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MONTMORENCY FALLS—1835

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THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

A STORY OF THE CITY FOUNDED BY CHAMPLAIN

BY

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TO HER EXCELLENCY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE COUNTESS GREY

THE CITADEL, QUEBEC
March, 1908

CONTENTS

PAGE

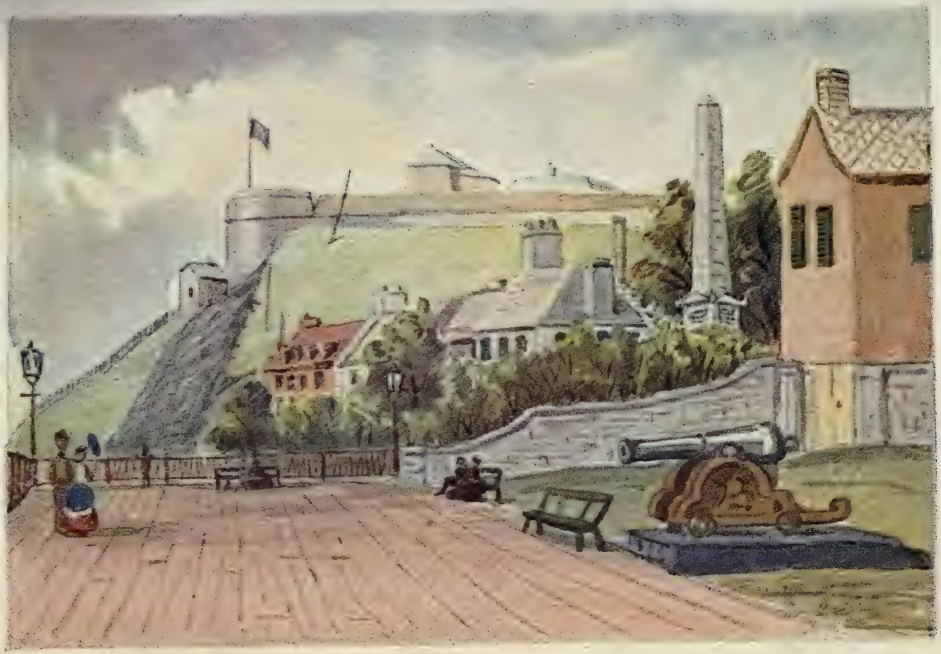
Introduction 1
Jacques Cartier—Roberval—de la Roche 7
Samuel Champlain, Founder of Quebec—The Siege of Quebec in 1629 19
The Missionaries—The Carignan Regiment—Wives for Settlers 41
The Count de Frontenac—The Repulse of Phips 59
Quebec in the Eighteenth Century—Sir Hovenden Walker 75
Official Knavery—The Intendant Bigot 91
The Battle of the Plains—Death of Wolfe and Montcalm 113
The Battle of Ste. Foy—Defeat of British Troops 153
British Rule—Surrender of Montreal—Treaty of Paris 167
The Invasion under Arnold and Montgomery—Defeat of the American Forces 179
Modern Quebec—The Lower Canada Rebellion 195
Notes in Quebec Chronology 219
The Monuments of Quebec 239
Hospitals and Institutions 249
The Churches of Quebec 269
Chronological List showing Contemporary Rulers in France, England and New France 304

Introduction

AS the voyager ascends our great river for the first time and rounds the Point of Orleans, a scene opens out before him not easily to be forgotten. The noble Saint Lawrence suddenly widening its channel forms here a spacious basin, from the western side of which arises the majestic promontory of Quebec, crowned with monument, turret and spire; while higher still and dominating the whole, looms the grim fortress of Cape Diamond. On the southern shore stand out in bold relief, the heights of Levis; to the north, sloping towards the Laurentians, are rich pastures and woodlands, dotted with homesteads, and in the midst the ancient and picturesque village of Charlesbourg.

To the student the name of Quebec will recall some of the most attractive pages in the story of the New World: the achievements of great discoverers; the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian missionaries; the feats of arms of Captains whose military genius entitles them to rank with the heroes of antiquity.

It is not difficult to recognise in Quebec the key to the Saint Lawrence, the natural stronghold of New France. *Natura fortis*, reads the motto of the city. From the earliest time he who held possession of Quebec was regarded as the master of the country. Here therefore the defensive forces of the country were concentrated. But Quebec was also for a long time the centre of intellectual activity. Under the protection of her ramparts projects were conceived for the civilization of the northern part of the continent. The founders of more distant colonies and settlements, those who followed in the footsteps of the pioneers, lingered at Quebec as the storehouse of the knowledge necessary for the success of their



THE KING'S BASTION—BY LIEUT. SITWELL, R.E.

enterprise. Quebec is unique. There is no rival in situation nor any in the varied interests of her history. The civilization of the Old World is still eloquent in monuments, which record her triumphs and adversities. In the New World, it is the city founded by Champlain that is most eloquent of the glories of the past. The gates and ramparts, the quaint streets and terraced slopes, the churches and convents, the colleges and adjoining Plains, bring vividly to the mind deeds of bygone chivalry and devotion. The three centuries of her existence are thronged with detail, for from the bastion of Cape Diamond have been unfurled to the breeze the flags of two great countries.

The birth of letters in North America must be traced to Quebec. It was on the banks of the Saint Charles that Jacques Cartier spent the dreary winter of 1535, gathering those impressions which were to give to Europeans their first knowledge of our shores. And it was in Quebec that Champlain composed the wonderful narrative—wonder-

ful in fulness of detail, in vividness and simple good faith—which revealed to the Old World the wealth and extent of the New.

But Quebec has another claim to consideration. It was here that the experiment was tried of welding two powerful nations opposed alike in political and religious culture and habits—an experiment of surpassing interest crowned with signal success.

For one hundred and fifty years under the flag of France, and for one hundred and fifty years under that of England, Quebec has played her part in the development of the national life; and the most momentous questions in the history of North America have been brought to issue under the shadow of her walls.

Rich in memorials of the past and still retaining the impress of the old régime, it is Quebec that will ever impart to the historic imagination of Canadians the most powerful impulse. Canada with the new blood of the twentieth century coursing in her veins, cannot more nobly

assert the largeness of her views and the elevation of her spirit than by cherishing the city of her birth, the rock of her defence.

CHAPTER I.

JACQUES CARTIER.

The researches of modern times lead one to believe that the continent of America was known to the Old World long before the days of Columbus. Hereafter, perhaps, we may learn that the white man inhabited the banks of the Saint Lawrence before the advent of the dusky warriors encountered by Jacques Cartier. It is unimportant. Following in the train of Columbus in the south and Cartier in the north, a new civilization sprang up which was destined to react upon the older nations, and to change in a comparatively short period the intellectual, material and moral aspects of the world.

It was in the year 1534 that Jacques Cartier made his first voyage of discovery; passed through the Straits of Belle Isle, landed at Gaspé, and sailed up the river as far as Anticosti, being at that time under the impression that he had found a passage to Cathay. Returning to France with glowing accounts of the New World and of its all-undeveloped sources of wealth, he made immediate preparations for a second voyage, and on the ninth of March, 1535, again sailed from the Breton port of Saint Malo. On the festival of Saint Lawrence the three vessels of the expedition entered a small bay opposite the island of Anticosti, and in honour of the day the name of the saint was given to the bay and afterwards extended to the gulf and to the great river beyond. Continuing their passage, the voyagers passed the mouth of the Saguenay, Ile aux Coudres, the promontory of Cap Tourment, and at last came to anchor off the Island of Orleans, then thickly covered with grape vines, to which Cartier gave the name Ile

FRANCIS I.

JACQUES CARTIER.

Bacchus. On the fourteenth of September, the ships entered a narrow river flowing into the Saint Lawrence, now known to us as the Saint Charles. Upon the banks of this winding stream stood the village of Stadaconé, presided over by the warrior-chief, Donnacona. At a short distance, upon the heights, were other villages peopled by the Iroquois. These were the Ajoasté, Starnatam, Tailla ; and upon the bank of the river stood the village of Stadin, with whose inhabitants Cartier became acquainted. Having chosen a place for a temporary shelter he explored the Saint Lawrence as far as the Indian settlement of Hochelaga, and returned to Stadaconé to pass the winter.

His ships found a harbour in the Lairet, a tributary of the Saint Charles, and near the confluence of the two rivers he built a rude fort, mounted it with cannon and encircled it with a palisade. The winter proved disastrous. Twenty-five of his companions perished from scurvy, and on the opening of navigation he prepared to return to France.

Before leaving our inhospitable shores he planted a rough cross—symbol of the Christian religion—on the brink of the Lairet where he had passed the winter. The date was Thursday, the third of May, 1536. The cross was thirty-five feet in height. Over the intersection of the arms was placed a shield charged with the lilies of France, and above the shield was a scroll, bearing this inscription: *Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat.*

These are the circumstances attending the first European settlement in Canada that history has recorded. The brave men who made it lived their lives under perpetual menace of destruction, facing the perils of the deep to meet still greater dangers from pestilence or savage hordes on land. Alone in a strange country, cut off from every form of civilization by a wilderness of ice, their ranks thinned by loathsome disease, and yet prepared with the return of spring for fresh deeds of bold adventure. Undaunted, heroic, steadfast; yielding only

to the last grim enemy death—such were the discoverers of old.

Three days later Cartier returned to France, taking with him the great chief, Donnacona.

Although his efforts to colonize New France had proved abortive, he did not abandon the project, and a few years later he found a patron for it in the Sieur de Roberval, who undertook to provide a number of settlers. In the month of May, 1541, buoyant with hope, Cartier sailed for Canada on his third voyage, expecting that Roberval and his colonists would follow immediately. In August he passed the site of Quebec, the graveyard of his first adventure, and anchored at Cap Rouge, where he proposed to try the experiment of colonization. Leaving the ships he explored the river as far as the rapids above Hochelaga, and returned to join his companions at Cap Rouge. His disappointment and dismay can be imagined on learning that Roberval had not arrived. Once again he was doomed to spend a winter in Canada

under trying circumstances, and one can sympathize with his determination to abandon the scheme on the opening of navigation.

Roberval arrived in the harbour of Saint John's, N'f'd, on the eighth of June, 1542, with three vessels and two hundred colonists. At that season of the year the country presented a charming picture. On the crests of the hills snow and ice still concealed every sign of verdure, while on the slopes the sun of June had warmed into life and beauty the luxuriant foliage of primeval vegetation. The scene was novel, and must have fired the enthusiasm of the youth on board who had come to extend the dominion of France beyond the sea. It was a picturesque group; men of wealth and station, artisans and men of commerce who, untrammeled by experience, were fortified with hope.

As the vessels were riding at anchor, three ships were perceived passing the mouth of the harbour. A few weeks earlier the sight of a sail would have

been hailed with delight; but to Roberval it was the warning of impending disaster. They were the ships of Jacques Cartier.

Establishing communication with their commander, Roberval begged, insisted, commanded him to alter his course and return. Apparently he consented to obey, but under cover of the night he spread every sail to the wind, and in the morning the ships had vanished. Two winters of pestilence and privations in Canada had cooled the ardour of the daring navigator. Roberval was in great perplexity. Well might it have been for him if he had shifted his sails and followed in the wake of Cartier. But no, he decided to remain and tempt fortune at Cap Rouge. The summer was before him; his passengers had already endured a tedious voyage, and the love of adventure overcame every other consideration. Startling adventures were at hand for at least three of his company.

On board the vessel were many young women of rank, and amongst them Marguerite, a niece of Roberval. On board

also was a youth whom the maiden had loved, not wisely, but too well. Roberval who had become acquainted with her conduct, decreed a heartless form of punishment. As the ship approached the Isle of Demons, he cast anchor, landed his unfortunate relative with her nurse upon the desolate island, and abandoned her to her fate. Her lover, however, who at least had courage, threw himself overboard and succeeded in gaining the shore with a weapon and a supply of ammunition.

Here on this island of ill-omen, the three wretched inhabitants found shelter as best they could; and in the course of time an infant added to their cares.

Dismay filled the soul of the youth. He sickened and died. The child soon followed, and then the nurse, and the unhappy Marguerite was alone on the desolate isle. Two years and five months after the date of her landing, the crew of a small vessel out at sea perceived smoke arising from the Demon Isle. As they approached they beheld a female form

Roberval and His Companions, from the Vallard Map, 1545.

waving a signal from the shore. It was Marguerite. Taking her on board they conveyed her to France and restored her to her friends, to whom she told the story of her terrible adventure.

Having confided his niece to the care of the demons, Roberval sailed up the river and landed his company at Cap Rouge. The men set to work vigorously to build a fort and cultivate the land. Summer passed into autumn, and at its close, comfortable quarters had been provided. Soon followed the winter, and the whole colony found shelter under one roof. Then discord commenced. Provisions were scarce, disease broke out, the men swore, the women scolded, and enthusiasm for adventure gave place to discontent.

The winter wore away; but by the time the snows began to melt more than two-thirds of that promising settlement had succumbed to disease.

Cartier undertook a fourth voyage to rescue the survivors, but does not appear to have attempted any further exploration.

With the passing of Cartier and Roberval, France abandoned her efforts to obtain a foothold in Canada for more than half a century; and silence fell over the whole region between Stadaconé and Hochelaga. On the banks of Newfoundland, however, the fishermen still plied their craft. In the year 1578 there were one hundred and fifty French vessels engaged in the trade, and probably a greater number belonging to the English, the Spanish and the Portuguese.

France had tried the experiment of colonizing Canada with men of rank; she now undertook to repeat the experiment with men of crime.

On the 12th of January, 1598, Troilus du Mesgouez, Marquis de la Roche, with the title of Lieutenant-General of Canada and a monopoly of the fur trade, undertook to colonize New France with forty selected thieves taken from the prisons of France. Landing upon Sable Island, he left his motley band to their own resources, while he explored the coast

in search of a suitable place for permanent settlement. His vessel, unfortunately, was overtaken by a gale and driven before the wind for days. When at length the storm abated he was far out at sea and continued his passage to France without troubling himself about the men he had left behind him.

The wretched convicts, thus abandoned to their fate, watched through days and months for the return of their commander, suffering severely from want, exposure and disease. Five years later the survivors, twelve in number, were rescued and taken to France, where the king provided them with means to embark in the fishing trade between the two countries. Thus another enterprise had miserably failed.

The Edict of Nantes, which gave to the Huguenots in France the same privileges as to Catholics, opened up the New World to Protestants. Pierre Chauvin, Sieur de Tontuit, a Calvinist, taking advantage of the terms of the Edict, sought and obtained a monopoly of the

Canada trade. He then entered into a partnership with one Pontgravé, who had previously visited the Saint Lawrence. Associated with him in this enterprise of trade and colonization, were Pierre Dugast, Sieur De Monts, and several merchants. The expedition left France in the spring of 1600, and a small settlement was established at Tadoussac. The managers, however, were more intent upon gain than careful of the welfare of their men, and the affair terminated in suffering for the settlers and in financial loss for the promoters. A permanent foundation for settlement and French rule had yet to be laid.

CHAPTER II.

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN.

Sixty-eight years had passed since Jacques Cartier related his thrilling story to the French court, and still no permanent settlement marked the scenes of his discoveries. The Breton fisherman seldom went further abroad than the Banks or the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence, and the fur trader who bartered with the Indian during the summer deserted his post at the approach of winter. Colonization and the spread of Christianity which the court endeavoured to enforce and the trader invariably succeeded in evading, had become mere adjuncts to the trading monopoly. None had yet brought to bear upon the New World any other motive than the cupidity of the merchant or the roving spirit of the adventurer.

In the year 1602, however, Aymar de Chastes, governor of the town of Dieppe, received a commission from the French Crown to embark upon a project of colonization. A company was formed at Rouen, but de Chastes decided "to find out what those engaged in the task should do" before launching the scheme. For this preliminary expedition Pontgravé was chosen on account of his experience, and with him was associated the ever memorable Champlain. The project itself, it will be seen, was cut off before it reached maturity, by the death of its chief promoter; but it served as an apprenticeship to the future builder of New France. This was the first visit to our shores of the founder of Quebec.

Samuel Champlain was born at Brouage, a village in the province of Saintonge. From a youth spent with his father as a wandering mariner, he derived his love of adventure and the knowledge of the sea that served for incentive and resource in the career now about to open. At the age of twenty-six he abandoned for a time

Champlain-

a life on the ocean, to serve under Marshal d'Aumont, one of the chief commanders in the Catholic army against the Huguenots. When the army was disbanded in 1598, he returned to Brouage and awaited a favourable opportunity of advancing his fortune. The career of a soldier did not appeal to him; he loved the life of a mariner, and towards the end of the year received a commission to proceed to Spain on a voyage of commercial investigation. Chance, however, directed his course westward to the New World. While at Seville, he was given the command of a vessel to the West Indies in an expedition against the English. We read that he visited Puerto Rico and proposed to cut a canal through the isthmus of Panama. On his return to France he renewed his acquaintance with Aymar de Chastes under whose orders he had served during the later years of the war of the League. On the fifteenth of March, 1603, Champlain and Pontgravé sailed from France for the New World.

The little expedition arrived at Tadous-

sac on the 24th of May. Here Champlain busied himself in making sketches of the country and exploring the Saguenay for fifteen leagues. But there were lands beyond, up the great Saint Lawrence; and rounding the point of Orleans, Champlain caught his first glimpse of the bold promontory of Quebec. It was here he made sketches and plans which were afterwards incorporated in the published narrative of the voyage. After continuing his explorations as far as the Sault Saint Louis, and recording the geographical features and resources of the country, he rejoined his companions at Tadoussac and returned to France.

The death of Aymar de Chastes in 1603 brought the project of the settlement to an untimely end. About this time, however, the Sieur de Monts received from the King a patent as Lieutenant-Governor of La Cadie and Canada, and Champlain, Pontgravé and the Baron de Poutrincourt were invited to accompany him to his new domain. Champlain embarked at Havre de Grace in the month

of April, 1604, and as Tadoussac was discarded as a place of settlement, the party cruised for several weeks about the shore of what is now the Bay of Fundy, and at last took up their quarters for the winter on the Island of Saint Croix in the country of the Etchemins. In the spring they crossed the Bay and fixed upon a spot for their settlement named by Champlain, Port Royal. De Monts returned to France to look after the interests of the little colony; Pontgravé was left in command of the post, while Champlain with his usual vigour explored the country, made sketches of its striking features and formed plans for the future.

In 1606 Pontgravé was replaced by Poutrincourt in the governorship of Port Royal. Among the settlers were Lescarbot the historian, Louis Hébert an apothecary, and several men of sterling character who looked upon the new country as their future home. For the first time in the history of the colony there appeared to be a reasonable prospect of settlement on this elusive shore. But the

hour had not yet come, and one more failure was to be added to the long list. In the month of May, 1607, a small vessel commanded by one Chevalier, sailed into port with the overwhelming news that the monopoly of the fur-trade granted to De Monts had been withdrawn. The hopes of the colony were crushed. Once more the settler had been sacrificed to the merchant. Poutrincourt was advised therefore to abandon the settlement; and by the end of August, Champlain and the rest of the colony were on the bosom of the deep bound for France. A few fishermen only remained in La Cadie.

A brighter day was soon to dawn. On his return to France, in 1607, Champlain set about the task of colonization in a new spirit. He had previously tried to persuade De Monts that his exertions in La Cadie were misdirected, and that the real development of the country must begin on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. He was now about to test the accuracy of his judgment.

On the 5th of April, 1608, two ships

sailed from Honfleur, the *Don-de-Dieu*, under command of Champlain, and the *Lévrier*, under command of Pontgravé. The *Lévrier* was the first to make the Saint Lawrence. Here Pontgravé fell into the hands of one Darache, a Basque fisherman, who had continued to trade with the Indians at Tadoussac, contrary to the king's command. The vessel was boarded, the guns and ammunition were removed and Pontgravé was thus rendered helpless. On the arrival of Champlain, however, the situation was changed. Darache was forced to sign an agreement not to molest Pontgravé, and to refer all differences to France. After the conclusion of this arrangement the carpenters of the expedition fitted out a small barque to convey Champlain and his little band to Quebec.

Let us follow this lonely craft as it sails up the Saint Lawrence amidst the solemnity and ethereal charm of this summer morn. All nature is in her loveliest mood, for from the banks of the river to the purple mountains beyond, her creations

are untouched by the hand of man. To Champlain the scene is familiar; to most of his followers it is mysterious and novel; but none of them could have conceived that the outcome of their mission would mark an epoch in the world's history. It is the third of July, 1608, the real birthday of the Canadian nation; and yet no traveller greets this heroic band on its way to glorious achievement; no salvos thunder forth a welcome as the frail barque enters the basin; but yonder, as if to check further advance, looms the silent sentinel of the Saint Lawrence, the majestic rock of Quebec.

Enthroned upon the heights through centuries of silence, Cape Diamond has beckoned in vain the tardy adventurer to pass the golden portals. Gorgeous in the mantle of the snow, in the verdure of the spring, in the varying tints of autumn, the mute appeal has passed unheeded save by the untutored children of the forest. A change, however, is at hand; the solitude is broken by the plash of oars, the grounding of boats and the sound of

human voices. The founder of Quebec appears. With the hour has arrived the man.

Upon the narrow belt which skirts the promontory, men of strange garb and tongue are assembled; the pioneers of an advancing host who from this place will push forward through trackless forests and by the margins of unnamed lakes to the confines of unknown seas; pausing not in their march until they have conquered a glorious heritage for posterity and founded a great empire.

The leader who has just stepped from the boat, surrounded by a few axemen, is Samuel Champlain, of Brouage, the founder of New France. Let us see what manner of man he was.

On the site of the old Fort Saint Louis, where he lived and died, a noble monument has been raised to his memory. Upon the tablets many of his services are recorded. But a more enduring memorial than bronze or stone is the fair Dominion of to-day, the heritage bequeathed to us by the immortal Saintongeois.

The French régime in Canada has passed away. The drama enacted upon the heights of Abraham by Wolfe and Montcalm brought about a change of rule, and the Union Jack replaced the flag of the Bourbons. But Canadians will never be unmindful of the brave deeds done in our untamed forests by the men sent forth from France.

It is the third of July, 1608. There, on a narrow ledge thickly covered with walnut trees, stand the first settlers. Above them frown the cliffs; beyond them is a vast solitude, the extent of which they know not. But they are not dismayed. Soon the crash of falling trees echoes along the heights of Levis. The work of the foundation has begun.

A few weeks pass, and within a strong wooden enclosure may be seen a modest building, rudely fashioned into a fort—the "Abitation de Québec." To this dwelling, which appealed to the Indian as a marvel of architectural skill, a warehouse was added for the merchandise of France and the furs of Canada. Here at least

was security and shelter from the blasts of winter. But even in this little community, sedition is already rife, and a plot is developing to murder the commander and deliver Quebec into the hands of the Basques and Spaniards at Tadoussac. Darache is seeking revenge for the interference of Champlain. Duval, a locksmith of the expedition, is the chief conspirator. By promises of reward and freedom of trade, he has persuaded his companions to further his designs. One of the men, however, seems to have repented, and disclosed the plot to the pilot, who in turn communicates the scheme to Champlain. Forewarned, the Governor takes prompt action. The ringleader is seized; his trial is brief; the next day he is strung up on a gibbet, while his head is displayed on a pike, *pour encourager les autres.*

On the 18th of September, Pontgravé sailed for France with the conspirators on board, leaving Champlain, with twenty-eight men, to brave the dangers of the approaching winter. How they spent

the dreary months shut off from the world beyond, we know not; but eight only were living in the spring. Scurvy had once more reaped a harvest in the New World. The long looked for succor came at last. The welcome sight of a sail is seen rounding the point of Orleans; communication with the mother land is established, and men and supplies are at hand for the distressed colony. Champlain appears to have forgotten all about the hardships of the winter, for hearing that Pontgravé was at Tadoussac, he hastened thither to arrange for a voyage of exploration, eager to meet fresh danger. His courage was soon put to the test. During the previous autumn he had pledged his word to assist the Hurons and Algonquins in their warfare against the Iroquois, and now the opportunity occurred to redeem his promise. With two Frenchmen and sixty Indians, he followed the trail to the shore of what has since been known as Lake Champlain. Here he encountered a band of the Iroquois. The struggle was brief. Champlain

brought down three of the chiefs with one shot. His men wrought further destruction, and the Iroquois, astounded at this novel method of dealing death, turned and fled.

Criticism has been directed against the founder for having become involved in Indian warfare; but with a knowledge of the condition of trade and of the critical situation of the few Frenchmen, his action appears to have been in the best interests of the country.

Leaving Chauvin in command at Quebec, he crossed the ocean to report to his royal master. The King was at Fontainbleau, and here Champlain related the tale of his adventure. His story met with approval, but his appeal for settlers was not successful. The fur traders were opposed to any extensive plan of colonization. Canada was still to be regarded as a trading colony, and a sufficient number of people to facilitate the operations of trade was all that was thought desirable at this time. Champlain, on the contrary, desired above all things to extend the

domain of France, to Christianize the Indians and to see a prosperous settlement on the banks of the St. Lawrence in the full enjoyment of trade.

For many years, therefore, his efforts were crippled by the mistaken policy of the French court. Instead of offering encouragement to vigorous men and women to seek homes in the New World, France bestowed her favours upon rich corporations in search of fortune. The monopolist looked askance at any movement that gave freedom to the humble settler, and Champlain received little encouragement to make his colony self-supporting. France was quite content that the settlement should depend for subsistence upon the annual supplies from the mother country.

During a visit to his native land in 1610 Champlain married Hélene Boulé, a girl then only twelve years of age. After the marriage ceremony Madame Champlain returned for ten years to the care of her parents; but from 1620 to 1624, she resided at the Fort Saint Louis, and in this brief period acquired a useful knowledge of the

Algonquin language, sufficient to enable her to devote her leisure to the instruction of Indian children. Following the custom of ladies of rank at that time Madame Champlain carried a small mirror attached to a chain; and the Indians, happy to bear her company, were often astonished to behold their own features reflected on the surface. This increased their esteem for the wife of the Governor. For they said that a lady so beautiful, who loved them so much as to wear their image close to her heart, must be a superior being.

In the year 1615, four members of the Récollet order, Jamet, Dolbeau, le Caron and Plessis, arrived in Quebec, and from this time the character of the colony was determined. "They were the first missionaries to convert the North American Indian," says Dr. Douglas, "and in those days, when the regular clergy were few, and the curés were missionary priests, the Récollets held each his separate 'cure of souls' in the small isolated villages along the Saint Lawrence, exposed to all the dangers of Iroquois attack."

A year later, the first real settlers reached Quebec—Nicolas Pivert, Pierre Desportes, Abraham Martin, Louis Hébert, with their families. These may be regarded as the pioneers of New France, the men and women who had come to found homes, and not merely to exploit the country and return to their native land. Under the encouragement of Champlain a thriving village sprang up about the fort and year by year the people became more attached to the land of their adoption. Their children were given in marriage, and the numerous offspring of the *habitants* soon became proverbial.

From this time the colony prospered, and Champlain, who desired to see a greater New France than that which was included under the name of Quebec, made frequent visits to the mother country to promote emigration. There was still much work for the founder to do. The country must be explored, the Indians must be appeased, and above all there was the danger of foreign invasion.

The rude buildings at the foot of the cliff had served the needs of the settlement so far; but with the return of each spring the governor had misgivings, for powerful nations were already viewing this little fortress with covetous eyes. In 1626 the fort was abandoned for the more pretentious structure on the heights known as Fort Saint Louis.

Evil days, however, were in store for Quebec. The avarice of the fur trader was demoralising the inhabitant and matters grew worse when the privileges of trade enjoyed by the Saint Malo Company were transferred to the Huguenot brothers, William and Émery de Caen. At this time only a few settlers had cultivated the soil sufficiently to derive subsistence therefrom; the majority were still dependent upon France for the necessaries of life, and pending the settlement of differences between the old traders and the new, supplies from the mother country were cut off. Famine threatened the inhabitants, and to add to the woes of the governor, quarrels arose

between the Protestants and the Catholics touching methods of worship. Praying and psalm-singing in too vigorous a manner on the part of the Huguenots were the grievances of the Catholics, and the sailors were forbidden to indulge in these exercises on the Saint Lawrence. The seamen refused to obey, and a compromise was effected whereby the singing was discontinued. This arrangement did not improve the situation, because the energy hitherto devoted to the psalms was now employed to give emphasis to the prayers and Champlain adds "it was a bad bargain, but we made the best of it we could."

Nothing seemed to flourish under the monopoly of the Caens, if we except the singing. The disputes between the old traders and the new became serious and Champlain despatched a representative to France to endeavour to adjust the differences. At last Richelieu put an end to the difficulties by organizing the powerful Company of New France, which was to exercise feudal proprietorship over all the French possessions in North America.

THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC IN 1629

The first charge of the new company was to send men and supplies for the relief of the famishing colony, and in the month of April, 1628, a fleet of transports sailed from Dieppe with ample stores. But while these vessels were on the ocean a hostile fleet had spread sail for Canada under the command of Sir David Kirke, or Kertk.

Intelligence reached Quebec on the 9th of July, that six vessels were in the harbour at Tadoussac, and the next day a Basque fisherman appeared before Champlain with a letter from Kirke who was then at Tadoussac, demanding the surrender of the fort. The governor refused, and although he had only sixteen men to arm the fort and less than fifty pounds of gunpowder, sent a courteous reply to the effect that he would defend the garrison to the last.

A few weeks later the hopes of the people were revived by the news that the provision boats had been sighted below Tadoussac. The summer wore away and the autumn, and still there was no sign of

either friend or foe. The condition of Quebec through the following winter was desperate. A handful of pease or a few roots were doled out daily to the starving community. On the opening of navigation it became known that the transports had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and then the prospect of relief was abandoned. It was not until the 19th of July that the fate of Quebec was determined, when Louis Kirke with three vessels anchored before Quebec and demanded the surrender of the place. Resistance would have been futile, and on the twentieth terms of capitulation were signed, under which Champlain was conveyed to England. The British flag waved over Fort Saint Louis and Quebec fell under English rule.

The new régime continued until the twenty-ninth of March, 1632, when Canada was restored to the French by the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye. On the fifth of July, Kirke was relieved of his administration by Émery de Caen. A year later, Champlain, under a new

commission from Richelieu, received the keys of the Fort, and Quebec was once more governed by its founder.

During the next two years the colony was reorganized, fresh emigrants arrived from Europe, agriculture was promoted and an era of prosperity seemed assured.

From the heights of Fort Saint Louis Champlain beheld with pride the evidence of material progress. Near by could be seen the steeple of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance which he had built in fulfillment of a vow. Along the Beauport shore was the picturesque hamlet grouped about the seigneury of surgeon Robert Giffard, and on the banks of the Lairet the Jesuits had commenced a seminary and a residence. With this pleasing prospect before him Champlain felt that he was about to enjoy the fruits of his labours. Providence, however, willed it otherwise and he was called to his rest on Christmas Day, 1635.

It is difficult to estimate the loss of his services to the colony. For twenty-seven years he had been the devoted soldier and

servant of New France, ever thinking more of her welfare than of his own. Brave, honest, steadfast in purpose and free from the vices of the age, he stands out in the pages of history as a noble type of a soldier, a governor and a citizen.

CHAPTER III.

THE MISSIONARIES.

THE CARIGNAN REGIMENT.

The prospect of crossing the ocean at this time was not inviting, nor had Canada many inducements to offer to the emigrant. All the avenues to wealth and influence thrown open to the favourites of the court were closed to that class most needed in New France. And so after the stirring history compressed within twenty-seven years, eighty souls formed the entire population of Quebec. The colony was to be made a source of wealth to swell the coffers of the rich, and the fortunate in trade who joined the great commercial companies were given letters of *noblesse*. Love of adventure, or visions of a larger freedom beyond the sea, might tempt a few hardy spirits to leave their native land;

but their example was seldom followed. Settlers began to realize that wealth for them was a condition they might contemplate but never attain.

Amongst the inhabitants of Quebec, however, were men of enterprise and self-reliance, who had sufficient initiative to undertake the task of colonization with little aid from France. Within the next three years surgeon Robert Giffard was instrumental in bringing fifty excellent families to settle on the banks of the Saint Lawrence, and Quebec now began to assume the aspect of a thriving settlement. Montmagny, who had succeeded Champlain, turned his attention to the civic affairs of the community. New streets were laid out and lots were set apart for future buildings; an official residence, henceforth to be known as the Château Saint Louis, was constructed near the fortifications; a few soldiers were drilled to man the fort, whilst the Governor, always attended by a military escort, reflected in the New World the pomp of the Old.

