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The Urban Maps and Plans of Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor General of Lower Canada 1804 to 1841

Paul Ferley

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Article abstract

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This paper examines the urban maps and plans published by Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor General of Lower Canada, from 1804 to 1841. It employs the approach advocated by such analysts as J.B. Harley that maps not be regarded exclusively as a "mirror" but also as a "text." The former, more restrictive, approach demands that maps should reflect the most current information available of the region depicted, a requirement that Bouchette's urban maps did not always meet. However, using the latter approach, Bouchette's maps illustrate the various socio-economic forces prevalent in the first half of the 19th century that had an impact on urban areas in British North America. As well, the failure by Bouchette to include the most recent developments in his urban maps can be viewed as reflecting the priorities and interests of the colonial authorities. These interests seemed to place a greater priority on detailing the topography and political boundaries of the surrounding hinterland as opposed to conveying information on existing urban areas.

Résumé:

La présente étude porte sur les cartes et plans urbains publiés par Joseph Bouchette, arpenteur général du Bas-Canada, de 1804 à 1841. Nous y adoptons l'approche préconisée par des analystes comme J.B. Harley, selon laquelle il ne faut pas considérer les cartes exclusivement comme un « miroir » mais aussi comme un « texte ». Plus restrictive, la première méthode d'analyse suppose que les cartes reflètent les renseignements les plus récents disponibles sur la région décrite, une exigence que les cartes urbaines de Bouchette ne respectent pas toujours. À l'aide de la seconde, par contre, les cartes de Bouchette peuvent permettre d'illustrer les diverses forces socio-économiques qui ont dominé dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle et qui ont eu une incidence sur les régions urbaines en Amérique du Nord britannique. En outre, l'absence d'indications sur les développements les plus récents dans les cartes urbaines de Bouchette peut refléter les priorités et les intérêts des autorités coloniales. En effet, ces intérêts semblaient accorder une plus grande priorité à l'illustration des frontières topographiques et politiques de l'arrière-pays voisin qu'à l'information sur les régions urbaines existantes.

This paper will examine the urban maps and plans published by the Canadian surveyor Joseph Bouchette (1774–1841) during the first half of the 19th century. Though numerous individual urban maps were produced in this period, the works of Bouchette provide a rare collection of urban maps and plans by a single cartographer. In aggregate, these maps illustrate the

various socio-economic forces prevalent in this period that had an impact on urban areas in British North America.

Bouchette was the second Surveyor General of Lower Canada, and the first native-born, holding the office from 1804 to 1841. He succeeded his uncle, Samuel Johannes Holland, who was appointed to the office in 1764. The position of Surveyor General was created to facilitate the development and exploitation of the North American colony that Britain had newly acquired from France. The position required proficiency in both graphical and written presentations, as the information demanded by the colonial authorities was both in cartographic and in written form. A number of surveyors of the period, including Bouchette, became quite proficient cartographers.

Bouchette's surveying efforts were primarily focused on Lower Canada and include his best-known cartographic achievements, two large-scale maps of the province published in 1815 and 1831. To a lesser extent he also recorded the topography of Upper Canada, the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland. As well, he produced numerous urban maps and plans that in some cases were produced as insets to his large-scale topographical maps. More commonly, however, they were used as illustrations to his written texts about Lower Canada and the other principal regions of British North America.

Maps in historical analysis have been traditionally viewed as objective and accurate graphical representations of the real world. The accuracy demanded was that the map should reflect the most current information available at the time of issuance. With this criterion met, maps could essentially be laid out in chronological order to illustrate the discovery and/or progressive development of a region. The value of a map was diminished when it was determined that it failed to incorporate the latest changes within the region depicted.

This narrow use of maps in historical analysis has been challenged by a number of researchers, most prominently, J.B. Harley. His argument is that maps should not be viewed exclusively as a "mirror" but also as a "text." Using this broader definition, maps can be viewed as a "construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can be studied in the societies of their time. Like books, they are also the products of both individual minds and the wider cultural values in particular societies."¹ Thus Harley has argued that there is information to be derived from considering maps within their "general historical context."

As an illustration of Harley's thesis, a public subway system map may not provide a very accurate representation of an urban area. Precision in terms of scale and orientation are often sacrificed to facilitate the main objective of the map, namely to provide a simplified set of instructions for individuals wanting to get from one point to another in a city. However, this lack of accuracy does not necessarily imply that the map does not contain reliable information for historical analysis. For example, the identification of subway lines and stops can be used to explain

patterns of commercial and residential development of the period.

An examination of Bouchette's urban maps suggests that they were not always the most current representations available. As well, in a number of instances his depiction of urban areas were drawn from plans, usually compiled by others, of how the settlement was intended to develop rather than a reflection of its current state. Thus under the more traditional methods of assessment, Bouchette's cartographic output on urban areas would be viewed as disappointing. However, the maps were intended more to illustrate various aspects of the state of development of the colony. This implied providing an indication of such elements as the main economic outputs of the colony and the principal waterways. These demands resulted in reference being made to various settlements within the colony. As a result, Bouchette's urban maps and plans provide a valuable chronicle of various socio-economic forces affecting urban areas in the first half of the 19th century.

The Context

This broader approach to interpreting maps as advocated by individuals such as Harley had been applied earlier to the work of Bouchette in a number of studies by Claude Boudreau.² However, these studies focused on Bouchette's large-scale topographical maps of Lower Canada and the influence of the State on their content. The focus of this paper will be exclusively on Bouchette's urban maps and plans.

In Boudreau's analysis, he argues that Bouchette's cartography of Lower Canada represented the culmination of a series of maps of the province that were initiated in the second half of the 18th century with Britain's acquisition of the former French colony.³ These large-scale maps were produced largely to familiarize British colonial authorities with their newly acquired possession. As well, they were meant to facilitate the settling of an expected increase in immigration by British subjects into the colony. Thus a first priority was to determine the availability of land. This required maps that accurately showed the division of the land both under the old seigniorial system of the French regime and the newly introduced township system of the British. This was the main focus of many of the large-scale maps that preceded those of Bouchette (e.g. Gale and Duberger,⁴ and Vondenvelden and Charland⁵).

The impetus to more accurately determine the political boundaries over large areas of land was also prompted by the development of the triangulation system of surveying, which first appeared in Europe in the middle of the 18th century. The key element of this new system was that it allowed the accurate measurement of vast tracts of land without having to physically measure boundary lines on the ground. In the wake of this technological advance, large-scale maps were created for France and various parts of Britain as well as for their colonial possessions.⁶ This new technology was instrumental in fostering the development of the Ordnance Survey in Britain⁷ and in turn the

grid-like township and range system in much of the agricultural North American lands west of the Appalachian Mountains.

The second demand made by colonial authorities was that the large-scale maps of Lower Canada provide a characterization of the current state of development of the colony and opportunities for profitable exploitation. It was in this second regard that Bouchette's large-scale maps of Lower Canada far exceeded those produced previously. Though he provided updated information of the physical boundaries of the province, he also detailed information about physical elements, such as topographical relief and vegetation, as well as on man-made works such as transportation services and telegraph systems. Boudreau concluded that Bouchette's large-scale map of Lower Canada published in 1815 was the first detailed cartographic representation of the province. It was only to be exceeded in quality by Bouchette's updated 1831 map of the province.⁸

With regard to this second demand, the instructions given to the Surveyor General by the British authorities primarily asked for information on the characteristics of rural areas with respect to agriculture (e.g. the current use or suitability of the soil for planting) and forestry (e.g. the species of trees available).⁹ There was also interest in the various waterways, which still represented the principal means of transportation throughout the colony. The Surveyor General and his subordinates were to identify the river systems as well as suitable harbours including features such as their varying depths and the availability of anchorage sites. The location of canal systems was also undertaken as they were introduced into the colony. There was also interest in the location of settlements and the products produced from these locations, both agricultural and non-agricultural. It was in satisfying this latter element that likely prompted Bouchette to record the state of development of various urban areas. However, as will be argued below, this interest was secondary to detailing the state of development of the surrounding hinterland.

Bouchette's motivation in detailing urban areas may also represent an artifact from the French regime in Canada where a strong tradition of detailing urban areas existed. Boudreau commented that mapping in Canada while under French rule focused on waterways and urban areas rather than the topography of the colony as was the case under British rule.¹⁰ For example, the French cartographer Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1703–1772) compiled a number of atlases that contained urban maps from various regions of the world including Canada.¹¹ Cartographic output under the British regime was not totally devoid of references to urban areas. For example, Carver's map of Lower Canada of 1776 features insets of Québec and Montréal.¹² However, this practice was not continued in subsequent large-scale maps of the province prepared for British authorities until the publication of those of Bouchette.

Another possible reason for the inclusion of urban maps and plans was that many surveyors of the period took on the posi-

tion of Inspector of Highway and Bridges that was established in many urban areas.¹³ For example, William Vondenvelden, author of a large-scale map of Lower Canada that preceded Bouchette's work, was the first such inspector named for the city of Québec in 1799. Surveyors so employed produced numerous small-scale maps of parts of urban areas for such purposes as street widening and/or extensions. Bouchette, as Surveyor General, would have been aware of these works. In his desire to include as much information on the province as possible, Bouchette likely opted to incorporate some of this cartographic output in overall maps of key urban areas.

One final factor that may have influenced Bouchette's decision to include urban maps was related to the financing of his publications. Bouchette's main source of funds came from the colonial government. However, to supplement this financing, Bouchette also sold printed copies of both his text and large-scale maps on a subscription basis. Such a strategy was not unprecedented as Vondenvelden and Charland had sold subscriptions for their large-scale map of Lower Canada. Detailed urban plans offered Bouchette the opportunity to mention the businesses and residences of prominent citizens and institutions who were likely of sufficient wealth to represent potential subscribers. There are other examples of Bouchette modifying his work in order to appeal to likely clients. Boudreau speculated that, by dedicating his publication to the British Prince Regent, it would help increase subscribers from among the English community both in Britain and Canada.¹⁴

One area where British authorities of the period demonstrated an interest in urban matters was in the establishment of new towns as evidenced by the detailed instructions that were issued on the subject. J. David Wood has earlier examined these instructions with his analysis suggesting that the grid-like survey system that was used in the township system for rural areas strongly influenced the specified rectilinear layout of new towns within British North America.¹⁵ Commenting more critically on this practise, Gentilcore and Head added that "geometry took precedence over geography. Little or no attempt was made to assess resources for settlement. Topography, hydrography, soil conditions, accessibility were all subordinated to the relentless rectangularity of the survey net."¹⁶ This statement was representative of the dominant conclusion that the simplicity and clarity of the resulting grid layout on paper often translated into monotony within the resulting new towns as they emerged in physical form.

The simple extension of the rectilinear division of agricultural land to urban areas was also likely facilitated by an already common use of a grid system in British town planning. John Reps speculated that this was the result of a number of influences going as far back as the various proposals to rebuild London following the Great Fire of 1666.¹⁷ Reps was clearly not enamoured with this unimaginative approach that compared unfavourably with the more elaborate town planning practices of the other major colonial powers of Spain and France. Reps commented at the end of his review of the British Tidewater

communities in the 17th and 18th century that "one can scarcely contend that the surviving plats indicate any great skill in or attention to the planning of towns."¹⁸ There is little to suggest that this situation changed materially in the first half of the 19th century, with the evolution of the township survey system providing further reason to continue with a grid pattern for the organization of urban areas.

The relatively unimaginative approach to new-town planning by British authorities of the period was seemingly paired with what would appear to be limited interest in the physical organization of existing urban areas. This is revealed by various decisions made by Bouchette as to the content of his maps which in turn reflected the priorities of British authorities from whom he received his instructions. For example, Boudreau noted the care that Bouchette took in providing updated information on political boundaries shown in his large-scale topographical maps of Lower Canada.¹⁹ However, as will be illustrated below, there was less care taken to reflect the most recent changes within urban areas. Similarly, a key change that Bouchette made to his 1815 large-scale map of Lower Canada when he republished it in 1831 was that the three inset urban maps of Québec, Montréal and Three Rivers (Trois-Rivières) were eliminated. By doing so, Bouchette was able to include a greater area of the province's topography as well as some recently surveyed townships though at the cost of providing less information on urban areas. Bouchette did include maps of the first two urban areas in his accompanying publication of the same year. However, the much reduced overall size resulted in considerably less detail being provided for these two urban areas.

