Éditions de l'Arbre, 1944, 9 Vol. NLC

In this completely reworked edition, Hector Garneau modified a number of passages on the role of the Catholic Church and added his own introduction. Reaction to the work was mixed: some scholars criticized him for departing from the original text by François-Xavier Garneau, while the clergy applauded the changes he had made.

197

"Actualité de Garneau (Garneau's Contemporary Relevance)"

Article by Guy Frégault, in *l'Action universitaire*, Vol. 11, No. 7, March 1945, pp. 8-16. NLC

The characteristics of Garneau's work were described here in glowing terms by Guy Frégault, a young historian.

198

Garneau as a disciple of Voltaire

Marcel Trudel, *L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada (Influence of Voltaire in Canada)*, Montreal, Fides, 1945, 2 Vol. NLC

This doctoral thesis in literature examines the influence of Voltaire in Canada, dealing at length with the case of Garneau. The conclusions reached in it caused a heated debate which illustrates contemporary attitudes.

199

Centenary of the "Histoire du Canada"

Centenaire de L'Histoire du Canada de F.-X. Garneau, Deuxième semaine d'histoire à l'Université de Montréal, 23-27 avril 1945 (Centenary of the Histoire du Canada of F.-X. Garneau, Second History Week, University of Montreal, April 23-27, 1945), Montreal, Société historique de Montréal, 1945, 460 p. NLC

The hundredth anniversary of the *Histoire du Canada* was celebrated in Ottawa, Quebec City and Montreal. The records of the Montreal meeting are contained in a book made up of contributions by a number of historians: Gustave Lanctot, Lionel Groulx, Olivier Maurault, Jean Bruchési, Armand Yvon, Thomas Charland and Georges Robitaille.

200

Approval from the Archbishop

Letter from Cardinal Villeneuve to Hector Garneau, April 24, 1946. FCCRC

The eighth edition of the *Histoire du Canada*, by Hector Garneau, was welcomed by clerics everywhere. The most prestigious acknowledgment came from the Cardinal Archbishop of Quebec City, who sent a handwritten letter to the Montreal historian, expressing his particular satisfaction with what was said concerning Mgr. de Laval in this new edition.

201

New biography of Garneau by Lanctot

Gustave Lanctot, *F.-X. Garneau, notre historien national (F.-X. Garneau, our National Historian)*, Montreal, Fides, 1946, 207 p. NLC

This book, a reworked version of Lanctot's 1926 book (*F.-X. Garneau*), with anthology and bibliography added, coincided with the centenary of the *Histoire du Canada*.

202

Garneau in "Classiques canadiens"

Arsène Lauzière, *F.-X. Garneau*, Montreal, Fides, 1965, 96 p. NLC

As with all of the books in this series, Arsène Lauzière's work contains selected pages with a brief introduction, chronological table and bibliography.

203

Centenary of Garneau's death celebrated in Ottawa

NLC

The year 1966 marked the centenary of Garneau's death. Although the event passed virtually unnoticed in French Canada, a commemorative ceremony did take place at the University of Ottawa. Professor Paul Wyczynski organized an exhibition and, at the French-Canadian Civilization Research Centre, with descendants of the national historian in attendance, announced the publication of a collective work, *François-Xavier Garneau. Aspects littéraires de son œuvre (Literary Aspects of his Work)*.

204

An article by Lysiane Gagnon

In *La Presse* (supplement), April 12, 1966, pp. 12, 15, 26 and 28. FCCRC

On the occasion of the centenary of Garneau's death, Lysiane Gagnon published an article highlighting the principal characteristics of the national historian.

205

Critical edition of Garneau's "Voyage"

Le Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833 (Travel in England and France in 1831, 1832 and 1833) Ottawa, Ottawa University Press, 1968, 377 p. Text edited, introduced and annotated by Paul Wyczynski. NLC

Unlike the editions of 1855, 1863, 1878 and 1881, the text of the 1968 edition was scientifically established, and provided a chronology of Garneau's life and an extensive bibliography.

206

Ninth edition of the "Histoire du Canada"

NLC

Although no mention is made of it, this book consists of the text of the fourth edition, and for some unknown reason the title is erroneous: *Histoire du Canada français*, instead of simply *Histoire du Canada*. This edition's only original features are its binding and numerous illustrations.

207

Garneau in the "Biographical Dictionary of Canada"

Article by Pierre Savard and Paul Wyczynski, Vol. IX (persons deceased between 1861 and 1870), Toronto, U. of T. Press, 1976, pp. 297-306. NLC

A general account of the life and work of F.-X. Garneau.

208

Édouard Garneau, great-grandson of the national historian

Photograph, circa 1965. FCCRC

Édouard Garneau, son of Hector (1871-1954) and great-grandson of the historian François-Xavier, with his aunt Louise Prévost (1887-1975). Louise Prévost, wife of Edmond Garneau, brother of Hector, was the aunt of writer Saint-Denys Garneau (1912-1943). It was Édouard Garneau who graciously donated the family archives to the University of Ottawa. On the wall is a portrait by Napoléon Bourassa of Élodie Globensky (1837-1927), the wife of Alfred Garneau (father of Hector).