The Jesuits had opened a college for boys, and it was mainly through the circulation of the reports, or "Relations" of the order, that the religious communities were attracted to Canada. The first fruits of the movement were the foundation in 1639, of the Ursuline Convent, at Quebec, and the Hospital, under the direction of the Hospitalières. These two institutions owed their establishment to two women of noble birth, Madame de la Peltrie and Madame d'Aiguillon, and from the first exercised a salutary influence upon the life of the little colony.

The Jesuits in Canada were, without exception, men of brilliant mental power. In France they had held high and responsible positions which they relinquished to carry on their work amongst the children of the American forest. They went bravely into the villages of the Indians, lived with them in their smoky huts, conformed as nearly as they could to their customs, shared with them the pains of hunger, the winter's cold and the fatigues of the march; built a little church,

baptized young children, told the story of the cross, and all too often, gave their lives to seal their devotion.

The Society of Jesus and its methods in Europe have been criticised from many points of view; but the history of the order in America is a wonderful record of fearlessness and resolution, and, in the words of Parkman, "the grandeur of their self-devotion towers conspicuously over all." It was by the pupils of the Jesuits that Corneille's masterpiece, *Le Cid*, was presented on the 31st of December, 1646. This appears to be the first record of a dramatic performance in the New World.

Life in Quebec, however, was still very primitive, though the people, it seems, were happy and contented. With the rapid increase of the population by emigration, and the large families which blessed the union of the early settlers, it became expedient to devise more effective means for their subsistence. France was still willing to dole out provisions; but Montmagny was determined to satisfy the legitimate ambition of the people to trade

in the products of the country. After repeated efforts in the face of strenuous opposition, the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the Company of a Hundred Associates were curtailed, and the humble individual was permitted to engage in commerce.

In 1640, the church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, the residence of the Jesuits and Champlain's Chapel were destroyed by fire. In the Chapel the remains of the Founder of Quebec were buried, and until this day the exact site of his tomb is undetermined.

Montmagny was a Knight of Malta, and a souvenir of his régime may be seen in the Maltese cross over the entrance of the Château Frontenac. This stone, found by workmen in the walls of the Château Saint Louis built during his term of office, was placed by Haldimand over the gate of the Château Haldimand in 1784.

A few years later, under the administration of Louis de Coulonge D'Ailleboust, we find the government of Quebec entrusted to a Council, composed of the

Governor, a Jesuit and two of the leading inhabitants. Authority was given to this body to enact local laws, to regulate commerce and to arbitrate the differences of private individuals. For a people so long under the tutelage of a great monopoly, it may appear singular that one of the ordinances passed by the council gave the privilege of keeping a hotel to one, Jacques Boisdon, to the exclusion of all others. But the language of the instrument is vague. He was to settle in the square, opposite the parish church, so that all might go there to warm themselves, but whether visitors were expected to derive warmth from the stove, or from the potions supplied by Boisdon, or from both, is uncertain. No one, however, was to be allowed to remain in the hotel during the services of the church.

The population of Quebec at this period was about five hundred souls, and the total number of Europeans in the colony was not more than two thousand five hundred.

Until the year 1659, the ecclesiastical

Francois evesque de Quebec

jurisdiction of New France had been in the hands of the missionary priests. The people, however, were dissatisfied, and representations had been made to France for the presence of a bishop in their midst. The Pope for various reasons declined to create a see in Canada, and it was not till 1674, after much controversy, that the first pallium was granted to the Bishop of Quebec.

Anne of Austria presided over the destinies of France at this time during the minority of Louis XIV, and the selection of a prospective bishop was left by her to a Jesuit missionary, Father Le Jeune. His choice was Laval, and it was in 1659 that he arrived as Vicar Apostolic in Quebec.

François Xavier de Montmorency-Laval, Abbé de Montigny, was a descendant of one of the most illustrious families of Old France. From his earliest youth he had been attracted to the Church, and by a severe course of discipline was well qualified to exact obedience from others. One of his first acts in Canada was to

provide a native clergy, and to further this end he founded the Seminary of Quebec. This institution was placed under the direction of a superior chosen by himself. It was charged to provide for its members in health and in sickness, and to care for them in old age. To meet the wants of the foundation Laval obtained grants of land which he sold or exchanged, and to this day the Seminary of Quebec and the University of Laval, its offspring, are the most powerful institutions of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

The mission of Laval was a difficult one. The Church was in its infancy, without form or organization. Discipline had been almost unknown and a firm hand was necessary in the effort to centralize the extraordinary powers which had been allowed under such unsettled conditions to fall into the hands of minor clerics. In the pursuance of his policy Monseigneur Laval had to encounter many elements of opposition, and there were those who did not hesitate to censure his conduct. The impartial historian, however, with the

light now thrown upon the history of the period, is inclined to admit that he was the one man who could successfully establish the church in Canada, and the perfection of the organization which he left at his death is, for most, sufficient justification for his numerous acts of authority.

It was during the absence of Laval in Europe to lay his complaints against D'Avaugour the governor, touching the sale of brandy, that a terrible convulsion of the earth filled the people with alarm. Strange signs were seen in the heavens which were accepted as the indications of impending doom.

On the fifth of February, 1663, writes Father Lalemant, "everybody was in the streets; animals ran wildly about; children cried; men and women, seized with fright, knew not where to take refuge, expecting every moment to be buried under the ruins of the houses, or swallowed up in some abyss opening under their feet. Some on their knees in the snow cried for mercy, and others passed the night in

prayer, for the earthquake continued without ceasing, with a motion like that of a ship at sea, insomuch that sundry persons felt the same qualms of stomach which they would feel on the water. In the forests the commotion was far greater. The trees struck one against the other as if there was a battle between them, and you would have said that not only their branches, but even their trunks started out of their places and leaped on each other with such noise and confusion that the Indians said the whole forest was drunk."

Several writers refer to the severity of the shocks, and it was well on towards the close of the summer before the earth resumed her wonted calm.

In the year 1665 there was great rejoicing in Canada for Louis XIV had resolved that New France should be united to the Old by stronger ties. The letters of the Jesuits, the visit of Laval, and the representations of the governor D'Avaugour in 1663 as to the political possibilities of the country, had each in

turn kindled the enthusiasm of the court, and a signal mark of royal favour was to precede the dawn of a brighter era.

In the spring four companies of the regiment of Carignan-Salières, the first regular troops sent from France to Canada, had arrived in Quebec. The presence of this fine body of men, bronzed by service in the Turkish wars, had inspired the struggling colony with hope. A year previously, under the monopoly of the powerful Company of the West Indies, commercial enterprise was threatened with extinction; but the powers of the company had been curtailed and the people were confident of still greater concessions under the new régime that had been inaugurated.

The thirtieth of June was a day long to be remembered. Two ships had come to anchor in the basin of Quebec, and from the mast of one fluttered the royal standard of France, a sign that the king's representative was on board. Crowding the decks of the other vessel were the soldiers of another detachment of the

famous Carignan regiment, which had come to augment the forces already in the colony.

From the bastion of Saint Louis cannon thundered out a welcome, while the inhabitants in holiday attire, eager and expectant, thronged the quay to pay homage to the Marquis de Tracy, Lieutenant-General of all the King's possessions in North America, as he stepped ashore.

In the train of the Marquis were a number of young nobles who had sailed with him to explore the mysteries of the New World. Soon a gorgeous pageant headed by twenty-four men in the king's livery wended its way through the streets of the lower town, and climbed the mountain path, where Laval and the priests of the Seminary, in their vestments, awaited the Lieutenant-General.

Such a spectacle had never before been seen in New France. The enthusiasm of the people was unbounded, for the impressive scene in their midst formed a link between them and the motherland.

But there were fresh evidences of the good-will of the monarch. In the autumn Rémy de Courcelles the new Governor, with Jean Talon the Intendant, arrived at Quebec, followed by a third detachment of the Carignan regiment under Colonel Salières. This famous body of troops was raised at Savoy in 1644 by the Prince de Carignan. In 1652 it served under Condé at Porte Saint Antoine, and in 1664 fought with distinction as a part of the French army in the Austrian war against the Turks. In Canada, under Tracy and Courcelles, the men did good service in the Mohawk war, and when their presence was no longer urgently required, four companies were told off for garrison duty, and the remainder had the choice of either returning to France or settling in the new country.

To each soldier who remained, a grant of land and one hundred livres were set apart. The officers received larger tracts of land and the soldiers became tenants under their former commanders. They

were a fine body of men, and exercised a permanent influence on the character of the community. Many of the officers settled along the path of the Iroquois on the banks of the Richelieu, and in several of the flourishing towns of to-day their names are preserved.

The male element now predominated in Canada, and the problem for the Governor was to find wives for the settlers. An appeal was made to the paternal government of France and one hundred girls of the poorer class were sent over in 1665. Among them were ten or fifteen *demoiselles* from Dieppe and Rochelle, who soon found husbands. Some of the officers were fastidious and required wives of higher social rank. The king, ever willing to oblige, ordained that a small consignment of *demoiselles bien choisies* should be despatched to New France. It was a somewhat delicate enterprise, for the mothers of Canada had marriageable daughters of their own whom they were willing to bestow upon the gallant officers. The charms of the *jolies brunettes canadi-*

ennes appear to have been irresistible and the intendant wrote that it was inexpedient to send any more of the superior class as he still had a supply on hand. The demand for maidens of more humble origin, however, was still great.

Marriage in those days was a matter not of inclination but of duty. A girl must be wed when she was fifteen, and a boy before he had reached the age of twenty. For the bachelor there was no sympathy; single blessedness was not popular in high places.

Before the arrival of the ships with marriageable damsels, all bachelors were warned that their hunting privileges would be cancelled unless they chose a partner for life within fifteen days after the arrival of the vessels. This somewhat indecorous method of disposing of the girls left scanty time for courtship, and the most presentable youth had the best chance of securing the most attractive girl for his bride. The laggard, no doubt, met with his desert. There appears, however, to have been quite a scrimmage

amongst the bachelors to obtain a point of vantage.

The king manifested a lively interest in the increase of the population. Writing to the Intendant upon one occasion he predicted that there would be eleven hundred births in Canada during the next year. These calculations in France may account for the discrepancies between the census of the king and the figures supplied by the governor.

The officers charged with the administration of New France at this period were for the most part men of sterling character To the Intendant Talon, especially, was due much of the material and intellectual development in the little colony. The king himself, "regarding his Canadian subjects almost as his own children," as Colbert wrote to the governor, "wishes them to enjoy equally with the people of France the mildness and happiness of his reign." Talon was directed to "solace them in all things and encourage them to trade and industry." "Seeing that nothing can better promote this end," con-

tinued the royal instruction, "than entering into the details of their households and of all their little affairs, it will not be amiss that he visit all their settlements one after another in order to learn their true condition, provide as much as possible for their wants and performing the duty of a good head of a family, put them in the way of making profit." Lands were cleared and brought under the plough, a tannery and a hat factory were built in Quebec, flax was grown in the country and the girls were taught to weave. Talon himself was the patron of arts, science and industry, and his hand appeared now and again in more commonplace measures, as some thought, of doubtful expediency. It was he who built the first brewery in Quebec on the spot afterwards occupied by the Intendant's Palace. But these were days of fur trade and brandy disputes. French spirits were too strong for colonial morals, and too expensive, no doubt the Intendant thought, for colonial thrift. After all, the little brewery in the lower town may have

served a useful purpose.

Despite the quiet progress, however, there was a feeling of unrest in the colony and some were beginning to fear disaster from without. The Iroquois were again on the war path. Courcelles, though a good soldier and an upright governor, had met with reverses on the field and asked for his recall. The need was felt of a strong hand at the helm to restore confidence. Much would depend upon the new governor, and that the king's choice was a wise one was amply proved by the subsequent history of New France.

CHAPTER IV.

FRONTENAC.

Louis de Buade, comte de Frontenac, who succeeded de Courcelles, had received an early training on the field of battle. At the age of fifteen he served under the Prince of Orange, and in his twenty-first year held the command of a Norman regiment in the Italian wars. While still a young man he married Anne de la Grange Trianon, a girl of sixteen. His matrimonial experiences were not happy. Had they been more fortunate New France might have been deprived of the services of a most efficient, though ofttimes troublesome, governor.

The exploits of the youthful countess during the civil war of the Fronde may be briefly related.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier, grand daughter of Henry of Navarre, had espoused the cause of Condé, and when Orléans was threatened by the royal army she set forth to hold the city for Condé and the Fronde. In her company were the countess of Frontenac and two other ladies of rank. When this feminine expedition reached Orléans the gates were closed and the authorities refused to open them. Threats and promises proved of no avail; but at length a crew offered their assistance to the ladies in their predicament. The princess eagerly accepted their aid and with fair words and fairer deeds urged the men to force the gates. The men renewed their efforts and at last a breach was effected when the princess carried by the men was thrust through the opening, followed by her companions in the siege. Once within the gates they were received with enthusiasm and conducted in triumph through the streets. Thus was Orléans won for the Fronde by three spirited ladies and a few no less gallant boatmen.

FRONTENAC
Governor of New France

THE INTENDANT TALON

For this daring adventure Mademoiselle de Montpensier was banished from the court for a time, and in her wanderings was followed by the countess Frontenac.

The count, her husband, was a man of uneven temper, inclined to quarrel with any one who did not fall in with his views. It is not surprising, therefore, that he disagreed with his wife. After giving birth to a son the countess confided the child to the care of a nurse and followed again the fortunes of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. Frontenac in the meanwhile had retired to his estate on the Indre where his extravagance soon involved him hopelessly in debt. In 1669, however, he was chosen by Turenne to aid the Venetians against the Turks in Candia. At the close of the campaign it appears that he had obtained some distinction in arms but little relief for his shattered fortunes.

He was now fifty-two years of age, ready for any emergency and fully prepared to uphold in the New World the dignity of his office. He had many lessons to learn, however, each of which must

have sorely tried his rugged temper. One of his first acts whereby he sought to create the three estates of clergy, nobles and people, called forth a ministerial rebuke. To give a corporate form of existence to the inhabitants was opposed to the absolutism of Louis XIV. Frontenac was therefore admonished not to attempt to revive conditions in the New World which the king discountenanced in the Old.

Although the governor could not dictate to the court of France he could exercise his authority in Quebec, however, and he soon became involved in quarrels with the church and Talon's successor, the Intendant Duchesneau.

In that staunch churchman, Laval, especially, the Governor found a strenuous opponent to whose dominant will he was forced to yield. The sale of brandy to the Indians, which the Bishop condemned, was a cause of bitter strife. The question was attended with difficulty. If the French refused to supply the Indians with brandy, there was the danger that the

English or the Dutch at New York would supply them with rum: an alternative that the Governor wished to avoid at all costs. Again, the revenue of the colony was increased by the sale, and this was an important consideration. On the other hand the traffic had too baneful an influence on the morals of the people wilfully to be overlooked.

It was not only in Quebec that the governor's policy was opposed, nor was the brandy question the sole grievance. Frontenac disagreed with the court as to its methods of colonization. He was impatient to explore the country and throw open new lands for settlement. The king, however, desired to consolidate the inhabitants and to confine them to towns and villages in order that they might the more readily unite for purposes of defence.

The free open life of the forest, moreover, had many attractions for the youth of Canada, and the example set by the *coureurs de bois* rendered the situation difficult to deal with. Frontenac had

received strict instructions from France to suppress these outlaws, but notwithstanding the fact that the regulations against them were very stringent and the punishment death, the Governor found himself quite unequal to the task of keeping them under control. There were stories indeed that the bankrupt Governor had an interest in their trade with the Indians, but these charges may be traced to the Intendant with whom the Governor had long been at loggerheads. The quarrels had now come to an open rupture. To maintain peace the king was compelled to recall them both and once again the country was in danger from the red man.

The Iroquois had just completed a victorious expedition to the south; they now threatened to invade the west and take the war path against Montreal or Quebec. Lefebvre de la Barre, who succeeded Frontenac, was utterly unfitted to cope with the situation. He organized a hasty expedition and marched at the head of his men to meet the enemy; but his troops were cut down by fever, the crafty

Iroquois soon surmised the true state of affairs, and the Governor had much ado to make an honorable peace.

Two years later he was recalled to France. Under Denonville, his successor, affairs went from bad to worse and culminated finally in the disastrous massacre of Lachine on the sixth of August, 1689. By this time the king had decided that a strong Governor was necessary at any cost. On the tenth of October, 1689, the boom of cannon and the firing of musketry announced the return of the Count de Frontenac, who had been re-appointed to the government of New France. At eight o'clock in the evening a torch-light procession was formed headed by the members of the Sovereign Council and the principal inhabitants, to conduct the Governor to the Château Saint Louis. The streets were illuminated and in the square the civil and religious corporations were assembled to give him an enthusiastic welcome.

Many improvements in Quebec might have been observed at this time. The

houses destroyed by fire in 1682 had been rebuilt, and a notable addition was the little church soon to bear the name of Notre Dame de la Victoire. The brewery built by Talon had been abandoned and converted into a palace for the Intendant, with accommodation for the Sovereign Council. It was situated on the brink of the river and the ground which now surrounds the site was reclaimed from the bed of the river Saint Lawrence many years later. There is little remaining to-day to remind one of its former proportions or of the splendour of Bigot's court held within its walls.

In the year 1690 there were disquieting rumours of the invasion of Port Royal and a possible attack upon Quebec. Frontenac although unprepared to defend his position, was not surprised at the intelligence. During his previous administration spies had frequently been sent to Quebec from New England to report on the condition of the country, and one more daring than his fellows had been captured and sent to France. He had

therefore urged the king to place the colony in a condition to withstand assault. Little heed had been paid to his request and at length the people, aroused to a sense of their danger, proposed to construct a palisade about the city at their own expense. The paternal government of France apparently weary of the constant demands for aid, seized the occasion to overwork the willing horse: the minister wrote to the Intendant—"The king having heard that the inhabitants of Quebec propose to enclose that place with a palisade, they must be obliged to lose no time in proceeding therewith." The work was pushed forward during the summer, but Frontenac does not appear to have had any idea that a powerful fleet under Sir William Phips had already set sail for the Saint Lawrence.

Sir William Phips was born in New England and spent his early years on a frontier plantation. In 1676, he removed to Boston where he acquired a knowledge of ship-building and formed a

project to recover the wreck of a Spanish treasure ship. The English government placed a vessel at his disposal and in the course of time his efforts were successful. For his services he received the sum of sixteen thousand pounds and knighthood at the hands of the king. When the people of Massachusetts decided to make a descent on Acadia, Phips was given the command of the expedition. Port Royal surrendered without resistance, and after securing the allegiance of the people to the Crown of England and pillaging the town he returned to Boston. During his absence Massachusetts had been actively engaged in preparing for the invasion of Quebec. Thirty vessels and over two thousand men were now placed under the command of Phips, and on the ninth of August the fleet sailed from Nantasket for the Saint Lawrence.

Frontenac was in Montreal when the news was communicated to him of the approach of the vessels. Giving an order for all the men who could be spared from the defence of Montreal to march to

Quebec, he took boat and arrived in the city on the 14th of October. On the 19th the British fleet was seen off the Island of Orleans. Temporary works had been thrown up on the first intimation of danger, and the city, which readily lends itself to defence, presented a formidable front. The scheme of fortification was by no means complete. Phips brought his vessels to anchor opposite the mouth of the Saint Charles and a few hours later a boat put off from the Admiral under a flag of truce with an officer charged to demand the surrender of Quebec. A canoe was sent to meet the boat in midstream. The messenger's eyes were bandaged and he was conducted ashore and through the town over many obstacle and false barriers to the governor's château. Here the bandage was removed and he found himself in the presence of an imposing group of civil and military officials, far greater than he had expected to meet. The officer delivered the letter to the governor demanding the surrender of the "forts and castles, undemolished,

and the king's and other stores, unembezzled, with a reasonable delivery of captives. . . . . which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am resolved by the help of God in whom I trust, by the force of arms to revenge all wrongs and injuries offered and to bring you under subjection."

To this letter Frontenac replied verbally at some length. The messenger, however, requested a written message. "No," the governor replied, "the only answer I will give will be from the mouth of my cannon and musketry, that he may learn that it is not in such style that a man of my rank may be summoned." The eyes of the officer were again bandaged; he was conducted over the same false barricades to the lower town and returned to his ship with the governor's defiant message. This was not the style of answer that Phips was prepared for. He had expected surrender; but met with contumacy. The governor of Quebec was evidently of sterner metal than the complaisant commander of Port Royal. There was nothing left but to fight. The admiral had

View of Quebec in 1700 from the Plan of Catalogne

planned to land at Beauport a body of men who were to work their way into Quebec across the Saint Charles. A landing was effected, but before the men had advanced a hundred yards they were met with a galling fire from Frontenac's men under cover and were forced to retire in haste with four killed and sixty wounded. The French lost but one killed and one man wounded.

The land forces having been repulsed, the Admiral changed his tactics and tried the effect of a bombardment of the town. Four vessels were brought to bear on the works, but the batteries on the ramparts were brought into play and wrought havoc amongst the ships. During the engagement the flag of the Admiral's ship was shot from the mast and captured by the French. The siege was maintained for a few days with no advantage to the enemy, and within a week from the commencement of operations the ships of the invaders had vanished,leaving Quebec the proud possessor of the Admiral's flag and several pieces of cannon. The total

loss to Frontenac had been nine men killed and fifty-two wounded.

With the departure of the New England fleet Quebec resumed its normal condition and days of weeping gave place to days of song. The Te Deum was sung in the cathedral, solemn processions were held in the streets, and the little church in the lower town was dedicated to Notre Dame de la Victoire.

The repulse of Phips had increased the prestige of the Governor, and his demands for means to fortify the town now met with a favourable response. Frontenac's walls, the first to enclose Quebec, crowned the water front for about three quarters of a mile, crossing the plateau near Ste. Ursule Street and forming a circuit of about a mile and a half. The total area within the walls was less than half of the ground that is enclosed by the present town lines. From time to time vast sums were expended upon the fortifications by the French government; but the works were never of a durable character.

In 1696 Frontenac, then seventy-five

years of age, led an army with all his former vigour against the Onondagas. In return for his services during this expedition he received the Cross of Saint Louis. The honour was a tardy one for the distinction was already enjoyed by some of his subordinates. The Iroquois had not been wholly subdued, but they were inspired with a salutary dread of the old Governor when at length he passed away in 1698.

He had served his country faithfully according to his light. "His ambition," says the Abbé Verreau, "was to be in New France the reflection of the great monarch who ruled in Old France."

CHAPTER V.

QUEBEC IN THE 18th CENTURY.

One hundred years had passed since Champlain's axemen cleared the forest in the lower town for the "Abitation de Quebec." Along the water front to the river Saint Charles, might now be seen a line of substantial buildings, the most pretentious being the palace of the Intendant. Upon the mountain hill leading to the upper town were clusters of solid houses occupied by the professional class. Crowning the heights, the Bishop's Palace, the Jesuits College, the Hôtel Dieu, the Convent of the Ursulines, the Cathedral and the Château Saint Louis, gave the place an air of importance. Houses were often huddled together in somewhat incongruous proximity; but in

those days the formation of the rock presented serious difficulties to the builder, who chose the place where the least excavation was needed. A glimpse of civic conditions is obtained from the regulations in force at the time. Each inhabitant was required to make a gutter in the middle of the street before his dwelling. Smoking in the streets was prohibited. A dog was on no account allowed to roam the streets after nine o'clock, and at the sound of the fire bell each man was to hasten to the scene with a bucket of water. In the confusion arising from this method the fire usually took its own course. At the burning of the Seminary in 1701, the engineer had three hundred assistants; he reports that he would have been better off with thirty. The inhabitants had obtained permission to import a Dutch pump for extinguishing fires; but as the means to purchase this invention did not accompany the royal sanction, the inhabitants clung to the leather buckets.

Towards the close of the summer, after

King's Bastion—Ruins of Chateau

the arrival of the merchant vessels from France, the shops in the lower town were resplendent with novelties from the mother country. Ribbons, laces, silks and jewellery were spread out by the astute merchants to captivate the ladies, while the male portion of the population could purchase useful articles required in their trade. The demand for ribbons and laces seems to have been excessive, and we find one writer expressing the wish that the importation of these articles might be prohibited. He was probably a disappointed bachelor or a jaded husband. On the approach of winter the habitants from the scattered settlements came to Quebec to make their annual purchases. On their departure the principal shops were closed and the season of amusement began.

Charlevoix, the historian, has left a description of the social life at Quebec during the early years of the eighteenth century. "There is a little select society here," he writes, "which wants nothing to make it agreeable. In the salons of the

wives of the Intendant and the Governor one finds circles as brilliant as in other countries. Everybody does his part to make the time pass pleasantly with games and pleasure parties. In the summer, drives and canoe excursions; in winter, skating and sleighing. The news of the day amounts to very little indeed as the country furnishes scarcely any, while that from Europe comes all at once. Science and the fine arts have their turn, and conversation does not fail. The Canadians breath from their birth an air of liberty which makes them very pleasant in the intercourse of life, and our language is nowhere more purely spoken."

Some years later, however, we find that a few English words had crept into the language, and an English traveller gives the following amusing account of his attempt to procure some vegetables in Quebec.

"Our object on going on shore was not so much to gratify our curiosity, as to procure some vegetables; and as the Captain of the ship could not speak a

word of French, as indifferent a Frenchman as you know me to be, I was obliged to be the interpreter on this occasion. I, however, made the inhabitants understand me very well, till I asked for some potatoes, by the usual school term of *pommes de terre*, and by which I understand they are called in France; yet, notwithstanding the Canadians are allowed to speak as pure French as at Paris, I could not make them comprehend what it was I wanted, the man continually saying, *Monsieur, je suis bien faché de ne pouvoir comprendre ce que vous souhaitez;* at the same time expressing great uneasiness, as I repeatedly assured them, *que j'étois bien sur qu'il en avoit*, which seemed to vex him still more. However, in walking over his plantation, I happened to see a parcel in the corner of a shed; pointing to it I said, *Voila ce que je demande*, upon which, with great joy in his countenance, he exclaimed, *Oh! Monsieur, ce sont des putat, putat;* adding, with great heartiness, *Qu'il étoit bien aise d'être en état de me satisfaire.* Upon my telling

him, in England we called them *pommes de terre*, he added, with a remark which I should not have expected, *Que ce nom leur convenoit mieux que tout autre.* As I paid him very liberally for the vegetables we had of him, he said, with great expression of gratitude, *Ah! Monsieur, je me souviendrai toujours de vos bontés et des pommes de terre.*"

Quebec was not permitted to enjoy any lengthy season of repose. In the year 1711, while the inhabitants were following their peaceful occupations, an expedition was being fitted out in Boston for the capture of the French stronghold. On the 30th of July nine ships of war, sixty transports and a number of smaller craft, carrying in all twelve thousand men under Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, set sail for the Saint Lawrence. But the elements fought for Quebec. On the evening of the 22nd of August the fleet was caught in a heavy gale, and a dense fog enveloped the river. All through the night the vessels were driven before the storm and neither the Admiral nor his

crews knew anything of the dangers in their path. Before the dawn, eight transports had been dashed to pieces on the rocks off Egg Island, and nearly nine hundred men had found a watery grave. When the storm abated the Admiral was less confident of taking Quebec, and after hovering about for a few days shifted his sails and returned crestfallen to Boston.

The Governor had been warned of the approach of the fleet early in the month of August, and made what preparations he could to withstand a siege. Anxious days followed; but it was not until October that the news of the disaster reached the city. Great was the rejoicing of the people and marvellous were the tales told of the magnitude of the expedition and of the losses of the enemy. A mass was ordered to be sung every month for a year, the citizens returned thanks for the miracle wrought on their behalf, and the name of the church of Notre Dame de la Victoire was changed to Notre Dame des Victoires.

In the month of September, 1712,

Michel Bégon was appointed Intendant of New France. He took up his residence at the Palace, which he furnished in a manner befitting his rank. Four months later, however, the contents of the building, valued at forty thousand crowns, were destroyed by fire. The Intendant and his young wife escaped from a window in their *robes de chambre*; but two of their attendants perished in the flames. A new palace was constructed upon the site as an administrative building with quarters for the Intendant. Bégon, who appears to have been a man of independent fortune, lived in great state, and whilst the new palace was in the course of erection, resided at the Maison de la Montagne, or Beaumanoir, as it was named in after years. Tradition has associated this dwelling, situated on the Charlesbourg road, with the last Intendant, Francois Bigot, possibly through a similarity of the names Bégon and Bigot. The ruins are still pointed out as those of the Château Bigot.

A simple act performed in the Ursuline

Convent during Bégon's administration forms an interesting link between the old régime and the new. Before a statue of the Virgin in the Chapel of the Saints, burns a votive lamp which was first trimmed by a young novice, Marie Madelaine de Repentigny, in 1717, and ever since has been kept steadfastly burning by the sisters of the Convent. Mademoiselle de Repentigny, one of the beautiful girls of her time in Canadian society, was engaged to an officer who died on the eve of her marriage. From henceforth the young girl decided to adopt the life of the cloister and requested permission to give this lamp in testimony of the joy and consolation that came to her in that sanctuary. Her brother, the father of the Chevalier de Repentigny who fought under Montcalm and Lévis, paid to the nuns the sum of three hundred livres for the maintenance of the lamp as a perpetual memorial of his sister.

Mademoiselle de Repentigny died before the battle of the Plains and the passing away of French sovereignty in Canada;

but the lamp she lighted under the old régime to which her family was devoted, still burns as brightly as of yore, under the new.

In the year 1903, Miss Anthon, a descendant of the family, donated the present silver lamp which hangs in the chapel.

Bégon proved an able administrator and was particularly successful in developing home industries. At the close of his official career in 1726 it was observed that he had not "profited at the expense of the king."

Hocquart, Intendant of New France from 1731 to 1748, turned his attention to ship building and the improvement of the harbour by constructing a breakwater at the Saint Charles. Between the year 1732 and 1733 twenty vessels ranging from forty to fifty tons burthen, were built in the docks for the coasting trade. It was during Hocquart's administration that a proposal was made to erect an archives building, a scheme which was not carried out in Canada until the year 1906.

Galissonnière's administration of New France from 1747 to 1749, forms yet another chapter in the material and intellectual progress of the country. Placing himself at the head of a few cultured men he formed an Academy of Science. With the assistance of Canon Gosselin, a herbarium of Canadian plants was prepared for the museum in Paris. Collections were made of native seeds and minerals. The Jesuits discovered the ginseng, the annual shipments of which soon exceeded half a million francs. Dr. Sarrazin, another member of the Academy, made known to Europe the curative properties of *Saracenia* in cases of smallpox, and Dr. Gaulthier discovered the plant *Gaultheria procumbens*, or wintergreen.

Galissonière was a progressive administrator, and would have extended the dominion of France to the Ohio Valley. In the Canadians he recognized a vigorous race capable of expansion. "If other colonies produce more wealth," he wrote, "this one produces men, a far more

valuable possession for a king than sugar or indigo or even all the gold of the Antilles." His administration was all too brief for France was to feel the need of such men, in the dark days that followed.

The Marquis de la Jonquière, his successor, was a man of a different mould. Peter Kalm, the Swedish scholar who was on a visit to Canada at this time, has left us an account of the governor's triumphal entry into Quebec. La Jonquière was dressed in scarlet and gold, and before him marched twenty-four men in the King's livery; while every bell in the city was set ringing and cannon and musketry thundered forth a welcome from the ramparts. La Jonquière, however, was soon suspected of enriching himself by trade with foreign countries, and his departure from Canada gave the *habitants* little cause for regret.

In the summer of 1746, Quebec was thrown into a state of alarm by rumours of a threatened invasion. Eight battalions of English troops were to rendezvous at Louisbourg, and, joining the New England

THE CATHEDRAL, 1820

forces, were to sail up the Saint Lawrence and attack the fortress of Quebec. There were at this time about fifty prisoners in the barracks, who had been captured at Louisbourg the year before, and these men were repeatedly interrogated as to the designs of the English. No satisfactory account could be obtained from them, however, although it was evident that they expected speedy deliverance. The summer wore on and throughout Canada there was a feeling of uneasiness. The Indians too were becoming restless. In La Cadie they were already on the warpath. At last, however, it became known that danger had been averted through the delays of the British ministry. For a season Quebec enjoyed the blessing of peace, while the Indians in the neighborhood relapsed into their accustomed indolence.