The limited interest in existing urban areas by British authorities also likely reflects a growing practice over the first half of the 19th century of separating military from civilian functions within urban areas. Considerations of military defense clearly dominated urban plans in the 17th and 18th century under both French and British rule as evidenced by the fortress-like towns of Louisbourg and to a lesser extent Halifax. However, by the first half of the 19th century, fortifications were increasingly situated apart from urban areas, which were left encompassing the spatial needs of commercial, residential and non-military institutional functions. As well, military structures that remained in urban areas were often not fully detailed in published maps as military censorship emerged in this period.²⁰ As Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance stated of the period, "the military engineers concerned themselves with fortifications, and the surveyors-general with the grids of streets, squares and residential blocks."²¹ The diminished role of such a key aspect of colonial matters could not help but reduce the interest by colonial authorities in urban areas.

The Major Publications of Joseph Bouchette

The urban maps and plans examined in this paper were contained in the two major works published by Bouchette in 1815 and 1831. These works entailed the publication of both a text and various large-scale maps. The text published in 1815 was

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titled, *A topographical description of the province of Lower Canada, with remarks upon Upper Canada, and on the relative connexion of both provinces with the United States of America*. It was also published under the French title, *Description topographique de la province du Bas-Canada, avec des remarques sur le Haut-Canada, et sur les relations des deux provinces avec les États-Unis de l'Amérique*. As the title implied, the book provided a comprehensive summary of the geography of only two of Canada's present-day provinces, though with an emphasis on Lower Canada. Urban plans in the publication were limited to William Henry (Sorel), York (Toronto) and Kingston. However, the text was accompanied by two maps titled, in English only, *Topographical map of the province of Lower Canada, shewing its division into districts, counties, seigniories and townships, with all the land reserved both for the crown and the clergy, etc.*, and *A map of the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada with the adjacent parts of the United States of America*. The former was a particularly impressive map as it was done on a scale of 2 3/4 miles to the inch which resulted in the finished map measuring 138 x 320 cm. The scale allowed Bouchette to provide a very detailed rendering of the province's political boundaries and topography. The former map is also of note because it contained large-scale insets of the three principal urban areas in the province: Québec, Montréal and Trois-Rivières. The second map included all of British North America. It was done at a much smaller scale with the overall map measuring 75 x 120 cm. It contained no insets of urban areas.

The other major publication by Bouchette was essentially an updated and expanded version of the 1815 publication with a discussion of the present-day Atlantic Provinces now included. It was published in 1831, in English only, and was composed of both a written text and three large-scale maps.²² The written text included three volumes. The first two volumes were jointly titled, *The British Dominions in North America; or a topographical and statistical description of the provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, the Islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward and Cape Breton, including considerations on land-granting and emigration, to which are annexed statistical tables and tables of distances etc.* The first volume concentrated on Lower and Upper Canada. It contained urban plans of Montréal, Québec, By-Town (Ottawa), Toronto, Guelph (Guelph) and Goderich. The second volume was devoted to the geography of the Atlantic Provinces. There were no urban plans in this volume though a plan of the Shubenacadie Canal in Nova Scotia included a limited rendering of Halifax. The third volume was separately titled, *A topographical dictionary of the province of the Lower Canada*. This volume contained no urban maps.

Two of Bouchette's large-scale maps published in 1831 were separately titled, *A topographical map of the district of Montreal, exhibiting the new civil division of the districts into counties, pursuant to a recent act of the provincial legislature*, and *A topographical map of the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, St. Francis and Gaspé, exhibiting the new civil division of the dis-*

tricts into counties, pursuant to a recent act of the provincial legislature. These two maps were essentially an update of Bouchette's 1815 map of Lower Canada but now separated into two maps. They were drawn once again at a scale of 2 3/4 miles to the inch that resulted in the maps measuring 97 x 228 cm and 128 x 228 cm, respectively. The 1831 maps contained no insets of urban areas. The third map was drawn by Bouchette's son, Joseph, Jr. This map was titled, *Map of the provinces of Lower & Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland & Prince Edward Island with a large section of the United States, compiled from the latest & most approved astronomical observations authorities & recent surveys*. This map was essentially an update of the 1815 map of British North America and measured 97 x 187 cm. As in the 1815 version, there were no insets of urban areas.²³

The Urban Maps and Plans

Québec

The capital of British North America was Québec until 1840 and was the largest settlement of the colony for the first quarter of the 19th century before Montréal surpassed it. The urban maps of Québec compiled by Bouchette accord the city a certain grandeur that is consistent with its status as the pre-eminent settlement in the colony during most of Bouchette's tenure as Surveyor General.

Bouchette compiled two plans of Québec. The first (Figure 1) was as an inset to the 1815 large-scale map of Lower Canada, *Topographical map of the province of Lower Canada, ...* while the second (Figure 2) was contained in the 1831 publication *The British Dominions ...* Both maps show extensive suburban growth and the development of the city's port along both the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers. However, one significant difference between the two plans is that the 1831 map more clearly shows the vestiges of the "old city" that was contained within the 18th-century French fortress. This included both the fortified Upper Town and the Lower Town at its base and bordering along the St. Lawrence River. The greater emphasis on fortifications is also conveyed by the inclusion of a reference to the citadel whose construction commenced in 1820. This is the case even though much of the detail of this installation is excluded. As indicated above, authorities of the period increasingly censored urban maps for reasons of military security (See endnote 20). In the 1815 map a portion of the fortress walls is shown though it is overwhelmed graphically by the greater detail provided to the other various non-military institutional, commercial and residential buildings of the town.

The detail provided in the 1815 map documents the changes in economic activity in Québec. References to "Booms for Securing Timber" along the St. Charles River clearly identify the rising significance of the timber trade in Québec. The main catalyst for the rise of this new staple was the elimination of European exports of timber to Britain because of restrictions imposed during the Napoleonic Wars. As a consequence, Britain turned to its colonies in North America to supply the needed timber prod-

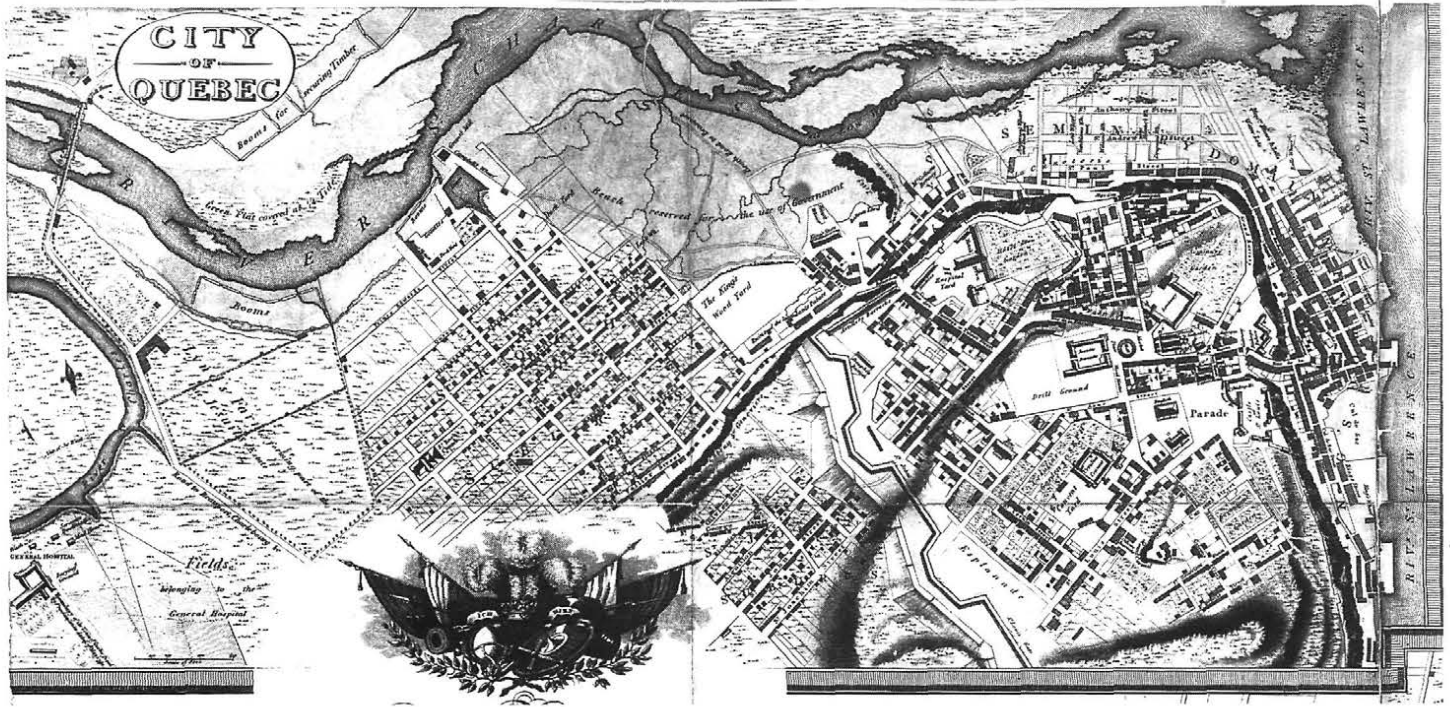


Figure 1. Québec 1815. This map shows the increasing development along both the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers. As well, the map indicates the suburban growth outside of the old French fortified town. The growth in the largest suburb, St. Roch, was related to its proximity to the rising activity of the timber, lumber and shipbuilding industries that were located along the St. Charles River. A smaller suburb, St. John, was located to the south of St. Roch's suburb above the Coteau St. Genevieve. It was mainly settled by artisans serving the residents of the Upper Town within the old fortified town.

ucts. New Brunswick had initially been the centre of this trade, though this role was transferred to Québec in 1803 as the scale of operation increased. Québec was well positioned to undertake this new trade because of its deep-water port and its accessibility to rich untapped forested areas. Initially, Québec drew the needed timber from areas around the Saguenay River before moving upstream along both the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers.

This new and bulkier staple trade required a greater number of ships for transport than were required for the shipment of the previous dominant export from the Canadian colony, furs. Thus, both lumber production and shipbuilding become an increasingly important element of economic activity in Québec. Production was particularly strong in the period 1808 to 1812 just prior to Bouchette's first map and remained significant through 1837 before the level of activity started to wane on a sustained basis. Goudie's Dockyard, which is identified in Bouchette's maps along the St. Charles River, was one of the main shipbuilding enterprises in city. It was an integrated operation that also included a sawmill that supplied some of the needed lumber.

The 1815 map also identifies McCallum's Brewery, also along the St. Charles River. Breweries were another example of small-scale manufacturing taking hold in British North America. This industry was able to take advantage of an abundant supply of

needed grains and a sufficiently large local demand to make production viable.

A number of wharves are identified along the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles Rivers. Those owned by Goudie and McCallum were likely used to export their production to Britain, other British colonies, and surrounding settlements within the Canadian colony. A number of these wharves also reflected Québec's commercial activity since its founding in the 17th century, namely that of receiving imported goods and distributing them throughout the colony. However, as the 19th century progressed, Montréal would increasingly take over this commercial function as the hinterland of the Canadian colony pressed further west.

The production of the new export staple, timber, along with the attendant rise in the production of lumber and shipbuilding, were much more labour intensive than the export of furs. It was this increased demand for labour that contributed to the extensive growth of the St. Roch suburb in Québec along the St. Charles River. Individuals who worked in these industries were drawn both from the surrounding countryside as well as from overseas. The latter was abetted by the fact that immigrants provided an economical return "cargo" for timber ships heading back to Québec from Britain.