209

A family of writers

The authors and their main works. NLC

F.-X. Garneau, stylized portrait by Albert Ferland. ANQ

François-Xavier Garneau, author of the *Histoire du Canada*, was the founder of a family which includes many notable writers: his son Alfred Garneau (1836-1904), his son-in-law Joseph Marmette (1844-1895), his granddaughter, Marie-Louise Marmette-Brodeur, who used the pseudonym Louyse de Bienville (1870-1928), his great-grandson Saint-Denys Garneau (1912-1943), and two women authors indirectly related to the Garneau family: Simone Routier, born in 1903, and Anne Hébert, born in 1916.

Pages from the Works of Garneau

(Audiovisual Presentation)

Excerpts from Garneau's *Voyage en Angleterre et en France, Histoire du Canada* and poems. The excerpts in English are from Andrew Bell's translation of the *Histoire du Canada*, published in 1860.

GARNEAU'S VIEW OF FRANCE IN 1831

Garneau arrived in Paris on July 29, 1831. The French capital was celebrating the first anniversary of the July Revolution, which led to the changing of the French constitution. Garneau saw the new charter as being a copy of the British constitution.

(from *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833*)

GARNEAU AT SESSIONS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

During his stay in London, Garneau often attended sessions of the House of Commons, where some five hundred Members sat in the great, long hall, "enveloped in their overcoats and hats. . . . Only the Speaker and secretaries wore the silk robe and ceremonial grey woollen wig with two or three rolls."

(from *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833*)

IN DEFENCE OF HIS COUNTRYMEN

Garneau's desire to defend his compatriots from the scorn of those who knew nothing about their history is evident throughout his *Histoire du Canada*.

GRANDEUR OF CANADA'S HISTORY

In this passage, Garneau eloquently maintains that the history of Canada's origins and first centuries of existence does not pale in the least in comparison with other great colonial ventures in North America.

(from the *Histoire du Canada*)

BISHOP LAVAL: A CONTROVERSIAL PORTRAIT

Like other historians of his time, Garneau created written portraits of famous personalities. This page on Bishop Laval contains one of the most controversial passages in the *Histoire du Canada*. Such passages gave Garneau a reputation of being anticlerical.

FRENCHMEN AND ENGLISHMEN IN AMERICA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

At the conclusion of a chapter on the American colonies, Garneau draws this comparison between the French and English colonists.

(from the *Histoire du Canada*)

GARNEAU'S ASSESSMENT OF MONTCALM

Few figures have been more discussed by historians than Montcalm. On the whole, Garneau's assessment of the French general is severe but not lacking in colour.

(from the *Histoire du Canada*)

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

Garneau's account of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, which sealed the fate of New France, is as sober and short as was the engagement itself.

(from the *Histoire du Canada*)

THE STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE: THE KEY TO CANADIAN HISTORY

For Garneau, the theme of all Canadian history was a people's struggle for survival: what began as a military battle moved into the political arena after 1760.

(from the *Histoire du Canada*)

ASSESSMENT OF THE UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA

Like most of his French-Canadian contemporaries, Garneau, writing in the 1840's, was critical of the Union. In his view, the insurrection of 1837-1838 was used as a pretext to bring about the eradication of the French-Canadian people.

(from the *Histoire du Canada*)

CONCLUSION TO GARNEAU'S WORK

In the conclusion to his *Histoire du Canada*, Garneau defends French-Canadian conservatism and demonstrates that it has furthered the interests of Great Britain as well as those of French Canada.

"CANADIANS MUST REMAIN TRUE TO THEMSELVES"

Garneau concludes his *Histoire* with an appeal to maintain order. In his view, cultural survival was dependent on respect for tradition.

LE DERNIER HURON (THE LAST HURON)

Le Dernier Huron, the best-known of Garneau's poems, depicts a proud, old Indian, meditating on the destiny of his disappearing race. The poem contains allusions to the destiny of French Canada at the time of the Union. According to the poet, his inspiration came from a painting by Antoine Plamondon, depicting Vincent Thari-o-lin from Lorette, also called Toska, the last living full-blooded Huron Indian.

LE DERNIER HURON

Il y a un siècle et demi que le dernier Huron a disparu.

LES CANADIENS SOIENT PROGRES A L'ÉPOQUE

Les Canadiens ont toujours été des gens progressistes.

UNE CONVICTION D'HISTOIRE

Une conviction d'histoire est une conviction de progrès.

Une conviction d'histoire est une conviction de progrès.

POUR LE BIENTRÊVE DE LA NATION DES INDIENS

Une conviction d'histoire est une conviction de progrès.

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