Indian life in the vicinity is thus described by an observer. "If the Epicurean definition of happiness is just, that it consists in indolence of body and tranquility of mind, the Indians of both

sexes are the happiest people on earth; free from care, they employ the present moment, forget the past and are without solicitude for the future. In summer, stretched upon the verdant turf, they sing, they laugh, they play, they relate stories of their ancient heroes to warm their youth for war. In winter, wrapped in the furs which bounteous nature provides them, they dance, they feast and despise the rigours of the season, at which the more effeminate Europeans tremble. War being, however, the business of their lives, and the first passion of their souls, their very pleasures take their colour from it; everyone must have heard of the war dance, and their songs are almost all on the same subject. On the most diligent enquiry I find but one love song in the language which is short and simple, though perhaps not inexpressive:—

I love you,
I love you dearly,
I love you all day long.

An old Indian told me that they had songs of friendship, but I could never procure a

translation of one of them. On my pressing this Indian to translate one for me, he told me with a haughty air, the Indians were not used to make translations, and that if I choose to understand their songs I must learn their language. By the way their language is extremely harmonious, especially as pronounced by their women, and as well adapted to music as Italian itself. I must not here omit an instance of their independence of spirit, which is, that they never would submit to have the service of the Church, although they prefer the Romish religion, in any other language than their own. The women, who have in general fine voices, sing in the choir with a taste and manner that would surprise you, and with a devotion that might edify more polished nations."

CHAPTER VI.

OFFICIAL KNAVERY.

Within the colony itself meanwhile there were ominous signs of weakness. The administration was confronted with a danger which threatened ultimately to accomplish its ruin. Official corruption was undermining every branch of the public service, and so skilfully were the plans laid that those who might have checked its development were ignorant of its extent. When the last French Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil was appointed, corruption had already vitiated the official life of the colony, perhaps beyond the power of any one man to remedy even if the Governor himself had been so inclined. The career of Vaudreuil, however, is inexplicable, and the most charit-

able verdict that history can record is, that while he acted as a knave, perhaps after all, he was only a fool. On his appointment he was received with open arms. So implicit was the confidence reposed in him, that in the change which was slowly creeping over New France, and sapping its energy, the people bowed to what they believed to be inevitable, instead of rising in revolt against a régime of tyranny and oppression.

The outbreak of the war, regarded by the inhabitants as a calamity, was looked upon by Bigot as a most fortunate event. Whether he accepted office intent upon plunder and pillage, we know not, but it is evident that he regarded the resources of the colony as lawful prey, not only for himself but for his associates. One of his henchmen, Vergor, who was afterwards placed by Vaudreuil, it may be remembered, in command of the one weak spot in Quebec by which Wolfe ascended to the Plains, had already been accused of selling a fort to the English. "Profit by your place, my dear Vergor," Bigot wrote to

him, "cut and slip, you are free to do as you like, so that you can come soon to join me in France and buy an estate near me." Vergor, it may be said, profited by this advice to the best of his ability; but he was too small a man for the Intendant. Bigot was colossal in all things, and at last he found a genius for peculation in Joseph Cadet, the son of a Quebec butcher and later, the Baron de la Touche D'Avrigny. In the scheme which was carried out at Quebec, Bigot and his companions played the part of knaves while Vaudreuil acted the part of their protector.

Whatever the measure of Bigot's knavery, however, legend and romance have interwoven with his name many stories which have little foundation in actual fact. Most of the tales indeed are associated with the Château Bigot, a house that was never occupied by the Intendant. In one legend Bigot is represented as a mighty hunter active as a chamois, brave as a lion. Upon one occasion during a hunting expedition he

had lost his way in the dense forest surrounding the Château. The sun had gone down and night crept on apace. Worn out with fatigue and hunger the king's representative sat down upon a fallen tree to ponder over his misfortune. By the light of the moon he beheld a mysterious figure approaching, clad in a long white flowing robe. Then very ungallantly he seized his musket and prepared to fire. At the moment, however, the figure assumed a human form and before him stood Caroline the Algonquin Maid. The Intendant was captivated by her beauty and asked her, as she was familiar with the forest, to conduct him to the Château. Caroline was made a prisoner,and henceforth the visits of the Intendant to Charlesbourg were frequent.

But one night, a few years later, during a ball, the household was alarmed by a piercing shriek from the girl's appartments and upon reaching the scene found Caroline with a dagger plunged through her heart. The mystery of her assassination was never solved. Caroline was

buried within the walls of the Château, and a stone engraved with the letter C is said to have marked her grave.

But perhaps the most popular legend gathers about the Chien D'Or, a house which several years ago stood near the site of Laval's monument. Over the door had been placed a stone which may still be seen in the walls of the Post Office, bearing this inscription:—

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS
EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI N'EST PAS VENV
QVE JE MORDERAY QVI M'AVRA MORDV.

The occupant of the house, Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, had become involved in a quarrel with the Intendant Bigot and being unable to derive any satisfaction from him had placed the stone with its hungry looking dog and its ominous inscription, over his door to annoy the king's representative. The Intendant in the meantime had fitted up the Hermitage or the Château Bigot as a country residence. Here also dwelt in seclusion the

beautiful daughter of the Baron de St. Castin. There were frequent revels at the Château, and in the course of time the guests began to discuss the meaning of the inscription over Philibert's house, hinting that their host should cause its removal. The Intendant, although powerful, had no desire to become a party to a quarrel with a citizen of high repute; but from that moment the pious merchant's fate was sealed. At Bigot's table might be seen the gilded youth of the city, and one of them, Le Gardeur Repentigny, became the instrument of his vengeance. Riding furiously through the market place one morning, considerably under the influence of wine, Repentigny ran down a poor cripple who was in conversation with the merchant. Philibert interfered and handled the horseman somewhat roughly. At this moment one of the women of Bigot's court rode up and taunted Repentigny with allowing a ruffian to assault him; whereupon the youth drew his sword and thrust it to the hilt through the body of Philibert.

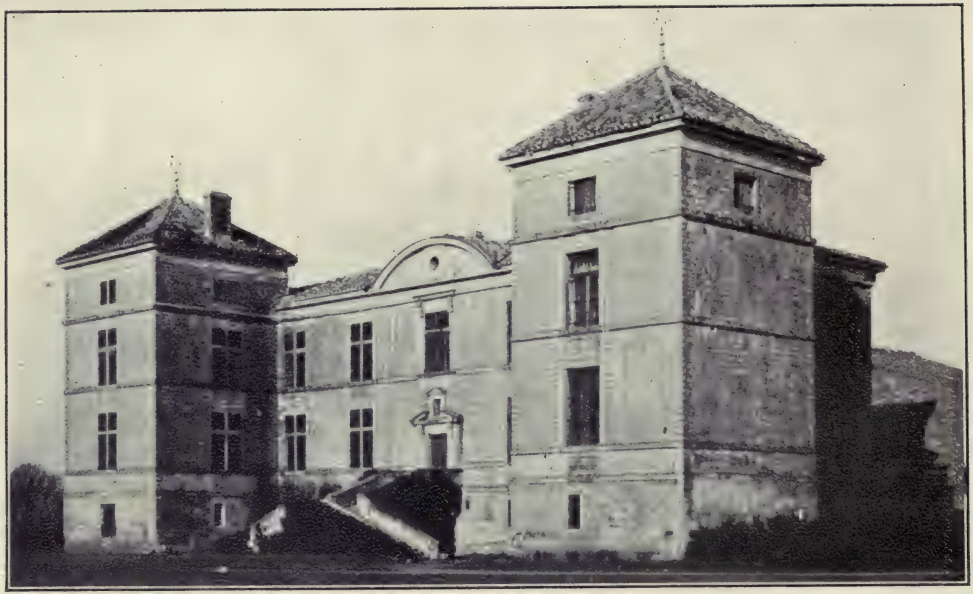
The facts relating to the death of Philibert as gathered from official documents are these:—

On the nineteenth of January, 1748, nine months before the appointment of Bigot as Intendant, Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny, who resided with Madame La Palme, received a command to take up his quarters at the Golden Dog, occupied by the army contractor, Philibert. This arrangement does not appear to have been satisfactory to the contractor, and he endeavoured to persuade Madame La Palme to keep her lodger. The two were unable, however, to come to terms and an altercation arose. In the midst of it Repentigny entered the apartment and a fight ensued. Repentigny was struck on the head and Philibert received in return a sword thrust from which he died the next day. Two months later Repentigny was condemned to death; but in consideration of his rank, justice was satisfied by the execution of the prisoner in effigy, "a picture to be placed for the purpose on a pole in the public

square." The sentence was duly carried out on the twentieth of March, 1748, and in September the King pardoned Repentigny and restored him to his former rank.

Bigot was not appointed Intendant until the month of October, 1748, and the inscription over Philibert's house had been set up many years before.

After the declaration of war in 1756, the desultory struggles between the rival colonies gave place to the sterner contest of two imperial powers in a war of conquest. Quebec as the seat of government was the centre of activity and from it were directed the plans for the ensuing campaigns. A new sphere of action affording even a wider scope for his nefarious schemes was thus open to the Intendant. The powers of Bigot were great already, but now that the security of the country was threatened, his authority became absolute. Some years previous to this date he had formed a partnership with a house in Bordeaux, through which he purchased supplies for Canada. If the provision boats were permitted to



Candiac—The Home of Montcalm

arrive safely the goods were declared free of duty for the king's service. Some of the vessels, however, had an unfortunate habit of running on the rocks when near their destination, and the salvage was sold to the Intendant's friends to be repurchased for the king's store. On the capture of an English vessel, Bigot disposed of the entire cargo for eight hundred thousand francs, and repurchased one-eighth for his majesty for the sum of one million francs. By further manipulations he cleared a profit of two million francs from this elastic cargo.

Some time later he launched out in the retail business under the name of a confederate, and his warehouse was soon distinguished by the appropriate name of La Friponne or "The Cheat." Even thus the profits do not seem to have been sufficient for the Intendant. He therefore devised a scheme to ensure a continuous and gradually increasing revenue. It was his duty as Intendant in control of finance, to provide for the maintenance and transport of the troops, the construc-

tion of works of defence and in fact for every need of the service. In the month of October, 1756, he entered into a contract with Cadet, giving him a monopoly for nine years for the supply of provisions for the army whose posts extended from Gaspé to the Ohio. Cadet's first achievement was to gather up all the grain in the country in the king's name to be shipped to confederates in Paris. In the days of famine for which he was preparing and plotting, it would be convenient to buy back the grain at whatever price might be expedient. Supplies were needed at distant posts and the cost of transport would involve a large expenditure. The question was solved in a simple and ingenious manner. Every man in the colony was liable for active service without remuneration. Those who possessed vehicles were exempted from military duty on condition that they signed a receipt for the conveyance of supplies to whatever point they might be directed. As the cost of transportation was often greater than the price of the

goods, a substantial revenue was derived from this scheme.

There was nothing too small or too great for the consideration of Bigot and his associates. For an outbreak of small-pox amongst a few Indians he debited the Treasury with one million francs. Large profits were made even out of the soil. Earth was required for the fortifications, especially about Quebec, where the rock is near the surface. This was paid for by the load. The contractor's conception of a load was a handful of earth. Requisitions and vouchers were insisted upon, for this fraudulent business was conducted on business principles. Requests were sent to Cadet from distant posts for supplies. The goods were put up, enumerated on a list and promptly despatched. When the courier arrived the officer in charge of the post signed the list, but he was given only a part of the goods. The operation was repeated at the next post; a share of the articles was delivered and a receipt obtained for the whole. At the end of the journey there

were several signatures on the list and the king was duly charged for a full supply to each. This scheme, which was carried on successfully throughout the war, proved highly remunerative.

These are a few examples of the methods by which Bigot and his companions made large fortunes. And yet while these scoundrels were enriching themselves the condition of the people was desperate. Bands were told off to gather in the harvests; but a large share of the manual labour was performed by women whose husbands, sons or brothers were engaged in the service of the king; or to be more exact, in helping Bigot to make his fortune. A little later the Intendant on the pretence of famine slaughtered every available horse for food, when cattle were to be obtained in abundance; heavy loads to supply the army had to be dragged over rough roads by women and children. The condition to which these people were reduced was little better than slavery, while in the palace of the Intendant there was a

QUEBEC FROM THE WALLS, 1830

carnival of corruption in the midst of oriental luxury.

Bigot having launched his schemes with the assistance of the loyal Cadet, "whose faith unfaithful kept him falsely true," had time to devote some attention to a more congenial form of pillage. In fact the most of his devices were so regularly irregular that they worked automatically.

Amongst the officers of the army there were men of ample fortune. To the rapacious Bigot even this was a temptation, and he resolved to have his share. It is true that there were already rumours that all was not well at the Palace; but the genial manner of the host disarmed suspicion. People merely shrugged their shoulders and still revered the Intendant, while the Governor looked on complacently.

Vaudreuil saw no harm in Bigot, both were representatives of the king and the king could do no wrong.

Balls were frequent, and as many as eighty ladies from the city were present in an evening. Amongst them were a few

plastic captivating women who were not averse to gambling, and the Intendant set the pace. The gaiety of the Palace was reflected in the homes of the rich. In the year 1756 Montcalm wrote, "On Wednesday there was an assembly at Madame Varin's. On Friday the Chevalier de Lévis gave a ball. He invited sixty ladies and got only thirty, and a great crowd of men. Rooms well lighted, excellent order, plenty of refreshments of every sort all through the night; and the company stayed until seven in the morning. As for me, I went to bed early. I had that night eight ladies at a supper given to Madame Varin. To-morrow I shall have half a dozen at another. The gallant chevalier is to give us still another ball."

Heavy stakes were won and lost whilst the people outside were crying for bread. Towards the fall the rations of the troops were reduced. More horses were slaughtered, and horse flesh was prescribed from December until spring. Twelve hundred horses were slaughtered during the winter.

And yet a year later after the British army had lived on the country for nearly four months, General Murray declared that there was an abundance of cattle. Horses had evidently been slaughtered as a cloak for the knavery of the Intendant. The inhabitants, moreover, were becoming troublesome and by depriving them of their horses they were kept at home.

Gambling increased in the army; Montcalm became alarmed and gave an order that play in the lower town should be stopped. It was useless; the fever had seized the soldiers. "The Intendant", writes Montcalm, "has received a big company. The music was as good as could be expected. The gambling had been so great and so much beyond the means of the players, that I thought I was looking at fools, or rather at people sick with a burning fever. I don't think I have ever seen a bigger game except the king's game. There were three tables which would accommodate eighty guests, the rooms were well lighted, and everything would have been perfect if the lord

of the house, munificent in all details, had shown more tact and been more attentive to have his splendid supper served earlier. But the game held him so fast that in spite of his taste for feasting and his desire to please his guests, the supper prepared for nine was served only at twelve."

Madame de Péan, the wife of one of Bigot's associates in fraud, was the presiding spirit at the tables. The Intendant had been captivated by her charms, and she was now all powerful with him. In the New World Bigot was another Louis XV, while Madame Péan was another Pompadour.

A little later we learn that the Intendant had just left a game where six hundred and fifty pounds was at stake, and "the tone of breeding, of politeness, of society, is banished from the house where it should reign." Montcalm paid a visit to the Palace only once a week after this. The news of revelry had reached France and the king sent an order forbidding play. But the stakes increased. Fifteen hundred pounds were lost in three quarters of an hour.

Montcalm placed one of his officers under arrest. This had some effect upon the army. Soon after, however, balls and furious gambling became the order of the day. The slaughter of horses continued, the cattle grew fat and multiplied, and some of the people were reduced to eating grass.

With the return of spring there was a halt, and the city regained its normal condition. During the winter there was little fear of attack because the ships of an invader could not approach by the frozen river, and attack by land was impracticable; but on the opening of navigation hostilities would be resumed and the army would be beyond the reach of the enemy within the gate. Bigot was still in the confidence of the Governor, and the Governor enjoyed the esteem of the people. Complaints had indeed been made to France; for there were those in Quebec who deplored the social ruin which seemed to threaten the colony. None, however, seems to have suspected that the misery of

the people was largely due to the machinations of Bigot.

At last Montcalm made specific charges against the Intendant, claiming that the business of the country was conducted by means of forged certificates. He appealed to the Minister to deliver New France from the grasp of the Intendant and the Governor, intimating that unless this were done the colony would be lost during the next campaign. The King sent a copy of the charges to Bigot. On the Intendant's behalf, the Governor hastened to deny them in strong terms. His reply was the death knell of New France. "I cannot conceal from you, Monseigneur," wrote Vaudreuil, "how much M. Bigot feels the suspicions contained in your letter to him. He does not deserve them I am sure. He is full of zeal for the service of the king; but as he is rich, or passes as such, and has merit, the ill-disposed are jealous, and insinuate that he has prospered at the expense of his majesty. I am certain that it is not true, and that nobody is a better citizen

than he, or has the king's interest more at heart."

Vaudreuil was the Governor, and in the face of a testimonial like this, France can scarcely be held responsible if the Intendant was still permitted to extort a little more from the wretched inhabitants and from the Treasury of the motherland. Even Cadet receives a word of praise: the butcher is served by the kind offices of the Governor in supplicating for letters of *noblesse*. The colony was in the hands of thieves; and within the colony itself there was no prospect of emancipation. Relief was indeed at hand; but not from France. The infamy of the closing days of the French régime was to be extinguished only by a hostile fleet already on its way to the Saint Lawrence.

Bigot himself, colossal in his triumph, was tragic in his fall. At the close of the siege of Quebec an agent was sent over by the French Government to investigate the affairs of the colony, and sufficient evidence of fraud was disclosed to cause the arrest of Bigot and his associates upon

their return to France. On the twenty-second of August, 1763, after a lengthy trial Bigot was found guilty and the finding of the court was in these words:

"In reparation the said François Bigot is condemned to make the *amende honorable* before the principal gate of the Tuileries, whither he shall be escorted by the public executioner in a tumbrel having a rope about his neck and bearing in his hand a lighted torch of yellow wax, two pounds in weight. On his chest and on his back shall be placed a placard with this inscription THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR PERFIDIOUS THIEF. And there kneeling, bare headed and with bare feet, clad only in his shirt, he shall declare in a loud and intelligible voice that during his administration of New France, in peace and in war, he has been guilty of the frauds, extortions and thefts set forth in the indictment." He was also to restore eleven million francs to the Treasury, his property was to be declared confiscated to the crown, and finally he was to be conducted to the Place de Grève and executed.

This terrible sentence was commuted by the final judgment whereby he was ordered to restore one million six hundred thousand francs. His property was seized and he was banished from the realm. Cadet, who was cast into the Bastille, restored eleven millions to the Treasury. Three others paid six hundred thousand each. Péan compounded for six hundred thousand and others restored smaller sums. Vaudreuil was acquitted. Cadet was released after a short term as his presence in Canada was needed to unravel the skein of fraud. Ten years later, however, after having given large sums to aid some of his friends in Canada, he had still sufficient wealth to purchase the Barony de la Touche D'Avrigny. His letters of *noblesse* were granted to him upon the recommendation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Thus pass from history two notorious characters. The dominant mind of Bigot controlled the destiny of New France for several years. Endowed with marked administrative ability, wit and intellectu-

al vigour he might have become her dictator in peace and her deliverer in the hour of need. He chose rather to paralyse the colony by his knavery. Even when the crisis came he made no effort to avert her ruin.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Sunt lachrymae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

The siege of Quebec, great in itself, and greater in its consequences, is perhaps the most important event in the history of the eighteenth century. And yet it is only within recent years that students have realized its significance. "The most momentous and far reaching question," says Parkman, "ever brought to issue on this continent was—shall France remain here or shall she not?" The answer to that question was given on the thirteenth of September, 1759, when Wolfe and Montcalm met upon the heights of Abraham.

We need not make more than a brief reference to the events preceding the final struggle for supremacy in America. The French had possessed themselves by right of discovery and military occupation of vast stretches of territory which under a wiser colonial policy they might have continued to hold. Contiguous to these lands were the settlements of the British, inhabited by a people bent primarily upon making homes for themselves, but determined to expand as necessity should arise.

Collisions were inevitable, and conflicts, at first local in their character, terminated in the declaration of war in 1756. The progress of military events from that date until the close of the campaign of 1758, resulting in the reduction of Louisbourg and of Duquesne and the destruction of Fort Frontenac, had been encouraging to the British, and Pitt determined in 1759 to follow up the advantages already gained, by the capture of the stronghold of Canada.

The army of attack was to be divided in-

to two bodies. The first was to approach by the river Saint Lawrence; the second was to come through Lake Champlain and down the Richelieu. Sir Jeffery Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in America at the head of the second body, and it was expected that his movements would draw off the enemy to some extent from Quebec, or that if weakly opposed he would push on to unite with Wolfe, who has been given command of the land forces destined for the expedition to the Saint Lawrence.

James Wolfe was born at Westerham in Kent, in 1727. In 1741 he received his first commission, as second lieutenant in his father's regiment of marines. His military career commenced at a time when the prestige of the army was low. During the period of peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht there was little demand for the services of the soldier, and when at length England found it necessary to prepare for war, she had to recruit her men from the plough to contend with the well disciplined troops of

France. In 1742 Wolfe was given a commission as ensign in Durore's Regiment of Foot; a year later he served with his army in Germany, and at the battle of Dettingen his company was drawn up in the first line. After his return from his seventh campaign, in 1748, he was appointed major, and within twelve months, lieutenant-colonel of the Twentieth Regiment of Foot.

Although his services entitled him to recognition, it was only in defiance of rank and claims of seniority that he was chosen by Pitt to operate with the fleet against Quebec. The expedition by way of the Saint Lawrence had no attraction for the older generals, to whom also it was some satisfaction that Wolfe's commission as Major-General applied only to service in America. Pitt, on the other hand, wanted none of the older generals. The miserable failure of Mourdant at Rochfort, and the exasperating conduct of Loudon at Louisbourg, where he "exhausted the patience of His Majesty's troops in fighting sham battles and

FIELD OF BATTLE, SEPT. 13, 1759

planting cabbages in the face of the enemy for a month," had been sufficient for the British minister. Self-reliance, activity, resource and courage were the qualities required in a leader, and Pitt recognized these qualities in Wolfe. He was so unlike the average soldier of the day that it was remarked in the presence of the king, "That fellow Wolfe is mad." "Mad, is he," said the monarch, "then I wish he would bite some of my generals."

Wolfe was not given the number of men he demanded for the attack on Quebec, but he was allowed to select several of his chief officers. His selection was excellent: Townshend, Monckton, Murray and Carleton were men of courage, resource and sound judgment.

On the fifteenth of February, 1759, sixty transports, six sail of the line and nine frigates sailed from Portsmouth for America, and three days later Admiral Saunders, with General Wolfe on board, embarked on the *Neptune*. It was not until the first of June, however, that the fleet which had assembled at Louis-

bourg, spread sail for Quebec with an army of less than nine thousand men. Passing the Traverse in safety, the ships cautiously approached the city and came to anchor off the Island of Orleans on the evening of the twenty-sixth of June. A few months before, Vaudreuil, the Governor, had assured the French Government that special precautions had been taken to oppose any hostile landing. One wonders if he recalled his blatant promise when he saw a formidable fleet almost under the ramparts, and the tents of a well trained army on the following morning beginning to dot the upper extremity of the Island of Orleans. The situation probably caused little embarrassment to the Governor. No doubt he had, as usual, an excuse in readiness.

For a year Montcalm had been urging the necessity of sending more regulars to the colony, and Bougainville had been despatched to France by Montcalm to explain more fully the serious and distressing condition of affairs. The Governor, while recommending the messen-

ger officially, addressed a private communication to the minister assuring him that Bougainville had little grasp of the situation and, moreover, that he was a creature of Montcalm's.

Under the circumstances Bougainville met with little encouragement at Court, and when he became importunate the minister had told him that one did not concern oneself with the fate of the stable when the house was on fire. This treatment of the question was not encouraging to Bougainville. He may perhaps have derived some satisfaction from his retort, "that at any rate the Minister did not talk like a horse."

On the first intimation of the approach of the enemy the engineers began to fortify the Beauport shore from the river Saint Charles to the Falls of Montmorency, while Vaudreuil finding himself no longer able to cope with the situation hastened to summon Montcalm from Montreal to direct the campaign.

Louis Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon was born at the Château de Candiac, near

Nîmes, on the twenty-ninth of February, 1712. At the age of fifteen he took part in the sieges of Kehl and Philipsbourg, and in 1745 he had risen to the rank of colonel in the regiment d'Auxerrois. From 1744 to 1748 he fought in the Italian campaigns. Under the walls of Piacenza, where he twice rallied his regiment, he received four wounds. Being taken prisoner, he was sent on parole to France; shortly afterwards an exchange was effected and he rejoined the army with the rank of brigadier. A year later we find him once more fighting in Italy, and dangerously wounded. Towards the close of 1749 he was given the command of a cavalry regiment, which does not appear to have been called into active service, and for a period of six years he was able to spend most of his time with his family.

The Baron Dieskau, who had been appointed commander of the troops in Canada at the outbreak of the war, had been tried and found wanting. By bad generalship he had fallen into the hands

MARQUIS De MONTCALM

of the enemy and had been conveyed to England. The choice of a successor was in the hands of the king, who selected Montcalm. For three years his career in Canada was attended with success, but from the commencement he had to contend with colonial prejudice. He was tried even more, however, by the absurd pretensions of the Governor, who, devoid of military skill, still undertook to exercise the function of an expert in the art of war. The hour, however, is approaching when he is to meet the man with whom he is to be associated in death by a common glory.

When Montcalm arrived from Montreal he was accompanied by five battalions of regular troops, and he immediately began to strengthen the works of defence. A boom was thrown across the mouth of the Saint Charles, and a bridge of boats constructed higher up the St. Lawrence. Batteries were mounted in the Lower Town, barricades were set up and guns were placed at every point of vantage. The works undertaken ex-

tended over ten miles, and their successful completion within a few weeks seems to justify the assertion that the activity of the defenders of Canada at this time was unexampled. And yet France failed to realize that while she had one hundred thousand men upon the tented field in Europe fighting for new found friends, her deserted colony, amidst famine, defeat, oppression and disaster, was bringing more glory to her arms than the troops who were marching to and fro under her banner across the Rhine.

Wolfe had an army of less than nine thousand men, but his troops were all regulars. Montcalm had a force of over fourteen thousand men, but it was made up of regulars and the soldiers of the colony, unaccustomed to each other's methods. The forces may, therefore, be regarded as about equal, although Montcalm had the advantage of acting on the defensive and holding the strategic key of the situation.

To the invader the prospect was not inviting. Establishing his camp on the

Island of Orleans he saw the works of the enemy spread out before him along the Beauport shore. Up the river, to bar his progress, were engines of destruction known as fire ships; and waving over the rock in the distance was the flag he must capture before his success would be complete. Batteries in the lower town opposed his landing; batteries on the ramparts overlooked and anticipated every move in the camp below. This is what the eye of Wolfe took in from his camp at Orleans.

The Governor, always rash in time of peace, had proposed to attack the invaders as they approached. When the enemy was in sight he was content to accept the advise of Montcalm, who, confident in the strength of his position, declined to run unnecessary risks.

Vaudreuil, however, had evolved a magnificent scheme for the destruction of the fleet at anchor. A number of old vessels had been purchased from the notorious Cadet at an enormous cost, and had been filled with explosives. They

were placed under the command of one Delouche, a hare-brained creature of little courage. "They have cost a million and will be of little good," said Montcalm. He was a true prophet. The fire ships started on their mission of destruction; Delouche became excited and fired his ship too soon, and the result was death to several sailors, a grand display of fireworks, amusement to the British tars; but no damage to the fleet. There was one hero among the French sailors, however, Dubois de la Multière, whose name should be preserved from oblivion. When the others abandoned their vessels he stuck to the burning raft, hoping to overtake the fleet, and at last perished in the flames.

A few days later Wolfe opened his batteries at Levis to demolish the town. His shots fell short, and it was now the turn of the French to be amused. The sailors came to the rescue, and the guns were replaced by sea mortars. With the greater elevation thus obtained, shells were thrown over the ramparts, working

terrible destruction. Whilst the bombardment of Quebec was kept up Wolfe crossed the river and formed a camp at Montmorency, being separated from his rival by the waters of the Fall. Here he might annoy the enemy, but he could do little harm. Montcalm was too experienced a general to be drawn from his entrenchments.

On the south shore there were frequent encounters with the inhabitants, who caused the British considerable annoyance. On the twenty-fifth of July, as a body of troops were marching towards their camp, a Canadian and his son, a boy of twelve years, crossed their path. One of the soldiers fired at the man, who, notwithstanding the fact that he was surrounded by a hundred men, made a stand, returned the fire and killed a soldier of Fraser's company. He was immediately taken prisoner, but on account of his bravery his life was spared, and he was treated with kindness.

A month passed without any advantage to the British. Wolfe was becoming

impatient, and on the thirty-first of July he made an assault on Montmorency. His plan was to attack one of the redoubts on the beach, believing that the enemy would descend to defend it, and in this way he might bring on a general engagement. This, he thought, was the only chance of success. The scheme was well planned, but badly executed, through the blunders of the navy, who miscalculated the tide. One body was to cross the ford at Montmorency and another was to be rowed over partly from Orleans and partly from Levis, to unite in a general assault. On the land there was to be marching and countermarching to draw the attention of the enemy from the object of attack. Two vessels had been run in near the shore at high tide, and these were to protect the landing opposite the redoubt; but they swerved around and their fire was useless, and the *Centurion*, anchored at some distance below the Falls, shipped her cable and was put out of service. More unfortunate still were the small boats conveying the troops

from Levis, which stranded in the shallows in mid stream, leaving the troops exposed to a heavy fire from the land for the space of nearly three hours.

When at last the men got off they made a mad rush for the redoubt, which they carried, and pushed forward to scale the heights without waiting for support. A storm of shot from the white line of the French above beat them back, and the foremost rank fell lifeless into the arms of their companions beneath. Darkness was creeping on, a thunderstorm burst in all its fury over the whole scene, rendering further operations difficult, and when Wolfe called a halt, his forces had been reduced by nearly five hundred men. Montcalm was victorious. Vaudreuil, who had taken no part in the affair, was delighted, and wrote to Bourlamaque: "I have no more anxiety about Quebec. M. Wolfe, I am sure, will make no progress." Montcalm was not so sanguine.

On the day preceding the battle of Montmorency, Captain David Ochterloney,

the brilliant and popular commander of a company in the second battalion of Royal Americans, fought a duel with a German officer, and although he came out victorious, having succeeded in disarming his antagonist, he had himself received a painful wound under the right arm. In the morning, when a portion of the regiment was ordered to the attack, he was urged by his friends to remain in camp and give his wound a chance to heal. This proposition he firmly resisted on the ground that when his country required his services his honour could not suffer the results of a private quarrel to stand in the way. This forcible argument could not be controverted in the light of the spirit of the time, and so Captain Ochterloney marched to battle utterly oblivious of the pain of his wounds. Accompanying this dauntless captain was his brother officer and friend Ensign Peyton, shortly afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy. Ochterloney, as his name would show, was from Scotland, while Peyton was an Irishman and a worthy

representative of that green isle, the cradle of warriors. In the attack on the French position both men had the misfortune to be wounded, Ochterloney through the lungs, while a bullet had shattered the small bone of Peyton's left leg. They were near together when they fell and, although disabled, were in a position to converse. Through the awful rainstorm which drenched the combatants these officers and hundreds of the soldiers lay, while the noise of the conflict roared in their ears as the British struggled in vain to oust their opponents from the masterful position they occupied. So hot had been the French fire that there was not even an opportunity to remove the wounded to a place of safety, and almost before the British began to retreat towards their camp, the Indians were among the fallen, killing, stabbing and scalping with the deviltry of which they alone were capable.

The Highlanders passed close to where Ochterloney and Peyton lay and immediately began to make preparations to

carry them off the field. But, strange to say, the Scottish captain rejected their advances. Again his "honour" interposed, and he gravely assured his would-be rescuers that his honour would not permit him to leave the field after such a signal repulse. Realizing the impossibility of moving the captain from his determination, the soldiers turned to Peyton. From him they received the answer that Captain Ochterloney was his friend and that while he lived he would remain by his side. Such self-sacrificing devotion as that of this young Irish officer accords but ill with the selfish spirit of the times, and in civil life would have been scorned and ridiculed. But in the army there still lingered the best relics of the Crusader's chivalry, and these memories had been preserved by the gallant self-forgetfulness of thousands of his lineal successors. No wonder the traditions of the British army are cherished. Its high ideals are fostered by just such officers and men as Ensign Peyton, and in modern days by the heroes

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS

who wear on their breasts the bronze cross "For valour."