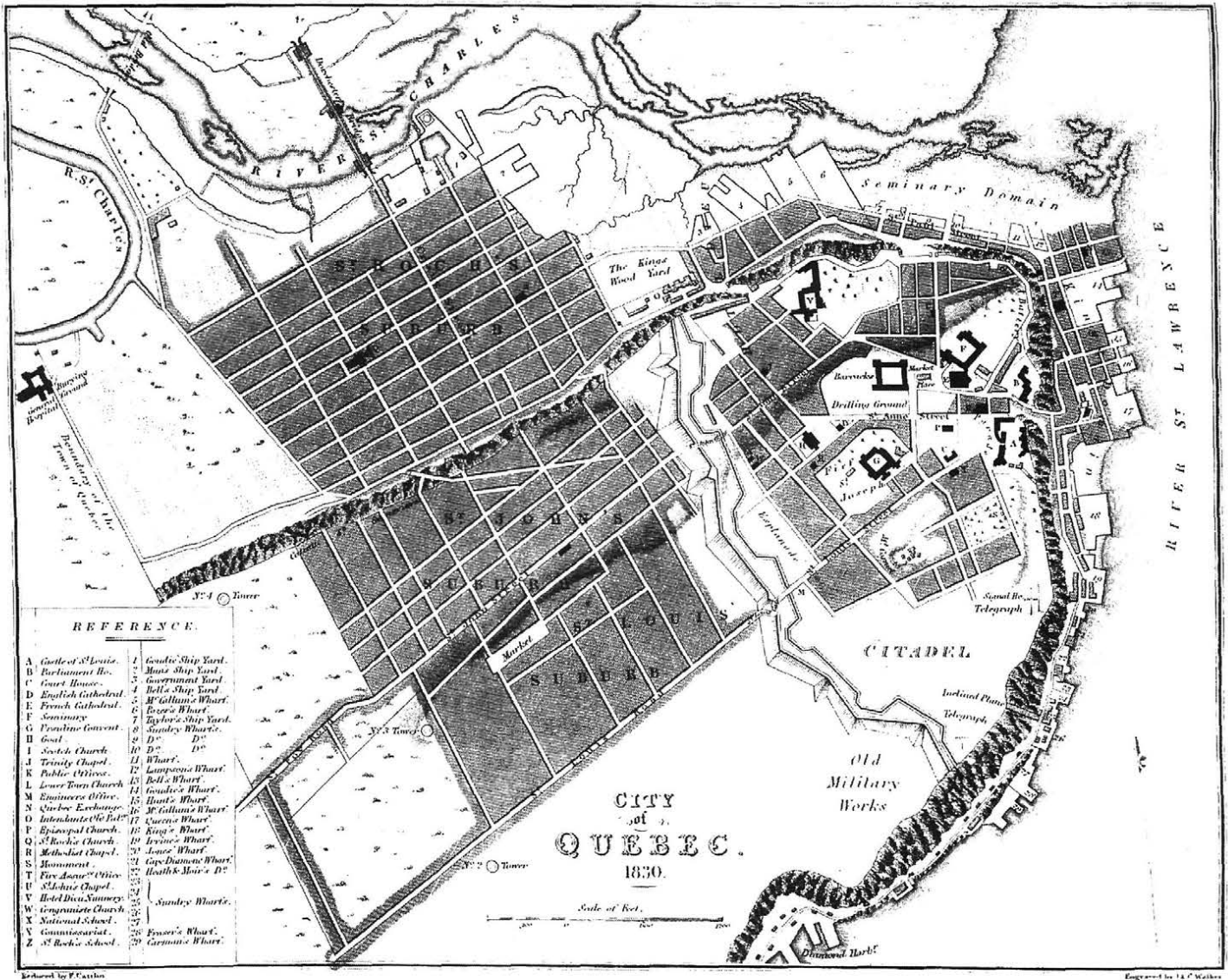


Figure 2. Québec 1831. Though the map is dated 1830, it was not published until 1831. This map indicates further suburban growth relative to the 1815 map of the city with the St. Roch suburb now containing eight north-south streets rather than the previous six. There has been even greater expansion of the St. John suburb and well as the emergence of a third suburb south of the other two, the St. Louis suburb. The extensive fortifications of the city are more evident in this map in spite of the military censorship of the period that limited the amount of detail that could be provided.

The evolution of the St. John, and later St. Louis, suburbs followed a different genesis. They reflected more a spill-over in activity from the Upper Town of the old city. Many artisans, who provided products and services to residents of the affluent Upper Town, were located in these suburbs because of the ease of access to their principal customers.

A comparison of the 1815 and 1831 maps of Québec shows significant growth in the suburban areas over this period of time. This can be gauged by the fact that in the 1815 map the

St. Roch suburb had six streets running north-south. By 1831 the number of such streets had increased to eight. Between 1795 and 1842, while the population of the Old City doubled, that of the suburbs increased tenfold.²⁴ The 1831 map clearly shows that a grid pattern was imposed on the suburbs with the orientation seemingly determined by the curve in the St. Charles River and the ridge, Coteau St. Genevieve, that separated the St. Roch from the St. John suburb. Few public amenities were provided in these suburbs. A church and

schoolhouse are shown in the St. Roch suburb while a market was provided in the St. Louis suburb. A single diagonal road seems to reflect a path that descended the ridge from the Upper St. John suburb to the lower St. Roch suburb. The square grid pattern contrasts sharply with the more irregular pattern of the Upper Town within the old French fortified town.

As suggested above, the extent of fortifications in Québec was more evident in the 1831 map. The complete length of the old wall is shown along with the space allocated for the construction of the citadel. Three of the four Martello Towers built to defend the capital city are also shown. Military requirements have essentially hived off a southern portion of the city. This includes the prohibition of suburban development below St. Louis road to keep the approach to the citadel unobstructed.

Both of Bouchette's maps of Québec are included in an inventory of maps of the city issued over the period 1800 to 1850 that was compiled by Dahl, Espeset, Lafrance and Ruddel.²⁵ Within this cataloguing, both maps seem to reflect the contemporary state of development of the city given their date of publication. It was indicated that Bouchette's 1831 map seemed to be based on an earlier 1822 map of Québec that was published

in *The Quebec Directory of 1822*.²⁶ However, a deficiency of the 1822 map was it did not fully reflect the expansion of the suburban areas outside of the old city walls. Bouchette's 1831 map corrects for this problem though this update appears to be based on an 1829 manuscript map of Québec by the surveyor and military engineer John Adams.²⁷

Montréal

In contrast to the plans of Québec, there is little evidence of military fortifications in either of Bouchette's 1815 (Figure 3) or 1831 (Figure 4) maps of Montréal. Montréal had been a fortified city for much of the 18th century. However, in 1801 a commission was struck to approve plans to dismantle the walls and to propose improvements to both the sanitation and circulation within the old town. The actual demolition took place over the period 1802 to 1817. Bouchette's 1815 map reflects many of the changes proposed by the commission, though not necessarily what was actually implemented. The boundaries of the old fortifications are indicated on the 1815 map by a fine dashed line.

The commission proposed canals along the Saint Martin Creek to the west above the city and along the St. Pierre River to the



Figure 3. Montréal 1815. This map reflected a number of proposals made to improve the sanitation and circulation of Montréal prompted by the decision to take down the old fortifications. The outline of these fortifications is provided by a fine dashed line on the map. The improvements included the introduction of various canals, the extension of a number of north south streets, and the introduction of various urban squares. Suburban growth has started to emerge concentrated around a number of streets that lead into the old town.

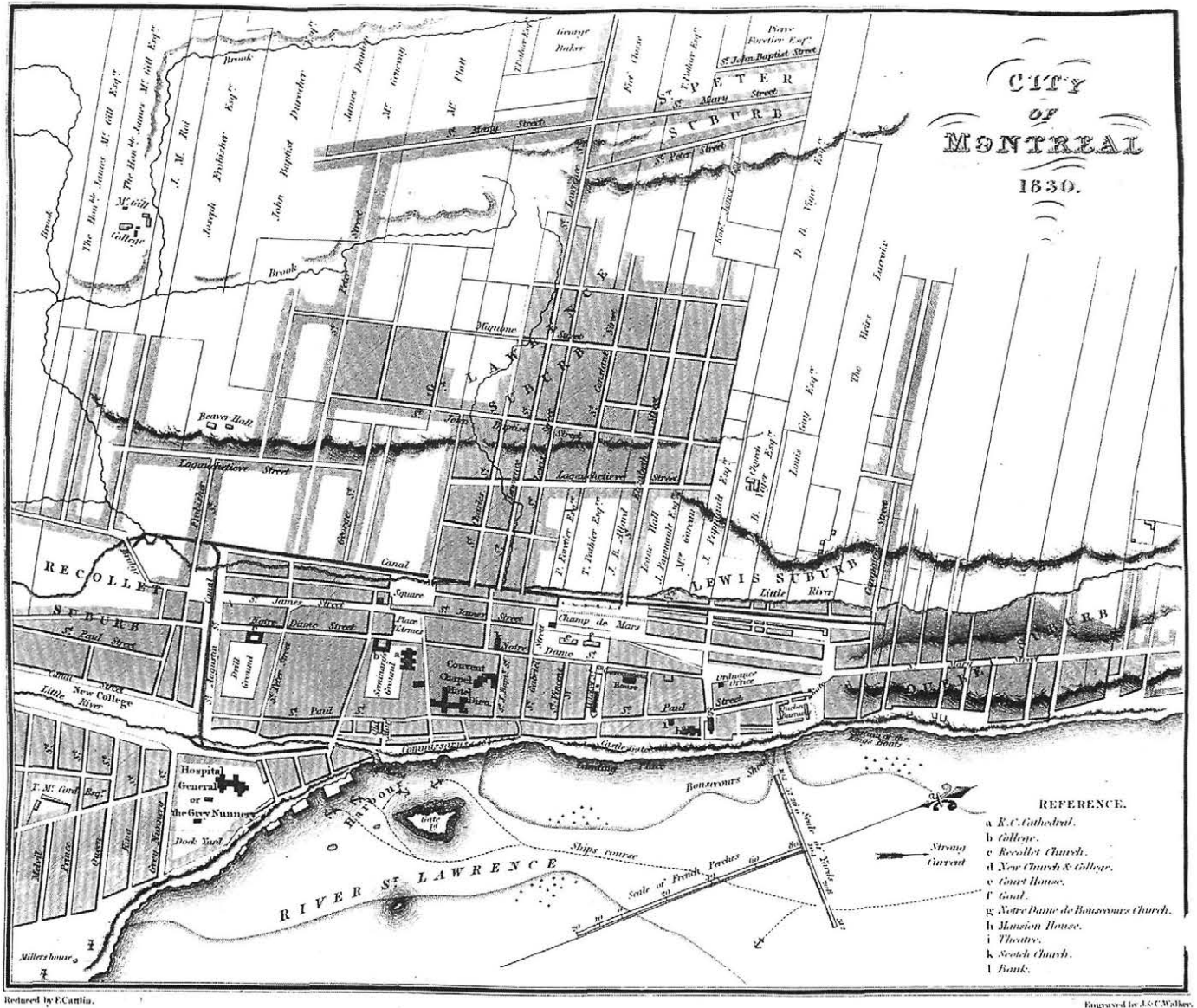


Figure 4. Montréal 1831. Similar to the later map of Québec, it is dated 1830 though it was not published until 1831. This map suggests considerable population growth with a number of suburbs now indicated surrounding the former fortified town. The map still suggests a number of smaller canal projects that were never undertaken. Unfortunately, it fails to indicate the Lachine Canal, opened in 1825, that would have been located in the bottom left hand corner of the map.

east below the city.²⁸ These two canals were to be linked by a third that was to run along the proposed St. Augustin (later McGill) St. This canalization was intended to improve the sanitation within the urban area. Bouchette's plan also shows a number of other new streets proposed by the commission. Commissarys Street (de la Commune) was a raised roadway along the St. Lawrence River's edge that would better define the harbour area and protect it from the river. The commission also proposed the extension of Notre Dame and St. James (St. Jacques) streets to the northern edge of the old town.

One lasting contribution of British town planning through the colonial period was the introduction of the residential square. This urban innovation provided a Georgian variation on the utilitarian grid with a central cell not built upon, but left as a green space. It was based on numerous examples in London including St. James Square and Grosvenor Square. The commission proposed a number of such squares for Montréal. The 1815 map indicates a proposed square in front of the existing Place d'Armes. As well, a square is proposed around the Québec gate (Dalhousie Square), the northern entranceway to the old

fortified town. An open area is shown around the western end of the proposed St. Augustin St., which eventually evolved into the Hay Market (Victoria Square). Both maps also show the old market around the Pointe-à-Callière and the new market close to Government House.

The only vestige of military fortifications evident in the 1815 map of Montréal was the minuscule citadel that was located at the north end of the old town. In 1819 a contract was signed to level this fortification to allow for the northern extension of Notre Dame and St. James Streets. The military defense of Montréal was to be provided by an arsenal built over the period 1820 to 1822 on Île Ste.-Hélène. This island in the St. Lawrence River was to the east of city and thus protected the entrance to Montréal's harbour. There is no reference to these fortifications, or even the island, on either of Bouchette's map of the city.

Though military facilities were generally absent in the plans of Montréal, non-military institutional buildings were very prominent. Numerous churches were indicated along with seminaries, nunneries and hospitals. The court house and jail were also noted in the plans. The 1831 map also indicates some of the large estates that were established outside the old city by various successful merchants in the fur trade. McGill College is shown on the estate of James McGill while Beaver Hall is shown on the estate of Joseph Frobisher.