The offers of aid rejected, the Highlanders marched towards the fast deepening ford below the Falls of Montmorency, and in the gathering shadows of the evening these two officers found themselves left to the horrors of solitude or the far more fearful vengeance of the Indians. Ochterloney, who believed his wound fatal, had protested most strongly against Peyton's sacrifice, but in vain. The young ensign could not be moved, and it can be readily imagined with what pride and pleasure the Scottish captain learned the strength of the attachment that bound this young officer to him. A man who for the sake of friendship can look death in the face deserves immortal fame; but he who can await not only death but torture at the hands of fiends in human form, shows a divine unselfishness. No monumental brass, no pyramid of granite could adequately preserve his memory. It must live forever in the hearts of his suc-

cessors as a bright page in the annals of the army.

Having given themselves up to die, the two men awaited the outcome with the calmness of despair. For a time they were not noticed, but towards seven o'clock two Indians and a French soldier discovered the men and advanced to the attack. Ochterloney, believing that so long as the Indians were accompanied by a French soldier there was no danger of outrage, called out to the soldier and offered to surrender, asking that he and his companion be treated honorably as prisoners of war. The soldier paid not the slightest attention to this, but took the captain's money, his watch and his gold laced hat and left the two men to the tender mercies of the Indians. The savages attacked vigorously. One of them clubbed his musket and struck at the captain's head, but the blow fell upon his shoulder. At the same time the other Indian shot him in the breast and sprang forward to complete his bloody work with a knife. In the meantime Peyton

crawled to where a double-barrelled musket was lying and shot one of the Indians dead. The other advanced, and Peyton fired again but missed, when his opponent sought to despatch him with his bayonet. Peyton seized the weapon, pulled the Indian towards him, and with the other hand stabbed him with a dagger. A terrible struggle followed, but in the end the Indian was slain. Ochterloney had become unconscious, and in a short time was picked up by a soldier of the regiment of Guienne and taken to the General Hospital. At about the same hour Captain Macdonald with a party of Highlanders had returned to look after the wounded, and perceiving Peyton on the beach succeeded under a withering fire, in getting him to the boats.

Two days later, on the second of August, the French sent an officer with a flag of truce to the British lines requesting that Captain Ochterloney's effects be sent to him at the hospital. At the same time Admiral Saunders received the details of the captain's rescue from the Indians

and information as to his condition. General Wolfe was much moved at the story, and sent with the French officer a gift of twenty pounds to the soldier of Guienne by whose humanity and kindness Octherloney had been saved from a fate worse than death. On the fourth of August another flag of truce came from the town, the bearer of which returned the money to General Wolfe, as the Marquis de Vaudreuil declined to accept money on behalf of his soldiers, who simply carried out the orders given to them. General Wolfe took advantage of the opportunity to address a letter to Madame de Ramesay, Directress of the General Hospital, thanking her for the attention paid to the wounded officer and assuring her that if fortune favoured his arms he would extend his protection to her and to the community. Ochterloney died on the twenty-third of August, much to the regret of the good nuns. And Wolfe's promise was faithfully carried out when, three weeks later, the British entered Quebec.

The summer was slipping away. Wolfe was discouraged, his men were discontented and the brigadiers, always loyal, though treated with scant courtesy, began to think that the campaign would not add lustre to British arms.

In the month of August Saunders had passed a few ships above the town with little damage, and anchored at Cap Rouge. This caused a division of the French forces, and Bougainville at the head of two thousand five hundred men was ordered to follow the movements of the vessels.

A new danger threatened the invaders at this time. The inhabitants, who had hitherto remained neutral, now became aggressive, and Wolfe, after repeated warnings, burnt several villages, sparing only the churches. This increased the distress of the people, but it did not aid his own cause. On the contrary, the French, seeing the enemy reduced to this expedient, looked calmly on, since it confined the activities of the British, for a time at least, to the opposite shore. To-

wards the end of August Wolfe was suffering from a slow fever, and feeling himself unable to direct the campaign, requested his brigadiers to propose a plan for continuing the siege.

In the meantime Murray had made a descent at Deschambault with a view of forcing his way into Quebec by the high road. But beyond capturing "one hundred and fifty ladies of rank" and securing a quantity of cattle and plunder, which the Highlanders rushed on board, his efforts were not crowned with success. The ladies were taken on board the vessels at anchor at Cap Rouge and entertained by the General and his officers at a supper given in their honour. A flag of truce was sent to the town the next morning with a message from Wolfe offering to suspend hostilities for six hours and to return the ladies safe and sound, provided that a boat conveying the sick to the hospital at Orleans were allowed to pass the ramparts unchallenged. The French consented, but a diarist adds, "we noticed several other boats containing cattle and

plunder." The Scot is always credited with securing what belongs to him. It is even said that sometimes he is not averse to "a wee bit more." One therefore can imagine the glee of the Highlanders in charge of this huge cargo of plunder as they looked into the muzzles of the guns, following in the wake of that innocent little boat with its white flag.

The brigadiers agreed upon a scheme to effect a landing about twelve miles above Quebec, and Wolfe acquiesced. Preparations were made to carry out the plan, but heavy rains prevented operations for several days.

On the first of September the camp at Montmorency was broken up and Wolfe took up his quarters at Levis, brooding over the result of the summer's work. On the ninth of September he was feeling somewhat better, and without taking his brigadiers into his confidence prepared to carry out his own scheme for reducing Quebec—a scheme that he considered too hazardous to entrust to others. The French, however, were on the alert.

Montcalm, unable to understand the object of the British above the town, had decided to send the regiment of Guienne, composed of picked men of the army, for service in the vicinity of the Foulon, or Cove, two miles above the city, where Wolfe eventually landed. Vaudreuil, with his superior knowledge of military tactics, ordered the regiment back to camp and placed in command of the post a man who had already been tried by court martial for trafficking with the French fort at Beauséjour.

On the morning of the twelfth the three brigadiers, who had not been advised of any change of plan, addressed a letter to the General asking for particulars of the place or places they were to attack on the morrow. To this communication Wolfe replied in the evening that it was not the business of inferior officers to ask questions; that it was his duty to attack the French army; and that he had chosen a place where he thought he would succeed.

MINIATURE OF WOLFE

MINIATURE OF MISS LOWTHER

A melancholy interest attaches to the miniature, reproduced on the opposite page, of Miss Katherine Lowther, to whom Wolfe was to have been married. The original was given by Wolfe on the eve of the battle to John Jervis, by whom it was returned to Wolfe's mother after the fatal thirteenth. The first paragraph of Wolfe's will, which was entrusted to Jervis at the same time, was found to contain these touching words: "I desire that Miss Lowther's picture may be set in jewels to the amount of five hundred guineas and returned to her."

Wolfe's plan was to land at the Cove, gain possession of the ground above, and get in between the two divisions of the French army. The scheme was a bold one, but he had not left as much to chance as is generally supposed. Above the town, in the vicinity of Saint Nicholas, were over a thousand men whose movements had engaged the attention of Bougainville for the past ten days. By day the men were encamped on the south shore; by night they passed up the river

in ships. On the eve of the twelfth, after embarking on the vessels as usual, the men were lowered into the small boats, while the ships, minus the troops, proceeded on their way, followed by the vigilant Bougainville towards Pointe aux Trembles, distant from Quebec over twenty miles.

At midnight the troops dropped down the river in small boats and landed on the beach in the early hours of the morning. By this time Bougainville was far beyond the reach of sound from musket or cannon.

All through the night the batteries at Levis kept up a fierce cannonade against the town to draw the attention of the enemy from the operations of Wolfe, while Saunders made several movements with the ships to create an impression that he intended to make a descent on the Beauport shore.

Under cover of this demonstration a body of men led by Carleton marched along the south shore to a place opposite the Cove, to be in readiness to cross the

river to support Wolfe if he were successful in scaling the heights.

The first embarkation landed without difficulty, and the men commenced to climb the most inaccessible point of the rock in order to surprise the post and leave the winding path free for the remainder of the troops; whilst the empty boats crossed the river to bring over Carleton's men.

The post at the Foulon was surprised, and by the break of day Wolfe had three thousand men upon the heights of Abraham. A detachment was then told off to capture the battery at Samos, a short distance from the Cove, and the main body marched straight across the plateau to the Sainte Foy road, which commanded a view of the Beauport shore, then wheeled to the right and followed the road till they came to the house of Borgia, near Maple avenue. The grenadiers took possession of the house, and the remainder of the troops deployed across the plateau as far as the site of the present gaol, thus forming a line parallel with the walls of

the city, which were less than a mile distant.

Montcalm had spent an anxious night in the French camp. The thunder of the batteries through the night and the ominous movements of the fleet on the eve before, kept him alert. Fearing surprise, he had again sent the regiment of Guienne to patrol in the vicinity of the Cove. Once more Vaudreuil had interfered, saying "we will see to-morrow whether the regiment shall camp at the Foulon." On the morrow Wolfe occupied the place of the regiment.

The firing of a gun at Samos had been heard at Beauport, but soon all was quiet in that direction. At last one of the defenders of the post above the Cove had straggled into the town and informed the commander of the fort that a detachment of the British had landed. A courier was sent in haste to Vaudreuil, who was on the other side of the Saint Charles. He received the intelligence about six o'clock in the morning. Now was the opportunity for him to distinguish him-

self and make good his many promises to France. He preferred, however, a safer course. Addressing a letter to Bougainville, whom he knew to be in the rear of the enemy, he wished him good morning and asked for intelligence, saying that in the meantime he had sent Montcalm to the scene with one hundred men. Alas, for the fate of Quebec. There is no longer anything in his letters about fighting to the last ditch, or perishing under the ashes of the city.

Montcalm, who was in the centre of the camp several miles further off, received the news from Vaudreuil and at once hastened along the Beauport road with his little band. On the banks of the Saint Charles, at the bridge of boats, he met Boishébert hurrying to join the camp. For six weeks past Boishébert had been a patient in the general hospital and now for the first time was venturing forth. "What news?" asked Montcalm. "From the windows of the hospital," said Boishébert, "I have seen the British drawn up in line of battle in front of

Borgia's house." "This is serious," Montcalm replied; and giving an order to Johnstone, his aide-de-camp, to hasten up more men, he galloped towards the city, passing over the bridge of boats, along the lower road, gaining the heights near Saint John's Gate. Pushing forward to the crest of the hill at Buttes à Nevue, which screened him from the foe, he saw spread out before him the scarlet line of the enemy. Between the crest of the hill and the walls of the city his own forces were now assembling, and along the Beauport road he could see the white uniforms of the regulars with their bayonets glistening in the sun.

By nine o'clock he had four thousand men outside the walls. There was no time to be lost. Wolfe would be master of the situation unless he were dislodged immediately. The British were now in command of the easiest approach to the heights. The sailors below were landing guns, and there was nothing to prevent every available man from the fleet backing up the land forces. Bougainville, whom

Montcalm believed to be only a few miles in the rear, had not been heard of and might possibly be cut off, and on the Beauport shore Saunders was making a feint to land. It was evident that a crisis was at hand. A council of war was held upon the field, and the verdict was for an immediate attack.

It was ten o'clock. The troops, headed by Montcalm, advanced and halted behind the crest of the hill. Here they were formed into two bodies, the regulars in the centre and the soldiers of the colony on either side. Skirmishes had been frequent for some time between the advanced parties, and a determined attempt had been made, but without success, to dislodge the British from Borgia's house.

In front of the British lines Wolfe was passing up and down, urging his men to keep cool and to withhold their fire until within forty paces of the enemy. Twice he had been wounded within the hour, and the new uniform he had donned that morning made him an easy target. But

he was not disabled. On the left, near the Ste. Foy road, was the Fifty-eighth Regiment. Towards the Saint Lawrence the Thirty-fifth; and between these two extremes were the Highlanders, the Forty-seventh, the Forty-third and the Twenty-eighth; with Webb's regiment in reserve.

Bougainville might now be expected to appear on the scene, and Wolfe sent a detachment of the Sixtieth to protect the landing place.

Montcalm, having made his dispositions, now gave the order to advance. The regiments of La Sarre, Languedoc, Béarn, Guienne and Royal Roussillon were in the centre, and on either side the soldiers of the colony.

The French were eager for the fray and pressed forward with enthusiasm; but in a moment there was temporary disorder in the ranks. The soldiers of the colony had fired, and, according to their custom, had thrown themselves on the ground to reload, to which method the regulars were unaccustomed. Order was restored and the whole body ad-

DEATH OF WOLFE

vanced, firing as they approached, until within forty paces of the foe.

At this moment the order was given by Wolfe to fire! Along the line the order was passed, and a volley of musketry was delivered which rang out like the fire of cannon. A cloud of smoke and fearful gaps in the French line followed this order of the British general. Five or six minutes elapsed while the British were reloading, ere the smoke cleared sufficiently to allow the commander to see what havoc had been wrought. Then in sharp, decisive tones the order was given to advance. But scarcely had Wolfe uttered this command when a ball passed through his groin, and he was carried to the rear to die. His men knew nothing of his fate, and were already hot in pursuit. Montcalm, with his face to the foe, tried to rally his men, but the onslaught of the Highlanders was too fierce; he was borne with the tide of the retreating army towards the gates, and a moment later received a mortal wound.

The pursuit had now become general, the fugitives making, some for Saint Louis Gate and others for the Saint Charles.

Near Saint John's Gate a body of Canadians had rallied and made a gallant stand under cover of a clump of trees. The Highlanders tried in vain to force them over the cliff. At last reinforcements came up, and still, foot by foot, the Canadians disputed the ground to the valley beneath. This fight at close range was maintained for an hour, when out of that little band over two hundred had been cut to pieces.

The brave stand made by the Canadians saved the lives of many of the regulars, who in the meantime had made good their escape over the bridge of boats.

Shortly after Wolfe fell, Monckton received a wound and was carried off the field. The command now devolved upon Townshend. Never did a general act with greater prudence at a critical moment. In the pursuit his forces had been scattered over the field and in the valley below, and in their

eagerness the men would have followed the enemy over the river. Townshend called them off and immediately reformed on the ground first chosen by Wolfe. He was not a moment too soon, for as he was mounting cannon to protect his position, Bougainville appeared in the rear with over two thousand men. Townshend, however, was master of the situation, and after a brief engagement Bougainville was forced to retire.

The battle was not quite over when Vaudreuil appeared upon the heights. He claims to have endeavoured to rally the troops. He had still several thousand men in the camp at Beauport who had not been engaged. But battles on paper were the only ones in which he excelled. He chose the course of those who wish to fight—another day; and leaving the dying Montcalm, he marched with the whole of the army to Jacques Cartier, many miles distant. Here from a place of security he dispatched a courier to the few soldiers and war-stricken inhabitants in the garrison, urging them to hold out;

whilst he had withdrawn from them the support of the army by which alone resistance might have been effective.

On the British side nine officers and forty-nine non-commissioned officers and men were killed, while five hundred and forty-two non-commissioned officers and men were wounded. The officers were General Wolfe, Captain Ross of Fraser's, Lieutenant William Cooper of Bragg's, Lieutenant Mason of Otway's, Lieutenant Seymour of Lascelles, Lieutenant Roderick McNeil and Lieutenant Alex. McDonnell of Fraser's, Lieutenant Jones of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, and Ensign Tottenham of Anstruther's.

The losses of the French were more severe. Nearly every general officer was killed, including Montcalm, Brigadier-General Sennezergue, Brigadier St. Ours, Brigadier de Fontbonne, Brigadier-General Malartic, Brigadier Beauchatel, and between seven and eight hundred non-commissioned officers and men. The difference in the losses of the two armies is accounted for by the thin red line of the

Wolfe's Cove

British, which stretched across theplateau with spaces between; whereas the French came on in a solid body and became an easy target for the enemy.

Victory was with the British, but the general who had planned the attack and had seen it put into operation was cold in death. Montcalm lingered a few hours, passing away before the dawn of another day. Shortly before his death he penned this letter to Townshend:—"Obligé de céder Québec à vos armes, j'ay l'honneur de demander à votre Excellence ses bontés pour nos malades et blessés et de lui demander l'exécution du traité d'échange qui a été convenu entre Sa Majesté Trés Chrétienne et Sa Majesté Britannique. Je vous prie d'être pérsuadé de la haute estime et de la respectueuse considération avec laquelle J'ay l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre trés humble et trés obéissant serviteur, MONTCALM."

Montcalm, so often the victor, was at length vanquished. Brave, honest and patriotic, he had yielded up his life in the service of his country. By the side

of the corrupt Bigot and the vainglorious Vaudreuil, he towers aloft. And the tribute paid to his memory by an English governor many years after will be approved to the end of time.

HONNEUR À MONTCALM
LE DESTIN
EN LUI DEROBANT LA VICTOIRE
L'A RECOMPENSÉ
PAR UNE MORT GLORIEUSE.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BATTLE OF SAINTE FOY.

For all may have,
If they dare try, a glorious life or grave.

Five days after the Battle of the Plains the city capitulated to Saunders and Townshend; the British flag was hoisted at the Château and British rule began.

The Chevalier de Lévis was at Montreal when he received the first intimation of the loss of Quebec, and he proceeded at once to join the fugitive army at Jacques Cartier. When he received here a more circumstantial account of the defeat he did not hesitate to criticize the faint-hearted Governor for withdrawing the troops from the support of the garrison. Leaving Vaudreuil to his own reflections,

the gallant Chevalier pressed on to the village of Lorette, a few miles distant from Quebec, to consult with Bougainville, who had remained in the vicinity. He proposed an immediate attack; but learning that the British were in possession of the city, decided to put the army into winter quarters and renew operations in the spring.

In the meantime Montcalm had been carried to his rest (*) and the body of Wolfe was borne across the sea in the plaid of of Donald McLeod. (†) The British garrison under the command of Murray, made

(*) Montcalm died in the house of Surgeon Arnoux on St. Louis Street and was buried in the Chapel of the Ursulines.

(†) Donald McLeod was born on the 20th of June, 1688. At the age of seventy he enlisted in the army which was then about to sail for America. During the siege of Louisbourg he did good service and was severely wounded at the Battle of the Plains. He was assisted to retire behind the line, and was there informed that Wolfe was dying. The old soldier tendered his plaid to carry the general off the field and he accompanied the remains to Portsmouth on board the Royal William. During the next two years he served in the colonies and retired from the service in 1764. When he had reached the age of one hundred and two his eldest son was eighty-three and his youngest only nine. He sat for his portrait at the age of one hundred and ten, and was then in good health.

James Hyatt. Sc.

The Marquis de Levis.

From the painting in the possession of M. le Marquis de Levis, Paris.

the best of its miserable quarters, for scarcely a house remained intact. The winter was severe, the clothing of the men unsuitable, and the good nuns had done their best to relieve distress by knitting long woolen stockings to supplement the short kilts of the Highlanders. The city was alert. Sentinels paced the ramparts; squads of men patrolled the streets and the roll of the drum was heard by day and by night. The officers fared no better than the men. Captain Knox, the historian of the campaign, was quartered in a stable where he made himself "tolerably comfortable." The sick were removed to the General Hospital, "where they were indeed rendered inexpressibly happy."

The nuns with heroism and devotion had remained in the city throughout the siege to nurse the sick and wounded and as far as possible, to protect their property. When the British batteries opened fire at Levis in July, one of the first shells thrown into the upper town crashed through the roof of the Hotel Dieu. The trace of the

shot is still visible in the old woodwork. The nuns in alarm wrote to the Bishop who resided at Charlesbourg, but his answer was not encouraging. He advised them not to mind a few shells; that the sick and wounded could not do without their aid; that he himself might be brought to the hospital, adding the comforting words that he did not think there would be more than two nuns killed during the whole siege. It has already been noticed with what kindness Captain Ochterloney was treated during his illness by the sisters in the General Hospital, where he died in the month of August, 1759. Wolfe, who was much touched by the accounts he had received from the officer, wrote a letter to Madame de Ramesay, the superioress, thanking her for her attention and assuring her that if fortune favoured his arms, the possessions of the nuns would be held inviolate. His successors fulfilled his promise, and their first care on entering the city was to place a special guard about the communities, making it a crime punishable by death

for anyone to pass the barrier. From the date of Wolfe's letter the convents were considered a place of safety, and many inhabitants deposited their valuables therein.

Although the garrison was in a constant state of apprehension, the people made the best of the situation and even found means of amusement. A lieutenant of the Highlanders who spent the first winter in Quebec after the siege, writes thus to a friend: "It is surprising with what ease the gayety of their tempers enables them to bear misfortunes which to us would be insupportable. Families, whom the calamities of war have reduced from the height of luxury to the want of common necessaries, laugh, dance and sing, comforting themselves with this reflection, *fortune de guerre*. Their young ladies take the utmost pains to teach our officers French, with what view I know not, if it is not that they may hear themselves praised, flattered and courted without loss of time."

Murray proved a friend to the poor during the hard winter months. In some

cases the British officers and men even denied themselves of their scanty wages to furnish the inhabitants with means to purchase the necessaries of life. As the winter wore on, however, scurvy broke out among the soldiers themselves, and before the spring the effective strength of the garrison had been reduced by half.

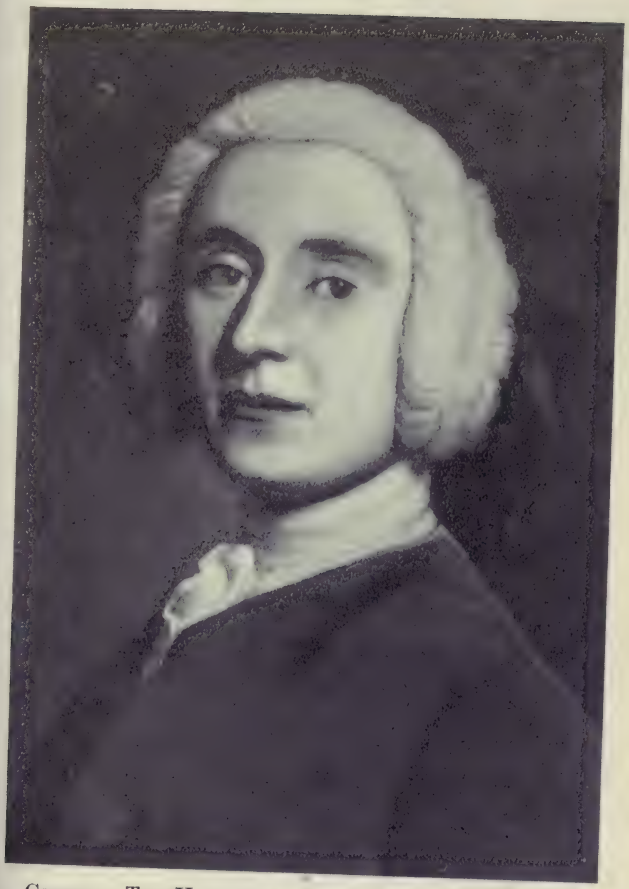
On the twentieth of April, 1760, Lévis marched from Montreal with over six thousand men, joined by other troops as he advanced. On the twenty-sixth his army reached Saint Augustin, threw a bridge over the river Cap Rouge and moved upon the British post at Lorette. The English troops fell back upon Sainte Foy, pressed closely by Lévis, while the garrison was unaware of the serious danger by which it was threatened. The intelligence was made known to the British in a singular manner. During the night an officer on board a frigate which had wintered in the Saint Charles, heard a cry of distress from the river and sent a boat amidst the floating ice to ascertain the cause. It was too dark to perceive

any object, but guided by the cries the men were fortunate to find a man clinging to a block of floating ice. The poor fellow who was half frozen, proved to be a soldier in the army which was advancing on Quebec. At Cap Rouge in attempting a landing his boat had overturned and he had saved himself by clambering upon the ice. He was conveyed ashore, and after his wants had been attended to was conducted to the presence of the Governor to whom he told the story of the approach of Lévis with twelve thousand men.

Murray was now in a similar position to that occupied by Montcalm the year before, and he adopted exactly the same tactics as the French general in going out to meet the foe. Three thousand men were all that he could muster and many of these were unfit for service. With Murray at their head the troops marched out from Saint Louis Gate dragging with them over the half melted snow twenty pieces of cannon. It was slow work but at last they reached the crest of the hill where a few months before Montcalm had drawn

up his line. It is well to observe the importance attached to this position by Montcalm and Murray, because fifty years later, when the methods of defence were greatly improved in every part of the world, the British proposed to defend the situation with a line of block houses, contending that whoever held this ground was master of Quebec. When the scheme was abandoned the present Martello Towers were constructed across the plateau.

Murray was undecided when he marched forth that morning whether to give battle or intrench himself behind the ridge. As there was no enemy in sight he advanced down the slope to the spot where Wolfe had first formed on the thirteenth of September. Here he called a halt and, ascending the hill upon which the gaol stands, made a survey of the surrounding country. About two miles in front he saw the troops of Lévis marching towards Sillery woods. Taking in the situation he decided to give battle. His line was composed of eight battalions, with pieces of cannon between each. The



General The Hon. James Murray, First Governor of Quebec
From the painting by A. Ramsay, 1742

whole body moved forward in a diagonal line across the plateau and when near the Belvedere road the cannon opened fire and cut up the French ranks. Lévis gave the order for his right to fall back on the Sillery woods. This movement deceived Murray who pushed forward to Dumont's mill on the Sainte Foy road. The ground now became impassable for cannon and they were only an encumberance. The left wing of the French were in the rear of the mill which was occupied by an advance party. Here a fierce engagement at close quarters took place and the French fell back. Murray, anxious to follow up his advantage, gave the order to advance. But in the meantime the right of the French suddenly reappeared from the woods and drove the light infantry on Murray's left, before them. The French regained possession of the mill, only to be driven out a short time afterwards. For an hour the fight was maintained in this vicinity by the British right. The left, however, had been terribly cut up, and at last Murray gave the order to fall back on

the city. The French pursued, and the British, who were forced to abandon their cannon, made for Saint Louis Gate. This was a difficult operation and here the courage of Murray was put to the test. By placing cannon on the ridge, in the centre and on the site of the Ross Factory, he had ensured the safety of his men if they could gain this point; but there was a considerable distance to traverse before this position could be reached, and the pursuit was hot. The right wing of his army had not been as vigorous as the left, and had it not been for the exertions of the General the result of the battle might have been even more disastrous. He was ever in the thick of the fight; his clothing was riddled by musketry and two horses were shot under him. In the retreat he saved the situation by making a stand at Wolfe's redoubt, a half finished work on the site of the present gaol. Here he rallied his men, and Lévis being under the impression that it was a complete work, checked the advance for a time. This timely stand gave the British a brief

breathing spell and permitted the disabled to reach the garrison. A stubborn fight was made at the redoubt; but by clever tactics Murray succeeded in gaining the city without further loss and was himself the last to enter the gates.

The fight had lasted for two hours and had been creditable to both sides. Murray had lost a thousand men and the French loss had not been less.

The British were within the walls; but without, on the Plains, Lévis was preparing for a siege. The walls were in a feeble state; but Murray had strengthened them considerably by a barricade of snow barrels which formed a wall of ice and deadened the shots. The guns on the ramparts kept the besiegers at a respectful distance, but both sides realized that it was only a question of how long the city could hold out. It was the first week of May. Navigation was open and at any time a vessel might be expected in the river. But would the first ship to arrive carry the flag of England or the flag of France? These were days of alternate hope and

despair. Men scanned the river from morn till night. On the ninth a ship was observed from the ramparts rounding the point of Orleans. The colours were run up at the flag staff on the heights and all eyes watched for the answer to the signal. The fate of Quebec trembled in the balance. The fleur-de-lys would mean surrender; the cross of Saint George would inspire them with hope. At last the colours were run up to the masthead and the British flag was unfurled to the breeze. Great was the joy of the miserable garrison, for seldom had a flag been such a welcome sight. Lévis was not alarmed. At any moment the fleet of France might arrive, and he continued the siege. But when, a week later, two more British vessels sailed up the Saint Lawrence and joined the other ship in an attack on the provision boats, he realized that the situation was serious. The French had two frigates and four other vessels in the river under the command of Vauquelin. This gallant officer fought his ship bravely, and when his last shot had been fired, refused

to strike his flag. He was taken prisoner, but was treated with honour by his captors.

Lévis now saw that the cause was lost and hastily raised the siege. On the morrow when Murray marched out from Quebec at daybreak with a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, the enemy had disappeared.

Thus ended the siege of Quebec under Lévis, which although unsuccessful, did honour to French arms.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH RULE.

The result of the siege of Quebec was disheartening to the French in their critical position. The blockade of the Saint Lawrence had shattered hopes of reinforcements; their provision boats and military supplies had been captured, and three divisions of the British army were moving on Montreal. The forces under Murray were to proceed from Quebec, Haviland's division by way of Lake Champlain, while Amherst was to conduct his division down the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario.

On the 15th of July, 1760, Murray embarked at Quebec with over two thousand men, followed shortly afterward

by three thousand troops from the garrison at Louisbourg. On their passage up the river proclamations were distributed in the parishes promising protection to the inhabitants who remained neutral, and threatening the destruction of the property of those who took up arms. Vaudreuil followed with counter-proclamations decreeing death to the Canadians who joined the ranks of the enemy, and the destruction of the houses of those who refused to take up arms in the cause of France. The worldly goods of the poor Canadians were therefore threatened whichever cause they espoused. Vaudreuil was still confident. "I am taking the most just measures to unite our forces," he wrote, "and if our situation permits, to fight a battle or battles. But if we succumb in the battles we shall fight, I shall apply myself to obtaining a capitulation which may avert the ruin of the people. . . . . It is with this view that I shall remain within the town, the Chevalier de Lévis having represented to me that it would be an evil past

remedying if anything should happen to me."

Once safely within the walls, the Governor seems to have thought no more of the battles. He was very industrious, however, in preparing articles of capitulation, several clauses of which refer to his own personal comfort. Five days before the arrival of Amherst he intimated to Murray that he was prepared to discuss terms with him; but the English general refused to entertain them in the absence of the commander-in-chief. At length, on the eighth of September, Montreal surrendered to General Amherst. The terms of the capitulation caused no little vexation to the French monarch. "His Majesty was not less surprised than displeased," wrote the minister, "at the conditions, so little honourable, to which you submitted, especially after the representations made to you by the Chevalier de Lévis." There was scanty justice, perhaps, in such criticism at such a time, for the cause of France was already lost. But Vaudreuil's

boastful letters of a few weeks before, followed immediately by a copy of the capitulation, naturally caused some irritation and surprise at the French court.

The French troops were now withdrawn from Canada. Bigot and his companions returned to France to meet a just fate, and the down-trodden inhabitants found at last a relief from oppression.

The conduct of the people during the régime of Bigot affords a marked instance of the deep-rooted loyalty of Canadian character. Strangers to the meaning of political liberty, reduced to an indescribable condition of misery and starvation not wholly the outcome of the war, but of deliberate plotting, they steadfastly refused the bribes of the enemy and remained loyal to France at a time when treachery would have been profitable and revolt justified.

Three years of military rule followed the capitulation of Montreal, and in 1763 Canada was ceded by treaty to Great Britain.

The Peace of Paris marks an epoch in the world's history. It gave to England the French possessions in Canada, and to the citizens of the neighbouring states the security that formed the prelude of independence. In Quebec there were still those who cherished the hope that Canada would be restored to France, but the majority welcomed the change. The French population in Canada in 1763 was about sixty thousand, and the question was asked how British rule would affect the King's "new subjects," for such was the name applied to the French inhabitants. Englishmen were beginning to arrive in the country, and amongst them were those who considered that they were entitled to special favours at the hands of the Governor. But ideas of justice and generosity prevailed with Murray, a brave soldier, who now that he was invested with authority was not unmindful of the sterling character of his former foe. From the first he impressed the French with the fact that they were now British subjects, entitled

to the rights of citizens living under the British Crown.

To carry on the administration Murray named a council; but as the regulations passed by that body naturally applied chiefly to the larger or French portion of the populace, complaints were carried to England by the small British minority, of the tolerance of the Governor. The home government, if it realised the situation, failed to suggest a remedy, and it was evident that many years must elapse before harmony would reign.

One serious disadvantage to the British in the early days was the language of the country. Murray was a fair French scholar, but few of his officers were equally accomplished. Petty quarrels and delays often occurred simply through the want of comprehension. The French at that time, as now, were eager to learn the English language, but the Englishman, who seldom took the trouble to acquire a knowledge of French, frequently found himself in some embarrassment.

A note in a dual language caused considerable perplexity to two tradesmen of Quebec. The story is told by de Gaspé in connection with Colonel Murray, a nephew of the General. The Colonel had purchased a house on the banks of the Saint Charles, to which he had given the name "Sans Bruit." Soon after taking possession he addressed a note to a firm in Quebec, with a list of articles. It read as follows:

Gentlemen,

You will send me as soon as convenient the following goods. . .

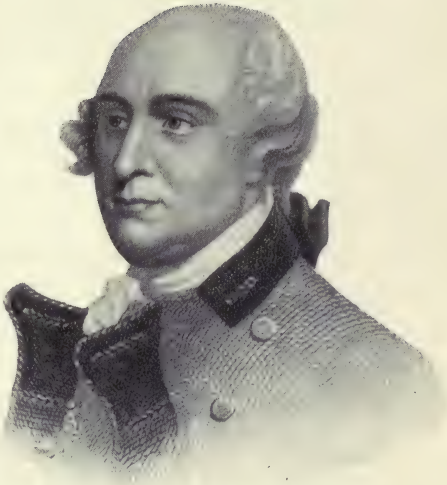
MURRAY.

Sans Bruit, June 1st.

" 'Here is a queer order,' said one of the merchants. 'Does he take us for smugglers that he wishes the goods to be delivered secretly, without noise?' 'Never mind,' said his partner, 'those English are such eccentric characters that I am never astonished at anything they may do or say. In winter we wear our woollen stockings inside our shoes; they

on the outside. We wear our waistcoats under our coats; they over. Fortunately the night is dark, and I will undertake to deliver the goods unseen and unknown.'

"It might have been one o'clock in the morning when one of the merchants entered the yard of 'Sans Bruit,' where silence reigned. Tapping gently at the steward's door and receiving no response, he grew bolder and knocked hard. Finally the steward, who had imbibed freely, opened the door and demanded an explanation for the intrusion. On being told that he wished to deliver some goods he was told to go to the devil; the door was closed and the steward sought his couch. The merchant was not to be turned away, and he persisted in knocking. At last the Colonel opened the window and asked if Quebec was on fire or an enemy at the gate, that he was thus disturbed; adding that the merchant needed sleep and that he had better go to bed. 'Why should I go to bed?' replied the merchant. 'I'm simply carry-



Guy Carleton

ing out your orders.' 'Carrying out my my orders?' said Murray; 'do you mean to say that I have requested you to come in this mysterious manner in the middle of the night?' 'Here is your order,' replied the merchant. '*You shall send the goods sans bruit*, or I do not understand my mother tongue. It would have been difficult to have brought them over secretly during the day, but thanks to the darkness, I assure you that no one has seen what has occurred.' Murray was greatly amused, and explained that 'Sans Bruit' was the name of his house and that it did not mean that the goods were to be delivered without noise."

Quebec had now recovered from the havoc wrought by shot and shell; buildings were restored, improvements were made in the streets, and for a time the people settled down to make the best of their new conditions.

Under an ordinance passed by Murray the French were confirmed in the free exercise of their religion, which had been secured for them by the Treaty of Paris.

In November, 1764, the Governor in Council further enacted "That in actions relative to the tenure of land and the rights of inheritance the French laws and usages should be observed as the rule of decision." Three years after the capitulation of Quebec there were only one hundred and forty British and Protestant families in the district of Quebec, so that the minority was in a peculiar position. The question of religion was a difficulty which the English governors had to face. The idea of giving privileges to Catholics was foreign to the British mind, especially at a time when a Catholic in England was debarred from office; and the fourth article of the Treaty of Paris had expressly included the stipulation "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." The conditions of land tenure and the rights of the *seigneur* were also fruitful themes for discussion. Murray, however, had obtained a clear idea of the conditions of the country, and appears to have acted impartially. His opponents, nevertheless, referred their complaints to England and asked for his

recall. In 1766 he was summoned to England to explain his administrative acts, and though he retained the nominal governorship for two years longer, he never returned to Quebec. In 1768 Sir Guy Carleton, who had been quartermaster under Wolfe, was appointed governor.

Carleton, in taking up the threads of government, had many of the difficulties of his predecessor to encounter and to overcome. The English who had opposed Murray realised that they had not profited by the change. The more enlightened, however, were loyal in their adherence to the new comer, while the French had every reason to regard him as a benefactor and to cherish his memory. Petitions, addresses, discussions—on questions of law, on questions of religion—became the order of the day, until at last the aspirations of the people found expression in the Quebec Act of 1774. The new act provided for the use by the French of their own civil laws and customs, the

administration of English criminal law, and the appointment by the Crown of a Legislative Council. But before the working of the act could fairly be tested, Quebec was again in a state of siege.

CHAPTER X.

THE INVASION UNDER ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY.

Early in the month of May, 1775, a band of Americans under Ethan Allen marched from Connecticut and surprised the fort at Ticonderoga. Following up their success they captured the little garrison at Crown Point, and sent a detachment down Lake Champlain to St. John's on the Richelieu. Here they seized a British vessel, and, elated with their achievement, prepared to penetrate into the heart of Canada. The Continental Congress took a hand in the affair, and General Schuyler, at the head of two thousand men, was appointed to invade British territory. Carleton in the meantime prepared to check their advance by

fortifying the pass at St. John's, and detached the Seventh and the Thirty-sixth Regiments to support the position. Towards the end of September Allen occupied a few houses at Longue Pointe, and proposed to make a descent on Montreal.

Carleton assembled the citizens on the Champs de Mars, and found about a hundred and fifty volunteers. With these, and a small band of regulars from the Thirty-sixth, he marched to Longue Pointe, dislodged the rebels and took Allen with thirty of his men prisoners.

Schuyler's command was brief. After a few weeks he was replaced by Richard Montgomery, a former captain in the British army, who had joined the Continental forces with the rank of general. Montgomery's men were industrious in sowing the seeds of rebellion amongst the inhabitants of the south shore, assuring them that the British would be forced to surrender and promising them exemption from every form of taxation. A short time afterwards the fort at Chambly fell into the hands of the enemy.

This was followed in a few weeks by the surrender of St. John's. The men of the Thirty-sixth who were in St. John's at the time of its capture were conveyed as prisoners to Hartford. Canada at such a time could ill afford the loss.

Meanwhile Montgomery had been advancing upon Montreal. Carleton with scarcely a hundred and twenty-five men was ill prepared to offer resistance. After destroying the public stores he left Montreal as the Americans were entering it. Brigadier Prescott who accompanied him was intercepted at Sorel; but Carleton in an open boat with muffled oars passed at night through the American floating batteries and made his way to Quebec.

By the twenty-fifth of September Arnold had commenced his famous march of three hundred miles through the state of Maine and down the valley of the Chaudière to Point Levis, where he arrived in the first week of November with over one thousand men. The situation was critical. On the fourteenth of November Arnold's men appeared on the heights of Abraham,

less than half a mile from the walls of the city. Montreal was in the hands of the enemy; and Carleton himself, cut off between the two divisions of the invading army, was not able to make good his escape to Quebec until the nineteenth of November. The strength of the garrison on the first of November was only one thousand eight hundred men. In the suburbs of Saint Roch, along the south shore and at the villages of Sainte Foy and Sillery, the enemy held advantageous positions. Quebec was thus surrounded, and the Governor was not in a position to sally forth to give the enemy battle. The winter had set in early. Arnold's men, however, clad in coarse linen coats, seemed insensible to cold. "Vêtu en toile," said the inhabitants; the phrase, passing from mouth to mouth, was changed to "vêtu en tole," and so the rumour spread far and wide that the rebel army was clad in iron. The garrison was confined to the city, and the people beyond began to regard the foe as the future master of Quebec.

The defences of the city were weak. Murray, Townshend, Carleton, each in turn had represented to the government that the walls would not withstand a siege. So far the authorities had provided only temporary works of defence. Carleton had made the best of the situation by erecting barricades at weak points, but he was forced to trust more to the courage of his men than to the strength of the works.

Montgomery occupied the Holland house on the Sainte Foy road, and parties of his men were fortified in outlying buildings. On the sixth of December Montgomery addressed a communication to Carleton advising him to surrender and asserting the folly of resistance. The Governor disregarded the admonition and proceeded to strengthen his position. There were some desertions from the garrison and a few also of the inhabitants were enticed from the city to swell the rebel ranks. One Jeremiah Duggan, a barber of Quebec, was placed at the head of five hundred men, with the rank of major;

proclamations and warnings were shot over the walls and every provocation was given to draw the garrison beyond the gates. On the eighth of the month Montgomery had a narrow escape. As he stepped from a cariole drawn up in front of a tavern to the west of the city, a shot from a cannon killed the horse and shattered into splinters the vehicle from which he had alighted.

The enemy grew bolder. During the night of the ninth a battery was thrown up within eight hundred yards of Saint Louis Gate, and soon four guns were pouring shot into the city. To add to the terrors of the siege, smallpox broke out and claimed many victims, both amongst the inhabitants and in the ranks of the enemy. December wore on. Montgomery was despondent, and his men were looking forward to the end of the year, when their time would expire. A rumour was circulated that the American general had promised his troops that they would eat their Christmas dinner in Quebec or in the nether regions. "We

Prescott Gate

are determined that they shall not dine with us as their own masters," writes a British officer; but from the character of the general we are inclined to believe that the words were lent to him.

In their efforts to open a breach in the walls the Americans were foiled through the good service of the British guns, which destroyed some of their batteries. The enemy next prepared to try the effect of scaling ladders. That project, also, proved too hazardous and was soon abandoned. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth there was little activity in the rebel camp. This did not deceive the British. Carleton, who had taken up his quarters at the Récollets, slept in his clothes, while the garrison remained under arms. On the thirtieth an Irishman, who had deserted from Arnold's division, entered the city with the news that "the rebels were three thousand strong and had a supply of shells from Montreal." The same night Arnold kept up a heavy fire against the town and made a movement as if he

intended to storm Saint Louis Gate. This feint was for the purpose of favouring the movements of Montgomery in the lower town.

The story of the assault on the thirty-first is quoted from the manuscript of a soldier who was present.

"About four o'clock in the morning, Captain Fraser, of the Royal Emigrants, on his rounds saw many flashes of fire without hearing any report; the sentries told him that it had lightened for some time towards the heights of Abraham; the sentinels between Port St. Louis and Cape Diamond had seen lights ranged in straight lines, like lamps in a street. These appearances being very uncommon, and the weather being in favour of an attack, Captain Fraser ordered the guards and pickets on the ramparts to stand to their arms. The drums beat, the bells rang; in a very few minutes the whole garrison was under arms, even old men upwards of seventy were forward to oppose the attackers. Two sky rockets sent from about the foot of Cape Dia-

mond were immediately followed by a heavy and hot fire from a body of men posted behind a rising ground within eighty yards of the guard house on Cape Diamond. By the flashes from the muskets we saw their heads; their bodies were covered. We briskly returned their fire. At the same time a body of men supposed to be Canadians appeared in the suburbs of Saint John. From Saint Roch shells were thrown. Captain Caldwell led a detachment of the British militia to reinforce Cape Diamond. It had been said by some deserters that it was Mr. Montgomery's opinion that an escalade might be easily effected there. The colonel having posted his men under proper officers, returned to the corps de reserve on the parade to wait the general's orders.

"The rockets were the signal. On seeing them Arnold's men immediately rushed forward from under cover of the canotrie and attacked our works at Sault-au-Matelot; there were nine hundred men. Mr. Montgomery advanced towards the

works at Près-de-ville with seven hundred of his best soldiers. Arnold's party was obliged to pass close under the pickets behind the Hotel Dieu and Montcalm's house, where they were exposed to a dreadful fire which the sailors poured down upon them as they ran along. Arnold was here wounded in the leg and carried off. His men proceeded, forced our guard and took possession of the battery at Sault-au-Matelot. They penetrated about two hundred yards farther to a barrier where we made a stand. A brisk fire began on both sides. The rebels fired under cover. We saw only those who ventured to run from one house to another. In this way they advanced.

"General Carleton, cool and attentive to the most minute manœuver of the enemy, skilled in military operations, saw in a moment and instantaneously improved the advantage the rebels had given him over them. He sent Captain Laws with sixty men by Palace Gate to attack their rear, and Captain Macdougal of the Royal Emigrants was sent a little

later with sixty more to support him. Captain Laws advanced too hastily, anxious to be at them; he got before his men, and, all alone, commanded a group of men to surrender. Seeing him unattended, they surrounded him and disarmed him. Captain Macdougal's men on coming up found Laws's men in possession of the Sault-au-Matelot battery. The Captain put himself at the head of both detachments, marched forward and released Captain Laws. As the general had planned, the enemy was effectually hemmed in. To advance they dare not; to retreat they could not. They therefore laid down their arms and cried for quarter. Captain Laws and Captain Macdougal acquired much honour by their conduct on this occasion.

"At Près-de-Ville the sentries had seen the flashes very early; the guard was posted expecting an attack. Captain Barnsfair, master of a merchant ship, had charge of the guns that morning; he had his men at quarters with lighted matches in their hands. A close look out was kept.

Men were at last seen approaching. A band advanced within fifty yards of the battery. Here they stood as if in consultation. A moment later they sprang forward. Captain Barnsfair called Fire! Shrieks and groans followed the discharge. Our musketry and guns continued to sweep the avenue leading to the battery for some minutes. When the smoke cleared away there was not a soul to be seen. Much has been said about Mr. Coffin's cool behaviour. His example at Près-de-Ville had a noble effect on his fellow soldiers. They behaved with the greatest spirit. Those who were engaged at the batteries were reinforced by two detachments from the parade. Major Nairns, of the Royal Emigrants, led the first. He and Major Dambourges of the same corps attracted the attention of everybody by their gallant behaviour. The rebels got possession of a house which commanded Lymburner's battery and one of the principal streets. They mounted ladders and intrepidly forced their way by

ESPLANADE

the windows and drove the rebels out at the doors.

"The Canadian militia showed no kind of backwardness. A few of them stood to the last at a little breast-work near the Sault-au-Matelot battery. When they were in very great danger of being surrounded they retreated to the barrier.

"The flower of the rebel army fell into our hands. We have reason to think that many of Arnold's men were killed while advancing, and many were killed and wounded while endeavouring to get back. Our fire from the pickets galled them exceedingly. We made prisoners one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, one adjutant, one quartermaster, four volunteers, three hundred and fifty rank and file.

"The prisoners say that Mr. Montgomery's men had not behaved with the same spirit as Arnold's men. They imagined that if they had boldly advanced, the strength of the garrison must have been divided; that the two bodies of the rebels would have driven us before them

to the market place where they would have had us between two fires. The prisoners had slips of paper pinned to their hats bearing these words—LIBERTY OR DEATH. We had killed Captain Anderson and four privates. Wounded fourteen.

"A genteel coffin has been ordered by the Lieutenant Governor for the interment of Mr. Montgomery. Those who knew him formerly in this place sincerely lament his late infatuation. They say that he was a genteel man and an agreeable companion."

Another battle had been fought and won at Quebec. Carleton, who sixteen years before had waged war upon the heights under Wolfe, now led both French and English against the enemy at the gate. Shoulder to shoulder stood one time friend and foe in the defence of the British flag. Differences there were and would be, for it would be unreasonable to suppose that a change of allegiance would be unattended with regret. At the call of duty, however, all other considerations were waived and

men fought bravely for their common king and their common country.

Montgomery, a bold leader in a mistaken cause, had died like a soldier. His body was laid out in the little house on Saint Louis Street, since known by his name. On the next day his remains were followed to the grave by the English governor. The battle was over, although Quebec was by no means secure. For months the invading army hovered near, but on the twentieth of April, 1776, the Forty-seventh regiment, conveyed by the *Niger* frigate, sailed from Halifax to the relief of Quebec. The next day the *Isis*, of fifty guns, the *Surprise* and *Triton* frigates, and the *Martin* sloop-of-war with the Twenty-ninth Regiment arrived in the Saint Lawrence, coming to anchor before the city on the sixth of May. The appearance of reinforcements put an end to the hopes of the rebels, who abandoned their guns and fled.

Thus ended the blockade of Quebec in 1775–76.

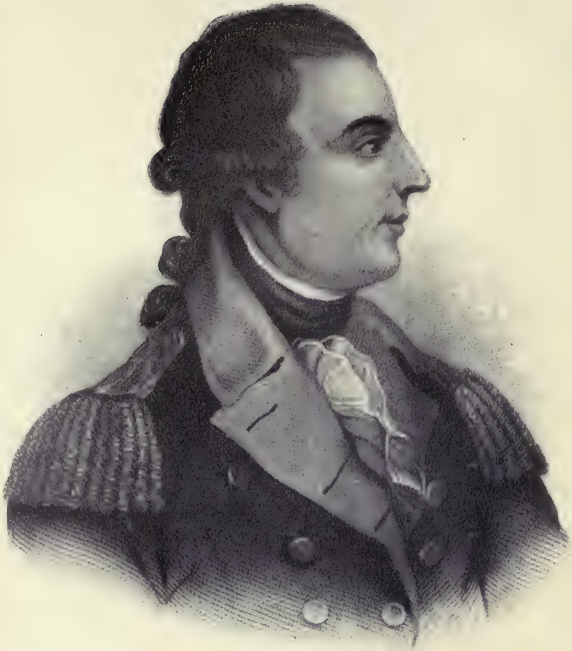
CHAPTER XI.

MODERN QUEBEC.

The Act of 1774 provided for the establishment of a Legislative Council, a form of government which did not commend itself for long to a people who were rapidly developing ideas of political freedom. For several years therefore there was a movement on foot towards representative institutions. In the meantime Carleton, the champion of the rights of the "new subjects," had returned to England, and the government was entrusted to Sir Frederick Haldimand. Being a soldier his first care was to place the colony in a state of defence. The British authorities were inclined to listen to reason after the events of 1775, although they were still dangerously slow for these

stirring times. The master of the Ordinance in England at this period was George Townshend, Wolfe's second Brigadier, who being familiar with the country gave a ready support to Haldimand's demands. Funds were placed at the disposal of the Governor to construct a temporary citadel beyond the present lines. The remains of the works undertaken by Haldimand are still visible, but have given rise to a curious error. For over half a century it has been contended that the fortifications on the cove fields were of French origin. The original plans made by the Royal Engineers after the Battle of the Plains show that there were no ruins whatever at that time; while the drawings of Haldimand's works constructed between 1779 and 1783 are exactly upon these lines.

Haldimand had a difficult rôle to play. He was a soldier above all; and being perhaps less diplomatic than his predecessor, was less popular. Few Governors, however, were more zealous than he for the cause of the king, or had the real interest of the people more at heart. His energy



Richd Montgomery

was untiring. His correspondence covering a remarkable variety of topics must still be drawn upon by those who would form an accurate judgment of a most interesting period of Canadian history.

A glimpse of the home life of the Canadian of the time is given by a British officer.

"The Canadians of the higher class are very polite and attentive to strangers; a few days since, I was invited to dine with one of the principal merchants, *chez Monsieur Roberdeau*; the dinner was entirely after the French fashion, and displayed with much taste, but such was the perverseness of my English stomach, that it could not relish one of the made dishes; and although I endeavoured to eat out of compliment, the master of the house perceived I did not do it with any gusto; he then said, *Ah! Monsieur, vous ne faites que d'arriver dans ce pays; quand vous aurez été avec nous un certain temps, vous aimerez beaucoup notre cuisine. Je suis bien faché que dans ce moment il ne se trouve rien à votre goût, mais quand vous me ferez l'honneur de venir une autrefois chez moi,*

j'aurai soin d'avoir du ROAST BEEF et du PLUMB PUDDING que les Anglois aiment tant. When the desert came, which was before the cloth was removed, I made amends for my not being able to eat at dinner, which the master of the house observing, said, *Ah! Monsieur, ce n'est pas que vous ne vous souciez pas de viandes, mais c'est que vous êtes un peu comme les enfants, vous aimez les friandifes;* when, fearful lest I should be displeased at his raillery, with a politeness truly French, he filled his glass, and added, *Allons, Monsieur, versez et vive le Roi d'Angleterre.*"

In the year 1786 Carleton returned to Quebec as Governor with the title of Lord Dorchester. At this time a terrible scourge, known as the disease of Malbay, was ravaging the country, and one of the first acts of the Governor was to cope with it. Reports were made and published and instructions were scattered broadcast. As there were few medical men in the province, remedies were put up and distributed to the *curés* and *seigneurs*.

One influential inhabitant in writing to the Governor for a supply of the cure considers himself very fortunate in having "a piece of a doctor in his vicinity." The outbreak proved very difficult to overcome, and legislation was proposed to prevent its recurrence. The people meanwhile regarded Lord Dorchester rather as a friend than as a governor,and came freely to him in all their little troubles for encouragement and advice.

The Governor who had been instrumental in passing the Quebec Act of 1774, and had abolished the Test Oath, now devoted his energy to securing a larger measure of political freedom. The Act of 1791, which divided Canada into two provinces, gave to Quebec a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly, elected by the people. The new constitution was put into operation and for a time satisfied the ambition of all classes. It was within the walls of the Bishop's Palace that the king's "new subjects" received their first lessons in popular government. Bédard, who was the first to advocate

responsible government; Papineau the elder, and his son, who was to make the name famous; Panet, Vallières, de Saint Réal, might have been mistaken for seasoned parliamentarians, so well did they grasp the principles of British institutions. A great change had taken place in Quebec. Thirty years before, under the iron heel of Bigot and the paternal government of France, the people were strangers to every form of popular representation. Permission was necessary for holding a friendly meeting. The words of Louis XIV, "It is God's will that whosoever is born a subject should not reason but obey," were still to them an unwritten law. Now the inhabitants were asserting their independence and voting boldly for the men of their own choice.

The influence of Dorchester upon the colony was beneficial. Of strong personality and independent character, always ready to sympathize with distress and quick to scorn the mean and dishonourable, he enjoyed the confidence of the community during the sixteen years

of his administration. His name is cherished even to this day.

In 1764 a press had been established in Quebec, and through this medium the colony was brought into touch with the world beyond.

In 1806 a few of the members of the Parliament of 1791 established the first political newspaper in Canada, *Le Canadien*, the policy of which was to advocate the claims of the French population, then assailed by the *Mercury*, an English paper established at Quebec. Fierce waxed the battle under the régime of the brave, honest, though choleric Governor, Sir James Craig. The talent of both sides was brought out in the controversy until the Governor, who had somewhat despotic ideas in the matter of administration, suppressed *Le Canadien*, and committed the unlucky printer to jail. Under Sir George Prevost peace was restored in Quebec, but there were soon rumours of war without. Great Britain had become involved in a war with the United States, and Canada was called upon to play her

part. When the invasion of Canada became imminent both houses met in Quebec, and voted subsidies for the repulse of the common foe. Quebec was spared the calamity of a siege in 1812–13, as the principal scene of action was in Upper Canada, and to the east and west of Montreal. It was at the battle of Chateauguay, however, that de Salaberry won honour for his Province.

The constitution of 1791 had been tried and found wanting. Papineau who had been the first to proclaim its superiority over previous forms of government, now became its most strenuous opponent. Political agitation ran high and violent attacks were made on the British Government and on the Provincial Executive. The Upper House at this time was composed of nominees of the Crown, whilst the members of the Legislative Assembly were mainly of French origin. There were no ministers responsible to the people and the whole system hinged on the supreme authority of the Governor, supported by the Legislative Council. Papineau was

elected Speaker and became vigorous in his denunciations of the system of government. His appointment as speaker was rejected by the Governor Lord Dalhousie, but he was at once re-elected by the people. To overcome the difficulty, Dalhousie proposed to unite Upper and Lower Canada under one parliament. Papineau and Neilson, the editor of the Quebec *Gazette*, who were sent to England to oppose the measure, were successful in their mission. The presence of Neilson and other English members in Papineau's camp proved that the opposition was not purely racial. It is evident that there were wrongs to be redressed, but at the same time it was not reasonable to suppose that the methods adopted by Papineau would bring about remedial legislation. The presence of a diplomat on the scene during these stormy days would probably have contributed more to the cause of reform than the efforts of excitable politicians.

Agitation and discontent reached their climax under Lord Aylmer who followed

the policy of his predecessor. Within the precincts of the House there were frequent scenes of turbulence: when Lord John Russell proposed to give the Governor the power to expend public money without the vote of the Assembly, there was open rebellion. A revolutionary movement was on foot and gradually the more sober minded representatives severed their allegiance to Papineau. Most men were eager for reform, but they were not prepared to try to accomplish it by resorting to arms.

But while these political disputes were embroiling various sections of the community, Quebec was as gay as ever. During Dalhousie's administration there was a constant round of festivities. And it is a fact worthy of note that during this period of party strife, both races subscribed to the granite column which was set up in the Governor's garden to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, the victor and the vanquished.

Quebec had now become the strongest fortress in the world. Enormous sums

QUEBEC IN 1830

were expended by the British Government on the citadel and lines of defence which still present a formidable appearance and are a monument to the skill of the engineers Durnford and Mann.

In those days the penalty of desertion from the citadel was death, and a record is preserved of how the punishment was carried out. "On a beautiful morning in June, the whole garrison of Quebec turned out at five o'clock to witness the awful ceremony in the ditch of the Citadel. When the fatal moment arrived, the prisoner, attired in white, and supported by two Roman Catholic clergymen, with his coffin carried before him, moved slowly out of the great gate of the fortress into the fosse, and proceeded past the long line of troops; whilst the band played a funeral dirge, and a firing party brought up the rear of the melancholy procession. The sound of the mournful music was heard by the assembled garrison long before the head of the party became visible; thus the doleful tones of the Dead March had full time to produce their utmost

effect, on all present, before the prisoner came in sight; and certainly nothing could have been more impressive than the whole painful scene. When the sentence of the Court Martial had been read, and the last religious rites were concluded, the poor wretch knelt on his coffin two yards from the muzzles of a dozen muskets. The Priests retired, the awful word 'Fire' was uttered, and the lifeless body lay doubled across the coffin."

Canada had now been under British rule for three quarters of a century, and it looked as if the French were to become involved in a quarrel with England through the fierce and eloquent declamations of one passionate man. Quebec, however, fought shy of its former idol, and the scene was changed to Montreal. After the general elections in the autumn of 1834 each candidate was called upon to declare whether or not he was in favour of an elective council. Seventy-nine members favourable to the change were elected, while the opposition elected only nine. The House opened in February 1835.

For some time previous to this date there had been a want of harmony between the members of the leading party, which soon developed into a marked division in their ranks.

The strife was maintained in the press and upon the hustings. There were frequent quarrels over merest trifles. The members of the House gave only a half-hearted support to Papineau who never missed an opportunity of making personal attacks upon the Governor and his Councillors. In the heat of argument as his influence began to wane, he gave expression more and more frequently to the most dangerous sentiments.

The affairs of the Province, which were now centered in Quebec, grew worse. Lord Gosford, in the capacity of a Royal Commissioner was sent out to investigate the affairs of the colony. His efforts to calm the turbulent spirits were fruitless. The Legislative Council threw out measures passed by the Assembly, and the Assembly in retaliation refused to vote

supplies. Heated discussions, into which were drawn questions of language and questions of religion, became the order of the day. The clergy in Quebec and in other places did their utmost to restore order; but the inflammatory speeches of the agitators and the attitude of a certain section of the press, fostered a spirit of rebellion. The torch was lighted at the meeting held at Saint Ours on the seventh of May, 1835. *Le Canadien*, the organ of the French, protested against the methods of Papineau, and eight thousand people assembled in Quebec to condemn the agitation. The crisis came, however, when it became known that Great Britain had rejected the resolutions which had been sent over. The details of the stormy days in Montreal, the issue of a warrant for the arrest of Papineau, his escape to the United States; the defeat of the rebels at Saint Charles, Saint John's and Saint Denis, and the proclamation of martial law, are matters of provincial history.

The rebellion, incited by a few rash individuals, who fled at the approach of danger, was deplored by the French Canadians as a body.

In 1838 the Constitution of 1791 was suspended. These were sad days for Quebec. The rebellion had paralysed commerce, and the future of the province was a grave cause for anxiety. Darker still was the outlook when the provinces were united in 1840. John Neilson and other patriots began an agitation which was crystallized in a petition to the Queen. The Act, however, was put in force, and the patriotic intelligence of Baldwin and Lafontaine brought out of the constitution a full measure of political liberty. In the change Quebec lost the seat of Government, which was transferred to Kingston.

The struggle of the people against provincial misrule, which was converted by Papineau into an attack on the Home Government, is almost forgotten; but two memorials of the period will not pass away. One is the monument to Wolfe

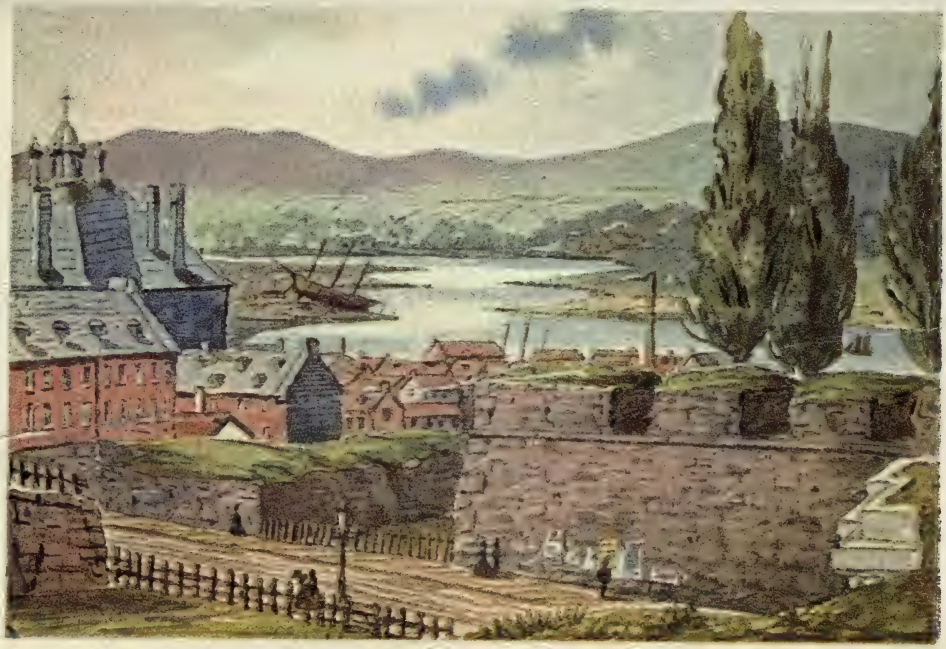
and Montcalm in the Governor's garden, with its unique inscription:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT

and the other a marble slab over the tomb of Montcalm.

These monuments were erected by men who bore the brunt of Papineau's abuse. While feuds were in progress in Quebec the historic Château Saint Louis was destroyed by fire, and the country was no longer governed from the spot where Champlain lived and died.

Whatever charges Papineau may have to answer at the hands of posterity, we may safely acquit him on one count, the theft of a ham, brought against him by a facetious army surgeon. The doctor had returned from an early constitutional, prepared for a hearty breakfast in which there were visions of a certain Westphalia ham; when, *horresco referens*, there was everything else on the table, but, "*in the middle a place where the jambon was not.*"



The Ramparts—By Lieut. Sitwell, R.E.

"O, misery of miseries, the whole succulent and delicious ham, manifest product of some high caste graminivorous pig, which had lived all its life under the shade of oaks and chestnuts browsing upon their nuts, had been feloniously abstracted from the larder by some vile Philistine.

"O, Louis Joseph Papineau! To our dying day we will hold thee responsible for this outrage. Whilom, before thy pestilential politics corrupted thy simple countrymen, ironmongers and locksmiths starved, for in our rural districts doors were only latched. Securely reposed our clothes drying in the garden or before the oven, our viands in the open cupboards, our fish in the tubs, for theft was not. But when thy compatriots were taught—and thou didst sedulously instil and reinstil the lesson—that they were oppressed and plundered by strangers who had conquered them, and that resistance to the "base Bretons," was wise and patriotic—when thou didst urge them to retaliate on their oppressors in every safe and practicable way—is it not a palpable

induction that they should have filched our much regretted ham?"

For some years Quebec suffered from the fanaticism of Papineau; but the descendants of the old French in North America were always loyal to the British Crown. Two great factors, the clergy and the *seigneurs*, assured the loyalty of the French to England. It was the aim of the clerics after the Cession to render their flocks obedient to the new order and to accept the accomplished fact recognized by France and confirmed by the Treaty of Paris. The tenets of their religion and their traditional training led them to exact submission to constituted authority. The most influential class after the clergy were the *seigneurs*. To them it was a simple matter to transfer their allegiance from one sovereign to another. With the nobles of old France, ideas of king and country were associated, and often the monarch overshadowed every other consideration. Strong monarchical convictions therefore inclined them towards the English king, and Papineau had said in

1820 that the change of allegiance caused no regret, considering the superiority of the character of George III over that of Louis XV.

After the Union of 1842, the seat of government was moveable. Kingston, Montreal, Toronto and Quebec each in turn became the capital. In 1864, the delegates of the North American Provinces met in Quebec to discuss the federal union, and at the inauguration of Confederation in 1867, Quebec was named as the seat of the Provincial Government.