The 1831 map also indicates a bank off the Place D'Armes. This was a reference to Canada's first bank, the Bank of Montreal, that was founded in 1817. It first occupied rented premises on St. Paul Street though it moved to the site on St. James Street in 1819 after having its own offices built. The early existence of the Bank of Montreal was closely connected to that of the fur-trading North West Company. Its successful establishment had been preceded by the abortive attempt by its founders to establish a banking operation under the name of the Canada Banking Company in 1792. The motivation to establish this company had been "to rationalize the haphazard methods by which the Canadian fur trade was being operated."²⁹

By the time of the publication of the 1831 map, the fur trade had in fact become a relatively minor element in the economic activity in Montréal. With the amalgamation of the North West Company with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821, Montréal had ceased to be the centre of the fur trade within British North America. This reflected the fact that the furs were increasingly supplied from the north-west of the continent and thus transportation through the Hudson Bay became more economical. However, the increased settlement of areas further upstream from Montréal along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers and around Lakes Ontario and Erie expanded the population base of that city's hinterland. Thus merchants in the city were able to shift from commerce in furs to exporting of wheat from the surrounding region while importing needed manufactured goods for the emerging settlements. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence of this shift in the later Bouchette map. For example, there appears to be very limited indication of any shoreline

development with only assorted small quays to the south-east of the town shown on the map.

Both maps of Montréal show the growth in suburban areas around the old town that was prompted by the surge of immigration into British North America. A 1925 census 1825 indicated that out of a population of 26,154 only 20 per cent lived inside the boundaries of the old fortified town.³⁰ The suburban areas were mainly centred around access roads that led into the old town. For example, the largest suburb at the time, St. Lawrence, was centred on St. Lawrence St. The Recollet (or St. Joseph) and Québec suburbs were centred on southerly and northerly extensions, respectively, of Notre Dame Street. The suburb St. Antoine, not shown in either of Bouchette's maps, emerged slightly above the Recollet suburb around St. Antoine St. that indirectly led into St. James Street from the south. Exceptions to this pattern of suburban development were the St. Lewis suburb and Griffintown neither of which had direct access to the old town. The former is indicated in both maps to the west above the old town. The latter suburb is not shown in either of Bouchette's maps, but is located between the St. Lawrence River and the Recollet suburb. The 1831 map also indicates a St. Peter suburb further west and above the St. Lawrence suburb.

Around these main access roads, the suburbs were essentially laid out in a gridiron pattern as was largely the case in Québec. Though not evident in either map of Montréal, residential squares were incorporated in many of the suburban areas. As noted by Marsan, "in Faubourg Saint-Laurent, Viger Market would become Viger Square after being considerably enlarged. At the far end of Faubourg de Québec, Papineau Square was built at the end of Papineau Avenue. In 1830 Chaboillez Square was created in Faubourg des Récollets and Richmond Square in Faubourg Saint-Antoine."³¹

As in Québec, the suburban expansion reflected both the quest for cheaper land by various artisans as well as the rise of manufacturing activity. This rising economic activity provided employment opportunities in the outlying areas for the new immigrants arriving to the colony. For example, Griffintown was adjacent to Munn's dockyard at the Pointe-à-Callière. Bouchette's 1815 map indicates a Molson's brewery in the north area of the city which attracted workers to the Québec suburb. Breweries in the southern part of the city and a soap and candle manufacturing operation, though not indicated by Bouchette, provided additional employment opportunities for residents of Griffintown and the St. Lewis suburb, respectively.

The 1831 map of Montréal provides a valuable update on the suburban expansion relative to the 1815 map. However, in a number of instances, Bouchette was less attentive to making changes in the urban landscape that had occurred in the intervening period. For example, the canal along St. Augustine was never built, though Bouchette continues to show it in the 1831 plan. As well, though the later map notes the reorientation of the new Notre Dame Cathedral, which was largely completed by

1829, the outline of the cathedral's plan is inaccurate. Most disappointing was the failure to note the Lachine Canal which opened in 1825. The entrance to the canal would have been evident in the south-east corner of the map below the Griffintown suburb. This canal was to have a considerable impact on the development of Montréal into the 20th century. Bouchette did, however, note the construction of the canal in his large-scale 1831 map of Lower Canada, *A topographical map of the district of Montreal*, ...

Bouchette's 1815 map of Montréal is included in the inventory of maps of the city over the period 1800 to 1850 as compiled by Jean-Claude Robert in the *Atlas historique de Montréal*.³² However, the 1830 map is excluded and likely reflects Bouchette's failure to fully update this map. For example, Robert includes the 1825 map of Montréal by the surveyor and military engineer John Adams that shows greater shoreline development and the recently opened Lachine Canal.³³

Trois-Rivières

The large-scale 1815 map *Topographical map of the province of Lower Canada*, ... also contained an inset of Trois-Rivières (Figure 5). During the French regime, Trois-Rivières had been a fortified settlement along the St. Lawrence River between Montréal and Québec, though the references to “ancienne fortifications” on Bouchette’s map refer to military works “thrown up” by the British during the American Revolution. Despite this military heritage, the dominant impression of the early 19th-century settle-

ment was that of a so-called "linear village".³⁴ Such villages were appearing with increasing frequency along the main waterways through Lower Canada. This map of Trois-Rivières is reminiscent of the early plans of Montréal with the main street, Rue Notre Dame, running parallel to the river's edge. Off this main access road, the town's market square and principal church are located.

Bouchette characterizes Trois-Rivières as principally a distribution centre for the middle district of the province receiving manufactured goods from Britain. It also acts as the gathering point for the main exports of the district that included wheat, timber and iron products. The latter came from the Forges St. Maurice which was located 18 km west of the town on the St. Maurice River. The forge, which began production in the first half of the 18th century, played an important role supplying some of the iron required by Québec's shipbuilding industry. By the early 19th century the forge employed 300 individuals.³⁵ It is acknowledged in Bouchette's map by reference to Rue des Forges, one of the principal roads off Rue Notre Dame that leads to the industrial site.

Lying on both the St. Lawrence River and the principal road between the major centres of Québec and Montréal, Trois-Rivières became a stopover point for travellers. Bouchette in his 1815 publication, *A topographical description ...*, noted the "respectable accommodations" provided by several inns in the



Figure 5. Three Rivers (Trois-Rivières) 1815. At the time this map was published as an inset to Bouchette's 1815 large-scale map of Lower Canada, Trois-Rivières was the third largest settlement in the province. However, Bouchette commented in the accompanying text that "compared to the others it is small indeed." The impression that this map lends of the settlement is that of a so-called "linear village" with its main street, Notre Dame, running parallel to the main transportation artery through the province, the St. Lawrence River.

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town. Three of these brasseries are prominently noted on Bouchette's map along, or close to, Rue Notre Dame.

Sorel

The only other urban area that Bouchette illustrated within Lower Canada was of Sorel (Figure 6), which was included in his 1815 publication, *A topographical description ...*. The town

was strategically located at the point where the Richelieu River empties into the St. Lawrence River. The former waterway provided access to the northern American colonies via Lake Champlain and thus was of key military importance. As a result, during the American War of Independence redoubts and barracks were built on the site. As it was on a main transportation route south, it initially developed, like Trois-Rivières, some char-

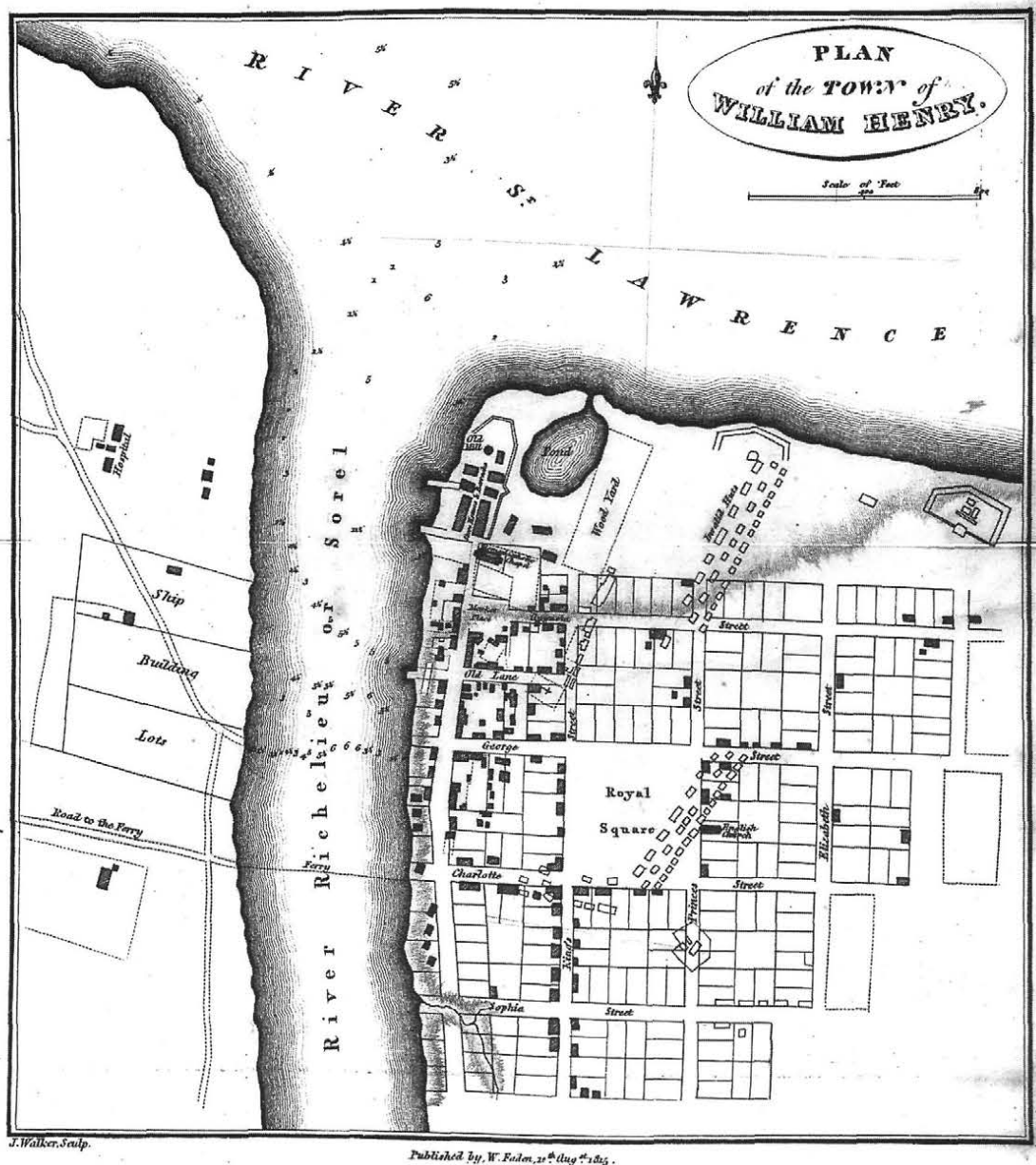


Figure 6. William Henry (Sorel) 1815. This plan shows the town evolving from a "linear village" with the principal street running parallel to the Richelieu River into a Loyalist settlement with a more elaborate plan centred around a large square.

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acteristics of a linear village. The main access road, which ran parallel to the Richelieu River, was Queen Street (De La Reine), which is left unnamed in the Bouchette map. This street was an extension of the main road that connected the various settlements along the length of the Richelieu River.

The depiction of Sorel provided by Bouchette is better characterized as a plan than a map as it reflects the intentions by colonial authorities to significantly enlarge the townsite. Following the end of the American War of Independence, Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Québec, made extensive plans to bolster its fortifications of Sorel. As well, the town was selected to accommodate an expected large influx of Loyalists following the war that was to be resettled in parts of Lower Canada. As was the case for a number of major Loyalist settlements in the Maritime provinces, such as Digby and Fredericton, an elaborate Georgian plan was proposed. This entailed a grid pattern for the street system but with a sizeable central square.

The Bouchette plan of Sorel appears to be largely copied from a manuscript document prepared by the military engineer Gotther Mann in 1787 (Figure 7). The Mann plan makes clear that the three bastion-shaped redoubts along the St. Lawrence River are only one side of a three-sided defensive installation that was to surround the settlement except along the Richelieu River shoreline. Though these bastions could potentially have been linked, the fact that they were not lessened the impression of Sorel as a fortress settlement. The Mann manuscript also indicates that the fortifications were to be enhanced by a five-bastioned fort located to the south of the settlement.

Mann's plan of Sorel provides another example of the separation of military functions from the town itself. Though redoubts surrounded the settlement, the fort, which was to provide the principal means of defense, was to be built outside of the town. As well, there was little attempt to integrate the street system



Figure 7. *The fortifications of Sorel. This manuscript was prepared by the military engineer Gotther Mann and likely provided the basis for Bouchette's plan of the town itself. It illustrates the growing practice of the time to separate military structures from the settlement proper as illustrated by the locating of the five-bastioned fort to the south of the settlement.*

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with the surrounding fortifications with the grid pattern seemingly the only concession to military considerations.

Halifax

In Bouchette's 1831 publication *The British Dominions ...* a description was provided of the east coast colonies. However, neither this publication nor the accompanying maps and plans provided any detailed renderings of urban areas in this region. This is unfortunate as these colonies contained by 1825 the three

largest urban areas within British North America after Québec and Montréal, namely, Halifax, St. John's and Saint John.

Some suggestion of the urban development of Halifax (Figure 8) is provided in a rendering of the Shubenacadie Canal contained in the 1831 publication *The British Dominions ...*. This canal was built between 1826 and 1861 and connected Minas Basin on the Bay of Fundy with Halifax harbour on the Atlantic Ocean. This limited rendering of Halifax does indicate the retention of the grid street system that was introduced in the original plan for Halifax

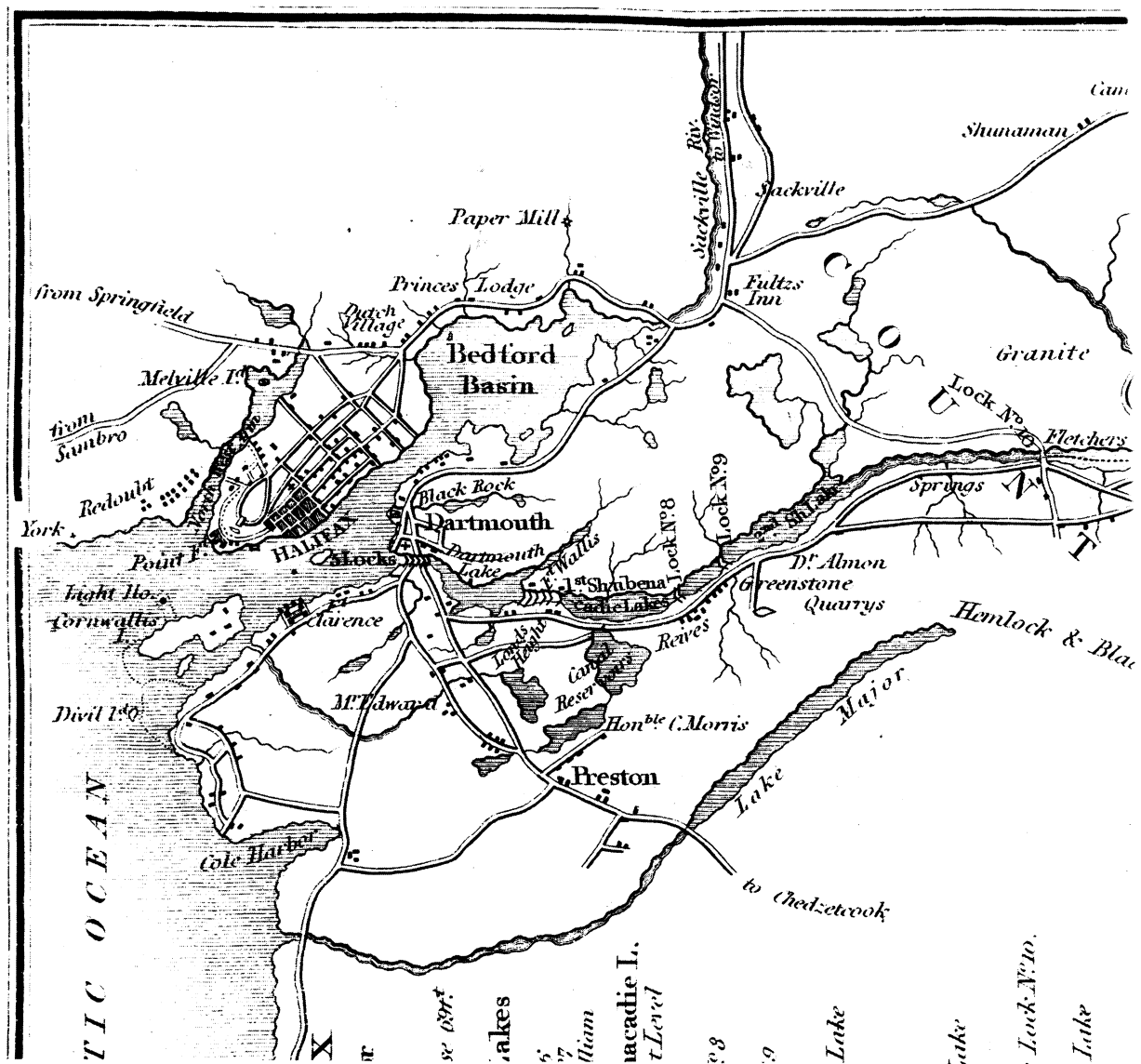


Figure 8. Detail of the plan of the Shubenacadie Canal at its terminus in Halifax harbour 1831. This map was clearly focused on illustrating the canal system that was constructed in Nova Scotia between 1826 to 1861. The information provided about the state of development of the town of Halifax is very limited. What is apparent is that the grid street system of its original plan has been retained. As well, the settlement has started to grow northward as greater commercial and military development occurred.

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in 1749 between Citadel Hill and the harbour front. The map does suggest that the grid system was extended further along the harbour front towards Bedford Basin. This growth was fostered by the emergence of an increasing number of commercial wharves and the establishment of the Royal Naval yards north of the original settlement in the second half of the 18th century.

Kingston

Kingston (Figure 9), the largest settlement of Upper Canada at the start of the 19th century, received even less detail than that accorded to Halifax. A map of the Kingston area is included in

Bouchette's 1815 publication, *A topographical description ...*. However, the focus of this map is on the surrounding channels into the harbour with the urban plan of Kingston represented merely by a shaded area. This was consistent with the greater priority placed by British authorities on receiving information about key harbour areas rather than on the layout of existing urban areas. The map does indicate the separation of military structures from the settlement itself. For example, a battery is indicated on the peninsula of land, named Pt. Frederick, to the east of Kingston. A fort is also indicated on the height of land named Pt. Henry on the other side of Navy Bay from the battery.

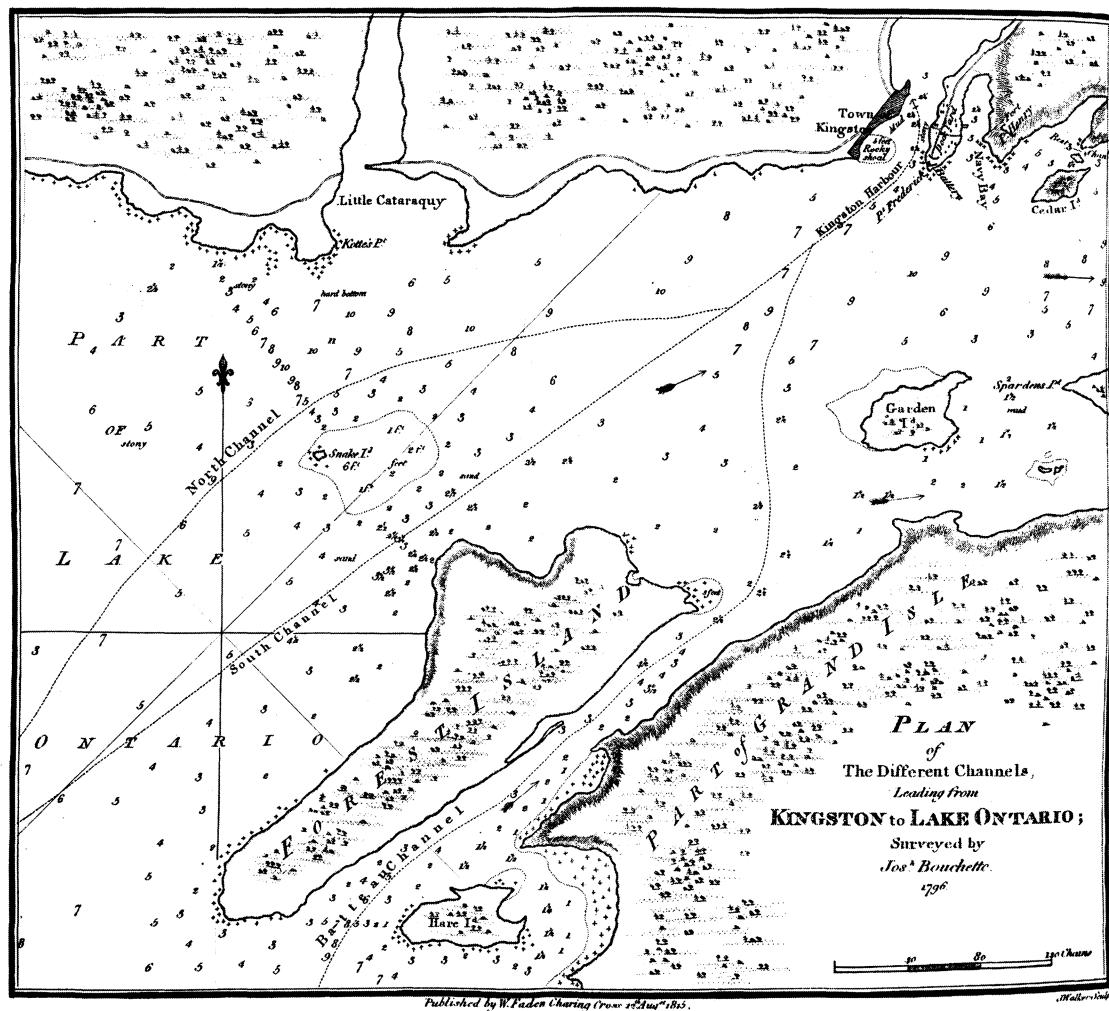


Figure 9. Channels leading from Kingston to Lake Ontario 1815. As the title of this map suggests the focus was on the various shipping channels surrounding Kingston rather than of the town itself. Very little of Kingston's urban form is provided. This is unfortunate given the significant commercial activity that was starting to occur along Kingston's waterfront resulting from the rising immigration into Upper Canada. The map does show the separation of military structures with a battery and fort indicated on the two points of land located to the east of Kingston. The map is dated 1796 and likely was originally drawn while Bouchette was serving in the Provincial Navy.

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The map is dated 1796 and may represent work done by Bouchette, or work he became familiar with, while he served in the Provincial Marine as a surveyor from 1791 to 1796. Over this period, he was stationed in the Great Lakes area and principally Lake Ontario. His hydrographic surveys of this period were to provide the basis for his map of Toronto discussed below.

The lack of information on Kingston's urban development is unfortunate as there had evolved considerable commercial activity along the water's edge by the time of Bouchette's first publication. Kingston's location favoured it as a transshipment point where cargo on lake vessels were transferred to smaller boats necessary to navigate the rapids of the upper St. Lawrence River between Lake Ontario and Montréal. As Upper Canada became increasingly settled, Kingston benefited from a sharp increase in the two-way flow of goods. Sir John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, commented in 1794 that,

"on my arrival at Kingston, I found it improved beyond my expectation; many stores for merchandize and wharfs had been built and new ones were in contemplation. I also found

the language of the merchants very much altered. The Fur Trade, as I had hoped, seem'd no longer the principal object of their attention. They looked forward to the produce of their country as the true source of their wealth."³⁶

As suggested by Osborne and Swainson, this "produce of their country" consisted of "wheat, flour, peas, pork, butter, cheese, lard, together with that particular indicator of the advance of settlement and the retreat of the forest, potash. The return cargoes represented those exotic products not cultivated or otherwise available in the local region: sugar, molasses, tobacco, and salt — together with textiles, tools, domestic utensils, and general haberdashery."³⁷

Toronto

The map of Toronto (Figure 10) has the distinction being the only city to appear in both Bouchette's 1815 and 1831 texts. In fact, as the map was not updated at all for the second publication, it is also of note as being the only identical map used for both publications. It is based on an earlier manuscript map prepared by Bouchette in 1792. This manuscript antedates