Although Quebec was deprived of her prestige as a centre of national influence she has never ceased to play an important part in affairs of the country. Her sons are still heard in the councils of the nation.

The withdrawal of the Imperial troops from Quebec in 1871 was a loss to Canadian society and a severe blow to the merchant classes. It was estimated that at least half a million dollars were circulated annually during the residence of the permanent forces.

In 1872, the Earl of Dufferin became Governor General of Canada. He was much impressed with the magnificent site of Quebec and proposed an elaborate scheme for its restoration. Amongst the improvements he suggested a vice-regal residence on the Terrace in the style of a Norman Château. Iron bridges were to span the streets to form a continuous drive about the ramparts. The gates were to be restored without interference with traffic, and pleasure grounds were to be laid out. The plan was found to be too expensive and was considerably modified. The Terrace however was extended, and the present Saint Louis and Kent Gates were built. In all the improvements which have been made to meet the demands of commerce Quebec has not been robbed of its ancient form. The modern city is indebted to the Hon. S. N. Parent for many permanent works and picturesque spots with which unsightly objects have been replaced. Hon. Mr. Parent's successor in office, the present mayor, has already shown that he is deter-

mined to maintain for the city its unique position as a model of civic administration.

During Lord Minto's term as Governor, the ground known as the race course was purchased by the Federal Government as a public park, and Lord Grey has successfully launched a scheme for the preservation of historic sites as a national memorial of the foundation of the city by Champlain.

For one who has known and loved Quebec there is no farewell. Amongst the many beautiful places in the Dominion old Stadaconé stands foremost as the city of historic memories. Before it lies a brilliant future. Behind it lies a glorious past. From the arrival of Jacques Cartier down to the present day it is bound up with the most significant events in our annals. Let us look back once more, for its walls and stones, grey and war-worn in the strife of centuries, still tell of something great and high. There upon the rock stands the lonely figure of Champlain, contemplating the vast scene upon which

the hand of the white man has never left its impress. Then follow the band of missionaries who have relinquished ties of home to carry their message to the children of the forest and to seal their devotion with their blood. Here appear the stern features of Montmorency de Laval the founder of the Church in the most Northern parts of America. Close to Laval stands the chivalrous Frontenac, his compatriot and sometime opponent, reviving and strengthening Champlain's incipient colony. Yonder is the battery from which he answered Phips' summons to surrender.

Beyond the walls the scene develops into a vaster and more impressive theatre, as one pictures the stirring events that gather about Wolfe and Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. Beneath the city walls we note the spot where the brave Montgomery fell when French and English, lately contending for supremacy, fought shoulder to shoulder in defence of the British Flag. Here we leave the reader to trace out for himself in quaint

streets and monuments the more ample story of Quebec, begun three hundred years ago.

NOTES IN QUEBEC CHRONOLOGY.

1535. Jacques Cartier passes the winter on the banks of the Lairet beside the Indian village of Stadaconé. The site of the village is now included within the limits of Quebec city.

1540. François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a wealthy nobleman of Picardy is made by Francis I 'Lieutenant-General, chief leader and Captain' of an expedition to New France.

1541. Cartier, commissioned by Roberval, in command of five ships passes the winter at a small fort he had built at Cap Rouge a few miles above Quebec.

1542. Roberval with abundance of supplies and a new company of adventurers reaches St. John's, Newfoundland, where he encounters Cartier on his homeward voyage. Roberval passes a disastrous winter at Cartier's old fort.

1543–1607. Breton, Norman and Basque fishermen frequent the Banks and the Lower St. Lawrence. In 1578 a hundred and fifty French vessels, and two hundred English and Spanish, engage in Canadian trade or the fisheries in Newfoundland waters. No permanent settlement is founded during this period.

1588. January 14. La Jannaye and Nouel receive from Henry III the grant of a monopoly of the fur-trade in the St. Lawrence for twelve years. They receive permission to take out sixty criminals a year as colonists and workmen.

This monopoly is revoked by letters patent on July 9, 1588.

1598. La Roche is appointed by letters patent, Lieutenant-General for Henry IV in 'Canada, Hochelaga and Newfoundland.' His settlers, composed of French criminals, are left to their fate on Sable Island.

1603. Champlain, with three small ships, visits Canada for the first time in the service of de Chastes. He sails up the St. Lawrence as far as the Sault St. Louis.

1608. Foundation of Quebec. Champlain builds here his "Abitation."

1615. Four of the Récollet fathers, a branch of the Franciscans and the first order of the Church in Canada, arrive at Quebec. The foundation of the first convent chapel was laid in 1620.

1617. Couillard and Hébert are the first *habitants* in Canada. They are the first to till the soil in the neighbourhood of Quebec.

The first marriage in Canada was that of Hébert's eldest daughter Anne to Stephen Jonquest in the autumn of 1617. Father Le Caron officiated.

1625. Six Jesuits arrive at Quebec. They are given shelter at the monastery of the Récollects for two years until their own quarters are completed at Notre Dame des Anges.

1627. April 29. The viceroyalty of New France and Florida vested in the *Compagnie de Canada*—the "Cent Associés"—commissioned by Cardinal Richelieu to exploit the fur-trade and encourage settlement.

1629. April. Peace declared between French and English by the Treaty of Suzé.

Aug. 9. The British flag raised for the first time over Quebec. Four months after the Treaty of Suzé, but before the news of peace had reached the New World, Sir David Kirke and two of his brothers take the city in the name of Charles I. It is held for three years in security for the dowry of the Queen, Henrietta Maria of France.

1632. March 29. Quebec restored to the crown of France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. The Jesuits who had left in 1629 resume their work in Quebec in 1632. The Récollets are not allowed to return.

1633. Return of Champlain as governor of New France.

1634. January 14. M. Giffard, a surgeon, receives from *l'assemblée générale* a grant of Beauport 'en toute justice et seigneurie.' This was the first seigniory granted in Canada.

1635. Champlain dies on Christmas Day. Quebec has less than a hundred inhabitants and not more than four or five public buildings. Champlain's "Abitation," built in 1608, is replaced by the Fort St. Louis begun in 1620 on the site of the present Château Frontenac; the storehouse of the Cent Associés stood in Ste. Anne street, and the parish church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance stood on the ground now occupied by the Basilica. From the belfry of Notre Dame Champlain caused the Angelus to be rung three times a day. The custom is still observed in the churches of Quebec.

1636–1639. Wars with the Iroquois under the governorship of Montmagny, Knight of Malta. Towards the close of Montmagny's administration the privileges of trade are thrown open to the *habitants*.

1639. The Ursulines arrive in Quebec in August, and Madame de la Peltrie begins the erection of a convent. L'Hôtel Dieu had already been founded by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

1640. June. Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance destroyed by fire. In this chapel had been buried the remains of Champlain, but in the fire every trace of the exact spot was obliterated.

1646. December 31. Corneille's *Le Cid* the first play performed in Canada is presented by the Jesuit pupils in the storeroom of the Cent Associés on Ste. Anne Street.

1648. Jacques Boisdon is appointed the first inn-keeper in Canada on condition that he "settles in the square in front of the Church" and "keeps nobody in his house during High Mass, sermons, the cathechism or Vespers."

1656–1660. The Iroquois after overrunning the country of the Hurons and the Ottawas continue their ravages as far as the Fort of Quebec.

1659. June 16th. Laval, Vicar Apostolic of New France and Bishop of Petrée, arrives at Quebec.

1663. January 26th. "The great earthquake" in Canada, when "doors opened and shut of themselves" and "bells rang without being touched." Shocks of varying intensity were felt over a period of seven months.

1663. Laval founds *Le Petit Seminaire de Québec.* Five years later *Le Grand Seminaire* is founded for the teaching of theology. In this year also the charter granted in 1627 to the Cent Associés (now reduced to

forty-five members) is withdrawn, and Quebec is declared by Louis XIV the capital of the royal province of New France.

1665. Four companies of the regiment of Carignan-Salières arrive at Quebec. These men are the first regular troops in New France. On June 30, Marquis de Tracy, Lieutenant-General of all the King's possessions in North America, is received at Quebec with great pomp and rejoicing. With him comes another detachment of the Carignan Regiment. A third detachment arrives in the autumn, with Courcelles the new Governor.

In 1665 also, Jean Talon, the great Intendant, inaugurates a period of settlement and progress. About thirty men of rank and fortune and over six hundred other settlers arrive from France. In 1670 there are more than 700 births in the colony.

1672. Frontenac enters upon his first governorship of Canada.

1674. October 1st. Laval made first bishop of Quebec.

Joliet and Father Marquette cross Lake Michigan and sail down the Mississippi as far as the Arkansas.

1682. End of Frontenac's first administration. His successor, La Barre, proves quite unequal to the task of dealing with the Iroquois.

La Salle follows the Mississippi to its mouth.

1688. Laval resigns his bishopric and is succeeded by St. Valier.

1689. Raids by the Iroquois and massacre of Lachine, July 26. Frontenac returns to Quebec to begin his second administration.

1690. October 9. Sir Wm. Phips and his fleet from New England appear before Quebec. Frontenac replies "from the mouth of his cannon" to Phips' summons to surrender. Phips retires with loss.

1693. Frontenac encircles Quebec for the first time with a wall or palisade.

1698. November 28. Death of Frontenac at the age of seventy-eight.

1711. British fleet against Quebec under Sir Hovenden Walker, wrecked off Egg Island during the storm of August 22.

The church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, so called after the victory of 1699, is now called Notre Dame des Victoires.

1712. February 29. Birthday of Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, lord of Saint-Véran, Candiac, Tornemire, Saint-Julien d'Arpam, baron de Gabriac. In 1438 Jean de Montcalm wedded Jeanne de Gozon, grand-daughter of the famous knight Deodat de Gozon, Grand Master of the illustrious order of Saint John of Jerusalem. The family assumed the name of Gozon in 1582.

1721. A regular postal service at fixed rates is proposed between Quebec and Montreal.

M. Lanouiller is granted by Intendant Bégon a monopoly of the posts for twenty years. The scheme, however, is not carried out.

1727. January 2. Birthday of James Wolfe, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Wolfe, brigade Major of the army in the Low Countries commanded by Marlborough.

1729–1739. A decade in New France of calamities from floods, earthquakes and smallpox. Population of New France in 1739 is 42,700.

1743. The Vérendrye brothers travel westward to the Rocky Mountains.

1756. The beginning of the Seven Years' War.

1758. Final capture of Louisbourg by the British.

1759. June 26. The British fleet under Admiral Saunders, bearing General Wolfe with 9,000 men, anchors before Quebec.

—June 27. Landing of British troops on the Island of Orleans.

—June 28. The fiasco of the fireships. Seven vessels prepared by Vaudreuil at a cost of a million livres are set adrift by the French and are leisurely towed ashore by British sailors.

—June 29. Point Levis occupied by Brigadier General Monckton.

—July 9. Batteries at Levis open fire upon the town.

—July 16. The Upper Town is set on fire by a shell from the British batteries. Nine houses are destroyed.

—July 26. "Another chain of fire rafts" intended to go down the south channel "ended as the former, all in show without doing any damage." It was towed ashore upon the Isle of Orleans.

—July 31. A British attack at Montmorency ends in disaster. It is foiled by the tide, a heavy shower of rain and an overwhelming fire from the French entrenchments.

—Aug. 9. The Lower Town set on fire in two places. "By eight o'clock it was burnt to ashes, all but four or five houses."

—Sept. 3. The British evacuate their positions at the Montmorency.

—Sept. 7. A detachment of the British fleet moves up the river to Cap Rouge.

—Sept. 12. Bougainville with 1,200 men is decoyed above St. Augustin, while the troops under Wolfe drop down the river in small boats.

—Sept. 13. Landing of Wolfe some hours before daybreak at the Foulon (Wolfe's Cove). Battle of the Plains and death of Wolfe.

—Sept. 14. Death of Montcalm at four o'clock in the morning. Shortly before his death he wrote to Townshend: "Obligé de céder Québec à vos armes, j'ay l'honneur de demander à votre Excellence ses bontés pour nos malades et blessés. . . Je vous prie

d'être persuadé de la haute estime et ce a respectueuse considération avec laquelle j'ay l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, MONTCALM."

—Sept. 18. Capitulation of Quebec to Admiral Saunders and General Townshend. At four o'clock in the afternoon the British flag was hoisted on the citadel.

—Oct. 8. General Murray issues his first proclamation as Governor.

1760. April 17. Lévis begins his march from Montreal to Quebec.

—April 28. Second "Battle of the Plains" on the Ste. Foy road, in which the French under Lévis are victorious. The British retreat within the walls.

—May 1. Levis has his batteries planted against the city. Ultimate victory is to be decided by the first arrival of reinforcements.

—May 9. The *Lowestoff* frigate rounds the headland of Point Levis. In response to the signal from the citadel the British flag is run up to the mizzen peak.

—May 15. Two other British frigates arrive at Quebec.

—May 16. Two French frigates and several other vessels above the town are destroyed or forced ashore.

—May 17. Lévis raises the siege and retires to Jacques Cartier on his way to Montreal.

—Sept. 2. Vaudreuil offers to surrender Montreal, but Murray refuses to negotiate before the arrival of Amherst.

—Sept. 8. Surrender of Montreal to General Amherst.

1763. Feb. 10. Canada formally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris. General Murray is left as Military Governor at Quebec.

1764. June 21. *The Quebec Gazette,* the first newspaper in "Canada," is printed with the first printing press in Quebec, for one hundred and fifty subscribers.

—Sept. 17. An ordinance is passed by the Governor in Council directing judgment to be given in Court of Common-Pleas 'agreeable to equity, having regard nevertheless to the Laws of *England,* as far as the circumstances and present Situation of Things will admit, until such Time as proper Ordinances . . . can be established . . . agreeable to the Laws of *England*'.

1766. General Murray returns to England on leave, and is replaced by Sir Guy Carleton as Lieutenant General.

1768. Sir Guy Carleton becomes Governor in succession to Murray.

1774. The *Quebec Act* passes the Imperial Parliament. Quebec retains French civil laws and customs and the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion 'as far as

the Laws of Great Britain permit'. English law is administered in criminal cases and a legislative council is appointed by the Crown.

1775. Revolt of the American colonies.

—November 9. Arnold arrives at Point Levis after his famous march from the Kennebec with colonial force destined for the capture of Quebec.

—November 19. Carleton arrives from Montreal.

—December 1. Montgomery and Arnold unite their forces at Pointe-aux-Trembles.

—December 8. Narrow escape of Montgomery from the bursting of a shell. His horse was killed and the cariole from which he had just alighted was shattered into splinters.

—December 31. Defeat of Arnold by the French and English at Sault-au-Matelot Barricade. Montgomery at the Près-de-Ville Barricade is defeated and killed.

1776. April 20. *Niger* frigate with the 47th Regiment sails from Halifax for Quebec.

—May 6. The *Isis*, of 50 guns, the *Surprise* and *Triton* frigates and the *Martin* sloop-of-war, bearing the 29th Regiment, anchor before Quebec. The Americans abandon their guns and flee.

1783. The second Treaty of Paris and Independence of the American States. About

40,000 United Empire Loyalists migrate to Canada. In 1783 the first British works, a temporary citadel beyond the walls towards the Plains, were built at Quebec.

1784. His Majesty King William IV., then a naval officer in H.M.S. *Pegasus*, is the first member of the Royal Family to visit Quebec. A sham battle is held in his honour on the Plains of Abraham.

1791. The *Constitutional Act* passes the British Parliament. Canada is divided into an Upper and a Lower Province, with a Legislative Assembly (by popular election) and a Legislative Council (by royal appointment) in either province. The Assembly in Quebec in 1792, under Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton), was the first parliament in the Empire to sit outside Great Britain and Ireland, under the direct authority of a Governor General.

The debate on the *Constitutional Act* was the occasion of the famous rupture between Burke and Fox.

1791–4. H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, grandfather of King Edward VII., spends three years in Quebec (at Kent House) in command of the 7th Royal Fusiliers.

1793. Foundation of the Anglican see of Quebec.

1799. Monseigneur Plessis, Vicar - General, preaches a sermon in the Basilica (on the site of Champlain's old parish church, Notre

Dame de la Recouvrance) to celebrate Nelson's victory at the Nile. The Bishop's *Mandement* ordains a general thanksgiving for the blessings of British rule.

1804. The Anglican Cathedral is completed under the encouragement of H.M. King George III. Many of the vestments and pieces of plate are royal gifts. Dr. Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, preached the centenary sermon in 1904.

1809. "The steamboat Accommodation has arrived with ten passengers. . . . No wind or tide can stop her. The price of the passage is nine dollars up, and eight down. The wheels are put and kept in motion by steam operating within the vessel."—*Quebec Mercury,* November 3.

The *Accommodation* was the second steamboat built on this continent. Fulton's boat sailed the Hudson in 1807.

1812. War with United States. Many of the French and English who fought at Queenston Heights (October 13th) and Chateauguay (October 26, 1813) were quartered at times during the war at Quebec. The street built on the slope which separated the English and French lines on the morning of September 13, 1759, is called after de Salaberry. General Brock lived for a time in the third house from the top of Fabrique Street.

Population of Lower Canada in 1814 is 335,000.

1824. *The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,* the senior learned society in Canada, is founded by a Royal Charter granted by King William IV. The King himself had visited Quebec thirty-seven years before.

1832. The construction of the present citadel and walls, begun in 1823, from plans made by Durnford and Mann, is completed at a cost of $35,000,000. In this work was used one of the earliest railways in Canada. There was a double track from the wharves to Cape Diamond. A stationary engine, near what is now the Allan line wharf, drew up one car loaded while the other came down empty.

1833. The *Royal William,* of which Mr. Samuel Cunard was one of the owners, was built and sailed from Quebec. She was the first ship to cross the Atlantic altogether under steam, and the first steamship to fire a shot in action, May 5th, 1836.

1837–8. Canadian rebellion under Papineau, Neilson and William Lyon MacKenzie.

1838. February 10.—The suspension of the Constitution.

—May 29.–November 3. Lord Durham's administration as Governor-General and High Commissioner.

1839. Durham makes his famous report. The phrase "responsible government" is used for the first time in an official document.

1841. The *Union Act*, passed in the British Parliament in 1840, goes into effect February 10th. Upper and Lower Canada are united, and the government is made "responsible" to a Provincial Legislature in which the two provinces are equally represented. The first joint parliament meets at Kingston, June 13th.

1852. Foundation of *Laval*, the first French-Canadian University, called after the first Bishop of New France. In 1852 the seat of government is moved to Quebec. Population of Lower Canada is about 890,000. The first rail is laid in the Grand Trunk Railway.

1854. Commutation of the system of *Seigniorial Tenure* in Canada. There were at this time about 160 *seigneurs* and more than 70,000 rent-payers.

1855. Seat of government transferred from Quebec to Toronto.

1857. June 26. The *Montreal*, a river steamboat plying between Quebec and Montreal, is destroyed by fire near Cap Rouge, with a loss of 250 lives.

1858. Ottawa is selected as the capital of the two Canadas.

1859. Seat of government transferred from Toronto to Quebec.

1860. August 18. Prince of Wales (now King Edward) lands at Quebec from H.M.S. *Hero*. H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh visits Quebec in the following year.

1861. *The Great Eastern* steamship visits Quebec.

1864. The Charlottetown *Convention* is adjourned to Quebec, at the invitation of the Canadian Government. October 16–28, the "Fathers of Confederation" draw up their first scheme for the union of British North American Provinces.

1866. The Reciprocity Treaty, signed June 5, 1854, is repealed.

1867. July 1. The birth of the Dominion of Canada. Under that name the Provinces of Canada (now Ontario and Quebec), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are united by the British North America Act. Viscount Monck, Governor General of Canada, becomes the first Governor General of the Dominion.

1870. Quebec, under H.R.H. Duke of Connaught, is under arms to repel the Fenian raids.

1871. The Royal Canadian Artillery, the first regular troops under the Canadian Government, has its first parade at Quebec.

1876. Opening of the Intercolonial railway from Quebec to Halifax.

1872–8. Many improvements at Quebec promoted by the Earl of Dufferin. The *Terrace* was extended to Cape Diamond Redoubt, giving it a total length of 1,400 feet.

1875. The 100th anniversary of the victory over Arnold's troops in 1775 is celebrated in Quebec by the *Literary and Historical Society* and the *Institut Canadien.*

1883. First visit to Quebec of the present Prince of Wales, then Prince George of Wales.

1884. 300 Canadian voyageurs for the Nile expedition rendezvous at Quebec.

1889. The *Ursulines* and *Hospitalières* celebrate the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the Ursuline Convent by Madame de la Peltrie, and of the Hôtel Dieu by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

1897. Celebration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in Quebec. Lord Aberdeen unveils the statue of the Queen in Victoria Park.

1898. Monument to Champlain on the terrace unveiled by Lord Aberdeen.

1899. The first Canadian contingent for service in South Africa embarks at Quebec.

1901. Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York reach Quebec in their tour of the Empire.

1902. Fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Laval University by Royal Charter signed at Westminster on December 8th, 1852.

1908. Unveiling of monument to Mgr. Laval, first bishop of Quebec.

1908. Tercentenary of the founding of Quebec by Champlain.

APPENDIX I.

MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC.

Wolfe's Monument.

When Wolfe fell mortally wounded on the 13th of September, 1759, he was carried to the rear of his line and died before the close of the battle. In 1772 the British officers had an obelisk erected in his honour in the City of New York; but for seventy-three years no monument in Quebec marked the scene either of the victory or of the General's death. In 1832 Lord Aylmer erected at his own expense a simple monument a short distance to the north-west of Quebec gaol, to commemorate the spot where Wolfe expired. Through the generosity of the British officers in the Garrison of Quebec this was replaced in 1849 by a simple monument, which is still in existence. It is a plain round column surmounted by a sword and helmet. On one

side of the pedestal appear in relief these words on a plate attached to the base of the column:

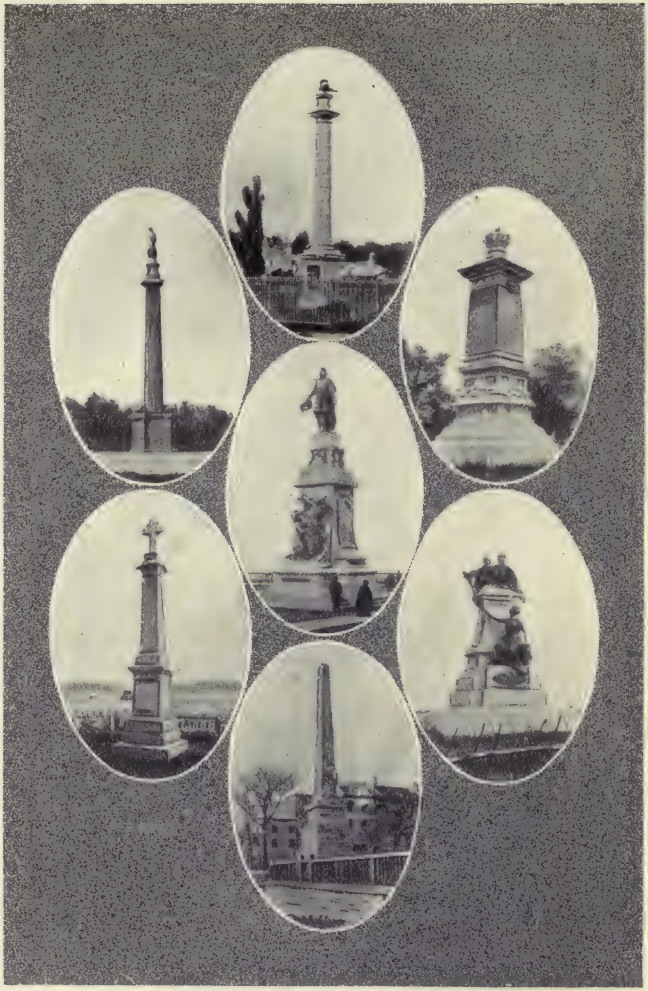
HERE DIED
WOLFE
VICTORIOUS
SEPT. 13
1759

On the other side:

THIS PILLAR
WAS ERECTED BY THE
BRITISH ARMY
IN CANADA 1849
HIS EXCELLENCY
LIEUTENANT GENERAL
SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN,
G.C.B., K.C.H., K.C.T.S., ETC.,
COMMANDER OF THE FORCES
TO REPLACE THAT ERECTED BY
GOVERNOR-GENERAL LORD AYLMER, G.C.B.
IN 1832
WHICH WAS BROKEN AND DEFACED
AND IS DEPOSITED BENEATH.

The Wolfe-Montcalm Monument.

This monument was erected under the administration of Lord Dalhousie. It is situated



Aux Braves
Père Massé

Wolfe
Champlain
Wolfe-Montcalm

Jacques Cartier
Short-Wallick

at the entrance to the Governor's Garden, facing the river. The first meeting of citizens was held on the 1st November, 1827, under the presidency of the Governor. On the 15th of the same month, Lord Dalhousie laid the corner stone bearing this inscription:

HUJUSCE

MONUMENTI IN MEMORIAM

VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM

WOLFE ET MONTCALM

FUNDAMENTUM

P. C.

GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE

IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICAE PARTIBUS

AD BRITANNOS PERTINENTIBUS

SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS;

OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRAETERMISSUM

(QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENIENTIUS)

AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS

MUNIFICENTIA FOVENS

DIE NOVEMBRIS XVÂ

A.D. MDCCCXXVII

GEORGIO IV BRITANNIARUM REGE.

The ceremony concluded with the firing of a salute from the Citadel and the singing of the national anthem "God save the King."

A committee appointed for the erection of the monument, opened a competition and offered a medal for the best inscription. It was won by J. Charlton Fisher, LL.D., and is as follows:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT

(Translation)

VALOUR GAVE THEM A COMMON DEATH
HISTORY A COMMON FAME
AND POSTERITY A COMMON MONUMENT.

The Ste. Foy Monument.

This monument was made after a design by the Chevalier Charles Baillargé of Quebec. It consists of a column of fluted bronze mounted upon a pedestal, the four corners of which support four mortars also of bronze. The front of the pedestal facing Ste. Foy Road bears the following inscription: "Aux braves de 1760—Erigé par la Société St. Jean Baptiste de Québec, 1860." On the side towards the city, the name of Murray stands out in relief above the arms of Great Britain; on the side of Ste. Foy, the name of

LÉVIS is placed above the emblems of OldFrance. In the rear a bas-relief represents the famous wind-mill of Dumont, which was held in turn by the English and the French, and finally carried by the Grenadiers de la Reine under M. d'Aiguebelles, after a furious battle with the Scottish Highlanders, commanded by Colonel Fraser.

The monument itself is sixty-five feet in height and is surmounted by a statue of Bellona, ten feet high, the gift of Prince Jérôme Napoléon, cousin of Napoléon III.

In 1854 the human bones found on the site of Dumont's mill were transported with much pomp to the Quebec Cathedral. After Archbishop Turgeon, in a solemn ceremony, had pronounced the words of hope and faith in the resurrection, the remains of the rival warriors were buried on the Ste. Foy Road. It is upon this spot that the monument now stands.

General Rowan, the administrator and acting governor of Canada, laid the corner stone on the 18th of July, 1855, in the presence of M. de Belvèze, commander of the corvette "La Capricieuse," the first French man-of-war that had sailed up the St. Lawrence since 1759.

JACQUES CARTIER MONUMENT.

This monument to the Discoverer of Canada and to the Jesuit Fathers de Brébeuf, Massé and Lalemant was unveiled on the 24th of June, 1889.

On the face of the monument is the following inscription:

JACQUES CARTIER
ET SES HARDIS COMPAGNONS
LES MARINS
DE LA GRANDE HERMINE
DE LA PETITE HERMINE ET DE L'EMÉRILLON
PASSÈRENT ICI L'HIVER
DE 1535–36.

Translation—

JACQUES CARTIER
AND HIS BRAVE COMRADES
THE MARINES
OF LA GRANDE HERMINE
OF LA PETITE HERMINE AND L'EMÉRILLON
PASSED HERE THE WINTER
OF 1535–36.

On the side facing the city, it is recorded that on the 3rd of May, 1536, Jacques Cartier erected at the spot where he had spent the winter a cross 35 feet high, bearing a shield with fleurs-de-lys, and the inscription:

FRANCISCUS PRIMUS
DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM
REX REGNAT.

On the east side of the monument appear the names of Fathers Jean de Brébeuf, Ennemond Massé and Charles Lalemant, who, on the 23rd of September, 1625, solemnly took possession of the ground known as Fort Jacques Cartier at the confluence of the rivers St. Charles and Lairet to erect thereon the first residence of the Jesuit missionaries in Quebec.

On the side facing the river Lairet, above the cypher of the Society of Jesus, in the centre of a large palm, are inscribed the names of the principal martyrs of the Society of Jesus in Canada: Brébeuf, Lalemant, Jogues, Garnier, Buteux, Massé, Daniel and de Noue.

Champlain Monument.

This monument was designed by the sculptor M. Chevré and the architect M. LeCardonnel, of Paris. The contract was signed on the 23rd of May, 1896.

Work on the foundation was begun about the 15th of June, 1898. All the materials were brought from France. The monument was unveiled by Lord Aberdeen on the 1st of August, 1898. The steps are of granite from the Vosges, and the pedestal of stone from the Château Landon. On the summit stands Champlain, hat in hand, saluting the soil of Canada. The statue is 14 feet 9 inches high and weighs 6,927 pounds. On the pedestal is a superb bas-relief in bronze. A woman representing the city records on a

tablet the works of the founder; on her right, the genius of navigation, in the form of a child, recalls the fact that Champlain was a sailor before he was a governor; above this group, Fame, with outspread wings and a trumpet, proclaims the glory of the great Frenchman and beckons the youth of Quebec to emulate the founder of their city.

In the distance may be seen the outline of the cathedral of Quebec, surmounted by a cross. Several cartouches with the arms of Canada, of Quebec,and of Brouage, Champlain's native city, complete the monument.

The inscription is as follows:

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN
NÉ À BROUAGE EN SAINTONGE, VERS 1567;
SERVIT À L'ARMEE SOUS HENRI IV
EN QUALITE DE MARÉCHAL DES LOGIS;
EXPLORA LES INDES OCCIDENTALES DE
1599 À 1601,
L'ACADIE DE 1604 À 1607;
FONDA QUÉBEC EN 1608;
DÉCOUVRIT LE PAYS DES GRANDS LACS;
COMMANDA PLUSIEURS EXPÉDITIONS
CONTRE LES IROQUOIS
DE 1609 À 1615;
FUT SUCCESSIVEMENT LIEUTENANT–GOUVERNEUR
ET GOUVERNEUR DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE,
ET MOURUT À QUÉBEC, LE 25 DÉCEMBRE, 1635.

The Monument to Father Massé.

This monument is erected at Sillery on the site of the chapel, built by the Commandeur de Sillery, in memory of Father Ennemond Massé, the first Jesuit missionary of the St. Joseph Mission. It was inaugurated on the 26th of June, 1870.

The monument occupies a very pretty site. It consists of a column in the shape of an obelisk of cut stone, twenty feet high, and surmounted by a white marble cross. The column stands on a white brick vault containing the remains of Father Massé. Inside the palisade, stone posts with chains indicate the outline of the main nave and sanctuary of St. Michael's church.

The inscription reads:

THE INHABITANTS OF SILLERY
HAVE ERECTED THIS MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY
OF PIERRE ENNEMOND MASSÉ, S. J.
FIRST MISSIONARY IN CANADA
BURIED IN 1646
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHEL
ON THE DOMAIN OF SAINT JOSEPH OF SILLERY.

THE CHURCH OF SAINT MICHEL
WHICH FORMERLY STOOD ON THIS SPOT
WAS BUILT BY
THE COMMANDER OF SILLERY
FOUNDER IN 1637, OF THE SAINT JOSEPH DOMAIN.

The Short-Wallick Monument.

On the 16th of May, 1889, St. Sauveur suburbs were devastated by fire which threatened to destroy the whole ward. Several hundred houses, mostly of wood, had already been burnt when the soldiers decided to blow up some intervening buildings. Barrels of gunpowder were prepared for the purpose, and Major Short of the Royal Canadian Artillery, with a sergeant of the same corps, approached the building when an explosion occurred and the bodies of both were blown into space. Moved by their tragic death, the citizens of Quebec contributed to the erection of a monument to their memory.

The Monument to Queen Victoria.

This excellent bronze, which surmounts a stone pedestal designed by Mr. Taché, I.S.O., is placed towards the centre of Victoria Park, on the banks of the River St. Charles.