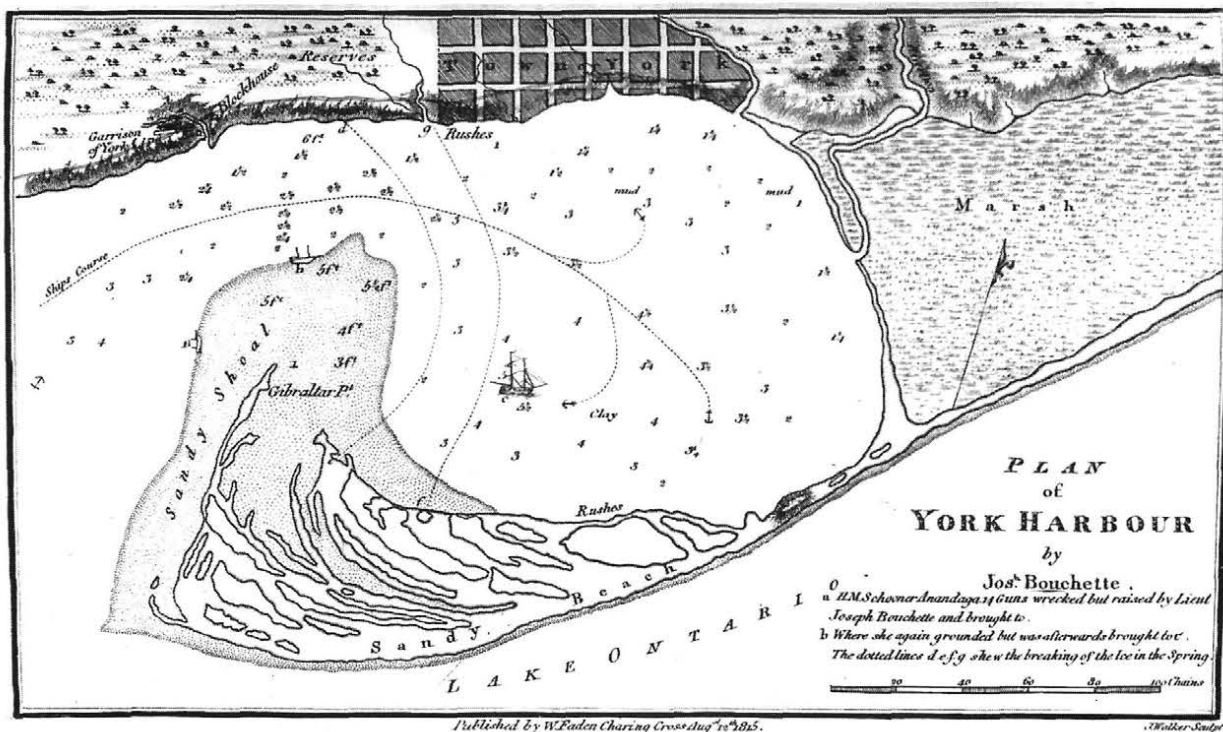


Figure 10. York (Toronto) Harbour 1831. This illustration is taken from the 1831 Bouchette text but it is identical to the map used in the 1815 publication. It is based on a 1792 manuscript map that Bouchette prepared of the harbour while serving in the Provincial Marine. Clearly the intent of the map is to show the features of the harbour rather than the settlement which is rendered in almost a schematic manner to indicate the grid-like street system. The map does show the separation of military structures shown to the west of the settlement along the shoreline.

Bouchette's appointment as Surveyor-General and was prepared while Bouchette was just an 18-year-old recruit to the Provincial Navy. He was required to prepare a hydrographic survey of the sheltered shoreline of Lake Ontario between the Don and Humber Rivers. It was prompted by Simcoe's wish, which went unrealized, to have the area serve as the principal naval base for the defense of Upper Canada.

The rendering of the townsite of Toronto is not an accurate depiction of the settlement in 1815 and is even less so for 1831. The urban area is almost shown as a schematic drawing meant mainly to convey the general location of the built area and the fact that a simple gridiron layout for the street system was chosen. The shaded area roughly corresponds to a built-up section of the settlement between present-day Berkeley Street to the east and John Street along the western boundary. The two principal east-west roads likely represent King and Front streets though in much simplified form. The map makes no attempt to indicate the extension of Yonge Street that was built by Simcoe as a land route north to the upper Great Lakes via Lake Simcoe or Dundas Street which represented a land route west. The map does show the separation of military facilities with a garrison and blockhouse located to the west of the settlement.

Bouchette's map reflects more the planning of an intended naval base for the area rather than providing an accurate depiction of the urban development in Toronto at the time of either of Bouchette's publications. The map of Toronto, like his 1831 map of Montréal, is another example of Bouchette reusing one of his older maps with only limited attempt to indicate relevant changes. However, the emphasis on the harbour area once again reflects the priorities of the British authorities.

The failure of Bouchette to update his map of Toronto is particularly unfortunate in his 1831 publication. Toronto at that time had evolved into a thriving commercial centre benefiting from the sizeable immigration into Upper Canada. Toronto was to benefit disproportionately from this surge of new immigrants from both the British Isles and the United States because of the very rich agricultural lands that extended through much of present-day south-western Ontario. The road system built by Simcoe helped the settlement to extend its reach into this hinterland from the town's inception. This surrounding area both supplied wheat, flour, potash and, to a lesser extent, lumber for export from Toronto and provided a market for British manufactured goods distributed from this centre. Because of this commercial traffic, a number of wharves were constructed along the settlements waterfront and are evident in other maps of the period such as the 1818 manuscript map of Toronto by Lieutenant Phillpotts of the Royal Engineers.³⁸

Gentilcore and Head in *Ontario's History in Maps* provide a series of key maps that illustrate the evolution of Toronto from the 18th century to the 20th century.³⁹ Within this cataloguing, only Bouchette's 1792 manuscript map of Toronto harbour is included. The lack of detail in Bouchette's later map with

respect to Toronto's evolving urban structure particularly along the shoreline likely eliminated it from consideration in this compilation.

While Bouchette's maps of Toronto could be criticized for making too strong a reference to an older map of the site, a number of his other maps of Upper Canadian settlements could be criticized for making too strong a reference to how they were intended to develop. In other words, the urban maps shown for settlements such as Ottawa, Guelph and Goderich were more plans of how the settlements were intended to develop rather than what actually existed at the time that they were published.

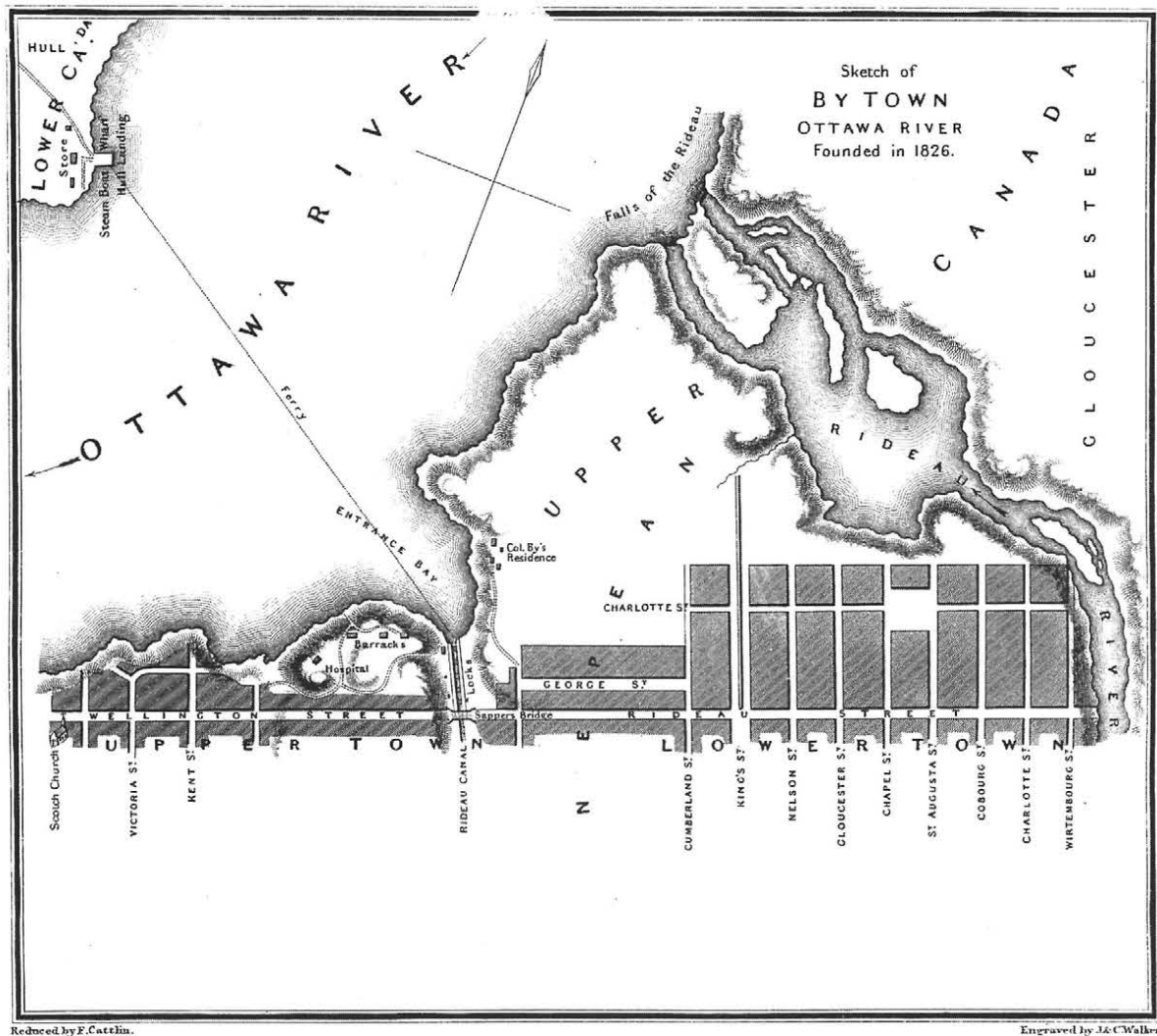
Ottawa

Ottawa (Figure 11) was first established as a base camp for the construction of the Rideau Canal that was built between 1826 and 1831. The St. Lawrence River between Montréal and Kingston was viewed as militarily vulnerable as it ran along, or very close to, the American border. The Rideau Canal was to provide an interior waterway route between these two centres by connecting the Ottawa River, which ran north-west from Montréal, to Lake Ontario at Kingston. Lieutenant-Colonel By of the Royal Engineers was put in charge of the construction of the canal. A component of his assignment was to lay out a townsite where the canal was to empty into the Ottawa River. Bouchette's map reflects By's proposal for this townsite.

By's plan adhered to a gridiron organization of the urban space. The town at its inception was divided into two regions. This was in part the result of the canal that ran through its centre as well as by a sharp drop in elevation moving from west to east. The main road (Wellington/Rideau Street) was of above-average width and was proposed as the main roadway linking the two halves of the site. The lower town was initially viewed as less desirable because of generally swampy conditions. However, with By managing to successfully drain the area, it eventually saw greater development than the Upper Town benefiting from easier access to the river, canal, and land traffic routes. Bouchette's map suggests this area was given a Georgian form with a small square (Anglesea Square) provided in the eastern half of Lower Town.

In addition to Wellington/Rideau Street, King Street and George Street were also given a slightly greater width. Bouchette's map suggests the reason for this greater width along King Street was because of a canal that ran along its length. This canal ran from Rideau Street to a small creek emptying into the Rideau River and likely facilitated the draining of Lower Town. Other maps refer to this canal as a component of a "Bywash" which linked the Rideau River with the canal in a turning basin south of the locks at the Ottawa River. This turning basin is not shown on Bouchette's map. The Bywash also ran along a portion of George Street, which explains its greater width, though this connecting canal is not shown in Bouchette's map.

The Ottawa map shows that large tracts of land along both sides of the canal entrance had been left as military reserves. Barracks and Colonel By's residence were constructed on the



Reduced by E. Catlin.

Engraved by J. & C. Walker.

Figure 11. By Town (Ottawa) 1831. This map shows the intended layout of the settlement that Lieutenant-Colonel By planned for the northern terminus of the Rideau Canal. The emphasis is very much on the settlement and its very orderly street system with limited detail provided of the canal.

west and east sides, respectively. There was a proposal, made in 1838, for a very sizeable citadel to be constructed on the west side of the canal entrance on what was then called Barracks Hill. These plans were never acted upon and thus resulted in limited military facilities in the settlement. However, the Barracks Hill site eventually provided an appropriately prominent location for Canada's Parliament buildings once Ottawa had been named the capital of the province of Canada in 1857.

The only suggestion of the timber, and later lumber, trade that would eventually come to dominate Ottawa in the second half of the 19th century was the indication of a ferry service that existed between the base of the canal to a steam boat landing

across the Ottawa River in Hull. This landing was connected by road to a lumber camp that had been established by the New Englander Philemon Wright. In 1806 Wright had initiated this trade with a shipment of squared timber that was floated down the Ottawa River to Québec via the St. Lawrence River. (How this was achieved is not initially evident from the Bouchette map as it incorrectly shows the Ottawa River flowing east to west rather than west to east.) As the century developed, Ottawa would play an increasingly important role servicing the growing timber and lumber production that developed along the Ottawa River.

Bouchette's plan is not included in Thomas L. Nagy's history of Ottawa in maps titled *Ottawa in Maps; A Brief Cartographical*

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*History of Ottawa 1825–1973.*⁴⁰ This publication does include an 1831 manuscript plan prepared under the direction of Colonel By. This manuscript generally reflects the street system shown on Bouchette's plan though with less development indicated in the eastern half of Lower Town and with greater detail on the portion of the canal running through the settlement.⁴¹

Guelph and Goderich

The final two urban plans that were included in Bouchette's 1831 publication *The British Dominions ...* were of Guelph (Figure 12) and Goderich (Figure 13). These two settlements were unique relative to the other urban areas as there was no involvement of British authorities in their planning. Goderich and

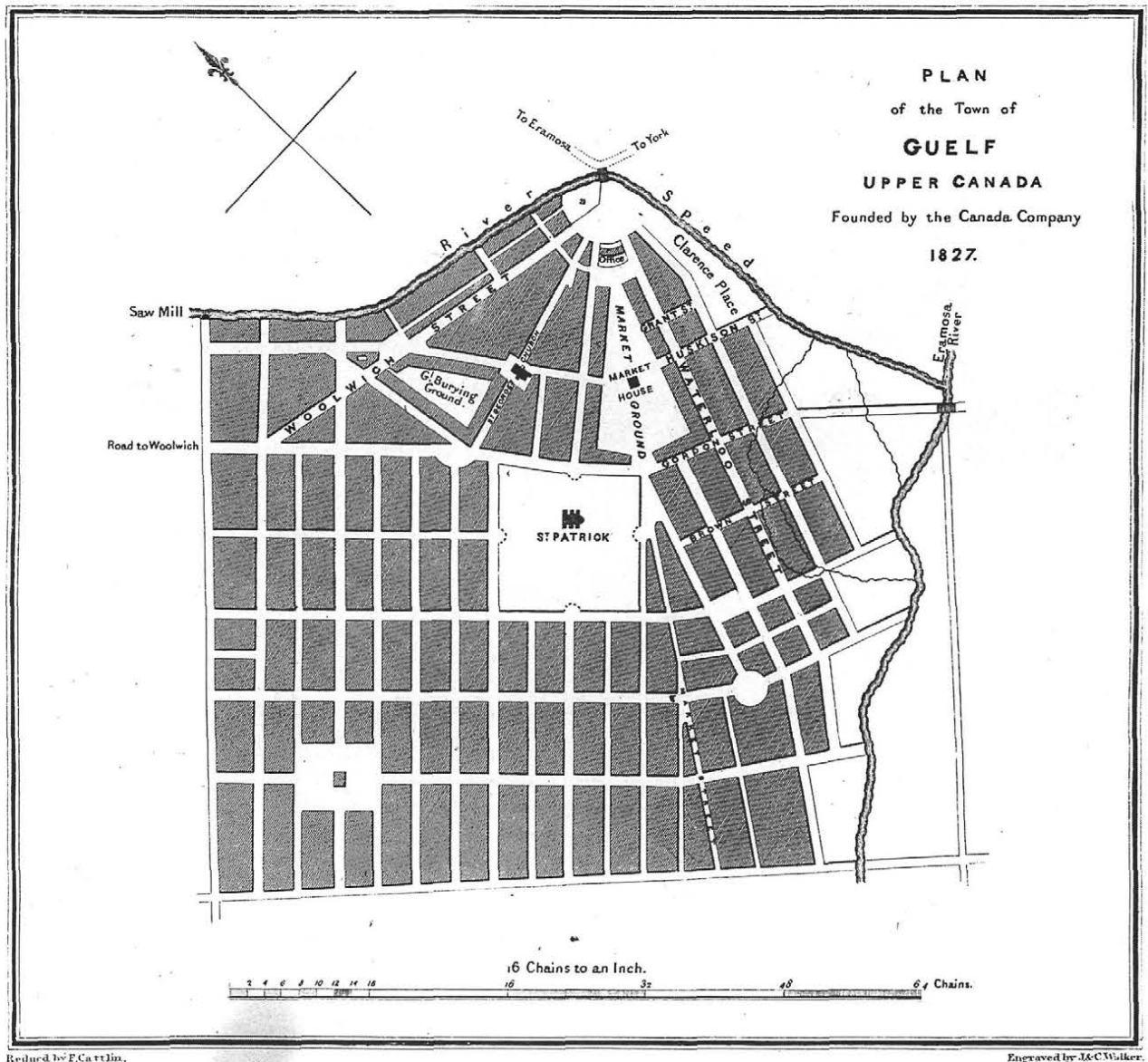


Figure 12. *Guelph (Guelph) 1831.* This plan for Guelph, dated 1827, was initially prepared by the Canada Company, a private company that settled large tracts of the rich agricultural land of Upper Canada. It features a very innovative radial plan. The numerous squares we laid out to provide a focus to various radial streets as well as to take advantage of the changing elevation of the site.

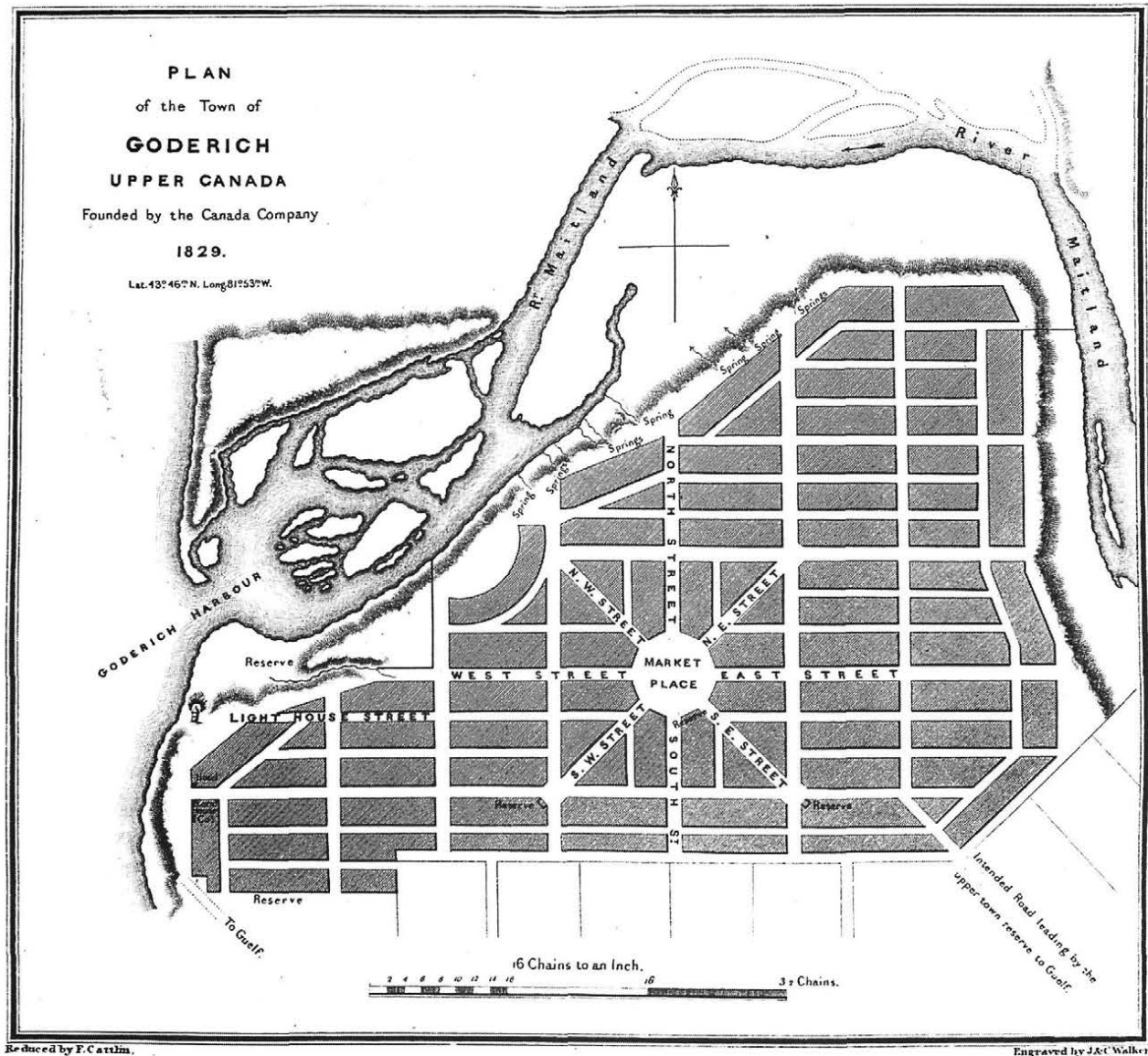


Figure 13. Goderich 1831. This plan for Goderich, dated 1829, was a second town planned by the Canada Company and also features the use of a radial plan. The plan of this town on the shores of Lake Huron has a striking resemblance to the town of Buffalo founded on the shores of Lake Erie. The latter was established by the Holland Land Company that settled large tracts of upper New York state and which the officials of the Canada Company had extensive contact with.

Guelph were the main settlements of the privately held Canada Company that developed large areas of land within Upper Canada. This company was organized by a colourful Scotsman named John Galt and was motivated by a number of factors. The proposed settlements were seen as a means to provide land to individuals from the British Isles who had been displaced by the impact of industrialization and mechanization of

the agricultural sector. British officials supported the initiative as it was also seen as helping to populate Upper Canada with loyal British subjects and thus counter a rise in immigration from the United States. However, the Canada Company was a commercial venture. Thus it was also intended to provide a financial return to those that provided the initial capital for the project.

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This latter factor was to shape these settlements in a unique way relative to other urban areas within British North America.

The settlement area that the Canada Company was granted in 1826 was composed of two separate areas of land. The so-called Huron Tract represented a vast triangular shaped area that extended from a base along the eastern shore of Lake Huron to a point east close to the present-day city of Stratford, Ontario. The Guelph Block was a square of land north of the head of Lake Ontario. Goderich and Guelph were intended as the main service centres of these two parcels of agricultural land.

The Canada Company opted to reverse a pattern of development that had dominated the settlement of British North America to date. The more traditional approach saw the land developed by an initial group of settlers often confronted with vast tracks of forested land. Land would first need to be cleared before agricultural production could proceed. As production from the land started to rise, there would emerge increased demand for processing and transportation services. To meet these needs, towns and roadways started to develop in central locations close to either sources of power for milling or transportation routes. As these towns developed, surrounding land prices started to rise benefiting from the proximity to these various services. Galt's strategy was not to wait for the gradual development of these towns but to establish them at the outset. This allowed the Canada Company to capture what Galt referred to as "unearned increment" upon the initial sale of the land.

This commercial strategy was not unprecedented in the settlement of North America. A number of such ventures had been tried in the United States with, in some cases, considerable success. One such successful company was the Holland Land Company which settled land in upper New York state. Galt visited this company's settlement on a number of occasions as he travelled from Britain to Upper Canada.⁴²

The higher sale price for land demanded by the Canada Company would only be secured if individuals were convinced that they were getting the services of a more established settlement. Elaborate town plans for the main commercial centres undoubtedly contributed to this impression. Thus, the Canada Company strove to distinguish the urban areas within its settlement by breaking away from the square grid and introducing more "progressive" and "fashionable" radial plans. Stelter has noted that Bouchette's plan of Guelph was in fact based on some promotional material published by the Canada Company.⁴³

The use of a radial plan may well have been one of the lessons learned by Galt on his visits to the Holland Land Company. New Amsterdam, or Buf-

falo, was one of the main urban centres within this company's holdings and was distinguished by its use of a radial plan. In fact, as earlier suggested by Stelter, the town plan of Buffalo (Figure 14) on the shores of Lake Erie had an influence on the Canada Company's proposed settlement of Goderich on the shores of Lake Huron.⁴⁴ The possible inspiration of Buffalo in the planning of Goderich suggests an even more auspicious connection with L'Enfant's radial plan for Washington, D.C. An