The statue, the work of Marshall Wood, was offered to the Government for the sum of $20,000. For some years, however, it lay in Dufferin Avenue, but finally the Hon. Mr. Parent purchased it for the sum of $1,700, and placed it in its present position. The monument was unveiled by Lord Aberdeen in the year 1897.

APPENDIX II.

HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS.

General Hospital.

On the 13th of September, 1692, Mgr. de Saint Valier bought the convent of the Récollets on the Bank of the River St. Charles and presented it to some nuns of the Hôtel Dieu for a General Hospital. By the terms of the contract the Récollets conveyed to the bishop one hundred and six arpents of land, with their church and convent of Notre Dame des Anges.

On the 30th of October of the same year, those who had hitherto been cared for in the House of Providence in the Upper Town, were transferred to this building. The Hospital was enlarged in 1710, 1736, 1740 and 1859, and was set aside as the refuge of the homeless and friendless poor.

Historically the General Hospital is one of the most interesting convents in Quebec. Wherever it became necessary to succor the unfortunate, of whatever nationality, either in times of

epidemic or in time of war, the Hospital opened its doors to all in need of medical care. After the siege of Quebec, in 1759, the wounded of the English army were received with the same charity as the French. The wounded soldiers of Arnold and Montgomery were also as carefully attended as if they had been in a Boston hospital.

The sacristy of the chapel contains an *Ecce Homo* which is admitted by connoisseurs to be a masterpiece. Unfortunately the name of the painter is not known. The greater portion of the treasures of the church date from the time of Mgr. de Saint Valier and consist of a chalice, altar-cruets, censer and candle-sticks of silver to the value of 3,000 francs, gifts of Madame de Maintenon to Mgr. de Saint Valier.

L'Hôtel Dieu du Précieux Sang.

The Hôtel Dieu is the oldest monastry in Canada. Its foundation dates from the year 1637. Two years later, Mère Marie Guenet de Saint Ignace, and two other hospitalières, who had been sent by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, niece of Cardinal Richelieu, arrived in Quebec. In the early days of the country's history, the nuns had to lodge temporarily at Sillery, and afterwards in a house in Quebec. The corner stone of the present convent was laid in 1654. The building, which contained a chapel and a hospital, was finished in 1658; it was consecrated by M. de Queylus, on the 10th of August. Another building

was added to it in 1672. In 1696 considerable additions were made to the main building. Two centuries later a large wing was built in modern style, intended chiefly for private patients.

The Hospitalières nuns take care of the sick of all classes. Connected with the building is a splendid operating room fitted with every modern appliance. The medical service is performed by a certain number of professors of Laval University.

The convent chapel contains several mural tablets, and masterpieces by such artists as Lesueur, the French Raphael, Coypel and Stella.

In the Hôtel Dieu are carefully preserved several souvenirs of a bygone age, some relics of the first Canadian martyrs, and a number of rare pictures. Among these are *The Crucifixion*, by Van Dyke; *Christmas Night*, by Stella; *Presentation of Mary in the Temple*, by Lebrun; *Visitation*, by Rubens, on copper, given by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon; *St. Francis of Assisi*, by a Zurbaran; the *Martyrs of the Society of Jesus in Canada*; a fine tapestry in two pieces one of which is the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, and the other the *Adoration of the Magi*, given by Mr. Dannemarche; portraits of Louis XIV, the Intendant Talon, Louis XV, Marie Leckzinska; Fathers Ragueneau and Charlevoix, Mother Bénigne Thérèse de Jésus, a Carmalite, daughter of M. de Denonville, Governor of New France; Mother St. Augustin; Mother St. Ignace, annalist of the

Hôtel Dieu, and the first Canadian Superioress of the institution.

The Archives of the Hôtel Dieu contain a number of old plans and manuscripts; among these are letters from St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, Talon, Montcalm, Mgr. de Pontbriand; Vaudreuil, Bigot, Maisonneuve, Madame D'Ailleboust, Father F. X. Duplessis; the registers regarding all the patients admitted to the Hôtel Dieu since 1689, with the place of their birth; the registers of the patients who died in the Hospital and were buried in the Cemetery of the Poor from 1723 to 1867; and the manuscript annals of the institution.

Hôtel-Dieu du Sacre Cœur.

The Hôtel Dieu is an off-shoot of the General Hospital. Its establishment, in the year 1873, was due to the efforts of the Archbishop of Quebec and the Chevalier Falardeau, its temporal founder.

The institution, which is wholly charitable in character, is devoted to the care of foundlings and of the aged and infirm.

The Jeffrey Hale Hospital.

This hospital was founded in 1865 through the liberality of Mr. Jeffery Hale, who gave a portion of the money required to provide ground and a hospital for the Protestant sick. In December of that year a property was bought, situated on the edge of the cliff overlooking St. Roch sub-

urbs, at the corner of Richelieu and Glacis streets. The hospital was opened in 1867. In 1900 a piece of ground was purchased between Claire Fontaine and de Salaberry streets, on which the present building was erected.

Asylum of The Good Shepherd.

There are several institutions under the community of the Good Shepherd—the building on St. Amable street, the St. Louis Academy, the St. Charles Asylum and the Lying-in Hospital.

The first building was opened in 1850, and additions have been made at frequent intervals.

The Asylum of The Sisters of Charity.

The Asylum of the Sisters of Charity was founded in 1848, by Mgr. C. F. Turgeon, Archbishop of Quebec, by means of collections and subscriptions throughout the diocese. Poor as it has always been, the community of the Sisters of Charity, or Grey Nuns, has succeeded, by the exercise of perseverance, in carrying out and developing its work. They have charge of the Asylum of St. Michael the Archangel at la Canardière, on the Beauport road, the St. Antoine Asylum of St. Roch, and St. Bridget's Asylum on Grande Allée.

The archives of the convent, since its foundation, are contained in two enormous volumes. There are in addition ten volumes of annals, on the History of the Institution.

St. Antoine Asylum.

On the 28th of October, 1897, the handsome building on St. Francis street owned by the *Cercle Catholique* of Quebec was handed over by them to the archiepiscopal corporation. On the 25th of March, 1898, the property was transferred to the pastor of St. Roch. The object of this institution is to care for the aged of the parish. Eleven sisters of the Grey Nuns are in charge.

St. Bridget's Asylum Association.

This Association, which perpetuates the name of the famous Abbess of Kildare, may be considered to date from the spring of 1856, when a few of the non-commissioned officers of the regiments of the line stationed in the garrison, collected the sum of seventeen pounds, which they transferred to the Reverend Father Nelligan, V.G., for the relief of the poor. This modest sum formed the nucleus of a fund for the establishment of a home for destitute children and orphans. In 1858 a property on the St. Louis Road was purchased, upon which the present building now stands.

The Legislative Buildings.

The grounds on which the Parliament Buildings are erected, formed a part of the old Fief St. François, which was conceded to Jean Bourdon by the Company of New France on the 16th of March, 1646.

The area of the ground occupied by the Legislative and Departmental buildings is 251,763 square feet, and that of Fountain Avenue, 18,000 square feet, making a total of 269,763 square feet. The total cost of the building was $1,669,249.

The structure is of quadrangular form with an inner courtyard. The face of each building is 300 feet in length. The tower of the campanile is 153 feet in height, and the crest surmounted by an iron crown is 19 feet higher, making the total height from the ground to the summit, 172 feet.

The building facing Dufferin Avenue is occupied by the Legislative Council and by the Legislative Assembly. The other three sides of the building are occupied by the Public Departments.

The niches in the masonry of the front of the campanile are to contain statues of Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of Canada; Champlain, the founder of Quebec; Maisonneuve, the founder of Montreal; Laviolette, the founder of Three Rivers; Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers; Father Brébeuf, Jesuit; Father Viel, Récollet; Mgr. de Montmorency-Laval; M. Olier, founder of the Society of St. Sulpitius. The niches already filled contain the statues of Wolfe, Montcalm, Frontenac, Lévis, Lord Elgin, and de Salaberry, the hero of Chateauguay.

On the piers of each story, trophies, surrounded by oak leaves, cartouches, panoplies and

floating draperies, bear, carved in relief, the arms of the Governors and Royal Lieutenants: Montmagny, d'Ailleboust, d'Argenson, Tracy, Callières, Vaudreuil, Murray, Dorchester, Prevost, Bagot; of the discoverers: Marquette, Jolliet, La Vérendrye, La Salle; of the intendant Talon; of the warriors: Daulac, Beaujeu, Hertel, d'Iberville.

The pediment of the fore-front dedicated to Champlain is surmounted by a fine group in bronze, by P. Herbert. Another group in bronze by the same artist, crowns the pediment of the fore-front dedicated to Maisonneuve.

In front of the main entrance, at the foot of the campanile, is a monumental fountain dedicated to the aboriginal races of Canada. The portico, of the Tuscan order, is surmounted by a bronze group representing an Indian family. Below, at the back of the sheet of water formed by an elliptical basin 45 feet long and 28 feet wide, another bronze representing an Indian spearing a fish in a cascade, completes the ornamentation of this graceful outwork.

The Hôtel De Ville.

The present City Hall stands on the grounds of the old Jesuit College. The college was afterwards occupied by the troops, and known as the Jesuit Barracks. In November, 1889, a portion of the ground was purchased for civic buildings,

the old City Hall being then on St. Louis Street. The building was opened in 1896, at a total cost of about $150,000.

The Prison.

The oldest prison of Quebec stood on the grounds belonging to the family of Bécancour, near Fort St. Louis, on the corner of St. Louis Street and Rue des Carrières, nearly opposite the main entrance to the courtyard of the Château Frontenac.

During the closing years of the French régime the public prison was situated in the rear of the Palace of the Intendant, near the river St. Charles, at the place commonly called "the fuel-yard."

In 1784 vacant rooms in the Récollet convent served as a temporary prison. When the convent was burnt, the prisoners were kept in buildings adjoining the Artillery Barracks, near Palace Hill.

In 1810 the building of a prison was begun on a piece of ground between St. Stanislas, Dauphin and Ste. Angèle Streets; this prison was inaugurated in 1814 and was used until 1867. It now comprises a part of Morrin College.

The present gaol was erected in 1867.

The Intendant's Palace.

When Talon filled the office of Intendant he had a brewery built at the *Palais*. It was finished in 1671, but the industry, a new one in the

country, did not prove as profitable as the Intendant had expected. The brewery was therefore remodelled and used as the Intendant's Palace. In this building sat the Superior Council. When first established, sittings of the Council were held in a house called the *Palais* at the corner of the Place d'Armes and St. Louis Street, on the spot where the present court house stands.

Talon's brewery was destroyed by fire on the night of the 5th and 6th January, 1713. On its ruins was erected the Intendant's Palace, of which Kalm and Charlevoix speak in terms of admiration. In this palace justice was administered in Quebec during the last years of French rule. It was almost entirely demolished during the siege of 1759. At the present day the site is again used for its original purpose: on the ruins of the old Palace stands another brewery.

The Senechal's Court.

The first building in which the Senechal's Court sat was at the foot of Mont Carmel Street, near the north-east end of the present Governor's Garden. The court was afterwards transferred to a building erected on the site of the present court. The ground was given by Louis XIV to the Récollets in 1681, for the purpose of erecting an asylum. The missionaries established there a branch of their monastery of Notre Dame des Anges and it was called the *Convent*

of the Castle. This convent stood a short distance from the monastery, on the north-east portion of the grounds now occupied by the Anglican Cathedral.

The Court House.

This splendid building, on the corner of St. Louis Street and the Place d'Armes, was opened for the purposes of the administration of justice in 1887.

The old Court House was destroyed by fire on the 1st February, 1873. In the interval the courts sat in the old military hospital, in the rear of St. Louis Street. The first Court House had been built, in 1804, on the site occupied by the dependencies of the old Récollet convent. Previous to that date, from the cession of the country to Great Britain, the courts were held in the Jesuits' College.

Laval Normal School.

Laval Normal School was inaugurated on the 12th of May, 1857, in the Old Castle, or "Haldimand Castle," as it was called.

The seat of Government at that time was not fixed: sometimes it was in Kingston or Toronto, at others, in Montreal or Quebec. From 1860 to 1865, the Normal School was required for the use of the Public Departments. The classes were then held in the building now occupied by the Jesuits on Dauphine Street. The school returned

to the Old Castle in 1866 and remained there until 1892, when it was transferred to the boarding house of Laval University. Here it remained until 1900. It now occupies a property on the Ste. Foy road, just outside the city limits.

The Garrison Club.

This building was formerly the Engineer's Office. A story was added and the interior altered to meet the requirements of a modern club. In the Engineer's Office were prepared all the old plans and maps of Canada which are now preserved in the new Archives Building at Ottawa.

The Château Frontenac.

Many circumstances combine to give the Château Frontenac a peculiar interest. Its imposing situation appeals with fresh force to every lover of the beautiful as the seasons come and go. Within its precincts stood the Fort of the Founder of la Nouvelle France, and the residence of a long line of illustrious governors under the old régime and under the new.

For more than two centuries this site has been closely identified with the development of Canada. The present structure serves admirably to mark the progress which has been made in our midst during the space of three hundred years. Here stands a building unsurpassed for luxury and refinement even in those countries which were already old when the pioneers of New France

built here their first rude fort to protect themselves against the attacks of the Iroquois.

The Archbishop's Palace.

The corner-stone of this building, which is situated at the top of Mountain Hill, was laid in 1844. The building contains a chapel, a sacristy and a throne room. In the sacristy there are vestments of cloth of gold valued at $3,600. In the throne room there are paintings of all the Bishops of Quebec, of Pope Pius VI, Gregory XVI, Leo XIII, His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau, and Monseigneur Marois. There are also many treasures received from Rome.

The archives comprise the registers of the archbishopric from the time of Mgr. de Laval; old title deeds concerning the abbeys of Meaubec and Létrée, the bulls appointing the Bishops of Quebec; correspondence with Rome, with the bishoprics of Canada, with the religious communities and parish priests; the correspondence of the vicars-general of Canada, of the missionaries scattered throughout the vast diocese of Quebec previous to its dismemberment; and several manuscripts in the Micmac, Abenakis, Algonquin, Montagnais, Esquimaux and Outaouais languages.

The Quebec Seminary.

The Quebec Seminary was opened in 1668 in a house belonging to the widow of Guillaume Couillard at the entrance to the Governor's

Garden. In 1678 was laid the corner-stone of the wing that faces the garden and the junior pupils' playground. It was only one story high, with attics. After the first fire, in 1701, a second story was added. When the building was restored after the conflagration of 1866 by which nearly one half of this wing was destroyed, a third story was added. After 1701 the Seminary was enlarged, so that about the year 1714 the total length of the building was 350 feet. At present the minor Seminary proper is nearly 700 feet in length.

The greater Seminary, of recent construction, is a splendid wing, and affords accommodation for a hundred theological students, recruited in many dioceses. There also the priests of the institutions have their rooms.

A fine staircase of iron and stone, which seems all of one piece, leads from the basement to the top of the building, and is much admired. The building is fire-proof, and faces the Garden and the rampart.

In 1800 the personnel of the Seminary consisted of scarcely 110 persons; it is now nearly 800.

Laval University.

This institution was founded in 1852 by the Seminary of Quebec at the request of the Bishops of the Province. Its charter, granted by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, was signed at Westminster in December of that year.

There are four faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine and Arts. The university degrees are those of Doctor, Licentiate or Master, and Bachelor.

By a Bull of Pius IX, dated the 15th of April, 1876, Laval University received its canonical erection from Rome, with extensive privileges. Under this important document the University has for its protector at Rome, the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. Supervision and discipline, as regard faith and morals, are vested in a superior council consisting of the Bishops of the Province, with the Archbishop of Quebec as President. The Archbishop is the Chancellor of the University.

The museums of Laval University, which are very valuable and complete especially in the department of Physics, contain over one thousand instruments, including those connected with the most recent discoveries.

In the picture gallery there are several productions by great masters, such as Teniers, Van Dyck, Lanfranc, LeSueur, Salvator Rosa, Joseph Vernet, Tintoretto, Poussin, Albane, Puget, Lebrun. The gallery proper contains 137 pictures, but there is in the Hall of the Literary Course another splendid collection which belonged to Mgr. Marois, V.G. The university and seminary also contain many pictures and remarkable engravings, distributed through the rooms and corridors.

The numismatic museum contains over 3,000 coins and medals.

The library has 120,000 volumes; it is open to visitors on certain days fixed by regulation.

Seventeen under-seminaries and colleges are affiliated to the University; one only is associated; two senior seminaries are also affiliated to it.

The Quebec Asylum.

The Quebec Asylum was instituted in 1821, in a house on the Little River Road known as La Maison Rouge. It was found, however, to be too far distant from the town, and in 1826 the house was sold. The work of the institution was taken up later by the Female Orphan and Finlay Asylums.

The Female Orphan Asylum.

In 1828 the Ladies' Committee of the female department of the National Schools organized the Female Orphan Asylum, and established it in the upper story of the National School building in 1829. This institution was incorporated under the name of "The Church of England Female Orphan Asylum of the City of Quebec." On the opening of the Finlay Asylum in 1862, the inmates at the National School were removed to that building until their present quarters were purchased.

The officers of the Imperial troops then garrisoning Quebec established the Military

Asylum for soldiers' widows and orphans, and erected that substantial stone building on the south side of Grande Allée near the Martello Tower. The Imperial Garrison, however, was removed from Quebec in 1871, and in 1873 the property was purchased by the ladies of the Female Orphan Asylum, who incorporated with their own the work of the military orphanage.

The Male Orphan Asylum.

The Quebec Male Orphan Asylum was founded in 1832, when cholera was epidemic in the city and provinces. The English Cathedral authorities called a meeting in July of that year for "the purpose of taking into consideration the cases of some forty orphans and also a number of distressed subjects actually thrown upon the charge of the Church." A house was rented for the purpose till, in 1834, a stone house was purchased in Rue de l'Eglise, St. Roch. The second story was fitted up for divine worship, and the lower one for the male orphans. In 1842 the building was condemned, and the boys were installed in the National School, a part of which had been fitted up for them. The institution was incorporated in 1857. In 1862 the Finlay Asylum was opened in a commodious building on the Ste. Foy Road. The eastern wing was leased to the Male Orphan Asylum, and the children removed thither.

The Finlay Asylum.

After the sale of La Maison Rouge in 1826, when the old men were pensioned off and scattered in lodgings all over the parish, the Quebec Asylum became extinct. Some efforts were made to improve this condition of things, but nothing of a permanent nature was accomplished till 1854, when a house in Lachevrotière Street was rented, and the parish pensioners of both sexes gathered therein. This establishment was removed to Sutherland Street and subsequently the house was purchased with money bequeathed by Miss Margaret Finlay. The institution was incorporated by the rector and church wardens of the Cathedral in 1857.

The following year several large donations enabled the corporation to purchase ground on the north side of Ste. Foy Road just outside the city limits, and to erect thereon a fine building, the corner-stone of which was laid in 1860. The Asylum is of Gothic architecture, built of Cap Rouge stone, and is about 110 feet long by 55 feet wide, two stories high with basement and attic.

The system adopted in the Finlay Asylum is that of small wards containing from three to six persons. The chapel is in the centre of the building with four rooms opening from it, so that very infirm persons and those confined to bed can, without leaving their rooms, join in the daily service in the morning.

Ladies' Protestant Home of Quebec.

Amongst the many noble works undertaken by the ladies of Quebec, the Protestant Home is a monument. This institution has accomplished much, and is deserving of all the support necessary for its efficient maintenance. The act of incorporation was assented to in May, 1859. The building is situated on Grande Allée.

APPENDIX III.

THE CHURCHES OF QUEBEC.

The Basilica of Quebec.

The first parish church of Quebec was that of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance erected by Champlain in 1633. With the sudden increase of the population in 1634 and 1635 it was enlarged by one half, and rededicated. It was totally destroyed by the fire of the 14th of June, 1640. The disaster was complete; even the bell and chalices were melted by the heat. The registers of the parish were burnt with all the contents of the church. The poverty of the inhabitants was so great that some years elapsed before the building of another church could be designed. It was in October, 1645, that the resolution was reached to begin at once the new structure upon the ashes of the old. The name chosen for the new church was, Notre Dame de la Paix.

Notre Dame de la Paix.

In September, 1644, peace was concluded with the Iroquois at Three Rivers, and it was probably with a view of perpetuating the memory of that alliance that the new dedication took place. On the 23rd of September Father Lallemant, superior of the mission, and M. de Montmagny, the governor, laid the corner-stone; though it was not till Christmas day, 1650, that the first mass was celebrated, and not till 1657 that the new church was finally thrown open for public worship. The building was one hundred feet by thirty-three. In 1664 the parish church was canonically erected by Monseigneur de Laval, and united to the Seminary.

During the first hundred years of its existence the church underwent numerous improvements and additions. The pillars of the nave date from 1647, the towers from 1684 and the remainder of the church from 1745.

During the siege of Quebec in 1759, all the wooden part of the church, with the exception of the base of the steeple, was burnt in the fire. The walls also were considerably damaged by balls and shells. The curé had to lodge at the Ursulines and celebrate parochial offices in the Seminary Chapel. The work of restoration, begun in 1769, was completed in 1771. Since then the only changes on the outside were made when the front was altered in 1843, and the famous tower on the north side, still incom-

plete, was begun in 1849. Governor Carleton in 1775 gave a clock with three chimes for the steeple. In 1823 it was replaced by a wooden clock.

The interior of the basilica is admired by the stranger, not so much on account of its architectural proportions as for its rich paintings, baldachin, pulpit, and side-chapels, and the pious souvenirs connected with it. In the sanctuary of this cathedral lie the remains of nearly all the bishops of Quebec; of the curés and canons of the French régime; of the representatives of the Jesuits and the Récollets, and of seven or eight hundred laymen and women belonging to the first families of Quebec.

The Church of St. Roch.

The first stone of this church was laid in August, 1811, by Vicar-General Descheneaux. The fire of 1816 destroyed the building with the exception of the sacristy. The work of rebuilding began at once, and in October, 1818, Monseigneur Plessis opened this second chapel for public worship. In 1829, St. Roch suburbs, hitherto a dependency of the Upper Town, was erected into a separate parish. The church of St. Roch was again destroyed by fire in May, 1845; but the convent and the catechism chapel (the present mortuary chapel) were saved. The latter however was destroyed twenty-five years later in the fire of May, 1870, but was rebuilt the same

year. For some time it was used for funeral services, but in 1882 was finally closed as a place of divine worship.

The first curé of St. Roch was M. A. Mailloux, from 1829 to 1831.

In the sanctuary of the church is the heart of Monseigneur Plessis, which was transferred from the General Hospital in 1847; and also the body of Abbé Desfossés, one of the chaplains of St. Roch.

The Church of St. Jean Baptiste.

The first church of St. Jean Baptiste suburbs was begun in 1847. Its dimensions were 180 feet by 80. From 1849 to 1886 the church was a branch of the cathedral and was in charge of a chaplain. In June, 1881, it was destroyed by the disastrous fire that swept away one-half the suburbs. A new and much larger church, 234 feet by 87, was completed in 1884. The present population of the parish is 12,000 souls.

The interior of this church is very attractive, but the exterior is especially remarkable for its elegant proportions and the beauty of its façade.

The Church of Notre Dame de la Garde.

The decree authorizing the construction of this church is dated 9th April, 1877. Work was begun at once. The building is of cut stone. Its dimensions are 100 feet by 50. The style is Roman.

Notre Dame de la Garde was erected into a parish in 1885, and detached from the cathedral of which, until then, it had been a branch.

Church of St. Malo.

The parish of St. Malo was founded in 1898, the church being blessed in February, 1899, by Archbishop Bégin. The dimensions are imposing, 175 feet by 64, with a transept of 95 feet. The style is Roman.

The first curé of St. Malo was Abbé Henri Defoy, now a religious of the order of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament.

Close by the church stands the convent in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame. The corner-stone of this attractive building was laid in 1901; its dimensions are 80 feet by 45, and four stories in height. The college, near by, built in 1899, is now attended by over 400 pupils.

The parish of St. Malo has a house of Providence, begun in 1902 in the old *girls' school,* comprising an infant school for both sexes and a *patronage* for the older girls. The latter is under the direction of the Franciscan Nuns.

Monastery and Church of the Ursulines.

On their arrival at Quebec in August 1639, the Ursuline nuns lodged in a poor dwelling in the Lower Town at the place now occupied by Blanchard's Hotel facing the church of Notre Dame des Victoires. It was not until the spring of 1641

that they were in a position to begin a building in the Upper Town, on grounds conceded to them by the Company of the Hundred Associates. In the following year they took possession of their new monastery. It was ninety-two feet long and twenty-eight in width. "It is the largest and finest house in Canada," wrote Mère Marie de L'Incarnation.

This first building was destroyed by fire on the 30th of December, 1650. In May, 1652, however, the nuns had the consolation of opening a new monastery even more comfortable and spacious than the old, but this also was destroyed by a second conflagration in October, 1686. The nuns resolved at once to rebuild for the third time on the same foundation, with the addition of a wing already begun, called after the Holy Family. The boarders were re-admitted in November, 1687. From 1712 to 1715 the monastery was again enlarged, but the nuns concentrated their efforts chiefly on the building of a more suitable chapel.

The inner chapel of the Ursulines is of quite recent construction. It is a splendid structure of majestic proportions with a superb and richly decorated vault. The outer chapel, which it was at first intended to preserve as it was built in 1720, had to be demolished, as the roof and walls were beginning to give way and it would have been imprudent to rest the new inner chapel on such a ruin. The plan retained the style, orna-

ments, altars, pulpit, columns and carving of the old building. The corner-stone was laid in August, 1901, and the solemn benediction of both chapels took place on the 21st of November, 1902, which was the 260th anniversary of the installation of the foundresses in their first monastery in the Upper Town in 1642.

This chapel is the third that has been built since the foundation of the first monastery. The first, called Madame de la Peltrie's chapel, was begun in 1656. In 1667 the Marquis de Tracy caused a chapel dedicated to Ste. Anne to be added to the Ursuline church. It was destroyed in the fire of October, 1686.

The second church, begun in 1720, was inaugurated in 1722 by Mgr. de Saint Valier. During the recent work of demolition the corner-stone laid in 1720 was found. It is a fine arch-like stone closed with a leaden plate bearing the inscription: "The first stone was laid by a poor boy representing St. Joseph to obtain the protection of that great saint, 16th May, 1720."

The Ursuline monastery possesses riches of all kinds: paintings, engravings, books and church ornaments. Most of the paintings in the chapel were bought in France about 1815, by Abbé Desjardins, Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Paris. Among the number are productions from LeBrun, Pietro da Cortona, Ant. de Dieu, Collin de Vermont, Claude Guy Hallé, P. de Champagne, P. P. Prud'hon. There are also

monuments and memorial tablets to the memory of Montcalm and others whose bodies repose beneath the church.

The archives contain the annals of the community, the papers, and title-deeds, bearing the signature of several French governors; the original of the letters patent for the erection of a monastery of Ursulines in New France with the signature and royal seal of Louis XV. The religious library contains 3,000 volumes; the scientific, literary and pedagogical library contains 7,200.

Until the year 1868, there was an old ash tree standing near the entrance to the Convent under the shade of which the venerable foundress instructed the Indian children. The wood of this tree forms the pedestal of an old French cross formerly on the spire of the first convent, and now set up in the garden.

The destruction of the first monastery by fire despoiled the Ursuline nuns of the gifts offered to the foundresses by several important personages in France. Nevertheless they still possess a monstrance, a censer, a reliquary with a relic of the true Cross, a massive silver crucifix given by Madame de la Peltrie and two altar cloths made out of silk damask curtains which, according to the traditions of the monastery, belonged to Louis XVI. The church ornaments and vestments were worked by the first nuns and are still in a perfect state of preservation.

The chapel of the Saints contains a precious souvenir of bygone days in the form of a votive lamp, the flame of which was first kindled by Marie Madeleine de Repentigny in the year 1717. During the stormy days of the siege of Quebec in 1759, when shells wrought havoc among the buildings of the Upper Town, the Convent did not escape. In the corridors may still be seen the grim remains of those destructive messengers which were powerless to deter the good nuns from keeping faithful vigil in the Chapel of the Saints. Ten of the nuns remained at their post, and thus throughout those days of alternate hope and despair, the lamp was kept steadfastly burning. A descendant of a branch of the family recently presented to the Convent a solid silver lamp to replace it.

At Merici, formerly known as Marchmont, a branch of the Ursuline convent is established.

St. Patrick's Church.

For many years after the Treaty of Paris, which gave to the Catholics of Canada "the free exercise of the Catholic religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," the Irish Catholics, or those speaking the English language in the city of Quebec, had no special church set apart for them. At a meeting of Irish citizens held in the year 1819, it was resolved to honour the Feast of their Patron Saint by the celebration of

High Mass in the church of the congregation in the Upper Town. This is the first record that we have of the observance of the day in the city. Three years later the Irish and English-speaking Catholics formed themselves into a congregation, with Reverend Father McMahon in charge. The parish church appears to have been used regularly for some years, but in 1828 the services were held in the historic church of Notre Dame des Victoires, in the Lower Town. The accommodation offered by this church was totally inadequate for the requirements of the English speaking population which now numbered 6,000 souls. The sum of $10,000 was collected to form a fund for the construction of an independent church, and the land was purchased on which the church now stands. Owing to an epidemic of cholera the laying of the corner-stone was delayed, but by the summer of 1833 the building was sufficiently advanced to admit of services being held. The first Mass was sung in July of that year. In 1845 the church was lengthened by about 50 feet.

Hitherto St. Patrick's was considered as a branch of the Parish Church, but in 1855 it was "constituted a body corporate under the name of the Congregation of the Catholics of Quebec speaking the English language."

Since 1874 the church has been under the charge of the Redemptorist Fathers.

CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DES VICTOIRES.

Amongst the churches in Quebec there is one of very modest appearance, situated in a somewhat retired spot, but endowed with a history which recalls a multitude of glorious recollections for French-Canadian arms. This is the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires.

The corner-stone was laid on the first day of May, 1688. The Governor was present at the ceremony at which Mgr. de Laval officiated. The following year the church was finished, and dedicated to the Infant Jesus. The small chapel seen on the left of the entrance was named Ste. Geneviève.

When Phips besieged Quebec in 1690, the ladies of the town promised by a solemn vow to make a pilgrimage to the church in the Lower Town, if the Blessed Virgin obtained their deliverance. When the invader was compelled to withdraw without attaining his object, the Bishop changed the name of the church to Notre Dame de la Victoire, and ordained that a feast should be observed on the fourth Sunday of October of each year.

Twenty-one years later the title was changed after a fresh intervention of Providence. In 1711 the English fleet commanded by Admiral Walker sailed to attack Quebec. A heavy fog covered the waters of the St. Lawrence, defying the skill of the pilot, and eight vessels were wrecked off Egg Island. The news of this

disaster reached the city at the beginning of October. It was received with great joy. The entire population proceeded to the Lower Town church to pay their devotion to our Lady of Victory for a second deliverance of the Colony. A portal to the church was built, and its name changed to Notre Dame des Victoires.

But misfortune fell at last upon the Colony. During the siege of 1759, the little church in the Lower Town shared the fate of many other buildings. With the exception of four or five houses the whole of the Lower Town was in flames. Wolfe's shells spared nothing, and the church was almost completely destroyed. The walls alone remained. An appeal to public generosity was made to restore the church, and in 1765 divine service was held as before in the new building. In 1817 the citizens resolved to finish the interior, and the necessary repairs were then completed.

In May, 1888, the bi-centenary of the foundation of the church of Notre Dame des Victoires was celebrated. A few months previously painters had decorated the interior with the most delicate taste. At the back of the church, on the wall, panels in various colors set forth the most striking facts that had illustrated the history of the church during the different stages of its existence.

In the church are preserved several relics for the veneration of the faithful, among them being

one of the true Cross, which is publicly venerated on Good Friday and All Souls' Day.

Franciscan Convent.

The order of the Sœurs Franciscaines Missionaires de Marie was founded in 1878. The Quebec Convent is situated at the corner of Claire Fontaine Street, close to the site of the property of Abraham Martin after whom the Plains were named. The French army was drawn up on this ground on the 13th of September, 1759, and it is therefore one of the most historic spots in the city.

The inception of this institution is due to the noble idea of the rehabilitation of infidel women by means of the Christian woman. United to the Order of St. Francis, from which it derives its spiritual direction, the ordinary field of its labours is to be found in foreign missions. The mother house is in Rome, and there is the Superior Council which directs the establishments belonging to this congregation (over one hundred in number) scattered in almost every part of the world.

The foundation of the Quebec Convent dates from 1893. The Church and adjoining buildings were erected in 1897–98. The interior of the church is exceedingly attractive. One feature is an altar of Carrara marble and Mexican onyx.