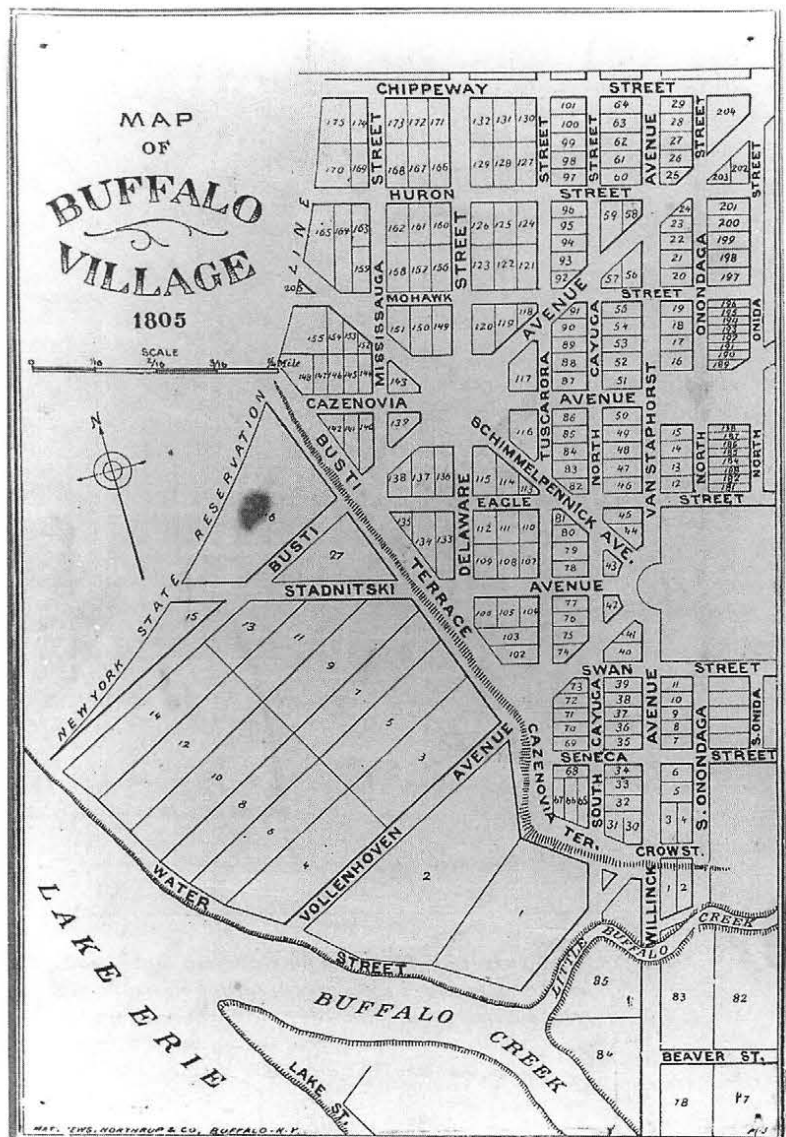


Figure 14. Buffalo. The radial plan of Buffalo had a strong connection with the more elaborate plans by L'Enfant for the US national capital in Washington. An official of the Holland Land Company, which founded Buffalo, Joseph Ellicott, was the brother of Andrew Ellicott. The latter succeeded L'Enfant as the principal planner for the new capital.

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official of the Holland Land Company, Joseph Ellicott, was the brother of Andrew Ellicott. The latter succeeded L'Enfant as the planner of the new U.S. capital with its elaborate radial plan.

Canadian Company officials may also have hoped that by replicating the Buffalo town plan it would provide a good omen that the boom conditions that were being enjoyed by Buffalo at the time would be replicated in their own proposed settlement. However, this was not to be the case. The harbour at Goderich proved poor as it was prone to silting. As well, with no equivalent of an Erie Canal, which was completed in 1825 and contributed to Buffalo's spectacular growth, to provide a key transportation link and source of power, Goderich was fated to follow a much slower pace of development tied to the surrounding, albeit very rich, agricultural lands.

As stated above, Bouchette's plans of Goderich and Guelph reflect what the Canada Company intended to build. However, both towns did over time grow largely in accordance with the proposed schemes though more so in the case of Goderich. In both cases the settlements were focused on a central market place. Guelph contains as well a number of other public spaces scattered through the town located in a seemingly in a haphazard manner. However, the placement of these squares was in some cases related to changes in elevation of the site and/or to provide a focus to various radial streets.

The principal access into Guelph was proposed to be from the road leading from Toronto by means of a bridge over the Speed River. The commercial aspect of the settlement was well established by the traveller being immediately greeted by the company's offices located directly across the bridge on the periphery of a semi-circular open space. Beyond the company's office buildings lay the market space. This area fanned out before narrowing at the far end to a street-wide exit. Emerging from the market space, the square around the proposed St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (site of the present Church of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception) would emerge to the right. The plan suggests a degree of grandeur to the square by its sheer size. However, the church and square being placed atop the highest elevation within the town helped to reinforce the impact.

Guelph from its inception was intended to be an agricultural service centre for the surrounding area within the Guelph block. It was also the first major settlement within British North America not on a major waterway. The richness of the surrounding agricultural lands and rudimentary road access to Toronto and Dundas at the head of Lake Ontario proved sufficient to allow this settlement to prosper. Its success was to be matched by other agricultural centres in Upper Canada as the century progressed and farm production flourished.

Conclusion

By traditional methods of assessing cartographic works, the urban maps and plans produced by Bouchette were disappointing, as there are a number of instances where he failed to

reflect contemporary developments. For example, his 1831 map of Montréal showed proposed changes that followed the elimination of the old fortifications at the start of the century, but these had not and were not likely to take place. As well, this map also failed to show the Lachine Canal that was opened in 1825 and that was to influence dramatically the subsequent development of the city. Similarly, his map of Toronto used both in the 1815 and 1831 publications was largely a slightly modified version of his 1792 manuscript map of the harbour area. The urban settlement indicated in the map was largely a schematic representation that reflected the grid-like street system. This was particularly disappointing in the 1831 publication as at that time Toronto had become a significant commercial centre in Upper Canada. However, this shortcoming was not the case in all urban areas depicted. His 1815 and 1831 maps of Québec were generally up-to-date and provided a valuable chronicle of the development of the timber and related lumber and ship-building industries as well as the attendant suburban development of the city.

The failure by Bouchette to update his urban maps cannot be levelled against his better-known large-scale topographical maps of Lower Canada. As noted above, Bouchette went to great lengths in his 1831 map of Lower Canada to incorporate changes that had occurred subsequent to the publication of his 1815 map. This included noting where new townships had been surveyed, where lots had been established within existing townships and where new villages had appeared. This reflected the high priority that British authorities placed on accurately determining the political boundaries within the province. The limited attention paid to noting changes in existing urban areas largely reflected the lesser importance placed on this aspect of colonial development by British authorities.

In addition to accurately establishing political boundaries, British authorities had an interest in what was, or what could potentially be, produced in the colony. Though this interest was mainly with respect to agricultural and forestry production, there was also some interest in output from urban areas. Thus Bouchette did take the opportunity to illustrate the booming timber, lumber and shipbuilding industries of the period, particularly in Québec. The additional interest by the authorities in available harbours in the province also allowed for the illustration of various settlements such as Montréal, Toronto and Kingston though, in most cases, the urban areas were often rendered in a very limited or schematic manner. In a similar way, the canal building of the era contributed to a detailed plan of Ottawa as the northern terminus of the Rideau Canal. Halifax received a more generalized characterization in a map more focused on the Shubenacadie Canal. Finally, the British authorities were interested in accommodating sizeable immigration into the colony. Preparations for the Loyalist immigrants in the late-18th century prompted the inclusion of the plan of Sorel. Similarly, the later and more sizeable immigration from the British Isles in the first half of the 19th century resulted in plans being provided for the settlements of Goderich and Guelph in the rich agricu-

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ltural lands of Upper Canada. As a collection, the urban maps and plans of Bouchette provide a valuable chronicle of a number of the socio-economic forces of the first half of the 19th century that had an impact on urban areas in British North America.

As Harley has discussed in his analysis of maps, what does not get represented is often as interesting as what does. In a similar vein, the disinterest in urban areas of the colony is of note. It seems to reflect a view that British North America was largely of interest in providing land for displaced individuals from various other areas of the empire. These new immigrants would in turn help open up new territory that over time would provide the mother country with needed agricultural and forestry staples. Urban settlements were seemingly of secondary importance as distribution centres for the flow of goods and people to and from the colony. Even in this regard, there was limited attention to the urban layout to facilitate this role. This secondary status was to change as the century progressed and industrialization raised the economic importance of urban areas.

Endnotes

1. J. B. Harley, "Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps," in *From Sea Charts to Satellite Images* ed. David Buisseret (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1990) p. 4.
2. Claude Boudreau, *L'analyse de la carte ancienne, essai méthodologique. La carte du Bas-Canada de 1831 de Joseph Bouchette. Rapports et Mémoires de recherche du Celat* (Quebec: CELAT, 1986) and *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840* (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1994).
3. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*.
4. Samuel Gale and Jean-Claude Duberger, *Plan of part of the province of Lower Canada [...] completed in the surveyor general office in the later part of the year 1794 and early part of the year 1795 [...]*, Quebec, 1794–1795, manuscript. Illustrated in *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 194.
5. William Vondenvelden and Louis Charland, *A new topographical map of the province of Lower Canada, compiled from all the former as well as the latest surveys taken by order of the provincial government by and under the direction of Samuel Holland, esq. deceased late surveyor general of the said province*, printed London, 1803. Illustrated in *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 195.
6. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *L'analyse de la carte ancienne*, p. 111–112.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
8. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 205.
9. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 58–62.
10. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *L'analyse de la carte ancienne*, p. 112–113.
11. See Paul Ferley, "The French Cartographer Jacques-Nicolas Bellin's Plans of 18th-Century Urban Settlements in Present-Day Canada", *Urban History Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, October 1996, p. 36–42.
12. Jonathan Carver, *A new map of the province of Québec, according to the Royal Proclamation, of the 7th of October 1763, from the French surveys, connected with those made after the war, by captain Carver, and other officers in His Majesty's service*, engraved London, 1766. Illustrated in *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 59.
13. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 96–101.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
15. J. David Wood, "Grand Design on the Fringes of Empire: New Towns for British North America", *The Canadian Geographer*, Volume XXVI, 3, fall/automne, 1982, p. 243–255.
16. R. Louis Gentilcore and C. Grant Head, *Ontario's History in Maps* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) p. 78.
17. John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1965) p. 15.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
19. *Ibid.*, Boudreau, *La cartographie au Québec 1760–1840*, p. 207.
20. André Charbonneau, Yvon Desloges and Marc Lafrance, *Québec The Fortified City: From the 17th to the 19th Century* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982) p. 408.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
22. A more popular second edition of the text was produced in 1832. This has resulted in the text often being dated as of the later year.
23. A number of the urban plans contain a reference to a particular year. However, for the purposes of this paper, the reference date of a map will be determined by the year in which it was published (i.e., 1815 or 1831).
24. David T. Ruddel, *Québec City 1765–1832 The evolution of a colonial town* (Ottawa, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1987) p. 201.
25. E.H. Dahl, H. Espeset, Marc Lafrance and David Thierry Ruddel, *La ville de Québec, 1800–1850, un inventaire de cartes et de plans* (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1975).
26. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 164–165.
28. In practise within Montréal, the streets parallel to the St. Lawrence River are viewed as running east and west. However, as noted by the north arrow on the Montréal maps, they should more correctly be viewed as running north and south. For the purposes of this paper, the compass references will always be made with regard to the north arrow on the map in question.
29. Merrill Denison, *Canada's First Bank, A History of the Bank of Montreal* (Toronto-Montreal: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1966) Vol. I, p. 171.
30. Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution* (Montreal: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1974) p. 143.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
32. Jean-Claude Robert, *Atlas historique de Montréal* (Montréal, Art Global, Libre Expression, 1994) p. 86–91.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 88–89.
34. Linear villages were discussed by Reps (*Ibid.*, p. 126) within the context of New England. Marsan (*Ibid.*, p. 27) also discussed this settlement pattern within the province of Québec.
35. *Ibid.*, Ruddel, p. 144.
36. Originally cited in Richard A. Preston, "The History of the Port of Kingston," *Historic Kingston*, 3 (1954), 5.
37. Brian S. Osborne and Donald Swainson, *Kingston Building on the Past* (Westport, Ontario: Butternut Press Inc., 1988) p. 40.
38. *Ibid.*, Gentilcore and Head, p. 252.
39. *Ibid.*, Gentilcore and Head, p. 248–273.
40. Thomas L. Nagy, *Ottawa in Maps: A Brief Cartographical History of Ottawa 1825–1973* (Ottawa: National Map Collection Public Archives of Canada, 1974).
41. *Ibid.*, p. 5–6.
42. James Anderson, "The Canada Company, A Personal Introduction," in *The Shaping of Ontario from Exploration to Confederation*, compiled by Nick and Helma Mika (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Company, 1985) p. 89.
43. Gilbert A. Stelter, "Guelph and the Early Canadian Town Planning Tradition," *Ontario History Volume 77 No. 2* (June 1985) p. 84.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 96–100.