The Quebec house is chiefly a novitiate where missionary nuns are trained for distant coun-

tries. In all the churches and chapels of the Franciscans, whenever it is possible, the Blessed Sacrament is exposed throughout the day. In Quebec, to comply with the wishes of the diocesan authority, the nuns adore the Blessed Sacrament day and night.

The Rev. Abbé Paquet is the chaplain of the Convent.

The Monastery and church of the Récollets.

When Mgr. de Saint-Valier founded the General Hospital in 1693 on the banks of the River St. Charles, the Récollets transferred their establishment to the nuns of the General Hospital, who installed themselves there while the friars lodged in the Convent of the Castle which they had built in 1681. In 1693 they began to build the church which Charlevoix says was worthy of Versailles. This church covered a space, the eastern and western boundaries of which would be about the centre of the upper portion of the Place d'Armes, and the south-eastern extremity of the ground occupied by the Court House. The windows were filled with stained glass, and in the church were pictures painted by Brother Luke. The lines of the steeple were of remarkable purity. Both the monastery and the church were destroyed by fire in September, 1796. The remains of four French governors and of a great many of the most noted personages of the Colony re-

posed in the church. At the cession of Canada the British Government took possession of the monastery and church and used the latter for the services of the Anglican church. After the death of Father Felix de Berey, the last representative of the Order, in 1800, the estates of the Récollets escheated and the government took possession of the convent grounds to erect thereon the court house and offices for the district of Quebec. This building was finished in 1804.

Jacques Cartier Church.

The building of this church was begun in the month of August, 1851. The new edifice was inaugurated as a chapel for members of the congregation of St. Roch in September, 1853. Its dimensions were 160 feet by 60. In 1865 the chapel was opened and in 1875 was enlarged to its present size. In 1901 the Congregation gave its chapel to the Archbishop of Quebec, who named it as the parochial church of Notre Dame de Jacques Cartier.

The Church of Notre Dame du Chemin.

This church is situated on Ste. Foye Road, about fifty yards from the turnpike, beside Villa Manrese which is occupied by the Jesuit Fathers in charge of the church. Its erection was due to the liberality of Chevalier Louis de Gonzague Baillargé and to the religious zeal of many citizens of Quebec. The interior is very

attractive; it contains several remarkable paintings and ten stained glass windows, representing ten saints of the Society of Jesus. The church was inaugurated in the spring of 1895.

St. Sauveur Church.

The foundation of this church dates back more than fifty years, but it was not erected into a parish until 1867. Its present name was given to it in memory of the first secular priest who had arrived in Quebec in 1634, and become incumbent of St. Jean's Chapel on Saint Sauveur Hill.

The first church was 170 feet by 60. It was destroyed by fire in October, 1866. The construction of the present church was begun the following year. The steeple, which is 100 feet in height, contains a fine peal of bells. Attached to the church is a presbytery in which reside the Oblat Fathers, who have the church in charge.

Church of Notre Dame de Lourdes.

This church, or chapel, was constructed by the Oblat Fathers in 1870. It was consecrated in 1880. In 1882 Cardinal Taschereau recognized Notre Dame de Lourdes as the chapel of the third order of the Franciscaines.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

Cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

A few words must be said about those Franciscan Friars called "Récollets," who were the former proprietors of the land on which the Cathedral was built. At the invitation of Samuel Champlain, then Governor, the Récollets arrived at Quebec from France in 1615. Land was granted them on the banks of the River St. Charles, where they built a convent called "Notre Dame des Anges," sufficiently strong to resist the attacks of the Iroquois Indians. In 1629, Quebec was captured by the brothers Kirke, and both Jesuits and Récollets were shipped back to France. At the restoration of Canada to France in 1632, the Jesuits returned, but the Récollets were not accorded that permission until 1670, when they came to Quebec with the Intendant Talon. They at once set about rebuilding what is now the General Hospital. As Bishop St. Valier wished to institute this Hospital, he purchased, in 1692, the Récollet property on certain conditions, giving them in exchange a tract of land in the Upper Town of the city facing the Parade, at present called the Place d'Armes, comprising the whole square on which the Court House, Cathedral, and other buildings now stand. There they erected their church and convent which,on the cession of Canada, became a possession of the

British Crown. The few friars who remained, however, were permitted the use of their properties until the death of Père DeBerey, the last superior of the order in Canada. The Friars generously allowed the Anglicans the use of their church, as is shewn by a notice in the Quebec *Gazette* in 1767.

The convent and church were burnt in 1796, and the ruins were razed by the order of the government; the chancel of the Cathedral stands on a portion of these ruins which extended under the roadway near the Court House. The Jesuit church was then used for divine service.

The first Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Quebec, Dr. Jacob Mountain, arrived from England in 1793. At the solicitation of the Bishop, His Majesty George III decided to build the Cathedral. He set apart a portion of the Récollet property for that purpose, and in 1799, appointed a commission to carry out the undertaking.

The corner-stone was laid in 1800. At the consecration in 1804 the Bishop was presented with letters patent of the whole property as it now stands, surrounded by a low stone wall, which is surmounted by an iron railing and closed with iron gates. The organ was imported from England in 1801.

The Governor General, the Duke of Richmond, who died in 1819, lies buried beneath the chancel of the Cathedral, a brass plate in the floor mark-

ing the spot; a marble tablet erected to his memory in the north gallery is the finest piece of workmanship of all the monuments on the walls of the church.

Letters patent were issued in 1821 by His Majesty George IV, erecting the parish of Quebec, constituting the Cathedral the parish church till one would be built, but likewise maintaining intact its cathedral rights; there was also granted a piece of ground adjacent to the Cathedral "Close," on which are built the Rectory, "All Saints Chapel," and the "Church Hall."

When Her Majesty's Sixty-ninth Regiment returned from repelling the Fenian Invasion on the Huntingdon County frontier, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur presented them with a new stand of colors, in June, 1870, and the old colors were next day deposited in the Cathedral with the usual ceremonies.

The exterior of the Cathedral is much the same as it always was, a substantial, plain, rectangular stone edifice, standing in the centre of a well kept "Close," surrounded by fine old trees which add beauty to the environment, and remind Englishmen of the sacred buildings in Britain. The interior was somewhat altered in 1857, when the building was repaired. The high arched ceiling, so beautifully tesselated, is made, not as many suppose, of plaster, but entirely of wood, and is supported by eight

massive pillars of the Ionic-Palladic order of architecture. There are twenty-seven marble monuments and eight brass plates on the walls of the church, with fifteen fine memorial windows, all of which add to the historic interest of the edifice. The Governor General's pew, surmounted by a brass railing with the Royal Arms at the front, is in the north gallery.

The communion plate was the special gift of King George III in 1804, and consists of ten massive pieces of solid silver exquisitely engraved and embossed with the Royal Arms and those of the Diocese. This service, which is a masterpiece of silversmiths' workmanship, was made in London and attracted considerable attention before being despatched to Quebec in 1809 in a man-o'-war.

In 1766 General James Murray, then Governor, gave in the King's name a communion service, consisting of a large silver paten and chalice engraved with the King's Arms, to the Episcopal Parish of Quebec, whenever it would be established. The service is still in use in the Cathedral.

A prominent event in the annals of the diocese was the celebration of its centenary on the first of June, 1893, in the Cathedral. Many historic services have been celebrated in the church, prominent among which were the church parades of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Canadian Infantry on Sunday, 29th October, 1899, and

that of the Mounted Rifles and Field Artillery on the 14th January, 1900, before they severally embarked for the war in South Africa to uphold the honor of the British Empire and the good name of Canada. An official memorial service was held in 1901 at the hour of the burial of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and the coronation of King Edward was celebrated in 1902.

St. Matthew's.

St. Matthew's Church in its present form is of recent date, but its existence dates back to 1822, when Archdeacon Mountain instituted Sunday evening services in a large room in the house of the sexton of the Protestant Burying Ground, St. John Street. The congregation grew so rapidly that the sexton's domain was invaded, and other quarters were obtained for him. In 1827 the building was improved, and in 1830 it was enlarged by the addition of a transept.

In June, 1845, St. John's suburbs were destroyed by fire, and the chapel fell a prey to the flames; but funds were raised, and in 1848 the corner-stone of a neat stone building was laid by Bishop Mountain. Hitherto St. Matthew's was a chapel of the Cathedral, but in 1855, it became a separate chapel with the present district attached. The building as it now stands was commenced in 1870, by the erection of the chancel and transepts. In 1875 the old portion of the church was pulled down, and the nave,

south aisle and vestries erected. The church received its chime of bells in 1888, but the old bell of 1849 still does duty on the western gable. In 1875 St. Matthew's Chapel was constituted a church, and its district a parish.

The church both without and within is now one of the handsomest buildings in the country, and contains many beautiful memorials of deceased members of the congregation.

Trinity Church.

Trinity Church in St. Stanislas street in the Upper Town, was built as a "Chapel of Ease" to the Cathedral, by Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell at a cost of $16,000. The corner-stone was privately laid in 1824. The edifice is built of cut stone, is of Doric architecture, and with the galleries will seat 600 persons. On the walls are five marble monuments, one of which is an especially fine work of art to the memory of the founder of the church. The large marble font was originally imported from England in 1831 for the Cathedral. It was there in use until 1902 when it was presented to Trinity church.

At the death of the Chief Justice in 1839, Trinity became the property of his son Rev. E. W. Sewell, who had become its pastor on the opening of the chapel for service in 1825. For forty-three years he ministered faithfully to his congregation.

In 1868 the Chapel was leased for ten years to the British Government for a "Garrison Chapel," and at the withdrawal of the Imperial troops in 1872, the building was virtually closed till the expiration of the lease. The congregation, incorporated by the Provincial Government in 1881, as "The Congregation of Trinity Church, Quebec," purchased the property in the following year.

St. Peter's Church.

The origin of St. Peter's Church dates back to 1833. In that year the rector and churchwardens of the Cathedral purchased a two story stone building on Church Street, and converted the upper story into a temporary chapel for the use of the members of the Church of England residing in St. Roch; the lower story was used as a Male Orphan Asylum. The first curate was Rev. W. Anderson.

In 1842, the building being found no longer serviceable, was abandoned, and a site (the present one) on St. Valier Street, at the foot of the Ste. Augustine Street steps, was purchased by two members of the congregation, Messrs. William Brown and Robert Ward. The corner-stone of the church was laid in July of that year. The terrible fire of May, 1845, which devastated the whole of St. Roch, left St. Peter's Chapel a charred ruin, and many of its members homeless. The little congregation took immediate steps to restore the House of God, and a new building

was consecrated in September, 1846. The fol lowing year is memorable as the year of the ship-fever, when vast numbers of immigrants, for the most part Irish, fell victims to the disease. St. Peter's Parish register for that year contains the record of 373 interments. Mr. Chaderton, the curate, a man of marked self-abnegation, whilst in the discharge of his sacred office contracted the disease and died. A mural tablet in the chancel bears witness to the love in which he was held by his congregation.

Prior to 1875 St. Peter's was a chapel in connection with the Cathedral, but in that year it was constituted a church, and its district the Parish of St. Peter's.

St. Paul's Church.

Many members of the Church of England resided in Champlain Street, commonly known as "The Coves." There were also many Protestants among the seamen on the numerous vessels arriving at the Port of Quebec. For these the Archdeacon held services in the moulder's loft of Mr. Black's shipyard, and later in Mr. Munn's store. The Archdeacon and the Cathedral authorities subsequently applied for and obtained from the Government a site under Cape Diamond where they erected the Mariner's Chapel, which was consecrated in 1832, and named St. Paul's. In 1888 it was constituted a church and its district a parish.

The church is a neat wooden building with stone foundations, and can seat 200 persons. It contains several mementos of bygone times; the font is the original one placed in the Cathedral in 1804; the Royal Arms over the door formerly graced the front of the Governor General's pew, and the pulpit was one of the old reading desks of the Cathedral.

But the marble top of the Communion Table is peculiarly interesting. It formerly belonged to the old Jesuit Church. After the destruction of the Récollet Church by fire in 1796, this building was used by the Church of England. Before its demolition in 1807, the Government, it appears, gave this slab to the Bishop; but in what capacity it was originally used is not on record. In 1818 there was some correspondence regarding the matter, which established the Bishop's right to use the slab.

The Archdeacon and Cathedral clergy conducted the services of St. Paul's until 1833, when the Rev. Joseph Brown was appointed the first incumbent.

St. Michael's Church.

The increasing number of Anglicans on the St. Louis, Ste. Foy and Sillery Roads led to the erection of St. Michael's Chapel.

Mrs. Mary Orkney, wife of Dr. Joseph Morrin, M.D., who inherited a large tract of land in the

Fief St. Michael, gave a site on the St. Louis Road on which to build a chapel; a subscription was raised and building operations were begun in 1854. The chapel was consecrated in 1856 by Bishop Mountain, and named St. Michael's.

It is a picturesque edifice of Gothic architecture, resembling the country churches of old England, built of Cap Rouge stone, and situated on the north side of the road opposite to the main gate of Mount Hermon Cemetery. The interior is very neat and pretty with its high pitched roof, and arches of varnished oak. The chancel was built by Bishop Mountain, and all the appurtenances of the church are memorial gifts. A fine brass plate on the wall in the chancel is inscribed to the memory of the Rev. Armine Wale Mountain, who opened the chapel for service in 1854. A short distance from the church is St. Michael's schoolhouse, erected in 1865 by the children of Bishop Mountain in memory of their father.

St. Andrew's Church.

St. Andrew's Church (Presbyterian) is one of the oldest churches in Canada. Services may be said to date from the siege, having been conducted by the Reverend Robert Macpherson, the brave chaplain of Fraser's Highlanders, the regiment so highly distinguished at the battle of Louisbourg

and at the siege of Quebec under Wolfe in 1759. Very soon after the capture of Quebec a Presbyterian church was organized. The Reverend George Henry, an ex-military chaplain, said to have been present at the capture of Quebec, was the first regular pastor, beginning his duties in 1765. An apartment which was fitted up as a chapel was set apart by the King's representative in the Jesuits' College for the use of the members of the Scottish church. This was occupied until 1807, when the building was appropriated for the use of the troops quartered in the city.

In 1802, a petition was addressed to King George III, desiring that land be granted upon which to erect a church. This memorial was signed by 148 persons, one of whom was Sergeant James Thomson, who also had served under Wolfe at the Siege of Quebec. Sixty-eight years later, Thomson assisted Lord Dalhousie in laying the corner-stone of the Wolfe and Montcalm monument. He died in 1830, aged 98 years. The building was completed and opened for public service in 1810, and was named St. Andrew's. Previous to this the congregation was called the Scottish Church.

The old church presents a very antique appearance with its odd looking sky-light windows, and stairways going up inside the building. There are a number of handsome and very costly windows erected to the memory of departed office-

bearers; also several fine old tablets, one on the east wall bearing this inscription:

LXXIX
Cameron Highlanders
To the memory of their comrades, who departed
this life whilst serving in Canada.
A.D. 1848–1851
Cuimhue
Nan sonn nach mair eann.

The Methodist Church.

The first Methodist preacher in Quebec was a Mr. Tuffey, a commissary of the 44th Regiment which was quartered in the city in 1780. He preached to the soldiers and such of the Protestant immigrants of the city as were disposed to attend, and continued to do so until his regiment was disbanded and he returned home.

The first Methodist itinerant to visit the city was the famous, but somewhat eccentric, Lorenzo Dow, who was sent in the year 1799 by Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, to form a circuit in Lower Canada. Believing himself called of God to visit Ireland, he sailed down the river to Quebec, and while waiting for a vessel, preached as he had opportunity. The city was not again visited by a Methodist preacher till 1803. In the year 1806, the Rev. Nathan Bangs, subsequently famous

as a Methodist historian, came to Quebec. Up to this time no effort had been made to establish a permanent organization. Mr. Bangs set earnestly to work to establish Methodism in the city.

In 1814 it was found necessary to provide larger quarters for the rapidly increasing congregation. A building was begun in 1815 and completed in 1816—the first Methodist church in Quebec. In 1831 a second church was erected on Champlain Street and used until the threatening appearance of the overhanging cliff made it dangerous as a place of assembly. After the fall of the rock in 1841 the building was abandoned and sold. In 1839 a third church was opened in St. Louis suburbs. It was destroyed by fire in one of the great conflagrations with which the city has been visited.

The steady growth of the membership of the Society, together with the misfortunes attending the smaller churches, rendered the Church in Anne Street too small, and led to the erection of the present substantial and commodious edifice in 1849.

Chalmers' Church.

Although the present church building was opened for worship but little over fifty years ago, the congregation has been in existence for about a hundred years, having been organized at the beginning of last century. The congregation assumed the name *Chalmers' Church* at the time of the opening of the present building; pre-

viously it was known as *St. John's*. For a number of years after organization the congregation met in a rented house. In 1816 the foundation stone of St. John's was laid. The church was opened the following year. The first minister was the Rev. Clark Bentom, who was sent out to Quebec by the London Missionary Society in response to a petition sent home by a number of persons who desired a minister of evangelical sentiments.

Although some of the ministers and many of the members were Presbyterian, the church was not formally connected with the Presbyterian Church until 1830, but was a Union or Congregational body. In 1844 the "Disruption" took place. The congregation severed its connection with the established Church of Scotland, and became connected with the Canada Presbyterian Church.

Quebec Baptist Church.

This church was organized in the year 1845. For some years previous the congregation had worshipped in an upper room of the old Post Office on Buade Street. The first pastor, Rev. David Marsh, came from England and remained with the church for thirty-nine years.

The building on McMahon Street, in which the congregation now worships, was erected in 1853. About twenty-five of its members are French-Canadians who are under the pastoral care of Rev. L. R. Dutaud of the Grande Ligne Mission. They meet in a chapel on St. Margaret's Street, St. Roch.

French Protestant Church.

This building is situated on St. John Street, near St. Matthew's church. It was built about thirty years ago.

The Salvation Army.

In Quebec, as in many other cities, there is a Salvation Army. In the first years of its existence opposition was manifested and a series of riots attended its establishment, like those, though on a smaller scale, which attended the establishment of the Army in certain districts of London. The meetings were begun in 1886, addresses being delivered in French by Mrs. Simcoe. In 1887 meetings were conducted in the old Congregational church at the corner of Palace and McMahon Streets. As disturbances occurred whenever the Army paraded, they discontinued their processions in 1888, and confined their operations to inside meetings and the relieving of the distressed. They also have a refuge where the unfortunate can obtain food and temporary shelter.

Protestant Burial Ground, St. John Street.

According to the obituary notices in the Quebec *Gazette*, the mortal remains of Protestants were interred in divers places in the city; some in the St. Joseph's Cemetery situated between the Seminary and the French Cathedral; others on the south side of that edifice, as

proved by the memorial on the western wall of the Presbytery, removed to that position when the wall on Buade Street was lowered. The gorge on the St. Louis Bastion was also used, where, among others, was interred the Continental General, Richard Montgomery, who was killed when assaulting the Prés-de-Ville barricade in December, 1775. The General's remains were exhumed in 1818 by permission of the Governor General and interred in New York with great ceremony.

In 1771, Demoiselle Angelique Denis de St. Denis and her family (heirs of the late M. Simon), sold a lot of land on St. John Street, which had been purchased from the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu, to Thomas Dunn, who in turn sold it in 1778 to the Government. Other portions of the original property were purchased by the Government in 1778 and 1780. These lots were bounded on the north by St. John Street, on the south by St. Gabriel, on the east by Ste. Augustine, and on the west by the garden of Justice Kerr. The whole is surrounded by a stone wall. It appears to have been used as a cemetery. This land was secured in perpetuity by the Protestant community in 1833. There was a building on it used for the burial services of both Episcopal and Presbyterian churches. There was also a sexton's residence, but the former church had the paramount right in the building and appointment of the sexton. In

1844 additional ground was purchased, so that the property extended to Ste. Geneviève Street on the west, but did not include the corner lot and stone house on St. John Street.

After the fire of 1845 St. John Street was widened, and the stone wall on the line of the street rebuilt. For sanitary reasons the Government, in 1860, closed the burial ground. The place was neglected, and became a disgrace to the city. There were so many parties concerned that it seemed nobody's business in particular to keep the ground in order. In 1875 St. Matthew's congregation appointed a committee to undertake the matter; their appeal did not meet with much success.

For thirteen years nothing further was done and the place fell into delapidation till 1888, when St. Matthew's congregation undertook to care for the grounds provided the trustees put them in proper order. A successful appeal was made to the Protestant public. The burying ground is now well kept. Many of the inscriptions on the stones are quite interesting, one being that of a brother of Sir Walter Scott, the celebrated novelist. He was paymaster of the 70th Regiment, and died in 1823.

APPENDIX IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
SHOWING
CONTEMPORARY RULERS
IN
FRANCE, ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE.

APPENDIX IV.—CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

IN FRANCE, ENGLAND

Year.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Governors of New France.
1497	Henry VII.		
1509	Henry VIII.		
1515		Francis I.	
1547	Edward VI.	Henry II.	
1553	Mary		
1558	Elizabeth		
1559		Francis II.	
1560		Charles IX	
1574		Henry III	
1589		Henry IV	
1603	James I.		
1608			Champlain, Samuel de (*Lieut. General*)
1610		Louis XIII.	
1612			
1616			
1620			
1625	Charles I.		
1629			Champlain (*Governor*)
			Kirke, Sir David, (*Eng.*)
1633			Champlain, (*French*)
1635			Chateaufort, Marc Antoine Bras-de-fer de (*Administrator*)
1636			Montmagny, Charles Huault de
1643		Louis XIV.	
1644			

SHOWING CONTEMPORARY RULERS AND NEW FRANCE.

Intendants of New France.	Viceroys of New France.
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.....	.....
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.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	Soissons, Charles de Bourbon, Comte de (*till Nov.*) Condé, Henri de Bourbon, Prince de
.....	Thémines, maréchal, Pons de Lausière, *deputy.*
.....	Montmorency, Henri Duc de
.....	Ventadour, Henri de Lévis, Duc de, (*till* 1627).
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	Domville, François C. de Lévis Duc de

Year.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Governors of New France.
1648 ...	.....	.....	D'Ailleboust de Coulonge, Louis.. .....
1649 ...	Commonwealth...	.....	.....
1651 ...	.....	.....	Lauzon, Jean de. .....
1656 ...	.....	Louis XIV...	Lauzon-Charny, Charles de (*Adm.*). .....
1657 ...	.....	.....	D'Ailleboust de Coulonge, Louis (*Adm.*) ..
1658 ...	.....	.....	D'Argenson, Pierre de Voyer, Vicomte.....
1660 ...	Charles II.	.....	.....
1661 ...	.....	.....	D'Avaugour, Pierre Dubois, Baron. .....
1662 ...	.....	.....	.....
1663 ...	.....	.....	Saffray-Mésy, Augustin de
1665 ...	.....	.....	Courcelles, Daniel de Rémy de
1668 ...	.....	.....	.....
1670 ...	.....	.....	.....
1672 ...	.....	.....	Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Comte de Palluau et de .....
1675 ...	.....	.....	.....
1682 ...	.....	.....	La Barre, Le Febvre de
1685 ...	James II.	.....	Denonville, Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de.....
1686 ...	.....	.....	.....
1687 ...	.....	.....	.....
1689 ...	William III and Mary	.....	Frontenac, Comte de. ...
1698 ...	.....	.....	Callières, Louis Hector de (*Adm.*) .....
1699 ...	.....	.....	Callières, Louis Hector de
1702 ...	Anne.....	.....	.....

Intendants of New France.	Viceroys of New France.
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	Feuquières, Isaac de Pas, Marquis de
.....	.....
.....	D'Estrades, le maréchal, Godefroi, Comte.
Robert	.....
Talon, Jean	.....
Bouteroue, Claude de	.....
Talon, Jean	.....
Vacant.	.....
Duchesneau, Jacques	.....
De Meulles, chevalier Jacques ...	.....
.....	.....
Champigny, Jean Bochart de. ...	.....
.....	....D'Estrées, le maréchal, Jean, Comte.
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
Beauharnois, François de.	.....

Year.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Governors of New France.
1703 ...	.....	.....	Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de (*Adm.*) .....
1705 ...	.....	.....	Vaudreuil, Marquis de
1707 ...	.....	.....	.....
1712 ...	.....	.....	.....
1714 ...	George I	.....	Ramesay, Claude de ....
1715 ...	.....	Louis XV ...	.....
1725 ...	.....	.....	Longueuil, Charles Le Moyne, Baron de (*Adm.*) .....
726 ..	.....	.....	Beauharnois, Charles, Marquis de.....
1727 ...	George II.....	.....	.....
1731 ...	.....	.....	.....
1747 ...	.....	.....	La Galissonnière, Rolland Michel Barrin, Comte de (*Adm.*).....
1748 ...	.....	.....	.....
1749 ...	.....	.....	La Jonquière, Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de.....
1752 ..	.....	.....	Longueuil, Charles Le Moyne, Baron de (*Adm. till July*)..... Duquesne-de Menneville, Marquis de.....
1755 ...	.....	.....	Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de.....

Intendants of New France.	Viceroys of New France.
.....	.....
Raudot, Jacques (*father*) Raudot, Antoine Denis (*son*) ..	.....
.....	D'Estrées, Victor Marie, Comte (*till* 1737).
Bégon, Michel	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
Dupuy, Claude Thomas (*till* 1728)	.....
d'Aigremont (*for some months in the interim*)...	.....
Hocquart, Gilles	.....
.....	.....
Bigot, François	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

GOVERNORS OF LOWER CANADA

AND OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA.

Year	Kings of England	Name	Rank
1760	George III...	(1)	
1763	.....	MURRAY, General James.....	Governor.
1766	.....	IRVING, P. Emilius	Administrator.
1766	.....	CARLETON, Guy.....	Lt. Gov. and Administrator.
1768	.....	CARLETON, Guy	Governor.
1770	.....	CRAMAHE, Hector Theophilus	Administrator.
1771	.....	CRAMAHE, Hector Theophilus	Lt. Gov. and Administrator.
1774	.....	CARLETON, Guy	Governor.
1777	.....	HALDIMAND, Frederick	Governor.
1782	.....	HAMILTON, Henry	Lt. Governor.
1784	.....	HAMILTON, Henry	Administrator.
1785	.....	HOPE, Henry	Administrator.
1786	.....	DORCHESTER, Lord	Gov. General.
1790	.....	CLARKE, Alured	Lt. Governor.
1791	.....	CLARKE, Alured	Administrator (2).
1796	.....	PRESCOTT, Robert	Lt. Gov. and Administrator.
1797	.....	MILNES, Robert Shore.....	Lt. Governor.
1799	.....	MILNES, Robert Shore.....	Administrator.
1805	.....	DUNN, Thomas	President and Administrator.
1807	.....	CRAIG, Sir James Henry	Governor.

(1) The first British Governor in Canada was Sir David Kirke, who held Quebec, 1629–1632.

(2) The administrators and Lt. Governors in this list from 1791 to 1840 are of Lower Canada only; but the Governor of Lower Canada was styled "Governor in Chief," and as such had a certain formal jurisdiction over Upper Canada.

Year	Kings of England	Name	Rank
1808	.....	BURTON, Sir F. N.	Lt. Governor.
1810	The Regency		
1811	.....	DUNN, Thomas	President and Administrator.
1811	.....	PREVOST, Sir George.....	Administrator.
1811	.....	PREVOST, Sir George.....	Governor.
1812	.....	BROCK, Sir Isaac (3).....	Administrator.
1813	.....	ROTTENBURG, Francis de	Administrator.
1813	.....	GLASGOW, George.....	Administrator.
1814	.....	ROTTENBURG, Francis de	Administrator.
1814	.....	DRUMMOND, Sir Gordon	Governor.
1815	.....	WILSON, John	Administrator.
1816	.....	SHERBROOKE, Sir John Coape	Governor.
1818	.....	RICHMOND, Duke of	Gov. General.
1819	.....	MONK, James.	President and Administrator.
1820	George IV. ..	MAITLAND, Sir Peregrine	Administrator.
1820	.....	MONK, James.	Pres. and Adm.
1820	.....	MAITLAND, Sir Peregrine	Administrator.
1820	.....	DALHOUSIE, Lord	Gov. General.
1824	.....	BURTON, F. N.....	Lt. Gov. and Administrator
1828	.....	KEMPT, Sir James	Administrator.
1830	William IV. .	AYLMER, Lord	Administrator.
1830	.....	AYLMER, Lord	Gov. General.
1835	.....	AMHERST, Lord (4)	Gov. Gen'l and High Comm.
1835	.....	GOSFORD, Lord	Gov. Gen'l and High Comm.
1837	Victoria.		
1838	.....	COLBORNE, Sir John	Administrator.
1838	.....	DURHAM, Lord.....	Gov. General.
1838	.....	COLBORNE, Sir John	Administrator.

(3) Brock received a commission as Administrator, but did not act.

(4) Lord Amherst was appointed Governor General of Upper and Lower Canada, but did not come to this country and never acted in that capacity.

Year	Kings of England	Name	Rank
1838	Victoria.....	COLBORNE, Sir John	Gov. General.
1839	.....	THOMSON, Charles Poulett ...	Gov. General.
1839	.....	JACKSON, Sir R. D.....	Administrator.
1840	.....	JACKSON, Sir R. D.....	Administrator.
1840	.....	SYDENHAM, Lord.....	Gov. General.
1841	.....	CLITHEROW, John	Administrator.
1841	.....	JACKSON, Sir R. D.....	Administrator.
1841	.....	BAGOT, Sir Charles	Gov. General.
1843	.....	METCALFE, Sir Charles T....	Gov. General.
1845	.....	CATHCART Lord.....	Administrator.
1846	.....	CATHCART, Lord	Gov. General.
1846	.....	ELGIN, Lord	Gov. General.
1849	.....	ROWAN, W.	Administrator.
1853	.....	ROWAN, W.	Administrator.
1854	.....	HEAD, Sir Edmund W.....	Gov. General.
1857	.....	EYRE, Sir William.....	Administrator.
1860	.....	WILLIAMS, Sir W. F.....	Administrator.
1861	.....	MONCK, Viscount	Administrator.
1861	.....	MONCK, Viscount	Gov. General.
1865	.....	MICHEL, Sir John	Administrator.
1866	.....	MICHEL, Sir John	Administrator.
1867	.....	MONCK, Viscount	Gov. Gen'l of Canada.
1868	.....	WINDHAM, SIR CHARLES A...	Administrator.
1868	.....	YOUNG, Sir John, Bart.....	Administrator.
1869	.....	LISGAR, Baron	Gov. General.
1872	.....	DOYLE, Sir Charles H.....	Administrator.
1872	.....	DUFFERIN, Lord	Gov. General.
1874	.....	O'GRADY HALY, Wm.... ..	Administrator.
1875	.....	O'GRADY HALY, Wm.....	Administrator.
1878	.....	McDOUGALL, Sir Patrick L...	Administrator.
1878	.....	LORNE, Marquis of	Gov. General.
1881	.....	McDOUGALL, Sir Patrick L...	Administrator.
1882	.....	McDOUGALL, Sir Patrick L. .	Administrator.
1883	.....	LANSDOWNE, Marquis of	Gov. General.
1886	.....	RUSSELL, Lord Alex. Geo....	Administrator.
1888	.....	STANLEY OF PRESTON, Lord .	Gov. General.

Year.	Kings of England.	Name.	Rank.
1893	(Victoria).. . .	MONTGOMERY-MOORE, Alex. George.....	Administrator.
1893	.....	ABERDEEN, Earl of..	Gov. General.
1893	.....	MONTGOMERY-MOORE, Alex. George.....	Administrator.
1894	.....	MONTGOMERY-MOORE, Alex. George.....	Administrator.
1897	.....	MONTGOMERY-MOORE, Alex. George.....	Administrator.
1897	.....	MONTGOMERY-MOORE, Alex. George.....	Administrator.
1898	.....	SEYMOUR, Lord Wm. F. E. . .	Administrator.
1898	.....	MINTO, Earl of.....	Gov. General.
1899	.....	SEYMOUR, Lord Wm. F. E. . .	Administrator.
1901	Edward VII.		
1902	.....	STRONG, Sir Henry	Administrator.
1904	.....	TASCHEREAU, Sir Henry E . .	Administrator.
1904	.....	GREY, Earl.....	Gov. General.
1906	.....	SEDGWICK, Hon. Robert, K.C.	Administrator.
1907	.....	FITZPATRICK, Sir Charles	Administrator.
1907	.....	FITZPATRICK, Sir Charles	Administrator.
1908	.....	FITZPATRICK, Sir Charles	Administrator.

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Doughty, (Sir) Arthur George
The cradle of New France